GUIDE TO THE OR21 WOLEAI FILE

[This file contains specific information on the central Caroline islands of Eauripik, Elato, Faraulep, Gaferut, Ifaluk (the sample), Lamotrek, Pikelot, West Fayu, Woleai and their inhabitants. They are located in the Yap District of the Caroline Group, south and east of Yap and Ulithi and west of Truk. There are 53 islands and atolls in the group, but only about 3.3 square miles of land surface. While islands of this group have been known to Europeans since 1678, prolonged contact did not occur until the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the seventeenth century, Micronesia has been controlled successively by Spain, Germany and Japan. It is presently administered by the United States as a United Nations trusteeship. The total population of the Woleai group was only 1339 persons in 1930. The language spoken on these islands is Woleian. It is part of the Trukic subfamily of the Austronesian family. Even with inter-island dialectical differences, it is mutually intelligible with that of Truk, but not with Yap. Coconuts and fish provide the principal food on almost all of the islands. Taro and breadfruit are nearly universally cultivated. Dogs, hogs, and chickens are the only domesticated animals, and are eaten only rarely. Since most of the islands are small, settlement patterns are little differentiated. Farms and villages are scattered throughout the islands, more often facing the interior lagoon than the open sea. In the past, travel for commerce was frequent and farranging, going as far as 600 miles to Guam, Truk, and Yap. Recently with the death of the old sea captains, small boat travel is limited to neighboring islands. All of the islands contain the same eight named, localized, exogamous matrilineal clans, the first four of which are ranked with hereditary chiefs. The component lineages, which are smaller and more unstable, are still however the most

important groups on the islands. They regulate and own property, organize economic activity and are the recognized religious units. Despite missionary influence, the native religion, including a large store of medical knowledge, has remained intact. Island to island cultural variability is not great, but variations due to geographic and population size differences do exist.

There are 41 sources in the Woleai file, 11 are in English (1, 15, 16, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 40, and 41), one is a translation from Spanish (23), three are translations from Japanese (36, 37, and 38), four are translations from French (12, 13, 34, and 35), and the remaining 22 are translations from German. However, a number of the sources are brief and eight are no more than a page or a table excerpted from a larger work. Except for source 41, all of the sources are on typewritten file slips and lack the Outline of World Cultures designation. 1: Burrows is the best introduction to the file. It is a detailed ethnography of Ifaluk. Eight sources (5, 10, 12, 13, 24, 34, 35, and 40) are nineteenth century travelers' accounts of the islands and contain varying amounts of geographic, ethnographic and naturalistic data. Twelve sources (6-9, 11, 14, 18-22, and 39) are in one way or another results of the German administration of the area and reflect the varying interests, from politics to public health, of concern to colonial administrations. 11: Born, by a German government doctor, may be the most generally descriptive of Woleaian culture of all of these sources. Three other sources (2, 3, and 4), the reports of the 1908-1910 German ethnographic expedition to the Central Carolines, are more tangentially related to the colonial administration. Four brief sources (25, 26, 27, and 30) present climatic information on the area and two more (15 and 16) present geographic data and

sailing instructions. There are two articles (28 and 29) on culture and personality in the Woleai group. 41: Bates and Abbott is a nontechnical account of the 1953 Pacific Science Board expedition to Ifaluk. The expedition contained an anthropologist, biologist, geologist, hydrologist, ichthyologist, and zoologist. Interdisciplinary material is presented on daily life, food gathering and diet as well as the special interests of each scientist. The file contains a variety of material and may be compared easily to the other files on island groups in the area. Most of the file was processed between 1950 and 1951, with an additional source processed in 1962.]

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the

(1947-48)

sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 101, 175, 133, 136 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it. We reached the island on December 5 after dark and could not find any anchor ground. The captain sent some of his men on land who during the night were to maintain a fire in order that the ship could stay close to the land. At dawn I rowed ashore. The map of the Admiralty characterizes Grimes as an elevated island, but in reality it is a flat sandbank which in some places rises up to an elevation of 2 meters. The only type of vegetation is a species of mangrove. Apparently a strong storm hit the island a few months ago for most of the trees had lost their branches and many---including the strongest---had been completely uprooted. The fauna consists of innumerable sea birds, which had their loose nests either in the trees or on the level ground; furthermore there were coconut crabs and--to judge from the traces--large turtles, which do not visit the island but at night. The birds were so tame that they could be seized by hand. Gaferut, including the reef, has a length of about 1300 meters; exclusive of the reef it is 600 paces long and 300 paces wide. We could not find anchor ground during the day either.

11: Born--177 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 142, 101 Woleai

In physical structure, dress, language, and customs, the Oleaï natives belong to the Central Carolinians. They are closely related to the natives of Truk, Ululssi, Lamutrik, Satuwal, Sorol, Sonsol, Atogui, and Merir.

For the most part, they are of medium size and slender build; their skin is lighter than that of the people of Jap, and their features are regular and attractive. Their iris is dark brown, the conjunctiva bulbi has a yellow tinge and pigmentary spots. The shades of hair vary from dark brown to almost black, but the children are often dark blond; many of them have curly hair. Many of the women are as tall as the men. Frequently they have beautiful, well-proportioned bodies. The men have only a very slight beard.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 175, 101 Ifalik

Ifalik (Ifaluk) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 and called by him Wilson Island (others called it Two Sisters Island).

17: Meinicke--358
116, 175, 101

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep (Faroilap) was discovered by the Spaniard Rodriguez in 1696 (a more modern mariner called it Gardner Island).

17: Meincke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 101, 115 Woleai

Ulie, (Ulea, Uleai, according to Gulick properly Wolea) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 who named it Thirteen Islands is one of the most important and best known of all the Carolines.

34: Lesson--122 (1824) 1839 Woleaians
116, 101, 175 Lamotrek

[MC: alternative names for Lamotrek]
Kadu's Lamurrec and Cantova's Lamurrec, Torres' Mugnak, Krusenstein's Lamoursec, the Lamourca, Lamouirec or Falou of Father Legobien. Wilson called it Sweede Island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5' 7½". Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch.

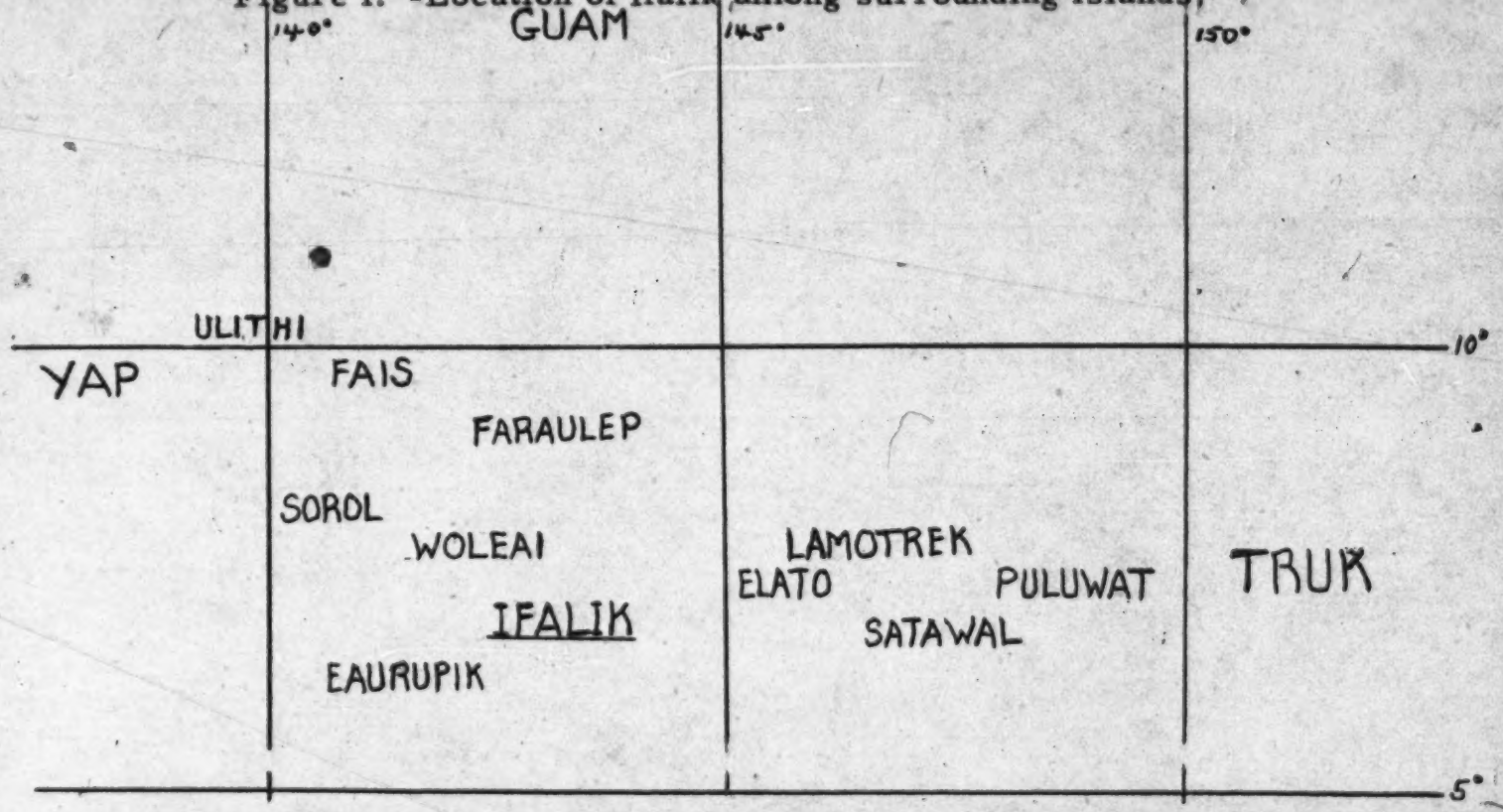
The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5' 1½" tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses.

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians.

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians

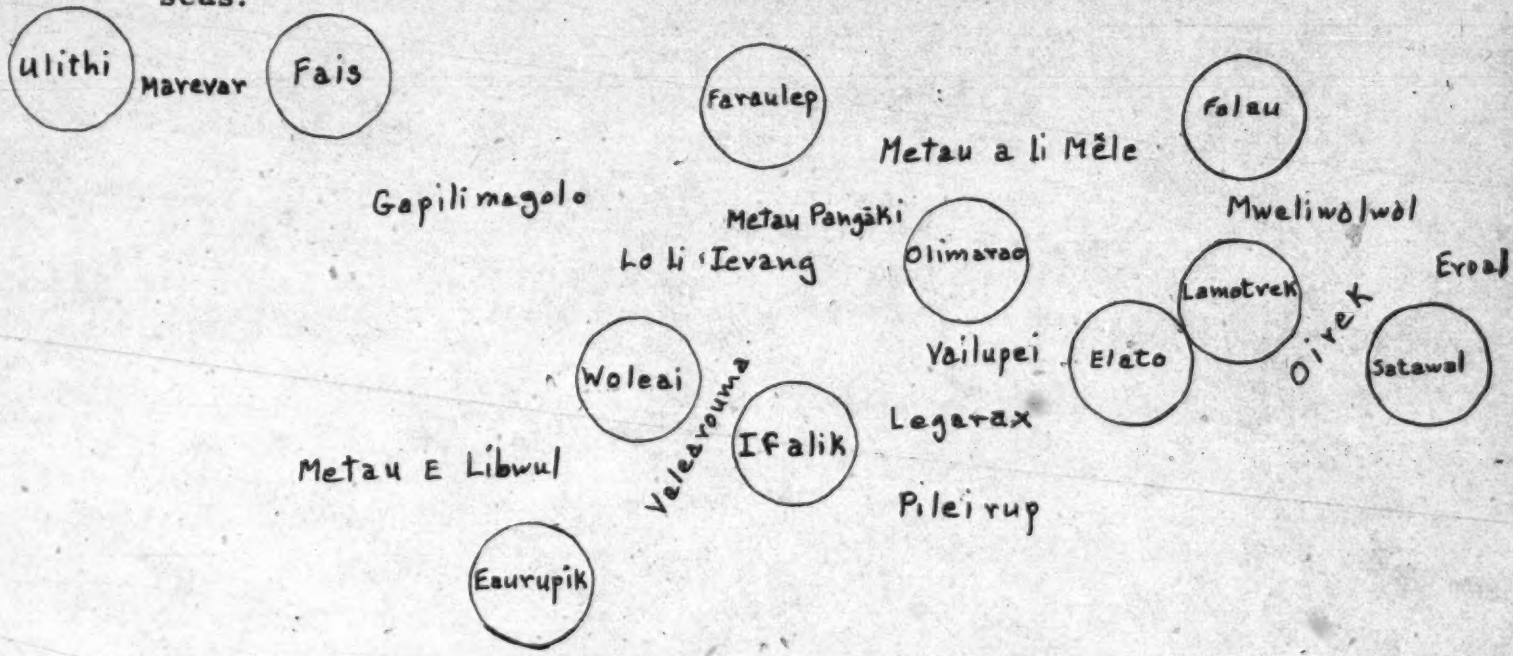
1: Burrows--1-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 102 Ifalik

"Figure 1. -Location of Ifalik among surrounding islands,".



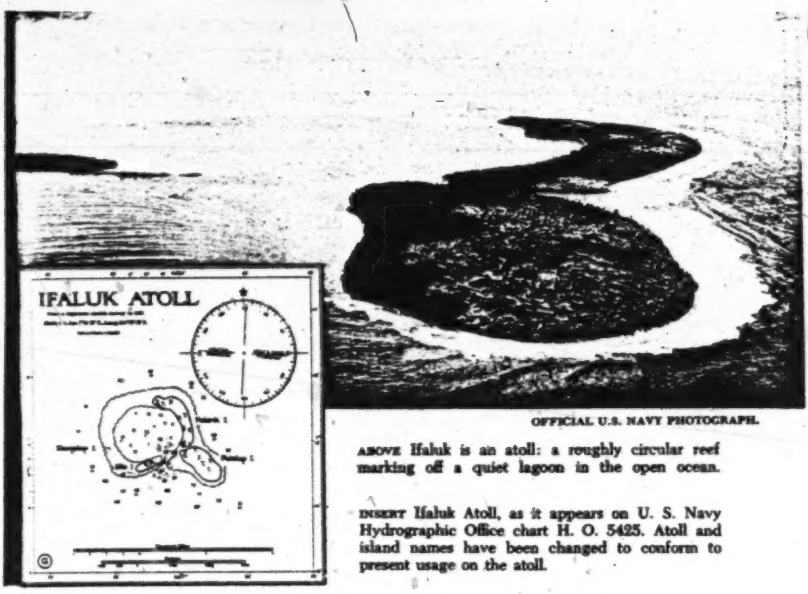
1: Burrows--81-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 102 Ifalik

"Fig. 17. -Diagram map of the atolls about Ifalik, with native names of the interisland seas."



41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
102



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSERT Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
137
114

[P. 32 (A)]

2: Damm et al. --3 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 103 Ifaluk

On their charts the natives called this island group: Faloc, Yfaluc or Ifeluc. After Wilson discovered this atoll in 1797, it was named for him for some time. Then Meinicke said that some other people called it Two Sisters. But these names did not last. Chamisso's authorities, the two natives Kadu and Edak, entitled this group Iviligk or Ibiliek. Lütke writes Ifalouk; the notorious dealer Cheyne likewise uses the native name Evalook, and his compatriot Russel Robertson, has Evalouk; all of these are equivalent to the German spelling: Ifaluk. Since this time the native name has been adopted much more widely. However, you also find Ifalik, which perhaps originated in Chamisso's accounts; this spelling was adopted for the Japanese Government Chart of 1925 (Number 772), and also for the Pacific Islands Pilot of 1933 (6th edition).

2: Damm et al. --111 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 103 Aurupik

In addition to the native names Yaropie and Eurrupuc, which were the first ones known, there is also Lütke's spelling Eourypyg which Brigham turned into Eurupig; v. Miklucho-Maclay writes Auropik. However, the majority of the discoverers and whale fishermen gave the group new names; some of them were inspired by the distinguishing characteristics of the islands (Low Islands), while in other cases there was no connection (Kama, of Horsburgh). All of these names appeared in Meyer's Colonial Kingdom and in the Kolonial Lexicon. But both of them use the term of the Reichsmarineamt "Aŭrepik" as the principal cue. The Japanese Government Chart of 1925 gives Eauripik, however. The scientists of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition give the island name in the following manner: Aùrepik (Sarfert), Auripig (Hambruch), Aŭrupeg (Krämer), Jâurupek (Hellwig). In the text that I have before me, Sarfert's spelling is employed.

2: Damm et al. --153 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 103 Faraulep

The island became known to Europeans under the native name: Piraulop. Von Chamisso attributes the spelling Farruelap and Faroilep to Luis de Torres, and Fatoilep to the native Kadu. Lütke also used the indigenous Farroilap. Finsch made this into Faraulap. Meinicke has Faroilap, but he selects Faraulep for the key word of his record. This spelling became adopted rather generally, and it finally changed into Faraulip; this is the way most of the members of the South Seas Expedition heard it, although they noted the following pronunciations: Faráulop and Faróilap (Hellwig), Faraûilöp, Faroîlep, Fa-tja-ü-napo and Fatjaunäpo (Hambruch), and Fadjáumaep (Krämer).

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--252 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 103 Woleai

[AN: According to our native informant] the name Woleai (Wolea, Wolaa) is applied to the entire group by foreigners only, who name an island or an island group after the name of the village which they either visited first or most frequently - in this case, the island of Wolea -. The natives themselves, however, use just as often a second name for the group, namely, Fálálap.

In the east: a. Lamotrek. . . or Namotrek, correctly Lamodjek. . . from lámo or namo, "the lagoon"; it is called trek, tjek, "small," although it is the largest of the three and longer (7 nautical miles) than Oleai which has a length of only 5-1/2 nautical miles. But it is shorter than well known Mokemok in the west, which from south to north measures about 20 nautical miles. Sometimes it is said that rek is the same word as rak, the season, i.e. the season, because the weather is always good; in that case it remains unexplained.

b. Falaite. . . in the west of the atoll; more correctly called Faleit or in former times Faleitabut; the word is derived from feiabut "unlucky child," because in the past the people on the island were wild; at the present time Falaite is uninhabited.

c. Puch. . . Pik small island in the north of the ring and usually pronounced Búiug; the word is derived from buik "boy" (Palau) and also sounded like it. Puch is uninhabited. In the east of the island is the good entrance Taualibúiug and in the west the boat passage Metaliár. Between Pik and the main island there is another entrance which on map 93 [MR: of the Reichsmarineamt 1903] is called the "dangerous entrance" [MR: 4: Krämer 2] [17]

Sailing southeast in the lagoon on the reef east of this entrance and on the southern side one comes to a projection of the reef which is covered with sand. It is the sandy cape of Mongalepi. If one draws a line from here southward which crosses the inland water and

reaches the southern reef--formerly at the rock Faisar (which disappeared in the last typhoon)--one gets the sósor boundary... which is the western limit of the district of the island of Lamotrek. East of the line no taboos need to be observed, but west of it one must fast if one sails early in the morning westward across the boundary. Smoking, too, is forbidden under such circumstances.

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Elato

Elato, sometimes simply pronounced Elat, because that is the word used for the seaweed after which the atoll and the main island are called; the latter is located in the north of the reef. The reef is reniform and has a bay opening to the east with a boat entrance into a small lagoon, which occupies only the northern part (Japanese map [MR: of 1925 on which the Admiralty map 772 was based]). In the southern part, which is separated from the northern, there seems to be little inland water. At the southern end the sandy island of Falipi is located; in the center (East). The island of the German map [MR: map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903] in the middle (w)Oletel (Hambruch: Oletul). Kari (Hambruch: Kare Reef) and Tamas are not given on the Japanese map. Hambruch, in addition, mentions Merekang "sharp point," Toeirul "calm quiet water" and Oilipi "on the sand."

Lamolior is uninhabited and located 2 nautical miles south of the atoll of Elat. "Lagoon of the south" with the islands of Toas and Olor (German map: Ulor).

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 161 Olimarao

4. Olimarau is uninhabited*; the name is derived from vol "opposite the blue sea" (Truk: madau). It is located 26 nautical miles northwest of Elato. The natives visit the island for turtle fishing. Hambruch learned that the last native of Olimarau had died in 1899 on Lamotrek.

* According to Freycinet Goulimarao around 1800 had 225 inhabitants

4: Krämer--124-125 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-3
116, 103, 823 Elato

The following islands are known and in addition numerous rocks are named: eastwards, tuas:

Sëtoval*
Pikëlo** (lo anchorage) (NE)
Pik ("small island")***
Olóul or Volóul (Onóun Volume 61 page 191)

Mágur
Ulalu
Piserar
Fáiau ("stone")
Lámoil
Rua
Murilo
Rug or Djug (Truk page 19)

Póloat****
Sog
Tametam
Pol'lap [126]
Lémma (Nama
Lámolu (Námoluk)
Lukulór (Lukunor)
Lukuór (Nukuor)
Pikeram(Kapingamar-
Ingadjig(Ngatik)angi)
Fálepei (Ponape)
Maki (Mokil)
Pingelap
Gajau (Kusae Truk page 53)

*East: Oraisaŭ, Suat, Póloat. North: Uraitúefu, Gaitag (east of Pikëlo (2)).
**Also Pikelot, supposedly named after the fish lot.
***West: Bäbä (near Gaitag), north: Sapan, Móul, east: Olipig, Fauriap, Onóun.
****South: Rúral, Sog.

Ebon in Ralik
Salevis (Djalūt)
Laur

North:

Miriales (=Marianas Spanish)
Faiau (high) and south of it
Ralugoisong. (Vorolegeisam

West:

Oléa
Faróilep
Ifaluk

Aúrupig
Sorol
Feis ("Rocky")
Ulūtiu or Ulutiu(Moke-
Eap [mok)
Ngólu
Ban noe(Palau I, page
Sóngorol [184)
Bul
Merir
a Tógobei (Tobi)

A. V. Chamisso...tells us that the Ralik and Ratak Islands were known to a native of Lamureck whom he met on Guajan. On Arno...in the Ratak group, there lived five natives of Lamureck who had been cast adrift and carried to this island.

The Names of the Parts of the Ocean are:
between Lámotrek and Sëtoval= Oireg*
between Lámotrek and Olimarau=Goisa
between Lámotrek and Elat=Mëtol

* Woirā; but it is not mentioned that on Sātoval Lamotrek is said to be called Lamōireg.

4: Krämer--124-125
116, 103, 823

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

between Lámotrek and Ifaluk=a Pilerup
between Lámotrek and Fariolep =Pilimetau

4: Krämer--126 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 487; 103 Elato

Espinosa... was given a map on which all the islands and their population were marked; many of these islands were familiar to the captain [VMM: a navigator from Lamotrek). These were the islands:

1. Carao
2. Falopi
3. Ingerig
4. Oruzolua
5. Etat
6. Lamuluc
7. Luosap
8. Ohala, 1000 inhabitants
9. Olcul, 200 inhabitants
10. Ponlap, 100 inhabitants
11. Poloac, 600 inhabitants
12. Sove, 500 inhabitants
13. Pig
14. Piguela
15. Satavan, 400 inhabitants
16. Lamursee, 1400 inhabitants
17. Falive, 1000 inhabitants
18. Fayao
19. Farroilap, 100 inhabitants
20. Olio, 1000 inhabitants
21. Fais
22. Falalap
23. Mugemugs
24. Jap
25. Ngulue
26. Palao

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161 Woleai

OLEAI

(Map 4) [VMM: See 4: Krämer 184]

Position: halfway between Lat. 7° 21' N. and Long. 143° 55' E.

Exact position: northern tip of Raur, Lat. 7° 21' 39" N. and Long. 143° 57' 30" E.

Südsee-Handbuch, page 36: The Oleai Islands (Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) are located approximately 130 nautical miles west of the Elato Islands. The group comprises two atolls which surround a western and an eastern lagoon. The former is larger, but the bigger islands are grouped around the eastern lagoon. The main island of Flalap, located on the northern side of the eastern lagoon, gradually is connected with the island of Marijong (Mariom) by means of a sand dune which follows in the west; this same sort of bridge exists also with Paliau located to the southeast, which in turn is linked to Raur in the south. The group is formed of 19 islands--some of them large and some of them small--only the eight largest are inhabited, whereas the others exhibit a luxuriant growth of coconut palms and tall breadfruit trees. The names of the inhabited islands are Raur, Flalap (Oleai), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal and Falalis.

4: Krämer--188-189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133, 175, 103 Woleai

The true shape of the atoll has finally become known through the new English map. [189] The name Voleai appeared for the first time in 1608 in a letter of Pater Clain who gave it as Valayay; in 1706 it was given as Ulier,* in 1710 as Olie, and 1721 as Ulee according to Cantova.

*On Clain's map the names of the islands are: Parivu (Paliau), Raor (Raur), Ulier (Volea), Marioc (Mariong), Tacaylap (Tagaulap), Alingaray (Votagai) and Farilies (Falalis).

4: Krämer--189
116, 103, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The first visitor of Woleai was Torres, who went there in 1804 and who gave the name of Guliai and Ulea; Chamisso in 1817 gives Ulea, Lütke in 1828 Ouleyai, the Kolonialatlas of 1908 Oleai, Uleai and Woleai, and the report of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition in 1909 the atoll of Oleai and the island of Volea.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103 Woleai

The Südsee-handbuch gives the names of Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, and Anangai.* Meinicke names Ulie, Ulea, Uleai, and according to Guliek it should really be Wolea. In the new Spanish Encyclopedea universal illustrada of 1929 we find Uli, Ulea, Uleay, Ulie, Woleai, and Oleai. These different names are naturally taken from the reports of the visitors. The following are listed: Clain, 1697, Valayay, 1706, Ulier, 1710 Olie, Cantova: Ulee,** Torres: Guliai, Chamisso: Ulea, Lütke: Ouleyai, Kolonialatlas 1908: Oleai, Hamburg Südsee Expedition: Volea, Japanese map: Woleai. Oleai as a German language transcription comes closest to the true name as exact recordings have shown. Various place names are given with and without "w" e.g., Onoun which is also pronounced Voloul with the meaning of "round." Olimarau is frequently pronounced Volimarau and on Pollap there are several examples, e.g., Vorieng ghost and inland water, and Volebuku are given in story 5, etc. Völepeg (peg sounding like pik) is a common name for the "small places" of the surrounding region such as Aurepik, Sorol etc. Especially the main island of Falalap, "the great land," the largest of them all is usually known as Volea, which is a fairly good distinction from the Oleai of the entire group. In the song of storm magic Valeoai has the meaning of "on my boat" (wa, oá, boat).

*This is the word the Yap islanders use for Oleai; I heard it myself and W. Müller substantiates it in his work on Yap.

**I myself distinctly heard Oleai pronounced Oleë on Mokemok where Cantova was.

4: Krämer--205-206 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 103 Woleai

Voléa is the largest of the islands, having an area of almost one square kilometer; next in size is Votagái in the west with an area of more than 1/2 square kilometer; it is said that in the past it was the leading island of the group and Kadu assured us that this was a fact. Then we have Votagai, Soliap, Falális, Tagaulap, Mariong, Eangaligarail, Faraliés, etc.

The Names of the Islands of the Atoll of Oleai from East to West

Cantova	Kadu(Chamisso)	Lütke 1928 (French)	Map 93	A. Krämer
		Motogozeu	S. Motegozu	Motogosóu
Raur	Raur	Raoure	E. Raur	Ráur
Peliao	Pelliau	Peliaou	Paliau	Páliau
Ulee	Ulea	Ouleay	E-a. N. Flalap	Voléa
Mariaon	Marion	Marione	N. Marijong	Máriong
Tajaulep	Thageiliip, Tabogap	Tagoilap	Tagaulap	Tagáulap (Tkágulap)
Algrail	Engeligarail	Angaligaraile	Jalangigereil N-Kanal	Eangaligarâil
Faralies	Futalis	Farailesse	Fareiles	Faraliés
Termet	Tarrematt	Taramate	Taramat	Táramat

4: Krämer--205-206 116, 103		(1909) 1937		Woleaians-2 Woleai
Falelmelo	Falœtik Seliep	Falamalok Seliape	Falamalok Saliap	Falamálăk Soliăp(also Seliap and Soluap)
			Peregaregar (small) [206]	
Otagu	Ulimiré	Oulemeray	Utagal	Votágai(Born Ulemari)
		Elingaryk	W. Elingarik	Ealangasik
	Falelegală	Faluélégalao	Faluelegalau	Faluelegalāu
	Faleelepalap	Faluélépalape	Faluelepalape	Faluen'nap
	Faelemoriet	Faluélemariete	Faluelemareot	Faluelemareiot Faluēlaplap
	Pial, Pügel	Piale	Pial	Pial
		Comole	Komol	Komol
		Faluellap	Falulap	Fálulap (Dauelap)
	Lüsagă	Luizaga	Luisaga	Luísaga
Falalis	Falalis	Fælalisse	S. Falális	Falális

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Woleai

Villages and Chiefs and sibs

Island:	Villages:	Chiefs:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (a house)	Malitil
or Falalap	Jefang	Gadjegélog
god Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vésavo	
	Jaur	Eagupelíor
	Lolepéleg	Gadjegélog lived
	(Born Leuleperik)	here in 1910
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelélimar(was on Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagaulap or Thogóelep	no villages	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai	Rógiol
4. Solŭap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop
	Jumanikil [207]	
5. Vótagai:	Dávogap	Uolegar
on the reef cap	Nikapelám (Hellwig:	Igélimar
former main island	Ligábpidam)	

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

6. Falális: "spirit land"

7. Raur +

8. Paliau +

(1909) 1937

Bigol(Bugol) (Hellwig: Pügod)
Tavokúdu
Tavokúdak
Davokulong
Logop, Lúgalapraur
Kuoi

Woleaians-2
Woleai

Mativelit

Málangau
Málipet

Daruelior +

Erurlïelit

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Ifalik

Until the third of April we hunted for two coral islands, which were shown on the maps, and which the Captian thought might be the same one which the natives of some other islands called Ifaluk. In reality there were four islands, the largest of which was Ifaluk; it had apparently given its name to the rest, just as Lugunor and some others did.

9: Senfft--13-14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

Oleai is also an atoll; [14] it consists of 23 islands of which Raur, Palián, Oleai, Máriom, Tagánlap, Séliap, Olemari (Ot'thogan), and Falális are inhabited.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Lamotrek (Lamurek, Namurek) were discovered in 1797 by Wilson and named Swede, Haweis and Low;

17: Meinicke--359
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Eauripik was discovered early and called Low islands (Horsburgh's Kama).

33: Hasebe--142 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

"Oleai, also called Voleai, Uleai, Woleai, Ulie, Ouleyai, Ulea, Guliai, Olie, and Valayay, is 245 nautical miles southeast of Fais, and consists of Flalap (Volea, Ulea, Ulee, Ulier), Votagai (Utagai, Otagu), Faralis (Farailes, Futalis, Faralies, Farilies), Solulap (Saliap, Seliep) and Tagaulap (Thageilup, Tafaulep, Tacaylap, Tacaulap)."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 304, 103 Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

34: Lesson--122
116, 103, 175

(1824) 1839

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Kadu's Lamurrec and Cantova's Lamurrec, Torres' Mugnak, Krusenstein's Lamoursec, the Lamourca, Lamouirec or Falou of Father Legobien. Wilson called it Sweede Island.

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 105 Ifalik

"We have seen that the coconut is meat and drink to the people of Ifalik; supplies most of the material for their houses; provides the cordage used to hold all composite wooden articles together; makes baskets, mats, fuel, and has a multitude of other uses, even acting as a symbol and agent of supernatural power. The list above does not pretend to be complete. Whether human life could be sustained on such an atoll without this plant is open to question. If it could, it would have to be a radically different life from that which the people lead there now."

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 476, 105 Ifalik

"The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of [124] his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the household of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products-- dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is

applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others."

1: Burrows--198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 105 Ifalik

"These gaps in religious behavior can be summed up in the statement that the pattern of rites of passage in Ifalik is a scanty, broken one; and that the people do not use magic on each other. Healing magic may look like an exception to the latter statement. But it is not a real exception, for the magic is aimed at the evil spirits thought to inflict disease rather than at the patient. The gaps in the pattern call for explanation; but that can not be attempted here. The explanation would have to be either historical, or psychological, or both. A historical explanation would necessitate comparison of the customs practised on Ifalik with those of surrounding peoples, a task beyond the scope of this local ethnography. A psychological explanation would require fuller data, of a kind that may be afforded by Spiro's line of inquiry, but not by mine."

1: Burrows, Edwin Grant. The People of Ifalik: A Little-Disturbed Atoll Culture. Unpublished manuscript submitted as a final report, Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology. Washington: Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, [1949].

Pp. 246 (of typescript); 24 figs.; 19 photographs.

Manuscript obtained by loan from Pacific Science Office, National Research Council, Washington, D. C.

[KS Mr. Burrows is a competent ethnographer and has had wide experience in field work on many Pacific Islands--as well as Ifalik.
This book contains an excellent descriptive account of the culture of a relatively unacculturated society. It covers in detail technology, house-building, canoe-building, navigation, social structure, economics, government, foreign relations, religion and ethics. Lists are given of flora, fauna, and stars (used in navigation) with native and scientific identification.
The field work was done mainly in 1947, carrying over into early 1948.]

2: Damm, Hans, et al. Zentralkarolinen, Part II: Ifaluk, Aurepik, Faraulip, Sorol, Mogemog [The Central Carolines, Part II: Ifaluk, Aurepik, Faraulip, Sorol, Mog-Mog]. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, Section B, Vol. X, Part 2. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1938.

Ed. Georg Thilenius; pp. viii, 379.

Yale: Nkd91.+913h. II. B. 10(2.

[VMM: Although all undertaken in the same year (1909), the surveys for these reports were made by different investigators, as part of the South Seas Expedition of 1908-1910. Hanbruch spent two weeks in October on Ulithi, and two weeks on Faraulep in November; Sarfert spent 17 days in October on Sorol Island, four days on Aurepik, and 12 days in November, 1909, on Ifaluk. The briefness of the investigations naturally affected the amount of ethnographical data obtained, and "there was also an occasional lack of trustworthy" informants. Damm wrote up the notes of Hambruch and Sarfert. Translated by C. Sherman.]
[KS: This source has been reprocessed from slips and from Sherman's translation.]

3: Thilenius, Georg, and F. E. Hellwig. Allgemeines: Tagebuch der Expedition [Generalities: Journal of the Expedition.] Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, Vol. I. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen und Co., 1927.

Edited by Georg Thilenius; pp. 489.

Yale: Nkd91.+913h.v.1.

[LEN: The log of the expedition ship "Peiho" is written by Hellwig, who also collected ethnographic specimens through trade with the natives; much of the narration is concerned with his trading experiences. Many observations were not made personally by Hellwig, but reflect the work of the other researchers, who occasionally left the expedition to investigate local cultures. The Micronesian phase of the trip, which began in Palau and extended throughout the Carolines to and including the Marshalls, was initiated in August 1909 and ended in April 1910. That part of the log which has been selectively translated and abstracted describes, for the most part, native culture, especially where contact with Europeans has occurred. The data, although duplicated, in part, in the formal ethnographic reports of the expedition, are more personal and more specific for locality in the log. A 3-page petrographic summary by Herzenberg details the general data on the

3: Thilenius and Hellwig

geology and mineralogy of Palau and the Carolines.]

[KS: This log has been reprocessed from the original markings. It was translated, at that time, by Alois M. Nagler.]

4: Krämer, Augustin Friedrich. Zentralkarolinen, Part 1: Lamotrek Gruppe, Oleai, Feis [The Central Carolines, Part 1: The Lamotrek Group, Woleai]. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, Vol. X, Pt. 1. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter und Co., 1937.

Ed. Georg Thilenius; pp. 413.

Yale: Nkd91.+913h. II. B. 10(1.

[VMM: The material obtained by the 1908-10 Hamburg Südsee-Expedition to the West Central Carolines, under Krämer, was not written up for 26 years, and was not published until 1937. Probably for this reason, a number of abbreviations and remarks in the text are not clear. This volume has three parts: 1) the Lamotrek Group, in which Krämer includes Elato and Olimarao; 2) the Woleai Group; 3) the Fais Group. In the case of the first section, the material has all been filed under Lamotrek except where there are specific references to Elato. There were almost no specific references to Olimarao. In connection with the Woleai group, Krämer describes the typhoon of 1907 with its far-reaching effects, both as far as human life and the topography of the islands are concerned. In conclusion, there is a brief summary of cultural comparisons for the three

4: Krämer

groups.]

[KS: The section of this work dealing with Woleai has been reprocessed from the CCS file slips for the revised HRAF file. The original marking was done by VVM and the translation from the German by ER.]

5: Kittlitz, F. H. von. Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Mikronesien und durch Kamtschatka [Reminiscences of a Trip to Russian America, Micronesia, and Through Kamchatka]. Vol. II, pp. 1-190. Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1858.

Yale: S55.750v.2.

[MR: Kittlitz accompanied Admiral Lutke in 1827-28 on his expedition to the Bering Sea, Kamchatka, and Micronesia as a naturalist. He contributed Observations Zoologiques to Vol. III of Lutke's report. In publishing his own work he states that its purpose is quite different from Lutke's since it represents the interest and observations of a botanist and zoologist. He was able to supplement his material with information from the field notes of Dr. Mertens who had died earlier. Pages 1-190 which have been incorporated in the files deal with observations made during the trip through the Eastern Carolines, to Guam, back to the Western Carolines, and thence up through the Bonins. His observations are mainly on the flora and fauna of the islands visited, but he also includes comments on the inhabitants encountered, giving superficial details on their material culture and some customs. Translated by Sherman.]

6: Senfft, Arno. Die Karolineninsel Oleai und Lamutrik [The Caroline Islands of Woleai and Lamotrek]. Dr. A. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt, Vol. LI, pp. 53-57. Gotha, 1905.

Yale: E10.+P442.v.51.

[MR: Some anthropological notes on Lamotrek and Woleai by the district officer Senfft.
[KS: This article, originally translated by M. Switzer, has been reprocessed for the revised files.]

7: Senfft, Arno. Bericht über den Besuch einiger Inselgruppen der West-Karolinen [Report of His Visit to Some Island Groups in the Western Carolines]. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XVII, pp. 192-197. Berlin, 1904.

Yale: A75.65.v.17.

[MR: An account of a trip of the "Seestern" to some islands in the West Central Carolines (Fais, Faraulep, Ifalik, Eauripik, Sorol, Ulithi) which district officer Senfft had hitherto not visited.]
[KS: This source has been reprocessed from the old file slips. It was originally translated by M. Switzer.]

8: Senfft, Arno. Bericht über seine Rundreise durch die Westkarolinen und Palau-Inseln [Report of his Circuit Tour through the Western Caroline and Palau Islands]. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Vol. XVII, pp. 281-284. Berlin, 1906.

Yale: Oya21.G2.+A4.v.17.

[MR: The report of district official Senfft of Yap on a trip through the West Carolines (Palau, Ngulu, Woleai, Lamotrek, Satawal, Fais, Ulithi). Translated by ER].
[KS: Slips from the old file have been reprocessed under the new category numbers, so that this source appears in the new file in a similar form.]

9: Senfft, Arno. Bericht über eine Reise nach den Westkarolinen [Report of a Trip to the Western Carolines]. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Vol. XV, pp. 12-14. Berlin, 1904.

Yale: Oya21.G2+A4.v.15.

[MR: District officer Senfft's report on his trip to Lamotrek and Woleai. Translated by TL.]

10: Miklucho-Maklay, N.N. Reisen im westlichen Mikronesien [Travels in Western Micronesia]. Globus, Vol. XXXI, pp. 295-296. Braunschweig, 1877.

Yale: E10.+G51.v.31.

[MR: A few brief notes on Aurupik, Ulithi, and Yap made by Miklucho-Maklay while on a trip in western Micronesia. Translated by KD.]
[KS: This source has been reprocessed from the file slips for the revised HRAF files.]

11: Born. Einige Beobachtungen ethnographischer Natur über die Oleai-Inseln [Some Observations of an Ethnographic Nature Concerning the Woleai Islands]. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XVII, pp. 175-191. Berlin, 1904.

Yale: A75.65.v.17.

[ML: Born visited Woleai as a government official. In his report he speaks of the people as culturally Central Carolinian. He mentions their political dependence on Yap, and their trips to other islands for trade. The article is well organized and in it Born deals briefly with cultural traits such as birth, death, magic, fishing methods, diet, canoes, house types, cleanliness, clothing, lack of art and music, weaving, and tattooing.]
[KS: This source, translated for the earlier files, has been reprocessed for HRAF.]

12: Lutké, Frédéric. Voyage autour du monde exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas Ier [Voyage Around the World Executed by Order of His Majesty the Emperor Nicholas I, Vol. II]. Vol. II, pp. 3-166, 289-352. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1835.

Yale: S22.31.v.2.

[AN: The second volume contains the story of Lutké's exploration of the Carolines. On January 14, 1828, he discovered Ponape for which Duperrey had hunted in vain. Continuing his voyage westward he devoted much attention to the Nomoi Group. He did not attempt a landing on Truk but proceeded to Namonuito. Temporarily abandoning the Carolines, he went to Guam whence he returned to the West Central Carolines which he explored as far westward as Woleai. On his return voyage to the north, Captain Lutke visited Bonin-Sima.]
[KS: This source, translated by C. Sherman, has been reprocessed from the CCS file slips.]

13: Lutké, Frédéric. Voyage autour du monde exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas Ier, Vol. III [Voyage Around the World Executed by Order of His Majesty the Emperor Nicholas I, Vol. III]. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1836.

Pp. 352.

Yale: S22.31.v.3.

[AN: This volume contains essays of the naturalists of the expedition. Alexandre Postels contributed Notices géognostiques [94-109, 113-118]; they are followed by Notices sur les Iles Carolines [132-144] of Dr. Mertens and his observations on the inhabitants of the high and low islands of the Caroline Archipelago [144-236]; T. H. von Kittlitz contributed Observations zoologiques [284-316]. Translated by C. Sherman.]
[KS: This source has been reprocessed for the revised outline from the slips contained in the old file.]

14: Born, et al. Ein Taifun in den West-Karolinen: Die Verwüstung der Oleai-Inselgruppe [A Typhoon in the Western Carolines: The Devastation of the Woleai Island Group]. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Vol. XVIII, pp. 567-573. Berlin, 1907.

Yale: Oya21.G2.+A4.v.18.

[MR: This report of the typhoon of March 29, 1907, which devastated the Woleai Island group, is composed of three sections. Pages 567-572 by Dr. Born, the government doctor stationed at Jap, deal with his eyewitness account of the typhoon at Woleai and the adjustment of the natives to it. The second section, pp. 572-573, is the report of Captain Martens of the government schooner "Ponape" which had left Dr. Born at Woleai and which was driven away by the typhoon. Section III, pp. 573-577, is the report of the district official Fritz, Saipan, April 15, of his trip to inspect the results of the typhoon and the government measures undertaken for the relief of the natives.]
[KS: The first two sections mentioned above have been reprocessed for the revised files.]

15: United States Hydrographic Office. Saling Directions for the Pacific Islands, Vol. I: Western Groups. Fourth edition [H. O. No. 165.]. Washington, 1938.

Yale: Uys527. Un3. 1.

[JWMW: Best available geographic data.]
[KS: This source has been reprocessed from the old file slips.]

16: Great Britain, Hydrographic Office. Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. I, pp. 487-539. Sixth edition. London: Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, 1933.

University of Chicago: Vk915.G75.

[MR: Chapter X dealing with the Caroline Islands and the Marianas has been processed for the CCS files.]

[KS: This source has been reprocessed for HRAF from the CCS file slips.]

17: Meinicke, Carl E. Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans, Vol. II: Polynesien und Mikronesien [The Islands of the Pacific Ocean, Vol. II: Polynesia and Micronesia]. Leipzig: Paul Frohberg, 1876.

Pp. 487.

Yale: En. 875.

[LEM: Separate sections of the book are devoted to the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Marshalls, the Marianas and the Bonins. In each section, the author ably summarizes the available data on the geography of individual islands (location, area, alternative names, habitation, soil, harbors, reefs, channels, anchorages, etc.) and on the culture of the native inhabitants. There is no indication that Meinicke was ever personally in the mandated islands; the work is essentially a compilation of data from travellers' accounts prior to 1875.]
[KS: This source, originally translated by MS, has been reprocessed from the old file slips.]

18: Germany, Reichstag. Denkschrift über die Entwickelung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee, 1903-1904 [Memorandum Concerning the Development of the German Protectorates in Africa and in the South Seas, 1903-1904]. Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages, Legislaturperiode XI, Session 1, 1903-05. Vol. V, No. 540, pp. 2992-2999, 3312-3313. Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1905.

Yale: 07351.4 K3. XI. 1a. v. 5.

[KS: A few notes on German colonial policy have been excerpted.]

19: Germany, Reichstag. Denkschrift über die Entwickelung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee, 1901-1902 [Memorandum Concerning the Development of the German Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas, 1901-1902. Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages, Legislaturperiode X, Session 2, 1900-03, Vol. VIII, No. 814, pp. 5301-5311, 5482-5484, 5519-5534. Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1903.

Yale: 07351+K3.X.2a.v.8.

[KS: One note on linguistic position excerpted.]

20: Germany, Reichstag. Denkschrift über die Entwickelung der Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, 1906-07 [Memorandum Concerning the Development of the Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas, 1906-07]. Verhandlungen des Reichstages. Legislaturperiode XII, Session 1, Vol. CCXLV, pp. 4117-4126, 4137. Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1908.

Yale: 073514K3.XII.1a.v.7.

[KS: One note on morbidity excerpted.]

21: Germany, Reichstag. Denkschrift über die Entwickelung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee, 1905-1906 [Memorandum Concerning the Development of the German Protectorates in Africa and in the South Seas, 1905-1906. Verhandlungen des Reichstages, Legislaturperiode XII, Session 1, Vol. CCXXXIX, pp. 81-89, 361-362. Berlin: J. Sittenfeld, 1907.

Yale: 07351.4 K3. XII. la. v. 1.

[KS: A few notes on German colonial policy have been excerpted.]

22: Germany, Kolonialamt. Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1909-10 [The German Protectorates in Africa and in the South Seas, 1909-10. Pp. 179-192. Berlin: E.S. Mittler, 1911.

Yale: Oya21.G2.+Au. 1909-10.

[KS: A few notes on German policy of rehabilitation after the 1907 typhoon.]

23: Cabeza Pereiro, A. La isla de Ponapé [The Island of Ponape]. Manila: Tipa-Litografia de Chofre y Comp. 1895.

Preface, pp. 241.

Yale: Ene.895.

[ECB: Preface by Valeriano Weyler.
Author, Pereiro, presents first-hand information and gives the following as his purpose in the writing of the book. [xii] Interested by the operations that were to be begun in the Island of Ponape [ECB: by the Spanish government] in which I had to be a presential witness because of my mission, begun as a memorandum, on leaving Manila, I wrote in simple notes the daily occurrences, as they happened, which have shown me the [xiii] erroneous concept current about our possessions in Micronesia. To remove errors, to give knowledge of the major and most important of our islands in the Caroline Archipelago, under the triple aspects of geography, ethnography, and history . . . are the only motives which have impelled me to write the present book . . .]
[KS: Only one excerpt, on location, has been used. Translated by ECB.]

24: Christian, F. W. The Caroline Islands, Travel in the Sea of the Little Islands. London: Methuen and Co., 1899.

Pp. 412.

Yale: Ene. 895C.

[LEM: Christian visited Micronesia with the express purpose of investigating the resources of the islands, human, animal, plant and mineral. He travelled leisurely from one group to another, working closely with the natives and gives very detailed descriptions of the physical environment of the individual islands. Ethnographic material is less in evidence, as Christian writes more about the circumstances of his observations than about the results. Very good for descriptive account of water routes, channels, reefs; paths and roadways from one community to another; and the type of vegetation and topography concerned.

[KS: This source has been reprocessed from the original file slips.]

25: Anonymous. Meteorologische Beobachtungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten der Südsee für das Jahr 1902 [Meteorological Observations From the German Protectorates of the South Seas for the Year 1902]. Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XVI, pp. 231-240. Berlin, 1903.

Yale: A75.65.v.16.

[JJH: Tabulated data on rainfall, number of days with rain, arranged according to months.]
[KS: This table, originally translated by JJH, has been reprocessed for the revised file.]

26: Anonymous. Niederschlagsmengen auf den Palau-, Marianen-, Karolinen- und Marschall-Inseln [Amounts of Precipitation in the Palau, Marianas, Caroline and Marshall Islands]. Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XVII, pp. 204-208. Berlin, 1904.

Yale: A75.65.v.17.

[JJH: Contains a table of rainfall.]
[KS: Translated by JJH for the old file, this table has been reprocessed.]

27: Anonymous. Resultate der Regenmessungen im Jahre 1906 [Results of Rainfall Measurements in the Year 1906]. Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XX, pp. 231-238. Berlin, 1907.

Yale: A75.65.v.20.

[JJH: Contains rainfall data for 1906.]
[KS: Only one slip has been reprocessed for the revised files, for Lamotrek. This source was translated by JJH.]

28: Spiro, Melford E. Ifaluk: A South Sea Culture. Unpublished manuscript submitted as a final report, Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology. Washington: Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, [1949].

Pp. 148 (of typescript).

Manuscript obtained by loan from Pacific Science Office, National Research Council, Washington, D. C.

[WPM: In addition to general cultural information this source contains considerable data on child training and many of the author's interpretations of Ifalik personality.]

29: Spiro, Melford E. A Psychotic Personality in the South Seas. Psychiatry, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 189-204. Washington, William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1950.

Yale: Medical School Library.

[WPM: This is one of the few available accounts of a psychotic from a pre-literate society. It contains several interviews from the author's field notes as well as an interesting interpretation of the case.]

30: Wendland. Resultate der meteorologischen Beobachtungen in Herbertshöhe [Results of the Meteorological Observations in Herberts Deep]. Mittheilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. XVIII, pp. 360-377. Berlin, 1905.

Yale: A75.65.v.18.

[JJH: Contains rainfall data for 1904.]
[KS: Only one chart has been excerpted for the revised files. This source was originally translated by JJH.]

31: Price, Willard. Pacific Adventure. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936.

Pp. 317.

Yale: Ene. 935p.

[JWMW: A rather popular account of a trip which the author made through the Japanese Mandated islands in 1936 supplemented by a summary of some of the historical and anthropological sources on the islands.]
[KS: Only one note, on marriage, has been taken from this source.]

32: Brown, J. Macmillan. A New Pacific Ocean Script. Man, Vol. XIV, pp. 89-91. London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1914.

Yale: Nk10. / M31. v. 14.

[AN: In July 1913, Professor Brown paid a visit to the reef island of Woleai, where one of the chiefs squatted and wrote a sentence in the script of the island. Later on, Mr. Brown received a full list of Woleai characters. The Woleai script is syllabic, and the author maintains that the script which, in 1913, was known only to five men is probably a relic of a wide usage in the archipelago, where "it must have belonged to the ruling class of an empire of some extent."]

[KS: This source has been reprocessed for HRAF from the previously-used file slips.]

33: Hasebe, Kotondo. The Tattooing of the Micronesians. The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo, Vol. XLIII, No. 485, pp. 120-148. Tokyo: Faculty of Science, Tokyo Imperial University, 1928.

American Museum of Natural History.

[MR: At Korror, from September to November, 1927, Hasebe studied the tattooing on about 350 persons from Palau, Yap, Tobi, Merir, Pulo Anna, Songosor, Ulithi, Fais, Woleai, Eauripik, Ifalik, Elato, Lamotrek, and Satawal. The author states that of his drawings of 20 persons, three, Nos. 242, 243, and 244, were drawn by himself. Of the tattooing designs of the western Micronesian people, none of them which he used as reference was correct or complete except for Mr. Müller's. Hence, he supplemented them by the additional lines. Except for Yap and Palau, the islands have various names for the designs, which they use both privately and officially. Although it is difficult to standardize the names, the ones he uses are based upon Krämer, supplemented by other names and pronunciations of his own.]

[KS: A few passages have been excerpted for the revised files.]

34: Lesson, P. Voyage autour du monde entrepris par ordre du gouvernement sur la corvette "La Coquille," [Voyage Around the World on the Corvette "La Coquille" Undertaken by Order of the Government]. Vol. IV, pp. 121-175, 183-191, 197-201. Bruxelles: N.-J. Gregoir, V. Wouters and Co., 1839.

Yale: Ecd.822c.v.3-4.

[AN: On her voyage around the world the corvette "La Coquille" entered Micronesia through the Gilberts in May 1824. Lesson's account of his Micronesian explorations has been transcribed for the files. Chapter XXV is devoted to Kusaie; it is identical with Lesson's article in the Journal des voyages (Vol. XXVI, 1825). The "Coquille" proceeded to Pingelap, Mokil, Truk, Pulap, and Satawal. On Truk itself Lesson made no landing, and the author himself can therefore give but meager information on the customs of the Truk islanders. He reprints, however, in the appendix an anonymous account on Truk which had been published in the Westminster Review in 1827.]
[KS: Only two notes dealing with Woleai facts have been excerpted for use here. This source was translated earlier by KD.]

35: Choris, Louis. Voyage Pittoresque autour de Monde, avec des Portraits des Sauvages d'Amerique, d'Asie, d'Afrique, et des Iles du Grand Ocean; des Paysages, des Vues Maritimes, et Plusieurs Objets d'Histoire Naturelle. Iles Radak, 1-22; Iles Mariannes, 1-9 [A Picturesque Voyage Around the World, with some Portraits of the Savages of America, Asia, Africa, and the Islands of the Great Ocean; some Landscapes, Maritime Views, and Several Objects of Natural History. The Ratak Islands, 1-22, the Marianas Islands, 1-9.] Paris: Firmin Didot, 1822.

Yale: EEcd.815D.

[LEM: A series of colored lithographs from Choris' sketches on the voyage of the "Rurick" in 1816-17. The description of Choris which accompanies his pictures has the form of a log-book and explains the scenes and incidents. Only the sections on the Marshalls and the Marianas were abstracted. The book is divided into several sections, each of which has its own pagination. File notes bear both section title and page number. All observations by Choris which have been abstracted refer to 1817; a Russian system of dating, which antedates our own by 12 days, is employed. The expedition touched at Mejit, Wotje, Erikub, Maloelap, Aur, Ailuk and Utirik in the Marshalls, and at Guam in the Marianas. References to the Carolines originate from Kadou, a native informant from the isle of Woleai. This account of the Marshalls is the first for the Ratak area and contains some interesting acculturative data. Translated by LEM.]

36: Arai, Hajime. Investigation of Drinking Water in the South Sea Islands [In Japanese]. Bulletin of the Naval Medical Association, Vol. XVII, pp. 42-56. Tokyo, 1928.

[AN: Analysis of drinking water in table form. Translated by the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery.]

[KS: The tables for Ifalik, Lamotrek and Woleai have been taken for the revised files.]

37: Keiyosei [a pen-name.] An Account of Travel to the South Seas [in Japanese]. The Suisankai [The Journal of the Fisheries Society of Japan], No. 563, pp. 32-35; No. 564, pp. 37-39; No. 565, pp. 40-43; No. 568, pp. 38-40; No. 571, pp. 40-43; No. 573, pp. 27-29; No. 574, pp. 45-47. Tokyo, 1929-1930.

American Museum of Natural History.

[MR: Miscellaneous observations made by Keiyosei while travelling in Micronesia on a Japanese warship in 1929-30.]

[KS: A few remarks concerning the pearl industry have been taken for the revised file. This work was originally translated by RH.]

38: Matsuoka, Shizuo. Mikuronesha minzoku-shi [An Ethnographical Study of Micronesia]. Tokyo, 1927.

Pp. 835.

[KS: A valuable ethnography of Micronesia, however, only one note is relevant to the Woleaian group. Translated by EC.]

39: Berg. Von den Ostkarolinen [Concerning the Eastern Carolines]. Deutsches Kolonialblatt, Vol. XIV, pp. 48-49. Berlin, 1903.

Yale: Oya21.G2.+A4.v.14.

[AN: The acting Vice-Governor's report on his inspection trip (from Pok in the south to Airaka in the north) through the island of Ponape. References to topography, flora, and fauna. Translated by M. E. Konigswald.]

40: Robertson, R. The Caroline Islands. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. V, pp. 41-63. Yokohama, 1877.

Yale: All. 10. v. 5.

[MR: The above paper read before the Society in 1876 was based upon notes of the voyage of the British schooner "Rupak" among the Caroline Islands. They were placed at the disposal of Robertson by Mr. Skinner of Singapore (part owner of the vessel), who was on board throughout the cruise. The schooner left Singapore January 10, 1875 bound on a trading and fishing voyage, arrived off the Palau Islands February 15. The longest stop was made at Kapingamarangi where they stayed a month.]

[KS: This source, originally translated by M. Rauss, has been reprocessed for the revised files. A few notes on morbidity, diet, garb, mutilation, etc., have been excerpted.]

41: Bates, Marston and Donald P. Abbott. Coral Island: Portrait of an Atoll. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. Pp. 1-11, 25-91.

Pp. 85; 6 plates

Cornell University: Wason DU568 13 B32

[This source is a nontechnical report of a 1953 expedition to Ifaluk atoll sponsored by the Pacific Science Board. The authors were members of a team which included an anthropologist, biologist, geologist, hydrologist, ichtyologist and zoologist, and describe, in a narrative form, the life of the expedition members and their findings. The materials on the daily life of the Ifaluk, their techniques of fishing and gardening, and the food habits are in detail and reflect the interdisciplinary background of the research team. This is also a good source for Ifaluk topography, fauna and flora. Pp. 12-24, 92-254 were not processed for the file. --Analyst]

Field date: 1953 Evaluation: Natural Scientists-5
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh Processed in 1962

●113, 502, 805, 821

Nomoi	OR14
Puluwat	OR17
Southwest Islands	OR18
Ulithi	OR20
Woleai	OR21 ●
Yap	OR22

/For information on native astronomy in the central Carolines, especially the Sidereal Compass, and the Calendar and Almanac, see 18: Goodenough, OR19 Truk, category 116./

"BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Ifalik

Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands. OPNAV P22-7 (formerly OPNAV 50 E - 7) Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 1 April 1944.

Damm, Hans. Ifaluk. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, ed. G. Thilenius, II, B, 10, ii (Zentralkarolinen), pp. 1-106 (Based on field work by Ernst Sarfert)

Kittlitz, F.H von. Denkwürdigkeiten einer reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Mikronesien und durch Kamschatka, II, 152. Gotha, 1858. 2v.

Lutke, Frederic. Voyage autour du monde ... Paris, 1835. 3v.

Robertson, R. The Caroline Islands. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, V, 41-63. Yokohama, 1877.

Sarfert, Ernst, see Damm, Hans.

Wilson, James. A missionary voyage to the South Pacific ... ship Duff ... London, 1799.

II. The Pacific

Beckwith, Martha. Hawaiian Mythology. New Haven and London, 1940.

Burrows, Edwin G. Western Polynesia. Gothenburg Ethnological Museum, Ethnological Studies, 7. Gothenburg, 1938.

Civil Affairs Studies II. The language of the Japanese Mandated Islands. OPNAV 50 E - 15. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 20 June 1944.

Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands, A. NAVAER 50 - IT - 4. Chief of Naval Operations, Aerology Section, Washington, D.C., February 1944.

Elbert, S.H. Ulithi-English and English-Ulithi Word Lists. Naval Military Gov't., January 1947.

Fosberg, F. Raymond. Personal communication.

Haddon, A.C. and Hornell, James. Canoes of Oceania. B.P. Bishop Museum, Special pub. 27. Honolulu, 1936. 3v.

Hosaka, Edward Y. Sport Fishing in Hawaii. Honolulu, 1944.

Keesing, Felix M. The South Seas in the Modern World. Institute of Pacific Relations, International Research series. New York, 1941.

Krämer, Augustin. Oleai. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, ed. G. Thilenius, II, b, 10, i. [245]

Maps of the Islands of Micronesia under Administration of U.S. Naval Military Government, Pacific Ocean Areas. Compiled by Research Section, U.S. Commercial Company Economic Survey, 1946.

Mayr, Ernst. Birds of the Southwest Pacific. New York, 1945.

Müller, W. Yap. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition, 1908-1910, ed. by G. Thilenius, II, b, II, 1-811. Hamburg, 1918. 2v.

Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck.) Samoan Material Culture. B.P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 75. Honolulu, 1930.

III. General

Bateson, Gregory and Mead, Margaret. Balinese Character. New York, 1942.

Beaglehole, Ernest. Ethnology of Pukapuka. B.P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150. Honolulu, 1938.

Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. New York, 1934 and 1946.

Herskovits, Melville J. Man and His Works. New York, 1948.

Hogbin, Herbert Ian. Law and Order in Polynesia ... with an introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski. New York, 1934.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. The Navaho. Cambridge, Mass., 1946.

Linton, Ralph. The Study of Man. New York, 1936.

Lowie, Robert H. Social Organization. New York, 1948.

Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen Merell. Middletown in Transition. New York, 1937.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. Crime and Custom in Savage Society. New York and London, 1926.

_____ see also Hogbin, H.I. Law and Order in Polynesia.

Murdock, G.P. Social Structure. (in preparation)

Notes and Queries on Anthropology. Edited for the British Association for the Advancement of Science by a Committee of Section H. 5th ed. London, 1929.

Opler, Morris. Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture. American Journal of Sociology, LI, 198-206. 1945.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. The Andaman Islanders. 2d ed. Cambridge (England) 1933.
_____ On Social Structure. Royal Anthropological Inst., Journal. [246]
_____ The Study of Kinship Systems. Royal Anthropological Institute Journal.
_____ Taboo. Cambridge (England) 1939.
Roethlisberger, F. J. and Dickson, W. Management and the Worker. Cambridge, Mass., 1939.
Shand, Alexander. The Foundations of Character. London, 1926.
Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, Florian. The Polish Peasant in America. New York, 1927. 2v."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114 128 despite the underlying similarity of our points of view. We tried writing in the third person—Marston did this or Don thought that—but wives, friends, editors, said this made pretty flat reading. Finally we decided to split the book: Marston Bates would write the account for the period he was on the atoll; then Donald Abbott would take over for the remaining two months. The reader can thus expect to do one mental somersault, where "I" changes from Bates to Abbott between Chapters IX and X: Bates and Ted Burrows sadly going off with the Trust Territory ship, leaving Abbott with new companions to finish the study.

It is, of course, extremely presumptuous of us—of Abbott and Bates—to write about a study that also involved five other people. But the problems of multiple authorship seem insurmountable in a non-technical book and we wanted, in any case, to write subjectively, to write about our own reactions and feelings as well as about the people and things that we observed. In a very real sense, however, all seven of us achieved a "team approach" in our study of the atoll so that, whether they like it or not, all members of the team must share some responsibility for both the observations and the thoughts that we have expressed here. And certainly there must be a total sharing of the credit for whatever good may have come out of the Ifaluk enterprise.

114 The Ifaluk team consisted of:

Donald P. Abbott, marine biologist, of the Hopkins Marine Station of Stanford University, on Ifaluk from June 22 to November 9, and leader of the expedition from September 12 to the end.

Theodore Arnow, geologist and hydrologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk June 22–24 and September 12–28.

Marston Bates, biologist, of the University of Michigan, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12.

Frederick M. Bayer, zoologist, of the U. S. National Museum, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

Edwin G. Burrows, anthropologist, of the University of Connecticut, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12, and leader during this time.

Robert R. Harry, ichthyologist, of the George Vanderbilt Foundation, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Joshua I. Tracey, geologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk from September 12 to 28. 114

We came curiously and quickly to have a feeling of "belonging" on Ifaluk, and we found ourselves much involved with the people of the island in everything that we did. Inevitably, however, we were more closely associated with some than with others, and it may be helpful to identify here the people with whom we were most concerned, whose names appear most frequently in our narrative: 114 115 115

Fagolier, the paramount chief of Ifaluk.

Maroligar, the number two chief, guardian of the Fan Nap, where we lived.

Toroman, the number three chief and the official divider of food.

Lavausrung, the number four chief; a lady.

Wolpaitik, the number five chief (and the heaviest man on the island).

Totogoeiti (Tom), Ted's interpreter, and top ranking navigator (palu) of the island.

Yaniseman (Yani), "schoolteacher" and constant companion and advisor.

Bakalimar (Bakal), initially assigned as our special helper in camp and field, working later with Harry's fishing gang.

Tachiwelimeng (Tachim), neighbor, friend, and later one of Harry's fishing crew.

Letaweriur, Yani's wife and a composer of dance chants.

Gavileisei, master craftsman and canoe builder.

Gauaisig, an old man, navigator and canoe builder.

Talimeira, houseboy of Burrows and Spiro in 1948, now one of the two local "doctors."

Arueligar, "high priest" or "medicine man."

The Ifaluk study was made under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board, with a grant from the Office of Naval Research. We are particularly indebted to the Director of the Pacific Science Board, Dr. Harold J. Coolidge, and to the secretary of the Washington office, Mrs. Lenore Smith, and the secretary in Honolulu, the late Ernestine Akers, for help of all sorts. 122

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

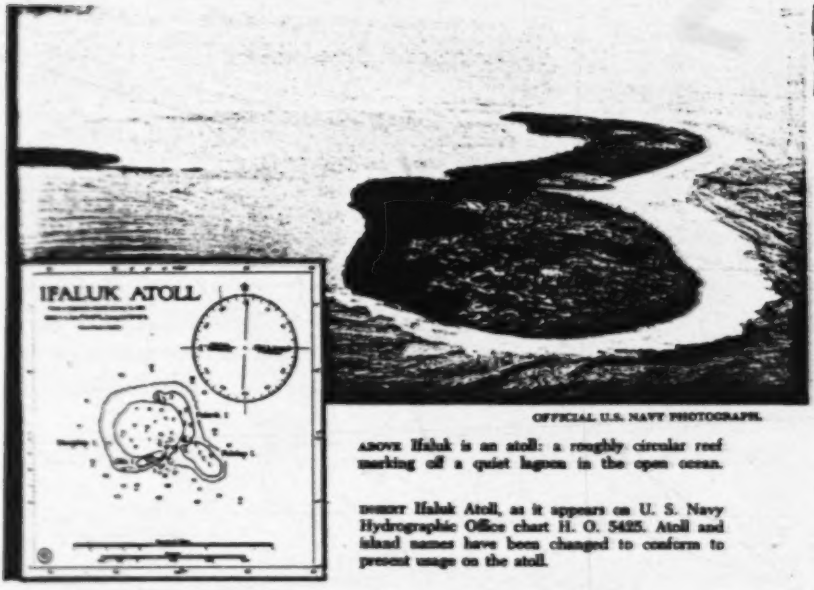
About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
108



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSET Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

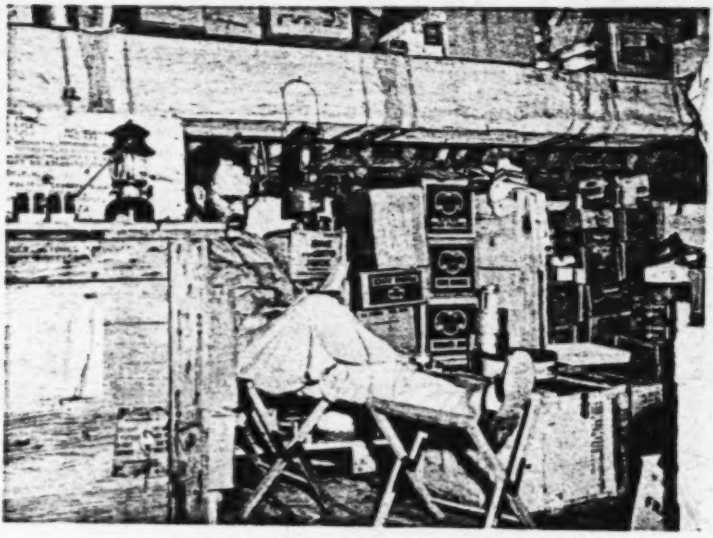
BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
137
114

[P.32(A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

●114



ABOVE Cases of food walled the kitchen area: Ted Burrows sometimes propped himself cozily there to read at night.

BELOW Don proposed a trade of English lessons for lessons in Ifalukian.

192
123
516

[P. 32(B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were surely as mixed up racially as the Europeans (none of us can afford to be stuffy about purity of race) but the mixture in the Ifalukians must have contained some of the same elements as the European mixture. But how did they get so far away?

Most anthropologists believe that the Pacific islanders moved out from southeast Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of southeast Asia may have had a larger "Caucasian" component in their racial mixture than now. Despite his daring feat with the Kon-Tiki, few experts have much faith in Thor Heyerdahl's theory of American origin: he certainly proved that cross-Pacific contact is possible, but the evidence of language, culture and race points overwhelmingly to a Malayasian origin. One of the more probable migration routes for the Polynesians is from southeast Asia to the Philippines and through the Caroline islands to the central and south Pacific.

One gets the feeling, in this Polynesian-Micronesian area, of dealing with cultures far more complex than the technology would indicate: of dealing with the remnants of a high culture, of a "civilization." One feels that these same people, with the resources of a continent, could have built Angkor Vat or Copan: and they did produce some spectacular carving and building in places like Ponape and Easter Island. It is easy to understand the lure of the search for some "lost civilization" to account for these cultures; to understand the desire to create a mid-Pacific "continent of Mu" after the fashion of Atlantis. Maybe there is a general human tendency to explain the fascinating with the fabulous. Certainly the Pacific islanders are fascinating enough; but they have given us very few clear clues to either their origin or their history, and the few clues that we have are in part conflicting. Probably we shall never arrive at a clear and unequivocal reconstruction of their past.

But we were absorbed with the Present on Ifaluk. We had not yet acquired a proper Ifalukian shade of brown when we finally managed to finish our census of the people: but even with our strange color, we had already begun to feel at home, to feel "Micronesian" ourselves, a part of the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER III

MAPPING THE BOONDOCKS

THE IDEA was to study the human ecology of Ifaluk: the interrelations of man, his culture, and the environment. For man and his culture there was the reservoir of information accumulated by Burrows and Spiro during their 1948 residence on the island: studies which Ted planned to continue during his second visit. Don and I, with the enthusiasm of amateurs, wanted to help in this anthropological work. But there was also the environment to be studied—the land, the reef, the lagoon, the sea, the plants and animals. This "simple" situation—260 people living on half of a square mile of coral rock and sand—was incredibly complex.

When we had finished the counting, weighing and measuring of *Homo sapiens*, the next step seemed to be a start with the environment. The logical first move here was a map, a topographic survey of the situation.

The map problem was greatly simplified by the fact that a little previously a Navy reconnaissance plane had made a series of vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the whole atoll. The Ifalukians were fascinated by these photographs. They seemed to have no trouble at all in grasping the significance of either the vertical or oblique shots, and most people easily recognized the major landmarks, even locating their particular family dwellings. They knew the atoll thoroughly, and the aerial photographs gave them a chance to stand off and look at the whole thing at once, for the first time.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Wǫleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 114 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 262 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records 267 136 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

130 [136] We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

130 262 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

130 245 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000 this or that. We might have done better if we had tried to adapt
[146] directly to the Ifalukian diet, because certainly the Ifalukians looked healthy and husky enough. Perhaps we couldn't have adapted to their varieties of starch in the time available, since changing food habits involves somewhat more than merely changing prejudices, and changing prejudices is not always easy, particularly when there are three people to interact on one another.

● 114 Clearly our own food behavior was not adapted to the atoll conditions, though I am not sure exactly what we did wrong. I always tend to have a skinny, underfed look, in the tropics. It bothers me to have people tell me how well I look after a winter in the north; and how bad I look after a period of tropical residence, because my feelings are exactly the opposite of my appearance. We weighed ourselves periodically on the bathroom scales that we had brought along for weighing the inhabitants of Ifaluk, and I worried a little as I watched the steady drop. But the worry wasn't enough to spoil the pleasure of living in the sun or lazily floating in the lagoon, or enough to jar me into any dietary experiments. We went on opening our cans while we weighed the food at Falepenach and Soumat, dietary intruders but having a wonderful time.

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 115 Ifalik

"Most helpful of all was Totogoeiti, who will be called hereafter by his English name, Tom. This he acquired in the days of his youth, when he worked on foreign ships from Honolulu to Singapore. During that period he spent six years in Manila, where he acquired a command of English which, once some of its peculiarities were mastered, was surprisingly adequate. He was at our beck and call the whole time. If he sometimes became impatient at our stupidity or persistence, he controlled himself admirably. He dictated all the incantations and other native lore of navigation which he, as ranking 'captain' (palū), knew better than anyone else. Much of this was private property, which he would only teach to another native in return for valuable presents. Toward the end, when our supplies were running short, he twice climbed coconut trees at night --a task usually left to younger men--and snared terns for our breakfast. So far as we knew, these were the only terns snared during our stay, as the birds were not abundant enough at the time to justify this arduous and risky job. To a considerable extent the following pages reflect the culture as seen through Tom's eyes."

17: Meincke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 101, 115 Woleai

Ulie, (Ulea, Uleai, according to Gulick properly Wolea) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 who named it Thirteen Islands is one of the most important and best known of all the Carolines.

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

28: Spiro--129 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 593, 115 Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-1 - 7

"October 15, 1947. This morning Maroligar asked if he could use our [WPM: the author's] canoe. I, of course, gave him permission. When he returned, he explained that Tarev had tried to commit suicide by drowning. He had tied a rope around his neck, weighted stones to his feet, and was about to jump from his canoe into the lagoon when Maroligar and two other men stopped him. (This occurred a few days after the death of his wife.) Apparently he had had a trying night the night before, since he spent the entire night shouting and talking to himself. Among other things he had insisted that he was superior to the other people and that he was really an American. (8)

I asked Maroligar if I could speak to Tarev, and he was eager that I do so. When we arrived at the courtyard of his house, I noticed that all the women in the immediate area had departed because of their fear of him. When I peered into the house, he saw me immediately, and his face brightened. When I asked him to come out, saying that I

"8. The American is a person of high prestige and authority in this South Sea culture. It is difficult to say whether Tarev's insistence that he is an American is an outright delusion or rather a conscious attempt to identify with a 'reference group' of high status (the term is M. Sherif's)."

would like to speak with him, he immediately complied with my request. I offered him a cigarette and asked him if he were happy. He replied that he was very sad because of the death of his wife. I asked him why he had tried to commit suicide, and he explained that all the people were speaking 'bad' (9) to him. Maroligar interrupted him to say that he was lying. My grasp of the language was inadequate to continue the interview without the aid of an interpreter, and I asked Maroligar to call Tom, our interpreter. I tried to talk with Tarev in Maroligar's absence, but he seemed in a kind of stupor, and I could not get through to him. He regained contact with reality when Tom arrived, and the following interview ensued.[192]

Q. Why did you try to kill yourself?

A. Because the people talk bad to me.

"9. At this point, I could obtain no exact reference for the word 'bad.'

"Q. What do they say?

A. My mother talks bad. [Actually his 'mother' is his maternal aunt, which, in this culture, is his classificatory mother. His biological parents are dead.]

Q. What does she say?

A. She says that my wife does not like her or her sister.

Q. Why?

A. [No answer.]

Q. Were you very sad today?

A. My wife died. I feel like smashing everything in the house, because my mother and her sister do not like my wife. My wife died and I am very sad. (10)

Q. But other men's wives die and they do not try to commit suicide. Why should you?

A. I don't like my mother or father or sister.

Q. Don't they feed you?

A. Yes, they give me good food, but they talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. The children listen to what my parents say about me, and they repeat it to me.

Q. What do they say about you?

A. My parents say that I am a chief.

"10. The native term for sad is eratu dipei, which literally translated means, my stomach feels bad."

Q. Don't you like that?

A. I don't like what the children say to me.

Q. Don't you like to be called a chief?

A. They say that tree [pointing to it] does not belong to you, it belongs to us. The adults tell them to say that. [At this point, Maroligar interrupted to say that Tarev had accused him and his parents of wishing to fight him. He insisted that everything Tarev was saying was a lie. It was, of course, impossible to explain to him that Tarev was not 'lying' but was a victim of his own delusions.]

Q. Is it true, as people have told me, that an alus has possessed you?

A. Yes, the alus in the moon has entered my head and my stomach. [This convinced Tom and Maroligar even more that he was lying, because there is no alus in the moon.]

Q. How do you know that he has possessed you?

A. He came to my father. He [his father is actually dead] lives in another place. When he possessed my father, he possessed me.

Q. Where is your father?

A. Those pictures you showed me [the Rorschach cards], I like them very much. The place in the North, that's the place I see now.

Q. What place?

A. There's another one in the Northeast. This place in the North is very light.

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-5

When I sit in my house, it's very dark; then, that North place, the one I like very much, comes on top of my head.

Q. How does it feel when it comes on top of your head?

A. I like it very much. When I pull up the blanket, I look underneath the sleeping mat, and smoke comes out. I then lower the mat and look underneath another one, and smoke comes out from it, too.

Q. What happens to you when the alus of the moon possesses you?

A. That man inside that padre book [the Bible that a missionary had shown him] and his mother come inside me.

Q. What does it feel like when they come inside you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did they come inside you this morning, when you tried to commit suicide?

A. No.

Q. Did they come inside you last night?

A. The alus gave me something--something very fine.

Q. What did he give you?

A. Smoke. He put smoke inside my mouth, but it did not enter my stomach.

Q. You like that smoke?

A. I like it very much.

Q. Why?
A. [No answer.]
Q. Does your head hurt you now?
A. I went to Falalap to wail for my wife. I waved my arms, and when I came back, I continued to do so.
Q. Don't you like it here?
A. Yes, I would like to remain. But I would like an American doll. (11)
Q. Why would you like one?
A. Because the Americans know everything. The people here are stupid.
Q. Do you want a carving of a man or a woman or a child?
A. Any kind.
Q. Would you like to go to America?
A. If you go, I want to go with you. I want to go any place you go.

"11. The native men carve small statuettes, which they trade for cigarettes and other trade-goods. By an American doll or statuette, he meant a similar carving of an American."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-7

By this time Tom and Maroligar were completely impatient with this 'crazy lie talk' and insisted on terminating the interview. I told Tarev that I would be unhappy if he committed suicide, and that if he felt like doing it again, he should first come to see me. He replied that his wife had 'gone into the ocean [where she was buried] and I want to go too.' "

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-I-6

"November 4, 1947. Yesterday I saw Tarev running towards the public meeting hall (atelu). He touched the front pillar, clutched it as if he wanted to take something from it, and then ran back to his home. A short time later, I saw him running past my tent, heading towards Falalap, being pursued by a number of men. The men asked if I would stop him, since their efforts were futile. I was reluctant to do so, since I felt that interference by me would destroy the rapport I had established, but I could ill afford to refuse their request. I caught up to him and persuaded him to return to his home and promised that I would come to see him. Tom and I went to see him today. (12)

"12. Tarev still had the habit of seizing the hands of Dr. Burrows and myself and of smelling them deeply. Dr. Burrows informed me that on this same day, Tarev attempted to smell his hands, but could not do so since he was typing. Instead he smelled his feet."

Q. Why did you go to the public meeting hall yesterday?

A. I was in my house and somebody told me to go there, because the chiefs are there holding a meeting.

Q. Where were you going when I saw you later?

A. I was afraid that a small alus was hiding near my house, so I left.

Q. Did you see the alus?

A. No, but I heard it moving inside the house.

Q. How are you feeling today?

A. My arm is very tired. When I walk, I feel that I am not walking on the ground. I feel as if my feet are walking on air.

Q. Why is that?

A. I don't know. When I attempt to walk, I fall down.

Q. Is anything bothering you today?

A. Wotrilitu [a relative by marriage] stole my wife.

Q. How do you know?

A. He stole her from me a long time ago.

Q. Are you angry with him for that?

A. I took care of his children, but he stole my wife.

Q. Are you feeling better today than the last time we spoke?

A. Ifeelhappier. But I can't stay in my sleeping mat because it is always moving.

Q. So you didn't sleep last night?

A. A little bit. But many people came to see me.

Q. Who were the people?

A. All the people of Ifaluk.

Q. What did they say to you?

A. Many people came; they spoke. It was bad talk. They spoke lies and gossip. Someone said that you and Ted called me. I went to see, but you were not there. Now I know they lied to me.

Q. What else did they say to you?

A. They said that a certain woman is menstruating, and she should not stay here, but should go to one of the menstrual huts in Falalap. Someone else said that we should not take stones from here to make an um [underground cooking pit], but we should take them from over there.

Q. Did they say anything else?

A. There were four pieces of taro on the side of my house. Someone took them and went to a menstrual hut with them.

Q. What did he want with the taro?

A. All the women went to the menstrual hut. Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted ordered the fish to enter the lagoon, and many fish came.

Q. Then what?

A. Many fish entered the lagoon. No, Mr. Ted and Mr. Mel did not order the fish, an alus ordered the fish.

Q. Why did he order the fish?

A. Many fish came, many people ate. [A long pause.] Day and night they spoke. A man came. He said that the fish would come.

Q. Then what happened?

A. Somebody told me yesterday, 'You will not get sick; no typhoon. Go to Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted.'

Q. Why?

A. Now I understand. It was not you who asked me to come, but someone else asked me. I want to take my grandchild.

Q. Why do you want your grandchild?

A. [No answer.] [195]

Q. Are people still speaking bad things to you?

A. People lie to me because they know I am a malebush.

Q. What do they say?

A. They say, 'You are malebush,' 'You are a thief,' 'You are a bad man.'

Q. Is what they say true?

A. They lie. Somebody said my wife went to another man. Some man stole my wife.

Q. Have you gone to that place in the North lately?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like, now?

A. I thought I was happy. And then I heard many voices, and I became unhappy. Yesterday I wanted to go to the ocean and swim away, for I can't stand all that talk.

Q. What talk?

A. That someone stole my wife from me.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He comes very often, day and night.

Q. What does he do?

A. [He said nothing, but clasped his hands together, as in Christian prayer, and pointed them at me. He then put his hand on my head and rumpled my hair. He then put his finger on my head, then my stomach, and finally on my leg. Apparently he was demonstrating to me what the alus does to him.]

Q. Are you afraid of the alus?

A. No.

Q. Is it a male or female alus?

A. It dances. It bends and sways. I like to see it. I see the alus dance. Then I imitate the alus, I dance too.

By this time, Tom had become disgusted with the entire interview, and insisted that he could not continue because Tarev 'talk lie, only talk lie.'"

29: Spiro--197-199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 681, 115 Ifalik-1

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Joshua I. Tracey, geologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk from September 12 to 26.

We came curiously and quickly to have a feeling of "belonging" on Ifaluk, and we found ourselves much involved with the people of the island in everything that we did. Inevitably, however, we were more closely associated with some than with others, and it may be helpful to identify here the people with whom we were most concerned, whose names appear most frequently in our narrative:

Fagolier, the paramount chief of Ifaluk.

Maroligar, the number two chief, guardian of the Fan Nap, where we lived.

Toroman, the number three chief and the official divider of food.

Lavausrung, the number four chief; a lady.

Wolpaitik, the number five chief (and the heaviest man on the island).

Totogoeiti (Tom), Ted's interpreter, and top ranking navigator (palu) of the island.

Yaniseman (Yani), "schoolteacher" and constant companion and advisor.

Bakalimar (Bakal), initially assigned as our special helper in camp and field, working later with Harry's fishing gang.

Tachiwelimeng (Tachim), neighbor, friend, and later one of Harry's fishing crew.

Letaweriur, Yani's wife and a composer of dance chants.

Gavileisei, master craftsman and canoe builder.

Gauaisig, an old man, navigator and canoe builder.

Talimeira, houseboy of Burrows and Spiro in 1948, now one of the two local "doctors."

Arueligar, "high priest" or "medicine man."

The Ifaluk study was made under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board, with a grant from the Office of Naval Research. We are particularly indebted to the Director of the Pacific Science Board, Dr. Harold J. Coolidge, and to the secretary of the Washington office, Mrs. Lenore Smith, and the secretary in Honolulu, the late Ernestine Akers, for help of all sorts.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century—the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

1: Burrows--1 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 131, 101, 171 Ifalik

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

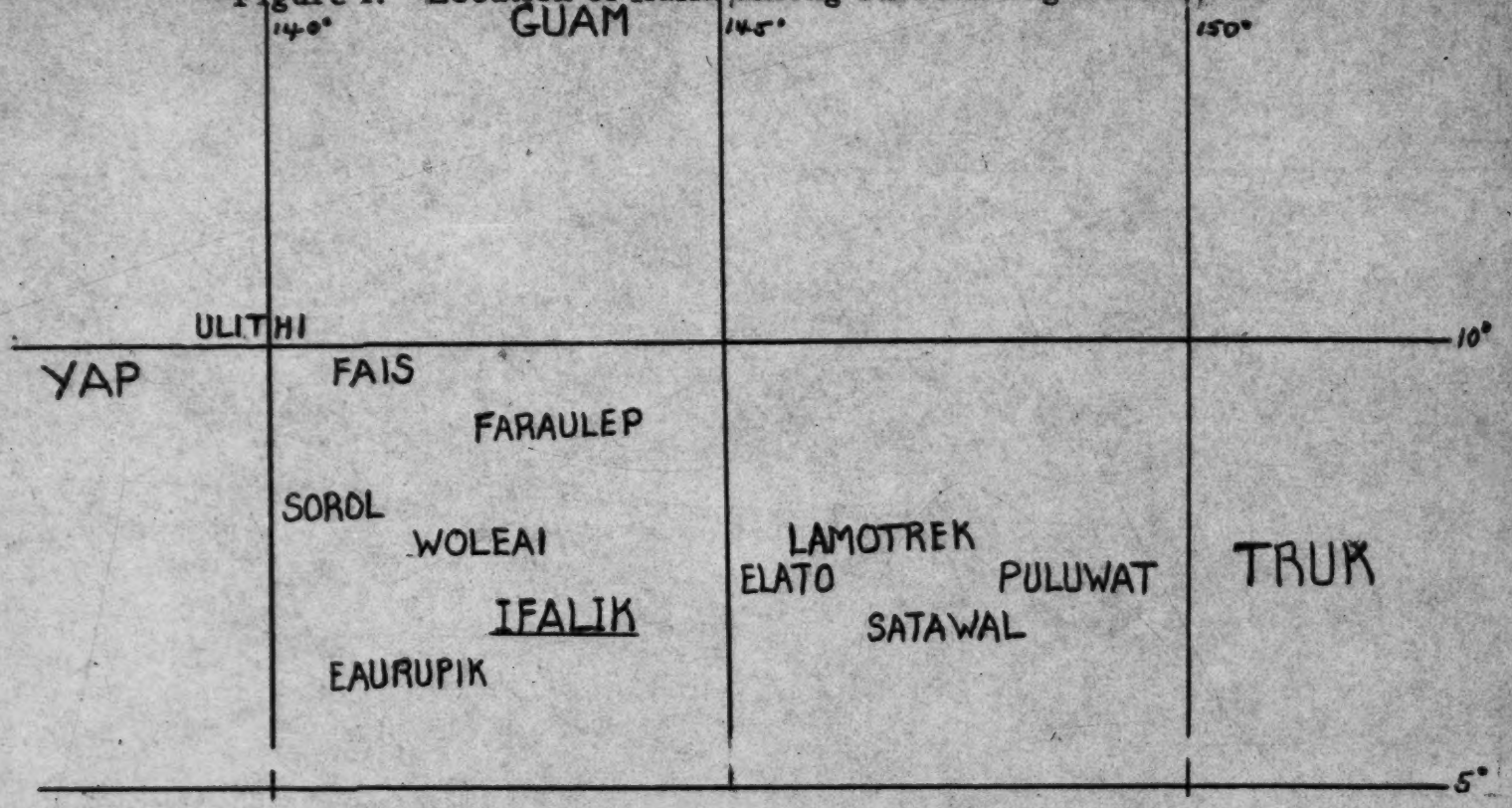
The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the

sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--1-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 102 Ifalik

"Figure 1. -Location of Ifalik among surrounding islands,".



1: Burrows--1-2
116, 121

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The report that follows is based mainly on six months of residence on Ifalik, from July, 1947, to February, 1948. This field work was part of the project called CIMA (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), sponsored by the National Research Council at the request of the U.S. Navy. There were two of us on Ifalik. Melford L. Spiro, then a graduate student in anthropology from Northwestern University, investigated the development of native personality. Aspects of the culture particularly vital to that project--child care, the individual life cycle, sexual life, and the detailed functioning of kinship--were left to him.

This report has two purposes: to record a good deal of the culture for comparative study, and to supply information useful to administrators. It is too much to hope that either purpose will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned. [2] Ethnologists who confine themselves to standard data are comparatively easy to please. But those who attempt new lines of inquiry--as they should, for the whole subject is in a pioneering stage--are bound to be disappointed in their sources. In the same way, some matters are obviously important to administrators; but nobody can tell what else may become so. There is only one remedy. Administrators must have the assistance of anthropologists, trained to make whatever fresh studies a changing situation demands.

For both purposes this account will be supplemented by Melford Spiro's analysis of personality development. A third report, now in preparation, will be a study of the arts

(1947-48)

most developed in Ifalik, -- songs, dances, and ritual--showing how they express the themes and sentiments that dominate native life."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"Expert help has been received from many sources. Commander Betts of the Fleet Weather Center at Guam helped to explain the climate. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Honolulu officer of the Pacific Science Board, supplied English and scientific names of a number of animal species. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg explained the conditions that govern plant life. He and Mr. Bryan collaborated with Miss Marie Neal of Bishop Museum in identifying plant specimens. Dr. Maud Makemson of Vassar College, whose studies in Polynesian and Maya astronomy have pioneered a new field of research that might be called ethnoastronomy, identified, as far as possible from the rough data supplied her, the stars by which native navigators find their way to other islands. Melford L. Spiro supplemented and corrected the data at many points. Some of his help is acknowledged in the text, but as we exchanged data constantly, not all of it could be."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 115 Ifalik

"Most helpful of all was Totogoeiti, who will be called hereafter by his English name, Tom. This he acquired in the days of his youth, when he worked on foreign ships from Honolulu to Singapore. During that period he spent six years in Manila, where he acquired a command of English which, once some of its peculiarities were mastered, was surprisingly adequate. He was at our beck and call the whole time. If he sometimes became impatient at our stupidity or persistence, he controlled himself admirably. He dictated all the incantations and other native lore of navigation which he, as ranking 'captain' (palū), knew better than anyone else. Much of this was private property, which he would only teach to another native in return for valuable presents. Toward the end, when our supplies were running short, he twice climbed coconut trees at night --a task usually left to younger men--and snared terns for our breakfast. So far as we knew, these were the only terns snared during our stay, as the birds were not abundant enough at the time to justify this arduous and risky job. To a considerable extent the following pages reflect the culture as seen through Tom's eyes."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 123 Ifalik

"Special acknowledgment is due the hospitality and collaboration of the native people. They not only submitted patiently to our most impertinent inquiries, but gladly offered whatever help we asked for, or whatever occurred to them. The chiefs were particularly helpful, assembling to give us information whenever we asked for it and assigning to us as helpers young Talimeira, who picked up English so fast that before we left he could be used as an interpreter in some matters, and Totogoeiti ('Tom'), our interpreter. An unforgettable example of chiefly conduct was the last sentence addressed to me by Paliuilimar, the aged chief who died during our stay on the island. I called on him when he was far gone, and could only speak faintly. When he saw me he raised his head and asked 'Have you plenty of young coconuts to drink?' "

1: Burrows--3 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

"The population of Ifalik in 1947-8 was about 250. While we were there it was actually a few less than that most of the time, because of almost continual visiting on Woleai, and the absence of two young men in Yap, one training with the medical officer there, the other studying to be a school-teacher. The ship that took us away brought these two back to the island.

Of the 250, 108 were male, 142 female. The excess of 34 women and girls amounts to 13.6%. Reasons for it are not clear. More travelling among the men, and some marrying and settling on other islands may have something to do with it. But there were also some husbands from other islands on Ifalik. Loss of a canoe at sea would nearly always cost the island more men than women, but canoes are not lost often enough to account for all the disparity between sexes."

1: Burrows--3-4 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik 1-5

"The following early figures on the population are presented by Damm:

1797	(Wilson) about	200
1828	(Lütke) about	150
1852	(Cheyne) about	140
1903/4	(Sievers)	281
1909	(Hamburg Expedition)	208
1914	(Finsch) about	300
1930	Pacific Is. Pilot	305

The first three are estimates, useless for indicating change in the course of time. The last four seem more trustworthy. That of the Hamburg Expedition is much smaller than the rest. This may be a result of the typhoon of 1907. Not many lives were lost in that disaster, but, judging by native accounts of all such occasions, the destruction of food-bearing plants probably led to emigration on a considerable scale. By 1914 most of the refugees may have returned.

One more figure, for 1937, is available from a Japanese source (Civ. p. 33). The total given is 388. It is of dubious value, to say the least. It is the sum of figures for

three islands: Flalap (76), Ifalik (269), and Pik (54). Now Flalap (Falālap) is indeed the name of one of the inhabited islands. Ifalik might be used for the other island, Falārik, though the natives use it only for the whole atoll; and the figure given is large for Falārik. But there is no such island as Pik. The third island on Ifalik is Ellā, and it has been uninhabited as far back as native tradition goes, except that during the American trusteeship, the atoll's one leper has been quarantined there. Moreover, the totals attributed to the three islands add up to 399, instead of the 388 given as the total. There is an islet called Pik on the nearby atoll of Faraulep. Subtracting the 54 attributed to Pik would give a total of 345 for the two inhabited islands of Ifalik. But the figures are in such a muddle that they can lead to nothing but guesswork.

Comparing the last four figures in Damm's list with the 250 of 1947-8 suggests a decrease in population during the 20th century. That suggestion, for what it is worth, supports the frequent assertion of natives that the population was much larger formerly than it is now. There are several other indications of depopulation: the number of old house sites now unoccupied; the constitution of some of the present households; the ratio of children to married couples in the present population. For lack of better evidence, these must be considered in some detail.

As for the abandoned house-sites, there is, of course, no assurance that all of them were ever occupied at one time. But on the island at Falārik there are two [4] clusters

of them long enough to show on the map (Fig. 2). One is between Rauau and Falārik districts. This now uninhabited stretch of road is lined with old house sites. The other is at the north end of the island; beyond what is now the last house. Two canoe-houses are still maintained there, though there are now no dwellings near; and the site of an old men's house (bachelors' dormitory and meeting-house) is pointed out near the northernmost canoe-house, far from any present dwelling. It seems unlikely that such considerable areas would have been left vacant just by casual moving about.

The constitution of some households which differ from the usual pattern also suggests a dwindling population. The household called Uaragin includes two married couples. Both are examples of patrilocal residence; that is, the wife has come to live at the husband's home. This is contrary to local custom. Of the members of this household, only one belongs to the lineage which traditionally owns the site. This is the husband in the elder generation. If he had gone to live at his wife's home, as is customary, the site would have been abandoned. His son, the husband in the younger generation, has also deviated from custom by bringing his wife home instead of going to live with her people. The household called Foraik is another example. The whole lineage that formerly lived there had died out. The present occupants moved in from Welipeien, the site next door. Finally, the only household on the island which has been newly established in the present generation is at Uluās. It consists of a single family, a married couple and their daughter. They went there to reoccupy an abandoned site

which belongs to the husband's clan. All these deviations from custom, then, are attributed to a wish to keep occupied, or to reoccupy, sites which by the customary pattern of residence would have been abandoned.

A third sign of depopulation is the fact that, although there are 60 married couples in the present population, there are only 81 children less than 20 years old. The latter figure, an estimate worked out by Spiro from relative ages, includes orphans and children of widows as well as children of the married couples. If the fertile part of the population was reproducing itself, the number of children would be at least 120.

Although none of these indications, taken by itself, is convincing, they add up to a probability that Ifalik has been sharing in the general depopulation of the Yap district. Reasons for this are by no means certain. Undoubtedly foreign contact, even in this remotest island of Micronesia, has had something to do with it, by means of introduced diseases if nothing else. Poor sanitation undoubtedly aggravates the damage done by disease. Inadequate diet, especially a shortage of Vitamin E, may play a part of reducing fertility. Disapproval of sexual intercourse between parents until the last baby can walk may cut down the birth rate. Yet if extra-marital intercourse is as prevalent as gossip makes it out to be, it should make up for that. Infant mortality is presumably high, though statistics are lacking to prove it.

Probably study of one island can contribute only a little toward a solution of this problem. Depopulation has been widespread in the Pacific. One encouraging feature

is that in many islands where foreign influence has been greater than in Ifalik, the population, after declining for a time, began to hold its own and then to increase. (Ref. Keesing). Another is the likelihood that American medical care will reduce the death rate."

1: Burrows--5 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 153 Ifalik

" GEOGRAPHY

This section deals with what the people of Ifalik know about the resources of their island. It seemed possible to find out what they know by watching them and asking questions, without calling on the array of specialists that would have been necessary to describe the island in terms of what we know. Yet the expert help just acknowledged proved necessary in order to translate their knowledge into terms intelligible to our science. Besides, it proved possible now and then, with this help, to test the accuracy of their knowledge and find some of its limitations.

To begin with some concepts that form a framework for their knowledge, no general names were found for 'number', 'space', or 'time'. This suggests a boundary to the degree of abstraction which their tools for thinking allow them. Within these limits, they are at home with all three concepts."

1: Burrows--5-6 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 802, 193 Ifalik 1-3

"The native system of enumeration is organized decimally. For numbers from one to ten, four sets of terms are used, according to what is being counted. Three of them have also their own interrogative forms. All are variants of one fundamental set of forms. Two add suffixes to the fundamental forms. The other reduces them to monosyllables, mainly by omitting second syllables. The monosyllables are used in counting aloud, as in distributing fish or measuring the length of a rope in fathoms.

	General	Human Beings and Fish ('Animate')	Trees and Canoes ('Long Objects')	Monosyllables for Counting Aloud
How many?	vitou?	veteman (u?	vetevar?	---------
1.	seu	seuman	sevar	ot
2.	ruou	rumen	ruovar	ru
3.	selũ	selimen	seluvar	en (sometimes 'sel')

4.		vɛ̈lou	vamen	vavar	vang
5.	(limou)	nimou	limen	lifar	lim
6.		wɛ̈lou	wɛ̈emen	olovar	ol
7.		vɛ̈sou	visimen	visivar	vis
8.		walou	walimen	walivar	wal
9.		tiwou	tiwemen	tiuvar	tiw
10.		seg	seik	seik	seg

From ten on, there is only one set of numerals. Eleven is 'seg ma seu'-- ten and one; twelve 'seg ma ruou', and so on. For multiples of ten the suffix 'eik' is added to the first syllable of the numerals from two to nine: [6]

20. rueik

30. seleik

40. faeik

50. nimeik

60. oleik

70. vèsik

80. walik

90. tuweik

The corresponding suffix for hundreds is 'bwugu'. The count by hundreds to a thousand is:

100. sebwugu

200.	rubwugu (once, in a song, recorded as 'lugubwugu')
300.	selubwugu
400.	văbwugu
500.	limoubwugu
600	olobwugu (wolobwugu)
700	visibwugu
800	walibwugu
900	tiwbwugu
1,000	senne

From this point the numerals given by Tom disagree with those in a list collected by Sarfert. Sarfert has sangalas for 1,000. For 10,000 Tom gave senne me sangares; Sarfert, sang. Tom said there is no word for 'million'; but Sarfert's list continues to 100,000,000. There seems to be no reason to doubt its correctness. The higher numerals, being little used, may be forgotten. At least Tom did not know them. Lacking a copy of Sarfert's list to suggest it, no search was made for others who may know more than he."

1: Burrows--6-7 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 822, 193 Ifalik 12

"General recognition of distance is implied in terms like igei, 'here' and igelan, 'there'. Igan, also translated 'here', seems to indicate an intermediate [7] distance. Ei, following a noun, means approximately 'this'; i lal, 'that'. The same distinction appears in the pronouns melēn, 'this', and mennā, 'that'. There are two words for the direction upward: iät, implying a moderate distance, and wënang, a great one, as of clouds or stars. Relative measurement of space is accomplished rather precisely, in such work as canoe-building, by use of improvised measuring sticks, marked or broken off at the length desired, which then can be matched in another place. Measuring cords are used for the same purpose. A given length is halved or quartered by doubling or redoubling the cord.

More abstract units of measurement seem to be confined to the span and the fathom. The terms for both these units are used with numerical prefixes. One span is seang; two, ruang; three, selang, four, vang. One fathom is sengaf, and so on.

Greater distances are not measured with any exactness. Distances overland on Ifalik are so short, and so universally known, that there is little need to discuss them. For distances overseas there seems to be no native unit of measurement. In giving sailing directions in English, Tom named relatively short distances in miles. For example, 'because of currents, take first (the star) Tagalemailepalevang for 4 miles; then Tubwumailepalevang, for 1 mile; then Wolewol. After following Wolewol for 1 1/2

miles, you should be able to see Faraulep.' No corresponding native unit of distance was found. Apparently navigators have to judge such distances by experience. Total distances to other islands are commonly measured in terms of time, such as 'an overnight voyage.' "

"The people of Ifalik do not count the passing years. Nobody knows how old he is, except relatively, --that is, he knows only that he is younger than this one and older than that other. They know perfectly that many things in nature--stars, prevailing winds, the flowering and fruiting of some kinds of plants, and the coming and going of some kinds of fish and birds--recur in cycles. They even have 12 month names, which could be used to count years, with only the adjustment required by the fact that each of their months has 30 days. But they have no name for the 12-month period as a whole. The longest period they do have, the rag, will be discussed later.

Even the month names are little used. Many, it is said, do not know them. There is a good deal of reckoning by moons, but usually in terms of 'next moon' (ulubwaling), 'the moon after next' (uletegulun), or 'three months from now' (sepelaugal uletegulun).

The month names are names of stars, which again shows some awareness of a stellar (solar) cycle. Each may be used with or without the preface Fale. Fal or fan is a general term for 'house'. Each month is thought of as being 'in the house' of its particular star.

The five chiefs had no difficulty in remembering the month names and were confident that they had them in the right order. But Wolpetau, first chief, said that it was then the moon Aramaus. It was December by the European calendar; about a month after the trade wind became established. But in their list Aramaus was not second in the

trade-wind rag, but midway in the other rag, or about midsummer. (Such a discrepancy could come about, of course, because their 30-day moons do not [8] fit the solar cycle.) Moreover, the order of the names in their list does not correspond to that in a list Sarfert collected in 1909. The list as the chiefs gave it follows. The corresponding names from Sarfert's list are placed opposite, with their order in his list indicated by numbers in parentheses:

Month Names

(Five Chiefs, 1947)	(Sarfert, 1909)
1. (Fale) mairig	maidjik (7)
2. (Fale) mailap	mailap (8)
3. (Falu) eliel	eluol (1)
4. (Fal) ūl	ul (12)
5. (Fan) nag	lāki (10)

6.	(Fale) mal	malu (2)
7.	(Fale) gu(a	gū (11)
8.	(Fale) tumur	tumul (6)
9.	(Fal) aramaus	elemadj (5)
10.	(Fale) sarabwolu	djalewol (4)
11.	(Fal) itr	idj (3)
12.	(Fale) sotā	soda (9)

Concerning one of the months, the chiefs made what seems to be a traditional comment. During Falitr, they said, there is little food.

There are also names for the 30 nights in each moon. The first night is dark of the moon; or, as our interpreter put it, 'no can see in east; close to come up in west.' He said these terms had no meaning, 'only name'. The list follows:

1: Burrows--7-9 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 805 Ifalik

1.	segouru	11.	epei	21.	kopelang
2.	eling	12.	olabwua	22.	koretaleavelag
3.	mejeling	13.	olmăo	23.	saper mai muli
4.	mesan	14.	măr	24.	kilei mei muli
5.	mezavus	15.	ur(u)	25.	komalo
6.	mezaman	16.	netū	26.	tromaleval
7.	mejatiu (e)	17.	ilăi	27.	arovu
8.	nametan	18.	alēwa	28.	iaū
9.	truawong	19.	sapas	29.	evāing
10.	arobwugu	20.	avelag(i)	30.	erapf(i) [9]

There are names also for main divisions of the day; morning (nijor); noon (ulelial); early afternoon (apeik o tangouel); mid-afternoon (lipelelian); late afternoon (nivegov); sunset (nivegov eror) and night (bwong). Finer designation of time is usually attempted by pointing, with arm and fingers extended in a line, at the position the sun is supposed to occupy at the time in question. Though there are names for stages of the tide, I never heard these used as designations of time.

The people have some interest in the remote past, but do not try to measure time in that area. They only tilt their heads back, point upward with wrinkled noses (the usual gesture of pointing), and say 'Musuwē, musuwē (long, long ago)'. They do not keep

genealogies. Most of them can give the names only of those ancestors whom they knew in life. Maroligar, No. 2 chief, managed in the course of several days to think back five generations. That was a unique feat. There is no reckoning time by generations. As for the remote future, I saw no indication that they ever think of it. In general, their time span is short, as compared with that of some other primitive peoples, particularly their distant neighbors in the Pacific, the Polynesians."

"One of the clearest units of time in the minds of the people of Ifalik seems to be the rag. A rag is a period of five months. There are two of them, seu e vang and seu rag (or simply vang and rag), which alternate. In giving the list of month names, the chiefs put the first five in vang; the sixth 'in between'; the next five in rag; and the twelfth again, in between.

This corresponds fairly well to one of the most striking features of their climate, the seasons; so that rag might be translated 'season.' The people are quite clear on several characteristics of each rag. The first is the difference in direction of the prevailing wind. During vang the prevailing wind is from the east. During rag it is from the west, though less steadily. The second difference is in the supply of breadfruit. During vang there is very little breadfruit; during rag, there is plenty. A third difference is that one of the important methods of fishing is seasonal. Vang is the time for going out after flying fish (mèngor) on moonless nights, with torches of dried coconut leaf and dip-nets. During rag this kind of fishing is not practised. A fourth, lesser difference is that when there is breadfruit, they say, there are no golden plover (kulohg). When the breadfruit disappears, the plover arrive.

Native month names do not correspond exactly to those of our calendar, and we have no names for their seasons. But the seasons can be distinguished clearly enough in our terminology. The summary below was made by comparing notes taken during our stay on Ifalik with 'A Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands', issued in 1944 by the

Aerology Section of the Navy.

Vang is the season of northern-hemisphere trade winds, which blow from the east or a little north of east. It corresponds to the winter of more northerly latitudes. The easterly winds set in, light and fitful at first, about November. In 1947 they did not become established until nearly the end of that month, but the season was said to be rather late that year. The trade wind blows more and more steadily through December, and in January and February there are comparatively few [10] calms. It builds up during the day, reaching a maximum in early afternoon and dying down again in the evening. It is generally light, up to 12 miles per hour, rarely more than 18. Beginning about March it is more and more often interrupted by calms.

Rag is the season of calms and variable, prevailingly west winds. Commander Betts explained that these westerly winds are actually the southern-hemisphere trade winds, which reach this latitude when the sun is farthest north. Blowing from the east to southeast quarter in more southerly latitudes, they swing clockwise to the southwest of the Carolines and so reach this area from the west.

Temperature varies little from season to season. It is usually within five degrees of 80° Fahrenheit. The variation between day and night--10 degrees or so--is greater than that between seasons. Clouds often cover the sky and reduce insolation. Effective temperature, measured by rate of evaporation, is also lowered much of the time by

breeze. Only bright, still days feel oppressively hot even to Americans. The natives seem to enjoy these, but are then inclined, even more than ever, to sit in the shade.

Rainfall is heavy. The nearest island for which records are available, Lamotrek, had a mean annual precipitation of 104.6 inches during the four years covered by the record. The season of calms and westerly winds, (April to August), is the rainiest, averaging more than 10 inches a month. As a rule, September, October, and November are relatively dry; December and January a little rainier; February the driest month of the year (mean precipitation on Lamotrek 2.1 inches), and March the next driest. However, rainfall may be heavy at any time. On Lamotrek, every month except February and September had more than 10 inches of rain during at least one of the four years of record.

Humidity is also steadily high, though somewhat less so during the season of easterly trade wind. It is disconcerting at first to see the apparently reckless handling of lighted bits of punk, rope, coconut husk, etc., in houses whose floors and roofs are covered with dried coconut leaf. Yet everything is so damp that accidental fires are rare; I saw but one during six months. For the same reason, cooking fires, though made of such light fuel as dried leaves and coconut husks, do not blaze high. They are smudgy so much of the time that most of the cooked food has a smoky taste."

"Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me, --a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire. [11]
Turn aside, wind and cloud!

Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked 'like a charm', --which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.
. . . . . .

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.
. . . . . .

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches.
. . . . . .

Now the food is nearly gone.
We watch each other eat.
Look up, and there are no trees,
Here, where it used to be so fine."

1: Burrows--11 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik

"Four middle-aged men, asked how many typhoons they remembered, talked the matter over and reported a total of six. Only one of these was so severe that seas washed over the island. The inundation lasted for about two hours, they thought. The people all gathered in and around a house back from the shore. A rope was thrown around them, and all clung to it. Some did not manage to reach this place, and were washed away. All the breadfruit trees, they said, were blown down, most of the coconut trees, and the taro was washed out or destroyed. They remembered hearing of two particularly bad typhoons before their time. Sarfert's list of early chiefs includes mention of four memorable typhoons in the past. A resident of Ifalik, then, must expect to experience a number of typhoons during his lifetime; and one or more of them will probably endanger the lives of the population."

"Ifalik consists of a coral reef surrounding a nearly circular lagoon, whose area, according to the U.S. Commercial Company's Survey (Maps), is .939 of a statute square mile. (Photo). Four islets rise above high-water mark. Toward the south and west are two small ones, one of them a mere sandspit. Two large ones, separated by a narrow channel, run the length of the eastern side of the lagoon and extend somewhat beyond it to north and south. The total land area is .569 of a square mile. The population is concentrated on the lagoon side of the two larger islands, Falālap and Falārik.

Traditionally each of the eight main canoe-houses faces a pass. All but one of these, however, are too shallow for anything larger than a canoe. The steamer pass is on the south, between Falārik and Ellā, the larger of the uninhabited islets. Because of a few large coral heads the entrance is narrow and winding. Their removal would straighten it, and make it wide enough for large ships. In the lagoon there is ample room and depth for anchorage, sheltered during the trade-wind by the two larger islands. Outside the lagoon there is anchorage to the southwest, near the entrance to the pass, sheltered during trade-wind weather by the islet Ellā. Natives say that in a west wind ships used to anchor on the eastern side, off the channel between the two large islands. Landing there must have been difficult at any time, because the reef is steep-to and a high surf nearly always running.

On Falārik the land slopes up very gradually from the lagoon side. About half way across it is level, with some hollow places. Toward the seaward (eastern and northern)

side it rises again. The highest land, which appears to be not more than 20 feet above mean sea level, is close to the seaward beaches. From this low ridge the land slopes away much more steeply to a narrow fringing reef.

All around Falālap the beaches are narrow, the slope up from shore relatively abrupt, as on the seaward side of Falārik. A ring of comparatively high land surrounds a central depression which takes up something like half of the area of the island. This conformation, and the extension of Falālap away from the lagoon, give it the appearance of a very small, nearly separate atoll, a little higher than usual, so that the center is a swamp instead of a lagoon."

"Virtually all the land was built by coral polyps. The only igneous rock in sight anywhere on it is a single boulder on Falālap. This, the natives say, was brought by canoe in ancient times, as a whetstone for their adzes. Where it came from is no longer remembered.

Thin ledges of beach sandstone, compacted mainly from foramenifera, run along the seaward reef between high and low water mark in a number of places.

The consistency of the soil ranges from a fine muck in the taro swamps to piled blocks that form the highest land, just inshore from the seaward beaches. The lagoon shore of Falārik, and both sides of the channel between the two main islands, are [13] bordered by a broad strip of sand. Except where it is washed by the sea, this is colored gray by mixture with vegetable matter. All the houses on Falārik, and some of those on Falālap, are on this sandy strip. Between the sand of the lagoon side and the boulders of the seaward side, most of the soil consists of gravel of varying degrees of coarseness, mixed with some sand and humus.

The hollow center of Falālap is a quagmire. Stamping on the wet muck will make it quake perhaps 20 feet away. This swamp is the main source of taro for the people of both islands. Four little swampy depressions near the north end of Falārik are also planted to taro; but their contribution to the food supply is important only to a few households.

Although the land is too flat to form a watershed, drainage is rapid (except in the taro

swamp) because of the extremely porous character of the soil. Puddles formed by a heavy downpour soon disappear. However, water seems to lie only a few feet below the surface everywhere. Artificial water-holes are scattered about the interior of Falārik. Hollow places are boggy most of the time. A hole being dug for the corner-post of a canoe-house began to fill with water at a depth of about four feet."

"All the islets of the atoll are covered with a vegetation that thrives on this forbidding-looking soil. The beaches are narrow, and there are no natural clearings. The growth is low in only a few places, next to the beaches and in patches of the big taro swamp. Elsewhere trees give nearly unbroken shade.

Heavy rainfall and rapid drainage have two effects on the vegetation. An unfavorable one is to leach out the soluble part, which is to say much of the plant food, in any decaying vegetable matter that accumulates on the ground. While this may prevent the growth of some plants, it is more than offset by another effect of rainfall and drainage, the leaching out of excess salts. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg, who participated as a botanist in the U.S. Commercial Company's economic survey of this area, kindly prepared the following explanation of how this works:

'The vegetation may be summarized by saying that it is heavier and more luxuriant in direct relation to the amount of rainfall and the area of the island. This is because, as is well known, salinity produces a condition of physiological drought. Saline areas are characterized by a sparse vegetation similar to that of deserts. Where the rainfall is sufficient and the area is large enough to maintain a permanent lens of fresh or almost fresh water the vegetation of the interior portions is more or less mesophytic and luxuriant.'

This effect is heightened by the muck of such places as the taro swamp that takes up the interior of Falālap. To quote Dr. Fosberg again: 'It is probable that this muck,

besides providing a more fertile substratum, retards the diffusion outward of the available fresh water, also retarding the diffusion inward of salt water that always accompanies dry periods.'

The number of plant species listed was 64, of which 26 were trees, three classified as shrubs, and the remaining 35, herbs. After spending several days in helping me collect the native names of plants, Tom assured me that I had all that grow on Ifalik. Of course, the statement was not accurate. In fact, several kinds [14] were added later, and no doubt some were missed. Still, the list probably gives a fair idea of native knowledge of the flora."

English or Hawaiian Name	Native Name	Scientific Name
coconut	lu, nu	Cocos nucifera
breadfruit	mai	Artocarpus altilis
banana	uir	Musa
pandanus	far	Pandanus
papaia	baiwai	Carica papaya
hau	gilivō	Hibiscus tiliaceus
kamani (tamanu)	ragūs, sevang, vitou	Calophyllum inophyllun Linn.
	wutu	Guettarda speciosa
	treli	Messerschmidia argentea(Linn.

gul	Barringtonia assiatica
lel	Morinda citrifolia
avus	Crataeva speciosa
waryng	Ocimum sanctum
aro	Premna integrifolia Linn.
aroma	Pipturus argenteus (Forst. f.) (Wedd.
kelau, gula	Cordia subcordata Lam.
Gaingei	Pemphis acidula
tria	Rhizophora mucronata Lam.
song	Bruguiera conjugata (Linn.) (Merr.

	remag, natu	Scaevola frutescens
	kasās	Terminalia catappa ? [15]
English or Hawaiian Name	Native Name	Scientific Name
plumeria, frangipani	seuru	Plumeria rubra
banyan	giliao	Ficus sp.
staghorn fern	kamarag	Gleichenia sp.
spider lily	giop	Crinum sp., probably asiaticum
bird's nest fern	enenux	Asplenium nidus
(a fern)	riri	Polypodium phymstodes Linn.
purslane	gop	Portulaca samoensis

(a grass)	buyol	Lepturus repens (Forst.) (R. Brown)
turmeric	angorik, gerēl, geval	Curcuma longa Linn.
(a sedge)	bwogorewau	Cyperus brevifolius (Rottb.)
sugar cane	wou	Saccharum officinarum
taro	wot	Colocasia esculentia
pulaka	pulax	Cyrtosperma chamissonis
giant arum	filē	Alocasia macrorrhiza
Polynesian arrowroot	mogmog	Tacca leontope taloides
betel pepper	gabwī	Piper betle
betel palm	bu	Areca catechu

hibiscus	fleros	Hibiscus rosa-sinensis
bamboo	sur, bwa	Bambuseae
pineapple	faretrā	Ananas sativa
squash (a summer squash or vegetable marrow)	kalebwäs	Cucurbita pepo
moss (all kinds ?)	lum	Musci
mushroom (all kinds)	talingilipat	Fungi"

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Coconut (lu or nu--the vowel sound variable, often liu or similar). Four varieties are distinguished. All are said to occur throughout the Carolines. The people say they can tell at once, by looking at a tree or ripening nut, to which variety it belongs. The difference, as they describe it, is in the shape, and more particularly, the color, of the husk when the fruit is ripening. The names of the varieties are used either like adjectives, following the generic name, or else as nouns, as when we call an apple a Baldwin.

The varieties are: garau(e)rau, husk brown when quite young; mau, husk green and round; tra, husk reddish; ial, yellowish. Of this last variety there are only a few trees on Ifalik. No distinction is made among the varieties in quality or suitability for particular uses."

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Specimens of some of the plants of less importance to the people were not collected, because of limited room in a plant press improvised out of empty cartons. Having been advised that artificial heat would be necessary to collect plants in this region, I gave up in advance any attempt to preserve specimens. Later, when the trade winds set in, collection seemed worth risking; but the amount was limited to the number of used cartons. Not until we returned to Honolulu did I learn that satisfactory collecting would have been feasible by painting the specimens with formaldehyde.

Native names of plants unidentified for lack of specimens follow:

Trees: livalus (possibly Vigna marina), kirali, marat, mot, sol, rangonax, faliap, kili, kuelabo.

Herbs: korax, ualomax, atogobwei, guruguru, kerriō, guan, bogo li le pa, atilt, keisi, kevakuel, nge.

The most useful plants occur in a number of varieties. Names of some of these indicate the island from which they are traditionally supposed to have come. Botanical comparison might check the accuracy of these traditions; at any rate, they give some indication of the range of contact with other islands."

1: Burrows--16-17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Breadfruit (mai): There are two main kinds, easily distinguishable by either the leaf or the fruit.

Mai vae--leaves very little indented; the young leaves not at all. Fruit comparatively small, with a number of large seeds (pukil).

Mai vau--leaves deeply indented. Fruit larger, with a fibrous core and no seeds. Seven sub-varieties of mai vau are distinguished: tagumelin, mai rau, mai mwarei, seuaiki, welige sol, mauli, tro malo.

Mai guiau--leaves deeply indented, like mai vau; fruit with seeds, like mai vae. Apparently this variety is comparatively unimportant.

No preference of one variety over another is expressed, so far as quality of fruit is concerned. The larger size of the fruit of mai vau and the absence of seeds are recognized as advantages. The seeds of mai vae can be eaten, but are often thrown away. Mai vae seems to bear earlier than mai vau, at least during the secondary crop, that which comes in early in the trade-wind season. The main practical difference [17] among the varieties seems to be that only two of the sub-varieties of mai vau, tagumelin and mai rau, are thought to have wood suitable for outrigger floats. It is said to be more buoyant than that of other varieties."

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

" 'Taro' (Pulax; Crytosperma chamissonis). Twelve varieties were pointed out: patsa, pulax e mau, pereliau, talinga mor (Mor's ear?), talinga nap (big ear), sia li ralo, pulax i sali, annīpenni, pulax e bwar, filal, pwololo, etl li bwulax, gor. There are considerable differences in color, texture, and flavor of the underground part, and some are considered choicer than others. The varieties are indistinguishable at sight to me, and so they are, Tom assured me, to him. Taro is in the woman's sphere, and only women are experts in it. The only distinguishing characteristic pointed out by his wife, Lagajarong, applied to the variety called etI li bwulax. If I understood her rightly, she said that if you plant the pistil (?) from the flower of this variety, it will grow.

True taro; wot; Colocasia esculenta. An impromptu committee of three women gave me the following list of 18 varieties, and assured me it is complete: elibwā, gaimwem, waligo, likerak, tarewai, sarewāk, mivou, tolipannēu, ganipwā, garimar, geratIgi, pei, rangoi, togōs, otumalu, outeriap (from Yap). The tubers vary in texture, flavor, and public esteem."

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Banana (Wir; Musa sapientum). Six varieties are recognized. No erect fruit clusters were seen. The fruit of all the varieties brought to us (I think this includes all there are except possibly the two Yap varieties) is sweet and can be eaten raw, though we preferred one or two of them cooked.

bwongĕr--this is considered the original variety, 'native' to the island. The fruit is large, the skin of an orange color, the flesh somewhat rosy. Fruit prized for eating, fiber for weaving, dried leaves for cigarette wrappers.

wIrIs Truk--supposedly from Truk. Fruit of medium size, pointed, yellow--our favorite. Fiber considered good for weaving, leaves for cigarette wrappers.

reiap--supposedly from Yap. This variety is used for all three purposes, but it is considered inferior.

melawalibwe--another variety ascribed to Yap. Fruit small and little eaten. Leaves not used for cigarette wrappers. This variety is chiefly valued for fiber from the trunk.

wIrIs Seipan--as the name indicates, supposedly introduced from Saipan. The bright yellow fruit is considered good (we preferred it cooked). Valued also for weaving fiber and cigarette wrappers.

wIri li Valupe--supposedly from Ponape. Short fruit in big bunches. Valued for all three uses. There are only a few plants of this variety on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--17-18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Pandanus--Three varieties are recognized.

far--considered the old native variety. Grows on relatively high, dry land. The favorite for mats. [18]

far en Nuta--supposedly introduced from 'Nuta', said to be in the Marianas--presumably what our charts call Rota. Cured leaves prized for sails.

pogū--grows in swampy places. Glossy leaves of enormous size. Valued only to wrap around coconut trunks to prevent rats from climbing."

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed. Most of them look like

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

1: Burrows--18-19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 136

"The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; sirō, hog; malōk, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifalik that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture. [19]

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifalik from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed."

"As to wild fauna, the only small forms which the natives consider important are pests. They are beginning to be aware, through foreign instruction, of harmful bacteria. Lice infest their heads, and they may be seen delousing each other's hair as a friendly service.

Mosquitoes abound. Two varieties were noticed. One is a small black day-flying kind, common about houses and in other shady places. (Pipiens?) The other is larger, lighter in color, with striped legs, and is active at night. Mosquitoes can be blamed for filariasis, which is not very prevalent. It is probably unnecessary to add that all this part of the Pacific is free from malaria.

Flies are even more numerous than mosquitoes. They gather in swarms about food that attracts them, particularly fish and crustaceans. The commonest kind is black, the same to a layman's eye as the common house fly of America. Another is rusty in color, slimmer, with red eyes and wings that stand out from the body.

Nothing was seen or heard of centipedes or scorpions. Spiders of various kinds are common. None was pointed out as dangerous.

There are no snakes, but lizards of several kinds are pentiful. [sic] Common about the houses is the little dark knel (a geko, perhaps Lepidodactylus lugubris). The people are said to fear it because one moment you see it, the next you don't. This fear does not seem to trouble them much, though. Another small variety is the blue-tailed skink (Emoia cyanura--Lesson). Far from being feared, these have been seen to jump on a

man's bare leg and off again without attracting any apparent notice. A larger, glossy black lizzard, the tagurupai (not identified), is noticeable especially on the trunks of coconut trees. Big monitor lizards (galūf; probably Varanus indicus--Daudin) are found on Falālap, where they are said to have been introduced to prey on rats. The natives say they also eat eggs and young chickens. The people maintain that there are none on Falārik. No large ones were seen there. Smaller ones of similar color are said to be of a different kind."

"There are few varieties of land birds. The Micronesian starling (some sub-species of Aplonis opacus) is a common scavenger about the houses. Another is a versatile little songster (lltri), equally at home among the trees, where it catches flies with snapping bill, or on the ground, where it picks at crawling creatures or garbage. In color it is rusty brown on the back, light gray below. This color and its excellent singing suggest a small thrush or chat (turdus obscurus?).

Wading shore birds are more varied. The Pacific golden plover (kulóng; Pluvialis dominica fulva Gmelin) is a dooryard bird during that part of the year when it is to be found on Ifalik. Mention in songs and in conversation showed that the natives have a kind of fondness for it, as Americans and English have for the quite different species called 'robin' in their two countries. Other wading birds are turnstone (nigenrouru; probably Arenaria interpres Linn.); an unidentified species with long straight bill (bwongupalei; perhaps a dotterel, charadrius;) [20] wimbrel or curlew (liak; probably numenius phaeopus variegatus (Scopoli); another known only by name, garevāsh, but from the description quite like the curlew; and herons of three colors--white, 'blue' or slaty; and sooty, virtually black. All were called by the same name, (liapelIk), and all may be forms of the reef heron (Demigretta sacra).

Passing migrants included swallows, seen over the lagoon for a few evenings, and hawks of some broad-winged kind, a pair of which spend about a week on Falārik. Of all the birds mentioned, only the plover seemed to attract more notice among the people

than any other familiar bit of landscape.

Sea-birds are numerous and have some importance. One variety, the noddy tern (kurugao; Anous sp.) is used for food. Another common variety is the white fairy tern (giegie; Gygis alba). These two nest on Ifalik. Both indicate the presence of schools of fish by hovering over them and swooping to catch the small fry on which the school is feeding. Other kinds of tern are seen occasionally, among them the black-naped tern (sterna sumatrana; native name uncertain), but apparently do not nest on the island. The white tropic bird or bos'n bird (mālu; Phaethon lepturus) is not common, but is occasionally seen. It is said to be plentiful on uninhabited West Fayu. The same is true of the frigate bird or man o'war bird (getaf; Fregata sp.). The natives have an esthetic admiration for this bird and its soaring flight.

Names of other sea birds were collected, but the birds were not seen and could not be identified. The kemā or xemā, described as a large bird 'some of them white, some blue', might be a booby. 'Blue' is a poor name for the color of the brown ones, but Tom's English was far from precise about colors. No boobies nest on Ifalik, but brown ones were seen at sea not far from there. Koro is a long-tailed seabird, also in two colors; koro wet, a white one, and koro rol, black. Still other varieties mentioned in the lore of navigation are paiennai (white, larger than fairy tern); metalipangerale, with long tail feathers (possibly 'Captain's language' for some species with a different common

name); and gerap, a small black and red bird. (The description fits the cardinal honey-eater (Mysomela cardinalis) found on high islands in that part of the Pacific; but that is a land bird.)"

1: Burrows--20 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"No flying-fox or other bats were seen on Ifalik. The only mammal, other than the three domesticated ones already discussed, is the rat. For a time they overran our tents at night. We set traps and caught one every night for more than a week. After that, whether because of the traps or because a cat began to include a visit to us in its nightly rounds, they did not trouble us again until near the end of our stay. In general, while they were certainly common, they did not seem inordinately numerous. Those we caught were not very big; brownish on head and back, light gray underneath. Some larger and apparently grayer ones were seen among the coconut trees, but not clearly enough to give a definite impression as to whether they were of a different species. Rats are not eaten."

1: Burrows--20-21 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"There are several kinds of land crabs. Hermit crabs (yng) are common on the beaches and about the houses. They are not recognized as of any importance, though they may be useful as scavengers. A larger, dark kind (arIk) that digs holes about houses at night, is sometimes eaten, we were told; but apparently not highly regarded. Tom said he never ate them himself. The ragōm, that lives in the ground in the bush, is eaten, also crushed to make bait for fish-traps. The usela, not seen, is described as a slow-moving crab that [21] lives in the tops of coconut trees. The largest species, and one of the choicest delicacies, is the coconut crab (afe; Birgus latro Dana). These are only the most familiar kinds. In general, any that are big enough to be worth the trouble are eaten."

"Sea animals are far more important to the people than those of air or land. Nearly all varieties that are caught are eaten. Even the whale (ras), though never caught, is eaten on the rare and memorable occasions when one goes aground on the reef. Jaw-bones of several of them were kept behind the men's house as trophies.

Exceptions to the rule of eating everything are the shark (pagō) and octopus (sauevang? --name discussed next paragraph). This was explained as a mutual arrangement. The people do not eat shark and octopus, so that shark and octopus will not eat them. Once a small octopus-like creature, stuffed into a Japanese mess-kit so that its shape did not show, was brought to us as a gift. It had tentacles, and I now suppose it was a squid; but in asking Tom how to cook it I called it an octopus. With a contemptuous expression he told us to throw it away, saying that Japanese and Trukese eat octopus, but not the people of Ifalik. Later, after conferring with the chief who brought it, he said it was not an octopus but a gus, a rare delicacy. It was too late then for our gus to be cooked. I had not even looked at it carefully. Asked whether gus is the name for a small octopus, Tom said not. A gus, he explained, has no beak, and will not bite a hand thrust into a hole in the coral, as an octopus will. We never saw another gus.

Tom consistently gave the native name for octopus as sauevang. Some of his remarks about it, --for example, 'in the deep water they grow big, with arms like the roots of that tree'--indicated that he knew what the English word meant. Yet a group of natives

once identified as sauevang two pictures in Hosaka's 'Sport Fishing in Hawaii'; one of a conger or white eel, the other of a brown eel. They cannot have mistaken either for octopus, though they might for moray--not illustrated by Hosaka--which is common on the reef. This discrepancy was not noticed in time to clear it up.

Moray and sting-ray (fai) are apparently not eaten, though I have no verbal statement to that effect. A sting-ray brought ashore near our quarters was left hanging in a tree, then lying on the ground, for several days before it disappeared, presumably either eaten by dogs or thrown away.

In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish of many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-shails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--21-22 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

"Far the most important source of animal food is fish. The list of varieties to follow was obtained by two procedures. One was to collect native names of fish brought to us as gifts, or brought ashore in our presence, and of others said to be important. The other was to show groups of natives the pictures of fish in Hosaka's book, mentioned above. Size and color, not shown in the pictures, were indicated by gestures and words. The people were confident that they knew which of the fish shown in the pictures were familiar to them and which were not. They had names for most of those illustrated, -- sometimes more than one name for one picture, which may indicate [22] a difference of opinion, or more than one variety of similar form, or--what is not uncommon--one name for a species when young, another when full grown. Eliminating known cases of that kind and obvious variants of essentially the same name, the total number of names collected is 74. Names obtained in the two ways were compared. Twice the book was taken out to where a pile of fish lay waiting to be distributed. So far as the catch on those days allowed, the pictures were compared with actual specimens. The identifications that follow can probably be trusted as far as larger categories are concerned. Where a single species is widespread, even the specific identification is probably correct. In view of the rough and ready method, some mistakes must be expected. But at least the list will give an idea of the range and character of the fish taken for food."

(1947-48)

"Classification by habitat seemed useful, but is bound to involve some overlapping, possibly some definite errors.

OPEN SEA OR SURF FISH

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
albacore	aùle	Germo alalunga (Gmelin
barracuda	serau	Sphyraena barracuda (Walbaum
blue crevally	langu (when small, saritr)	Caranx stellatus
bonito, skipjack	galangap, garangap, garȳng	Euthynnus pelamis
bonito, little tunny	ajInneu	Euthynnus alletteratus (Rafinesque

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
dolphin, mahimahi	teparo	Coryphaena hippurus (Linn.
flying fish	mëngōr	Cypselurus simus
horse mackerel, akule▸	agumau?*, sep*	Selar crumenophthalmus (Bloch
omaku	trep	Caranx mate [23]
sailfish	marelatío	Istiophorus orientalis (Schlegel
uoua	iau	Neomyxus chapitali (Eydoux and Souleyet

"* Native reports inconsistent.

▸ To me, a fish they called lipau looked very like what in Hawaii is called akule; but the chief Maroligar insisted it was not the same as the picture."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
wahoo, ono	ngeli	Acanthocybium (Cuvier
yellowfin tuna, ahi	tangër, tangIri, (when small, tagū	Neothunnus macropterus (Schlegel
	LAGOON FISH	
flounder	lipëri	Platophrys mancus (Broussonet
milkfish	autā*	Chanos chanos
mullet	geraf, autā*	Mugil cephalos
needlefish	ewo.kang, ta'aku	Belone playura

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristis murdjan (Forstal
shiner (? silvery, with rosy blotches)	oerIk	(Anchoviella purpurea?)
threadfish, moi	rerepago*, 'absent'*	Polydactylus Sexfilis
	REEF FISH	
alaihi	gutr or kotr	Holocentrus diadema
balloon fish	taūsh	Chilomysturus affinis
balloon fish	lotr; when small, wat	Tetrodon hispidus (Linnaeus

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
banded damselfish	maze	Abudefduf (Quoy and Gaimard [24]
goatfish	'many kinds': fauligi, semarubwong, seuiarang (yellow), shou, sounalo, perhaps others.	Pseudupeneus
hawkfish, black-sided	galietr*, mwelialo*	Paracirrhites forsteri (Schneider
hawkfish, white-lined	lemware	Paracirrhites arcatus (Cuvier

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
Linalea, kala	ig valevale	Naso unicornis (Forskal
maiko	gemaruaga	Hepatus lineolatus
manini	limēn	Hepatus triostegus (Linnaeus
manini, yellow	llgarigari	Chaetodon unimaculatus (Bloch
mu	tralautr	Monotaxis grandoculis (Forskal
nenue	rel	Kyphosus fuscus (Lacepede)*

"* The rel of Ifalik is probably not fuscus; at least it has no brown or tawny tinge, but looks in different lights, black, gray, or gleaming silver. The scales are silver-white, outlined with black."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-7
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
scorpion fish, nohu	lōu[r]	Scorpaenopsis gibbosus (Schneider
opule	gago (luku	Anampses cuvier (Quoy and Gaimard
pao'o	limwale	Salarius zebra (Vaillant and Sauvage
papio	arong*, trep*	not given by Hosaka

"* Native reports inconsistent.
[r] Asked if they eat this fish, which is sometimes poisonous, natives said they do."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
parrot fish	'Many kinds': are (red), are kulong (black-spotted), fagilimat, gauagaua gIrigIri, kabwu, moguaimwe, ngItra uiā (blue), perhaps others [25]	Callyodon sp.
po'opa'a	lululau	Cirrhitus pinnulatus (Schneider
long-fin razorfish	petoura	Iniistius pave (Valenciennes
redfish, big-eye	nipau	Priacanthus cruentatus (Lacepede
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristus murdjan (Forskal

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
sandfish; a'awa	vatre	Lepidaplois bilunulatis (Lacepede
snapper	taiau	Aprion virescens (Valenciennes
spot pom	shonno	Abudefduf sordidus (Forskal
surgeon fish	evali	Hepatus bariene (Lesson
triggerfish	bwūp	Balistapus rectangulus (Schneider
triggerfish, black	perematr	Melichthys buniva (Lacepede
ulua, black	arong	Caranx sexfasciatus (Quoy and Gaimard
ulua, white	etām	Carangoides ajax (Snyder

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
ulua, silver	(when small) silalīo	Blepharis ciliaris (Bloch
upapalu	ligotro	Amia frenata (Valenciennes
wake pueo	merāp	Upeneus arge (Jordon and Evermann
wake ula	wōmei	Mulloidicthys auriflamma (Forskal
wrasse(?)[r]	pezap	not given by Hosaka
wrasse, green; hinalea	iōiō*	Thalassoma umbrostygma (Ruppell

[r] long, nearly tubular snout; about 10" long; rosy head, after parts darker.
* Native reports inconsistent."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-11
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
kihikihi	iwājōla	not given by Hoṣaka"

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313, 137 Ifalik

"The supply of wood, whether for fuel or timber, is scanty. Breadfruit makes a good soft wood; but since the trees are needed to grow food, there is little of it to spare. Many species furnish hard wood; but on Ifalik none of them grow into large trees."

1: Burrows--26
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Most prized of all animal foods is the meat of the sea turtle. Though the sight of one or two of them in the lagoon is not uncommon, they are not often taken. We knew of four being caught during our six months on Ifalik; three of them at one time. They are made still scarcer for most of the people by the fact that the highest chief has a right to all of them. He distributes first to his clan, Kovalū. Others get only what surplus he cares to distribute to them. For the lower orders, the taste of turtle is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 221 Ifalik

"On the whole, raw materials to be found on Ifalik and nearby atolls, whether supplied by nature or introduced by man, add up to a decidedly meager offering. Among foodstuffs, only coconuts, taro--more exactly, pulax--and breadfruit are plentiful. (Breadfruit is a seasonal crop but, as will be shown, is available between bearing seasons in preserved form. Seafood is present in great variety. The quantity available varies with the seasons and with other factors.

Some of these, such as the movements of fish that travel in schools, are so uncontrollable and unpredictable that they can only be classified as 'fishermen's luck.' Others include fishing equipment and techniques. Because of their importance, this matter will be considered again at the close of the account of fishing technology."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 135 Ifalik

"Materials other than foodstuffs are also limited, except for coral. Without coral there would be no plants and no people, but it has few more specific uses."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 176 Ifalik

"This environment, rather inhospitable as far as supply of raw materials is concerned, decidedly limits the development of native crafts and industries. The same effect is produced by the climate, a matter in which the environment is, most of the time, anything but severe. There is no need for elaborate development of shelter or clothing. Industry, particularly in building, is still further discouraged by the worst feature of the climate, the typhoons. They do not come often, but when they do, they destroy almost everything that men can make. Two more geographic factors make for simplicity in human works and ways. One, that so small an island can support but few people. The other, that stretches of sea isolate these few from other peoples. These factors keep to a minimum the stimulus of contact with other minds and their inventions."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"Native names of fish not otherwise identified:

fofo, an open-sea fish, may be a yard long, slim, caught in traps around drifting logs. Except for small size resembles Hawaiian ono (Acanthocybium solandri) but natives, shown the picture of ono, insisted it was a different kind.

lipwaix, a reef fish, caught by angling; eight inches to a foot long. Prominent pointed teeth. Color, blotched red and purple.

porosh--named, not seen; 'small mouth, fat inside skin.' (These characteristics resemble rel; another Kyphosus?)

ireileile--named, not seen; dorsal and ventral fins extend to tail.

orā--small yellow reef fish."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 176 Ifalik

"TECHNOLOGY

This section deals with the natives' ways of putting to use the material resources outloned [sic] in preceding pages. Apparently the people of Ifalik, like most peoples, have invented very little of their technology themselves. Virtually all of it is shared with neighboring islands, and its fundamentals are known far and wide over the Pacific. No evidence of local invention was discovered, unless songs locally composed, or the custom of sea-burial which seems to be confined to Ifalik, can be attributed to local invention. Comparative study may indicate that this atoll has made come[sic] other contribution to the common stock of technology. Whether or no, this can not be determined by data from Ifalik alone. Here it is only possible to sum up the cultural resources or traditional techniques which enable the natives to make a living out of the rather slim stock of raw materials which their island affords them."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 342 Ifalik

"House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katel where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later."

1: Burrows--27-28
116, 324, 412

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A kind of stone, coralline in origin but of relatively dense, even texture and crystalline appearance, is obtained under water at a single location on the seaward side of the reef a little west of the pass, near the uninhabited island Ellā. From this are made pounders (faulipō), which are used by the women to mash taro and breadfruit. The pounders are of the same general shape as those of Polynesia. They have rounded vertical handles which flare outward at both ends: slightly at the top, to form a knob; much more at the bottom, forming a heavy base with round, slightly convex pounding surface. (See photograph, Fig. _____) Those used on Ifalik are comparatively small, perhaps because it is hard to find larger pieces of the stone without cracks or flaws. Most of them are about 8 inches high and 5 inches in diameter at the base. [28]

The workmanship is rough and simple. The only decoration seen consists of one or two little bosses left projecting on top of the handle. Pounders are made by either men or women. The implement used nowadays to make them is an old hatchet head without a handle. Holding the stone in the left hand and the hatchet head in the right, the craftsman hacks out crisscross lines on the places to be cut down, particularly what is to become the handle. Then he chips off the squares left projecting between the lines; pecks them off, rather, for most of the stone comes away as dust instead of chips. When the shape has been roughed out, the surface is finished by rubbing with another piece of stone. It is slow work. An elderly woman was seen busy at one nearly every morning for about two weeks."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245 Ifalik

"Human life on Ifalik depends on the coconut palm. The story of how much Pacific island peoples rely on this 'most useful of trees' has been told repeatedly. But this atoll culture can not be described without retelling their particular version.

The sandy strip around the lagoon side of the two larger islands, and on both sides of the channel between them, is virtually unbroken coconut grove. Old coconut plantings, more or less gone back to bush, run clear across the northern tip of Falārik, and extend southward beyond the houses on the eastern shore of Falālap. Coconut trees are mixed with the other vegetation everywhere except in the heart of the taro swamp that takes up the center of Falālap. Because of this mixture, no accurate estimate of the percentage of land taken up by coconuts seemed feasible. All that can be said is that the fraction must be large."

1: Burrows--28 (1847-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 333 Ifalik

"The beach sandstone (perou) found in ledges on the reef between high and low water mark is known to be harder and stronger than coral. But the people have few uses for it. The corner posts of a single building, the men's house, are of perou. Slabs long enough for this use are hard to find, still harder to haul into place. Their only advantage over wooden posts is that they do not rot in the ground. Four slabs, apparently once corner posts, are all that is left of the men's house that once stood just inland from the present site. The stone posts of the men's house, which itself symbolizes the authority of the chiefs, are symbols of strength and permanence. This is brought out in the name of one of the men's religious dances, sur perou (stone house post). The idea seems to be that everything rests on that firm base.

Slabs of perou, which has a smoother, straighter surface than coral, are used for the top course of the walls that surround the stone piers. An occasional one is seen as a backrest (mageru) on a house platform."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381 Ifalik

"Lime is made in Ifalik, as in many Pacific islands, by burning coral over a large wood fire in a pit. It forms the pigment for the white lines in the traditional design used for painting a canoe. Mixed with water and ashes of burned coconut husks, it makes a mortar or putty (bwèr) for sealing the holes about the lashings in canoe-hulls. Before the advent of foreign dyes, it was mixed with an infusion of bark of the lel tree to make a red dye for native cloth. The people of Ifalik do not use lime to clean and bleach their hair.

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 252, 262 Ifalik

"To prepare for cooking with other vegetables, the flesh of the ripe nut is grated with a different instrument, the large grater in general use throughout the tropical Pacific. It consists of a toothed edge, curved to fit the inside of a coconut, and attached to a stick. The stick may be laid across a log, or may be cut from a bough or sapling near where two branches fork off. The butt of a main piece and short lengths of the branches form a tripod. The grating edge, lashed to the projecting end of the main piece, may be of coconut shell or even rough coral; but nowadays virtually every household has a grater with a cutting edge filed out of a piece of steel. The grater is straddled and a half coconut, held in both hands, rubbed over it by pushing away from the body. The grated meat is put in a bowl, water poured over it, and the creamyjuice squeezed out with the hands. Wringers of coconut husk fiber, which make a richer cream, but take more muscle, are not used in Ifalik.

The starchy vegetables which make up the bulk of the diet are commonly cooked in this coconut cream. Rarely is a meal served without either taro or breadfruit enriched with it. Coconut cream supplies most of the oil in the diet, though supplemented by oil from fish.

It would be a sad day in an Ifalik household if the morning and evening meals lacked one more coconut product, --the fresh toddy (garī) extracted from the flower stalks. Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones."

"Perhaps the most important of all uses of coconut are drinking the juice of the young nuts and eating the meat, particularly of the ripe ones. Like most Pacific islanders, the Ifalik people have different names for the nut at different stages. A nut full-grown but green, full of good juice to drink, is called upu. When somewhat more mature, with sweeter juice but the flesh still soft, it is called seou. A ripe nut is mazou. A very ripe one, suitable for making copra, is trō; a sprouting nut, trō far.

Though some of the water in dug wells, or that collected in helmet shells or foreign metal drums, is used for drinking, the juice of young coconuts makes up far the greatest part of the drinking water. It is also used in a healing ritual which involves breaking open a young nut above the head of the patient, so that the juice pours over him.

The soft flesh of the young nut may be scooped out and eaten. Scoops are made, as generally in the tropical Pacific, by cutting off a bit of the green husk with a slanting blow of the knife, which gives it a sharp edge and a spoon-like shape. The hard flesh of the ripe nut may be split out of the shell and either eaten raw or roasted over an open fire. More commonly, though, it is removed by grating with an instrument like a spoon with a round bowl and a toothed edge where the point of one of our spoons would be. These are made of pieces of white metal like what used to be called 'German silver'. Making them is said to be an industry of many years' standing throughout the Carolines. Raw coconut eaten in this way is one of the main articles of diet Another is the spongy

body that fills the center of a sprouting nut. These are eaten without cooking or other preparation."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 272 Ifalik

"The process of making toddy is simple. A flower stalk is cut off squarely just short of the bud. It is then bound around with sinnet cord, taking turns about a half-inch apart. From this cord is slung a coconut shell, with a hole in the top, to catch the liquid that drips from the cut edge. This edge must be continually cut back, a narrow slice at a time, to keep the wound fresh. The toddy-maker must climb the tree, change shells, and freshen the cut, twice a day. The juice is strained through a funnel made of the fabric from around the base of the leaves. Toddy is carried and kept, nowadays, in glass bottles.

Some trees will not yield toddy at all. The people have no way of telling this in advance. An average tree, they say, yields about a quart a day; an especially good one, two or three quarts. One flower stalk will drip continuously for about two months. After that it is allowed to heal and the tree given a rest. The trees are not injured if treated in this way, the natives say.

Fresh toddy is considered especially good for children and old people, but all ages enjoy it. It is milky white in color, and has a sweet taste. Used with taro, in addition to coconut cream, it makes some of the few delicacies of Ifalik cooking."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302 Ifalik

"Ripe coconuts have one more use. It is customary to oil the skin with coconut after the bath. This especially on dress occasions, when the oil may be mixed with perfume, of which the people are extravagantly fond, or with flame-colored turmeric paint, imported from Yap or Truk. Oil is extracted by trying out grated coconut over a slow fire. The oil gradually rises to the top. For everyday use, though, few go to so much trouble. Half of a ripe coconut, with its meat grated with the ever-present little hand grater and rubbed over the body, supplies oil enough.

Coconut ointment has a high sentimental value. The commonest conventional ending for a lament is the word Gapītei-my coconut ointment. It is a term of endearment, -- as if nothing could be more precious."

1/ Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 273 Ifalik

"The people know how to ferment the juice and make an alcoholic drink of it. All that is necessary is to abstain from washing the shells in which it is collected, and from straining it; and then to let it stand for four days. The chiefs forbid the practise. Their prohibition works about as well as that tried for some years by the United States. That is to say, those who enjoy drinking fermented toddy (called tubwa as in Yap) make it quietly and drink it without interference. Some of the men drink glass after glass in the course of an evening. A slightly bleary look about the eyes, and a tendency to be jovial or sentimentally friendly, were the only effects we noticed. Drunkenness to the point of a staggering gait or quarrelsome talk, let alone violence, was completely absent. Toddy is not the problem in Ifalik that it is said to be in some more populous islands."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 352 Ifalik

"Whole ripe nuts in their husks are lying on the ground everywhere about the houses. Here they may be used as furniture. The people hardly ever sit on the ground. If there is reason to sit outdoors longer than it is comfortable to squat, they will tuck a coconut under them for a stool. In the canoe-houses, where the men spend a great part of their days, working at light jobs, talking, smoking, or simply sitting, coconuts in the husk are always at hand, and are used as pillows, knee-rests or elbow-rests."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283 Ifalik

"Coconuts are husked in the way usual in tropical Pacific islands. A stake of hard wood, some 2 1/2 feet long, is pointed at both ends. One end is driven into the ground. The coconut, held with one hand at each end, is jammed against the other end of the stake where the point protrudes, and the husk pried off in strips.

This supplies another useful product. A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal. Dry coconut husks are important as fuel. One of them will hold fire until time for the next smoke, or while carrying borrowed fire from one house to another. Thin slices of coconut husk, with its rather spongy texture, are laid between the planks of a canoe before they are gummed and lashed together. They expand when wet, and keep the seams tight.

Charcoal from burnt coconut husks is mixed with coral lime to make the putty or mortar used to seal the holes in a canoe hull where the lashing runs through.

Short lengths of a crude kind of rope are twisted out of raw coconut husk fiber. They make wicks (atoliēf) to preserve fire. Such a wick is commonly kept alight during a sea voyage."

1: Burrows--31
116, 415

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The shell of the nut, with a round hole cut in the bud end, is used as a bottle (peraliēt) to collect toddy. The disc cut out may be used as a lid. Such a covered container, with a bit of sennit cord for a bail, is called louyā. A half shell makes a cup, dipper, or small bowl. Strung on a cord with the hollow side down, a coconut half shell will keep rats from getting at food suspended below it."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 777 Ifalik

"A ripe coconut in its husk may serve as a charm (mwiri). In one of the songs, a woman asks such a charm--simply a coconut in the husk, placed beside the house--to ensure the safe return of her lover who is at sea. With a strip of young leaf tied about it, knotted in three places, the coconut becomes a rol gapesh, and takes on special power. In the ritual performed just before a canoe sets out on an interisland voyage, one of these is tapped against the seams of the hull. It is credited with power to prevent leaks."

1: Burrows--31-32 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 462 Ifalik 13

"The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falālap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them [32] in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands [KS: native word omitted] two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled

together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called golgaulIk. What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is golgol. A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is geref. A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called garotel. Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are taani, taliou rIk, and taliounap. Hawsers (tennap) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifalik from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton

netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the section on house-building, p. 46.)"

1: Burrows--32-33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285 Ifalik 1-2

"Baskets (wetau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women. [33]

One of the simplest of the baskets of open green leaf is called wëtau lugor, or in a large size trugulilugor. To make one of these, a leaf is split. The halves are laid with the trimmed half midribs on each side. The leaflets are plaited together in check, and their tips joined in a braid, which is finished off with a knot. This results in a flat sheet, which is folded over to hold sennit fiber for making rope. As the ends are left open, it is really a folder rather than a basket. A basket of similar construction, but with the plaiting continued around the ends to close or partly close them, is called wetau ruk (Truk basket). A round basket with a long braided handle, called gato, is used to carry food bowls. This type is illustrated in Plate I of Damm's report. The commonest type of finer basket, made of cured and doubled leaf, is called wetau tuk (see Pl. 3, d). Each side is made of two half leaves, with their half-midribs trimmed down to very thin strips. Alternate leaflets of each are first plaited to form a rim.

After one row, the two leaflets are plaited together in twill to form one side of the basket. The plaiting is only a few rows wide at the ends, at least twice that in the middle, giving the rim its characteristic convex shape. The other side is made in the same way. Then the two are joined by a braid that forms the bottom of the basket. Ends of doubled leaflet project from the braid, forming a fringe. A basket of generally similar construction, but more nearly circular, with the curved rim continued around both ends, is called auruēl. It is attributed to Yap. Both of these types may be of recent introduction. At any rate, Damm's illustration shows three variants of another type, similarly plaited in twill with doubled leaflets, but of a different shape. It does not show any with the convex brims now in fashion."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Half a coconut leaf, tied about the waist over the loin-cloth, forms part of a man's costume when he is dressed to take part in a dance. For most of these ornamental kilts, freshly cut green leaf is used. A few prefer brown, withered leaves."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"Young coconut leaves, before they open out, are prized for their color, which ranges from ivory to pale greenish yellow. Ornaments for the ankles, wrists, upper arms, neck and head, and bandoliers slung over one shoulder, are made of this nearly white young leaf (ubwut). There are many ways of tying the leaf to make the pointed ends stick out attractively. It may also be cut into zigzag or lacy patterns.

A man will put on a bit of this leaf when he turns out for any communal task, such as repairing a canoe-house. It appears in greatest profusion on men adorned for the dance. Women are not forbidden to wear it, but it is rarely seen on them. On Ifalik it is the males who wear the bright plumage."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik

"Coconut leaves, commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs. Another symbolic use is waving a coconut leaf over the patient in several of the little healing rituals that accompany administration of medicines."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 372 Ifalik

"Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing. Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 245 Ifalik

"Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on ubwūt as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (palū) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear ubwūt ornaments as insignia of his new distinction."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 245 Ifalik

"Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with ubwūt, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 322 Ifalik

"Coconut wood varies in quality from a hard, dense layer on the outside of the trunk to a comparatively pithy center. The wood rots rather quickly when exposed to moisture. For this reason none of it is used in canoes, and coconut trunks are not set in the ground as posts for houses except when nothing better is available. They are then put over a fire and scorched to harden them, but even so are said to last only a year or two.

Under a roof and clear of the ground, coconut wood escapes this disadvantage. It is in general use for the beams that form the superstructure of a house. Where thin, elastic strips are needed, the hard outer layer makes excellent material. So coconut is considered the best of wood for thatch rafters. The same qualities make it the only wood used for fish spears (kowai). On Ifalik these are not light lances but heavy pikes 15 to 20 feet long. They have simple points without barbs. They are used mainly in a bonito drive when the school of fish is not considered large enough to drive ashore."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 245 Ifalik

"The stout midribs of coconut leaves are laid crosswise in the path of a canoe being hauled to or from the canoe-house. As this green midrib does not burn readily, it also makes a good rack for smoking fish. Its perfectly straight grain adapts it to still other uses. A strip of it makes a flexible ruler, for measuring and drawing lines on the curved surface of a canoe hull during its construction. Smaller strips peeled off the surface make thongs for tying thatch to a roof. A strip thin as a thread, formed into a loop and held between a woman's fingers, is used to split pandanus leaf into strips of even width to make a mat or fine basket."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 245 Ifalik

"Dry brown leaf makes kindling and fuel--for Ifalik, though well wooded, has such a small area that firewood is scarce. A bonfire of dry coconut leaf will illuminate a night gathering. Bundles of it make torches used in several kinds of night fishing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 524, 245 Ifalik

"Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 245 Ifalik

"Tied around a wooden handle, strips of leaflet midrib become broomstraws."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 245 Ifalik

"The slender leaflet midribs (logto) some 1/8 inch in diameter, where the midrib of the whole leaf is several inches--are useful where lightness and flexibility are necessary. On a frame of stiffer withes, lengths of leaflet midrib are lashed criss-cross to make a fish trap (ul pam) of the smaller size. These are set on the bottom in shallow water, weighted down with sand and baited with crushed crabs, to catch small fish."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the principal starchy food, when it is bearing. Its wood is also the most in demand for timber. In season, breadfruit makes up more of the bulk of the diet than anything else. Its main season is the rag, the time of prevailing westerly winds, approximately June to November. The crop reaches it height about July, then dwindles until by November there is very little. A second but smaller crop comes in the trade-wind season. During our stay, breadfruit seemed to be coming in again in January. Mai vae made up most or all of it. We were told that it would have come earlier but for two near-hurricanes, one in November and the other late in December, that destroyed much of the young fruit."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 415 Ifalik

"Still other parts of the coconut tree are useful. The clothlike fabric (ʻulu or ʻulʻulu) that grows about the base of the leaves makes a strainer for toddy or medicine. Mothers make water-droppers of it for their babies. Folding a piece into the shape of a funnel, they put some fragrant herb into it, then dip it in water, hold it over the baby's mouth, and let the water drop in. Some of the herbs used for this purpose are listed on p. 43 (this ms.).

A dry fruit stalk makes a crude broom, when one of the better brooms of leaflet midrib tied to a handle is not available. Dry flower spathes, while less used for torches than in some Pacific islands, occasionally serve for fire-brands or kindling."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 105 Ifalik

"We have seen that the coconut is meat and drink to the people of Ifalik; supplies most of the material for their houses; provides the cordage used to hold all composite wooden articles together; makes baskets, mats, fuel, and has a multitude of other uses, even acting as a symbol and agent of supernatural power. The list above does not pretend to be complete. Whether human life could be sustained on such an atoll without this plant is open to question. If it could, it would have to be a radically different life from that which the people lead there now."

1: Burrows--35-36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the only food preserved for any great length of time. (Bonito are smoked, but only to keep them until they can be eaten, which takes two weeks or so with a big catch.) At the height of its bearing season there is more breadfruit than the people can eat. Every household preserves some of the surplus.

The fruit is cut up, mashed with coral pounders, and put into a net made for the purpose (trou li mare). When the net is full it is wrapped up, fastened, and carried--making, in most households, a load for three or four men--into the lagoon. There it is weighted down with blocks of coral and left overnight. In the morning it is brought ashore and put into a pit lined with leaves. After one night there the pit is opened and some of the breadfruit eaten at once. (We foreigners found this mashed and salted breadfruit about the most palatable form of all.) Next, the breadfruit is put back into the pits for the long wait. The pits are lined with big [36] glossy leaves of gul (Barringtonia asiatica). The breadfruit is wrapped up in separate lumps, most of them about half the size of a loaf of bread. The pit is filled with these breadfruit-leaf packages. When it is full, it is covered over with coconut leaves, and these are weighted down with coral. Laid down in this way, mare, as it is called, is said to keep for several years. During the time when there is no fresh breadfruit to be had mare is taken out now and then to vary the daily diet of taro. At this stage it has a penetrating and, to Americans, most offensive smell. But the natives seem to like it no less than their other starchy foods."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit sap makes a gum (bwIIIs) used to glue the joints between canoe planks. This is collected by slashing the bark of the tree in several places and, after gum has gathered on the wound, scraping it off with a knife. The day after collecting, it is washed in salt water and bits of bark and other foreign matter taken out. Then it is soaked in fresh water for several days and kept in a bottle.

Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned, and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifalik at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)"

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 396, 245 Ifalik

"The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues (Calophyllum inophyllum), a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48). Woleaians
116, 167, 262 Ifalik

"During the war many Woleai people came to Ifalik because the Japanese were using Woleai for an airfield, which not only crowded the natives but subjected them to American bombing. Our interpreter put the number who came to Ifalik at 375. Even if we discount liberally--for his figures could never be trusted--it seems likely that the population of Ifalik was at least doubled then, rather suddenly. Tom assured us that there was plenty of taro for all, and plenty left over; and on information of that kind he was generally dependable."

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48). Woleaians
116, 241, 824 Ifalik

"If we may use the word taro for a moment in a broader sense than the botanists would approve, there are three main types on Ifalik. The one that should not be called taro is the giant arum (filē; Alocasia macrorrhiza) sometimes called in English by the Polynesian name kape. A second is the coarse yellow-fleshed pulaka (pulax, Cyrtosperma chamissonis) grown on atolls far and wide over the Pacific, commonly in artificial pits. The third is true taro, of the type favored on high islands (wot, Colocasia esculenta). This is smaller than the other two, and its leaves are rounded where theirs come to three points. Its flesh is finer-grained, gray in color with a purplish cast.

The giant arum of filē is less exacting in the matter of soil than the others. It grows rankly about the edges of water-holes or, apparently, whereever it can get plenty of moisture from below. Though the natives plant it and weed around it, they eat it much less than the others. (Tom said this was a matter of individual taste, and possibly we did not happen to observe households particularly fond of filē.) Two reasons were given for this. One is that not all women know how to prepare filē properly. A good deal of the outside must be taken off, for one thing. If it is not properly prepared the minute spicules in it will bite the tongue and throat. The other reason is that 'If a man eats filē, he won't catch any fish.'

Pulax is the type grown in greatest quantity in the Falālāp taro swamp (nibwél--to

distinguish from niwel, which means forest or 'bush'.) Everybody on either island has a hereditary right to share in at least one patch in this swamp.

Wot is grown in smallest quantity, apparently because it requires most cultivation. Though highly esteemed, it does not seem to be preferred to pulax to any such extent as on high islands, where pulax may be considered fit only for areas where nothing better will grow. Young leaves of wot, tenderer than those of pulax and filē, are chopped up, stripped of their ribs and cooked for greens."

1: Burrows--37-38 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 462

"The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens) seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out. [38]

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and two feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water."

"A working day in the taro patch lasts from soon after daybreak until about noon. If a woman gets thirsty at her work, she may pause to drink a coconut; but must leave the taro patch to do it. If she were to drink on the patch, the plants would not grow.

The women are perfectly aware of the fertilizing effect of burying weeds under the plants. This, with an idealized view of a gardener's enthusiasm for her work, comes out in one of their songs:

Lovemaking would keep me from my garden.
I like to go there every day.
I don't like to waste time sleeping;
I like to see my taro grow tall.
I heap earth around the wot plants,
Bury leaves all about the wot,
To make it grow faster."

1: Burrows--38-39 (1947-48) Woleaians
1167 252 Ifalik

"Out of just three ingredients--taro, coconut cream, and fresh coconut toddy--the women prepare a considerable variety of dishes. Those that follow were noted down from gifts brought to us, and do not exhaust the resources of native cookery:

arongiumat-mashed taro with raw coconut cream

aronguvis-whole taro cooked in coconut cream

maigogo-mashed taro, cooked in coconut cream long enough to form a brown crust

malegefale-) big pieces, soaked for a long time in toddy before
pulax vauvau-) cooking. (These seem to be two names for the same preparation; at any rate, if there is a difference, it was not noted.)

pelopel-mashed taro, cooked with coconut cream, put in a bowl and moulded in little square mounds, the hollows between these filled by pouring in toddy.

[39]shewoshū-taro mashed, mixed with coconut cream and toddy, cooked long so that a brown crust forms on top.

(name not learned)-taro cut in small pieces and cooked in coconut cream without mashing. Varieties of rather open texture, among them pulax i sali and annIpenni, lend themselves better to this preparation than the gummier kinds favored for the preceding one.

(name not learned)-taro mashed and cooked with cream and grated coconut meat."

1: Burrows -39 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 241, 824 Ifalik

"Though bananas (wir) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (mogmog; Tacca leontopetaloides) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (mwisi) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar-cane (wou; Saccharum officinarum) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is gop (Portulaca samoensis). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear very little, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I can not recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were avūs (Crataeva speciosa) and song (Bruguiera conjugata). The nuts of kazās

(Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the aroma (Pipturus argenteus) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"The first step in weaving is to set up the warp. This is done on a set of seven pegs stuck in holes on a board about 3 feet long. The pegs project from the board about 8 inches. The order in which fibers of different colors are wound on the pegs determines the succession of longitudinal stripes in the cloth, and the number of turns taken of each color determines the width of each stripe. On every other turn a short separate piece of fiber is passed about the warp and then tied in a small loop or leash around one of the pegs. This procedure is shown in Fig. 4.

The warp thus prepared is then transferred to the loom. The construction of this is shown in Fig. 3.

The weaver sits facing the frame, with her feet braced against it. She fastens the belt about her back, and by leaning back on it keeps the warp taut. The weft is wound on a shuttle shaped like the netting-needles used in making seines. Successive weft fibers are pressed together with a sword. Fringes are left at each end of the piece of cloth. The weaving is entirely in simple check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"Though the fruit of bananas is not esteemed, the fiber of the trunk is in great demand for weaving native cloth. Women remove the green outer layer, then peel off in thin strips the fiber of which most of the trunk is composed. They hang it in the sun for two or three days, soak it in salt water for four or five days, then hang it out again for a period that varies from five to ten days, depending on the sunshine. Then they split it to the width desired. Most of the cloths ran between 20 and 30 wefts to the inch. The fibers are not spun, but woven flat.

The bast of hau (gilivō; Hibiscus tiliaceus) is also used for weaving, but is considered inferior to banana fiber. Of the many uses to which this species of Hibiscus is put elsewhere in the Pacific, the only ones customary on Ifalik are for weaving and formerly, we were told, for fishing-lines. The plant is not abundant and does not grow to great size, perhaps because the women cut most of the shoots young. To prepare the bast for weaving, they scrape off the outer bark and soak the sticks in salt water, weighted down with coral, for four days. Then they strip off the bast, hang it in the sun to bleach and dry, and split it into wefts, most of them a little coarser than those of banana fiber. They are said to be good for women's skirts, but too stiff for men's loin cloths."

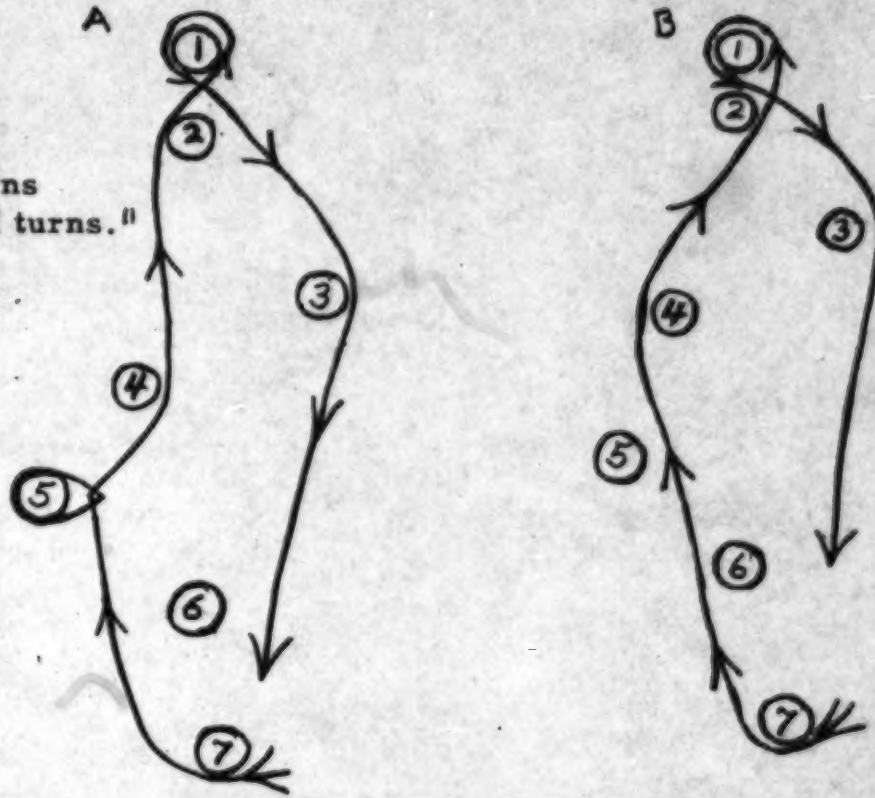
1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 386, 241 Ifalik

"Whichever plant [KS: banana or hibiscus] is used, some of the fibers are soaked in dye before weaving. Nearly all the dye in use in 1947-8 had been bought from the Japanese. Two native dyes are still remembered, though now rarely or never used. One is a black, obtained from a porous, floating mineral that sometimes drifts to Ifalik. It is ground into water by rubbing on a piece of iron. The other native dye is a red, made by mixing coral lime and lel bark in water. Turmeric paint, though not used to dye fibers before weaving, may be rubbed over finished cloth."

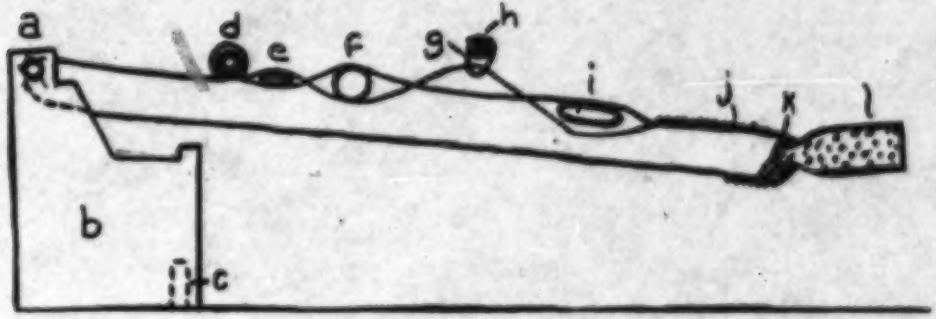
1: Burrows--40-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286 Ifalik

"Fig. 2. -Setting up the warp:

A, first and odd numbered turns
B, second and even-numbered turns."



"Fig. 3. -Diagram showing construction of loom:



A, warp beam; b, frame (wijalo); baseboard (pap), used as brace for weaver's feet; d, round laze rod (ulut); e, flat laze rod (tiwe); f, shed stick (tepang); g, leash; h, heddle rod (ngeng); i, sword (apop); j, finished fabric; k, cloth beam; l, belt (tali). "

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285 Ifalik

"Sleeping mats are plaited from the leaves [KS: of the pandanus] of the variety which is called simply by the generic name far. The leaves are first laid out in the sun until thoroughly dry. They may then either be used as they are, or bleached by soaking in salt water, rinsing in fresh water, and sunning again.

The leaves are split to the desired width by pulling between the fibers a small loop of coconut leaf midrib attached to the right index finger. These strips are then plaited in simple check. The technique gives the mat a double thickness. Mats of plain color, the light brown of the unbleached leaf, are called faulap. The wefts used for this are about 3/8" wide. The other kind, the most prized, is called giegie. The name emphasizes their whiteness, as shown by the fact that giegie is also the name for the snowy-white fairytern. Giegie mats are made largely of sun-bleached leaf; but some wefts of unbleached brown leaf are commonly introduced to make simple, rather widely spaced plaid designs. The wefts of giegie are somewhat narrower than those of faulap. Those observed varied from about 1/4" to 1/8", averaging about 3/16". A small strip of matting of this kind is shown in Damm's Plate 2, No. 60.

Bleached pandanus leaf is also used for the smallest and finest baskets, in which men keep their flint-and-steel or tobacco. These average less than six inches in their longest dimension. One collected is 4 1/2" X 1 1/2"X1". They are plaited in check over wooded blocks that serve as forms. They are made in several shapes. One, like a little pouch,

is called geigas; another, a miniature box with fitted cover, sigurăr. Damm (Plates I, II) shows one of these; also several larger pandanus baskets. The plaiting is similar, but in one the rim is bound with a fine cord, presumably of sinnet, while two have long braided handles. Such large pandanus baskets are not common now on Ifalik. The only one I remember seeing was given to Spiro as a farewell present."

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262 Ifalik

"Pandanus fruit is not eaten on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 292 Ifalik

"Either far or far en Nuta may be used for hats of flaring conical shape, which are sometimes used by men while fishing. These are called trelivar. Another name, parong, is used only among men. It refers to the under side of the penis, where the edge of the glans has an outline resembling the shape of these hats. A light hoop of gabwi wood forms the rim. To this are attached strips of coconut leaflet midrib which form ribs. They are gathered together in a point at the top. Pandanus leaves, whole except for trimmed edges, are laid vertically over this frame, overlapping and sewed on with horizontal seams of fine sennit cord. A band of the leaf, finely plaited like one of the small baskets, holds the leaves together at the top."

1::Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285, 396 Ifalik

"Leaves of the variety of pandanus called far en Nuta, cured but not bleached, are used for sails. Matting for sails is plaited in strips about a foot wide. These are sewed together with sinnet cord, using stitches several inches long. Seams are run both vertically and horizontally. The advantage of making the sail in strips is that it usually limits tearing to one strip. Thus a torn place can be repaired by replacing a single strip of matting."

1: Burrows--41-42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313 Ifalik

"The huge glossy leaves of the variety of pandanus called pogū are said to be worthless for plaiting. They are used only to tie about the trunks of [42] coconut trees, making a band whose slippery surface is said to keep rats from climbing the trees and eating the young nuts. This device is little used on Ifalik. No bands of pogū were seen there, though the practise is referred to in a song. But a walk about Satawan during our few hours ashore there revealed many trees with these pandanus bands about them."

" Native Timber Trees

Names of other trees used for timber, with more specific notes on the uses, follow:

aro-Straight shoots used for palings on house walls, or slats on canoe platforms; saplings used for canoe poles; large trunks for house posts.

gaingei-Proverbially strong. Used for some of the small pieces of canoe outrigger attachment. A favorite for levers, poles, walking sticks.

kelau, kalua-First choice for house posts. Said to be very durable in the ground.

kili-A small tree. The tough wood is used for canoe paddles and smaller house timbers.

lel-House timber.

mog-House timber.

rages-(Also called sevang and vitou) canoe end-posts and outrigger booms.

sol-House timber.

treli-a hard wood with various uses; its forks favored for the forked sticks attaching outrigger floats to booms.

wutu-House timber.

tria-Hard, straight-grained wood used to make men's combs."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322 Ifalik

"Pandanus trunks, like those of coconut, have an outer shell of very hard wood and a comparatively pithy interior. This tubular structure may make them strong for their weight; at any rate, they are favored for certain house timbers where both strength and lightness are wanted, such as king-posts and supports for the overhanging rounded end of roofs. Strips cut from the hard shell alone are put to a few uses for which thickness is not required, --for example, slats to form the floor of canoe platforms. To judge by this use, pandanus wood will stand salt water better than that of coconut."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"The fragrant petals of the pandanus flower, fastened together so that their pointed ends project like a crown, form a particularly effective garland for the head."

1; Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276 Ifalik

"Two kinds of pepper plant (gabwi) grow on the island. One of them is said to be the right kind (piper betle) to chew with betel nut. There are a very few, perhaps a half dozen, small betel palms (Areca catechu) on the island. But chewing betel is not a local custom. The other kind of pepper is not used as a drug, so far as is known.

The natives are fond, perhaps overfond, of tobacco. A few plants are coaxed up through the coral gravel on house platforms, but nearly all the tobacco is imported. Even neighboring atolls, as Faraulep and Ngulu, export 'Caroline smoke' to Ifalik."

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 278, 824 Ifalik
1-2

"The following list of plants used for medicine was obtained during the general survey of plants and their uses. Many remedies are hereditary secrets, so the list is certainly not complete. As will appear in the list of rituals seen (p. 184-6), the main emphasis is not on herbal remedies, but on getting supernatural help.

angorIk-aromatic herb, put in medicine ritually prepared, blessed by the gods, and drunk as a preventive. Also considered healthful in drinking water for babies.

aro-a green leafy branch is waved over the medicine as part of the ritual, dipped in the bowl, and used to sprinkle these who are taking part.

bwogorewau-an aromatic sedge that grows in the taro swamp. Said to be very good for the stomach, if taken in coconut juice. Used in babies' drinking water.

korax-Herb. Used medicinally; no details obtained.

livalus-Tree. Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric, strained into water for babies to drink.

olu-Leaves wrapped in coconut fabric and soaked in water, which is then drunk to help stomach trouble and loss of appetite.

sol-Some men know (informant did not) how to make a medicine from this tree to cure a red eruption on the skin.

song-Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric and strained into water for babies to drink.

ualomax-A vine. Infusion of leaves drunk for stomach."

"Both men and women, but especially men, are fond of wearing flowers on the head, about the neck, or in the hole in the lobe of the ear. A few kinds such as the red hibiscus, are worn for color only; but fragrance seems to be even more prized.

angorlk-(turmeric) The crushed leaves are rubbed on the skin, hung in the ear-hole, or worn wherever they will hang. Espècially fragrant when [44] partly dried. One of the plants beloved of the gods, which grows in the sky as well as on earth.

aro-This tree, whose leafy branches are used in ritual, has also a fragrant flower.

atogobwei-A vine. Lovers are said to rub the leaves on their necks to sweeten their embraces.

Flèrōs-(Red hibiscus). For color only.

giǒp-(Spider lily). For form, color, and fragrance.

guruguru-Herb with aromatic root.

Kerriō-Bush with clusters of small flowers used in garlands.

raguēs-(also called geval and sevang) fragrant flower.

remag-(also called natu) Flowers worn in hair, or used for garlands.

seuru-(Plumeria) For color as well as fragrance.

waryng-An herb with aromatic leaves, grown on house platforms. The gods grow this in the sky.

wutu-The long-tubed white flowers of this tree are prized for their fragrance. This, too, grows in the sky."

"Miscellaneous Uses of Plants

Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, riri, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, ènènux, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing.

Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called ueluelīōp, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called bogo li le pā is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the aroma tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader.

The aerial roots of the gïliao, a banyan, are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe, before the permanent lashing of sennit cord is put on.

A dried moss is sometimes laid between the planks of a canoe. It is said to [45] decrease leaking. This was not done, however, in any of several canoes built during our stay on the island."

1: Burrows--45 (1947-48) Woleaians
H6, 824 Ifalik

"The following plants were dismissed as weeds ('blong nothing'):
atilt, a small herb.

buyol-The creeping grass which is the great pest of the taro swamp.

kamarag-Staghorn fern, apt to overrun the ground under the breadfruit trees.

Keisis-also kevakual. Small herbs.

talingilipat-mushroom or fungus--'Many kinds, one name'."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

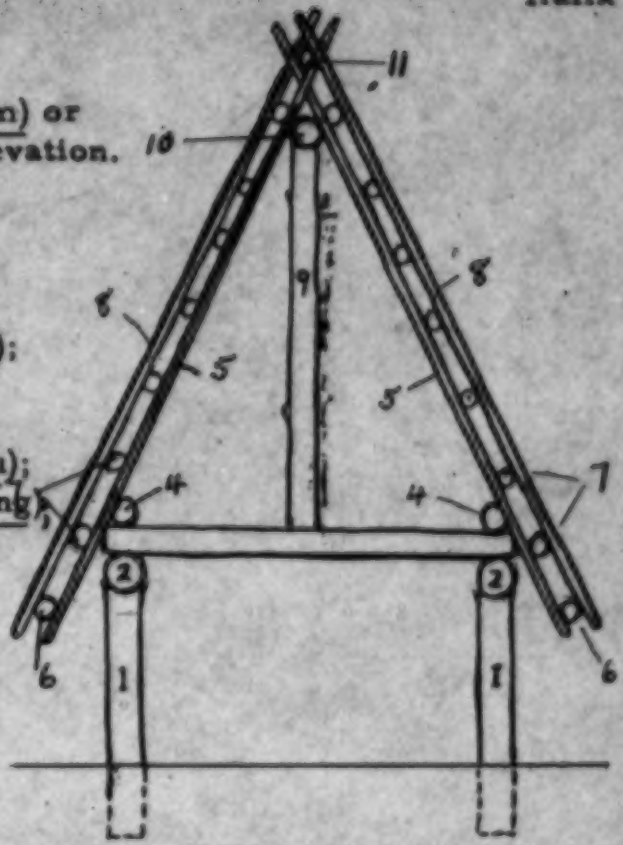
"Dwellings are built on Ifalik almost exclusively for shelter. They are hardly valued at all as works of art or means of displaying the prosperity of their owners. Consequently the only requirements for an ordinary house are a roof and walls that will keep out sun and rain, and a frame that will withstand a strong wind.

As befits the strictly utilitarian character of the craft, the position of house-carpenter is not especially honored. There is no formal, restricted lore of house-building, as there is of canoe-building, navigation, and tattooing. No myth was collected attributing the origin of this craft to the gods, though there are such myths for all three other crafts. Three songs were collected in praise of shipwrights; none in praise of house carpenters."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 342 Ifalik

"The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed--for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three-Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti--were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered."

"Fig. 4. -Construction of Ifalik dwelling (im) or canoe-house (fan ni wā); end elevation.



1, corner post (sur); 2, stringer (tareilap); 3, end tie-beam (kouram); 4, roof plate; 5, rafter (wou); 6, eave purlin (apux); 7, purlin (kapongax); 8, thatch rafter (wou); 9, king post (bwot); 10, main ridge pole (yng); 11, upper ridge pole."

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

I: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

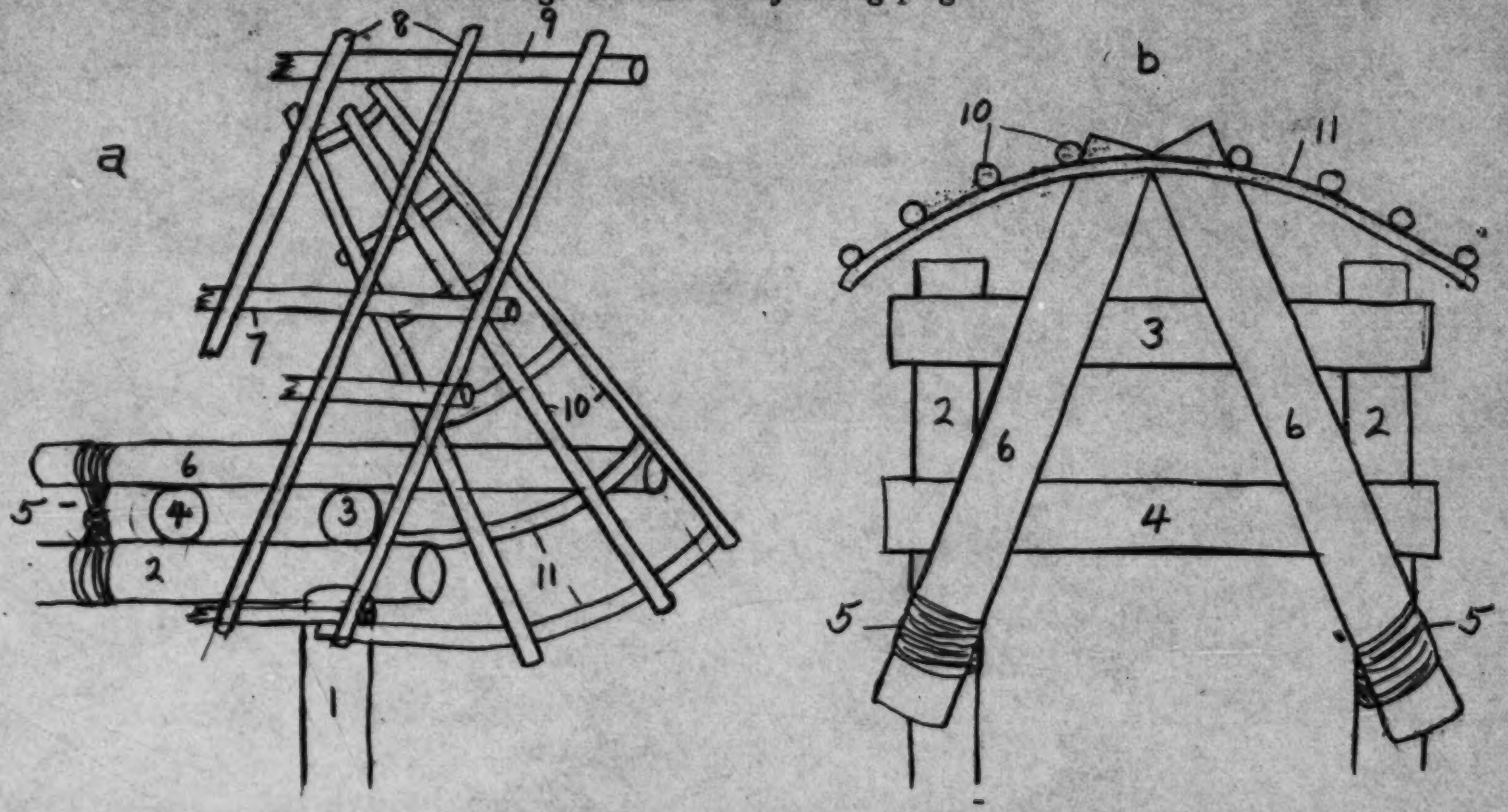
The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

Fig. 5. -See adjoining page

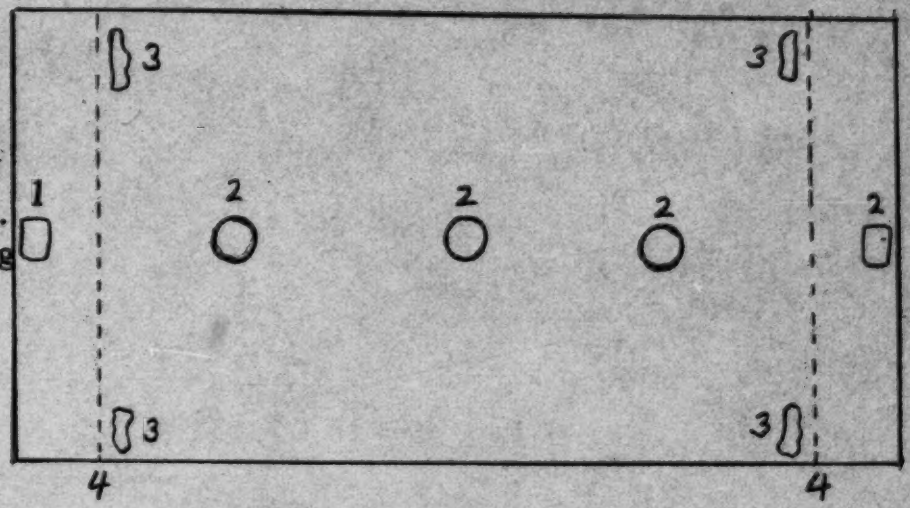


"Fig. 5. -How the projecting gable end of a canoe-house is supported without obstructing the space below, where canoes are hauled in and out.

a, side elevation. b. plan. 1, corner post; 2, stringer;
3, end tie-beam; 4, tie-beam (auten ni lalo); 5, lashing;
6, gable support (tilbweli); 7, purlins; 8, rafters;
9, ridge pole; 10, gable rafters; 11, curved gable purlins."

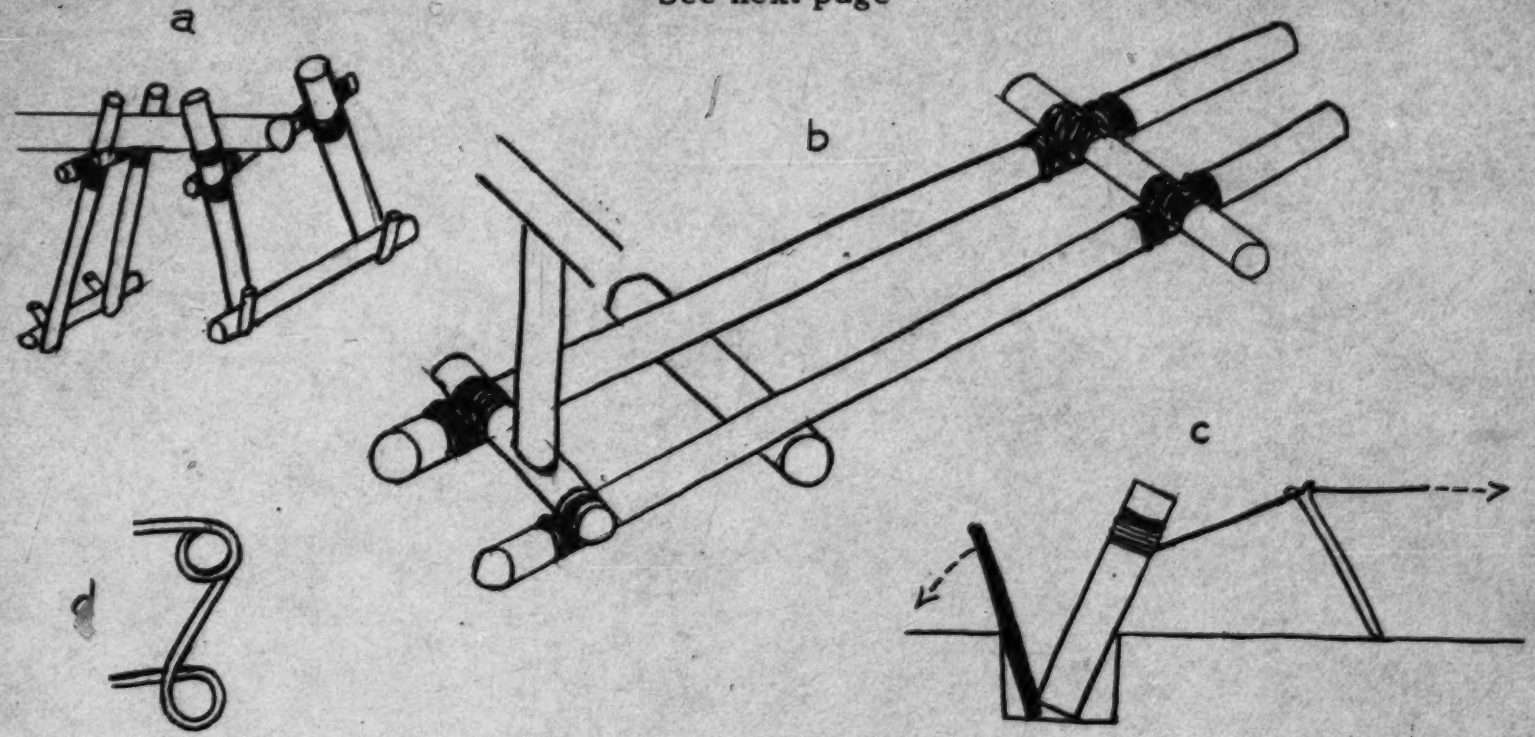
"Fig. 6. -Plan of men's house (fan nap).

1, front post (ʻóngarIk);
2, middle posts (sur oungo), supporting ridge pole.
3, stone corner posts (sur perou).
4, vertical gable thatch, extending from height of eaves to peak."



"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house."

See next page



"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a, temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown).
b, double lever for raising the roof.
c, removing the old corner post by means of hauling line and levers.
d, hauling line snubbed around two trees."

1: Burrows--47-48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 335 Ifalik

"In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most [48] carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 345, 532 Ifalik

"The construction of the men's house (fan nap) is shown in Figure 6. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving (Pl. 4, a). The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free."

"Dann, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifalik to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifalik during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodău (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifalik in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house Ilamai or Iramai which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj (recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falālap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelū on Falārik. The site of the ancient Katelū was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifalik would be anomalous.

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear. [49]

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifalik. The men's house is not built on

one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falārik and Falālap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time."

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pënga.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the

new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic]canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken

up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8, b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

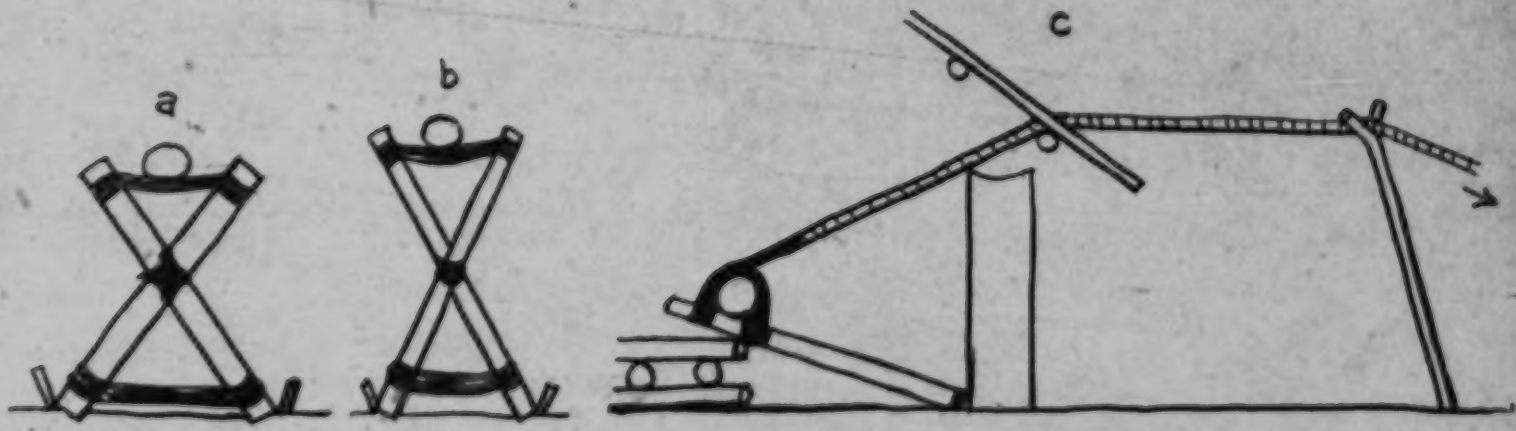
The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

"Fig. 8. -Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

a, X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
b, X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
c, method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post."



1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 554 Ifalik

"A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifalik. Anyone can build a little one; but the construction of that master-piece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-shipwrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 552, 501, 782 Ifalik

"Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol, after a breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an overseas voyage:

Lay the anchor in the woods!
Lay the anchor in the woods,
O Soupalele!
Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!
Right in the middle,
The very middle of the land.
When my canoe goes,
Let me return to this land!"

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 501 Ifalik

"Ifalik is said to be better supplied with canoes than any of the neighboring islands. The total number on the island in January, 1948, (not counting hulks considered no longer seaworthy), was 91, or one for every 2.7 persons in the population; surely a remarkable showing for a place that has so little large timber. Three sizes are recognized: large sailing canoes with platforms (wā verugIt, 'big canoe'); canoes of medium size with several thwarts for paddlers (wa fatòle, 'paddle canoe'), and canoes with only a single seat on the outrigger booms (rosemāni). Of the total of 91, 23 were sailing canoes, 21 medium-size paddling canoes, and 47 small rosemāni. * Sarfert recorded a different classification: wa li wuei, a large sailing canoe; manuwili, smaller sailing canoe for fishing; kafadule, paddling canoe for 4-5 men; djasemali (equivalent to rosemāni in his orthography), paddling canoe for 1 or 2; and fofat raft, a term I also collected."

"* The spelling of this word follows the attempt at phonemic orthography discussed in Appendix I. The commonest pronunciation is trojemān."

1: Burrows--52-53 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 501 Ifalik 1-2

"In construction of hull and attachment of outrigger, canoes of all sizes are essentially alike. The small rosemāni have no thwarts except for the inboard portions of the two booms, while larger canoes have additional thwarts nearer each end. All canoes carry paddles (fatole) and wooden scoop-shaped bailers (mat). Paddling canoes are poled in shallow water. When not in use, the poles are laid over the booms just [53] outside the hull, and kept in place by sennit loops (taninga ni meinin) near each end. Wooden trays (tarong) rest on the booms just outside the hull, and are attached by lashing. They are used to carry small articles, which are more likely to stay dry there than inside the hull. In sailing canoes, these are replaced by large platforms (Fig. 7, d, e), not only on the outrigger side but on the lee side as well.

Large canoes conform in every respect but one--symmetry of the hull on Ifalik--to the 'flying proa' type described by Haddon and Hornell in 'Canoes of Oceania'* as characteristic of the western Carolines. Characteristics of that type which are present in Ifalik canoes are:

triangular outrigger platform

"* Throughout the following account, the terminology in English follows that of Haddon and Hornell."

lee platform on the side opposite the outrigger
forked heads at the top of both end-posts
two outrigger booms, curving downward
outrigger float attached to booms by crutch-shaped Y connectives and cord brace made up of multiple lashing. (A difference here is that in Ifalik the connectives are not pointed and driven into the float, but flat-ended, and carefully fitted to press against it. These connectives take only stresses that push the float toward the booms. Stresses that pull float and booms apart are taken by the cord brace.)

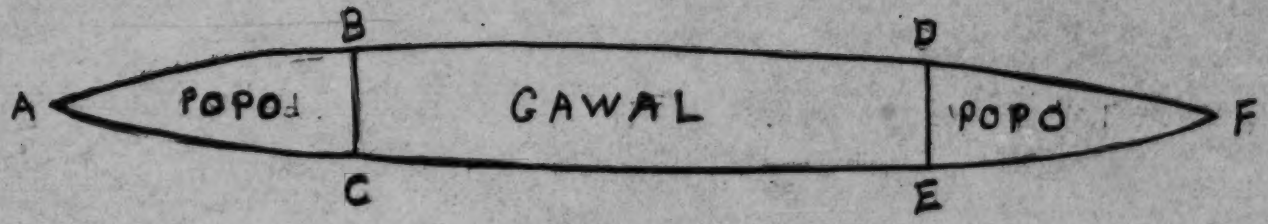
The characteristic of the 'flying proa' elsewhere which is not shared by Ifalik canoes is asymmetry of the hull. In the classic 'flying proa' type, Haddon and Hornell say, 'one side, the weather or outrigger side, is more rounding or fuller than the lee side.' As will appear in the account of drawing lines to guide the shaping of the hull, Ifalik hulls are carefully made symmetrical, longitudinally and transversely."

1: Burrows--55-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 9. -Two types of forked head (metaliwā) for the ends of a canoe.

a, the type called kawalu, used on Ifalik.
b, the type called pōpō, attributed to Seimeligarāra."

(1947-48)



"Fig. 10. -First measurements on the bottom of a canoe.

ABDF is the top of the log, which will be the bottom of the hull. It is called arol. BC and DE are the dividing lines between the end sections, called pōpō, and the middle section, called gawal. The gawal is one half the total length; each of the pōpō one quarter. The dividing points B and D are called annetok."

1: Burrows--53-56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 341, 773 Ifalik 1-7

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, Ganauliwlr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying

inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilók and Uterang. Wëtreilók was the husband of Seramaliwok, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilók said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilók went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwok came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilók replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle,

until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it

black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wëtreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wëtreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wëtreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wëtreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly,

the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wā, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called pōpō, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik pōpō is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might

still build a canoe of pōpō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 173 Ifalik

"Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island 'Modj', four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants."

1: Burrows--56-57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy. [57]

Before beginning the work, the carpenter takes a coconut and offers it to the gods Seimeligarāra, Seilangi, and SemerIk, with the following prayer. (The English words for the first line seem to be a paraphrase rather than a translation.)

Eia ngalir tautou,	Gods of the carpenter
Tautou bwo li valval,	Carpenter of the measuring-line,
E bwe gatre tipal.	He will be happy.

Tom said this was the whole text of the prayer, but explained that the carpenter was going to be happy because his canoe would be light and fast, and would not sink.

The instruments used for measuring are a sennit line (tal ni valval), a flexible ruler (tageluvā) made of a strip of coconut leaf midrib, a bit of leaflet midrib for measuring short spaces, a pot of red paint and a wooden pen or marker."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"First the length of the bottom is measured off with the line. Then its middle point is found by doubling the line. The line is redoubled, giving a length one quarter of the total. This quarter distance is measured off from each end and marked. This divides the bottom into three parts. The two at the ends, called pōpō, are a quarter of the total length; the one in the middle, called gawal, half of the total. The bottom is to be curved along the pōpō, straight (or nearly so) along the gawal. This ensures that the two curving ends shall be of the same length.

Next a double line is stretched along the median line of the bottom (ABDF in the figure). With ruler and paint, lines are drawn on each side of it. Lines are then drawn with the ruler on each side of the median line. (ACEF in the figure represents one of them). The distances BC and DE and the corresponding ones on the other side, are carefully measured with a strip of leaflet midrib to make sure that they are all equal. This ensures symmetry of the underbody (pongo) at this stage, both longitudinally and transversely.

The master carpenter then gives permission for the workers to break their fast. They may now drink young coconut, and eat its soft flesh."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Next the bottom is hewn to shape. As the lines are chipped off with the adzes, new ones are drawn on. At a later stage it is customary to have five lines on each side. The principle is the same as with the first two; to keep them equidistant throughout their length, so that the hull will be symmetrical in both dimensions. This is said to ensure its sailing straight and fast.

When the underbody is finished except for final touches, it is turned right side up. Occasionally the builder of a small canoe will be able to get a log big enough to make the hull, except for the end-posts, all in one piece. Such a canoe is called wā velanū. All the larger canoes, though, and most of the small ones, have their sides built up with planks (pape).

The underbody is hollowed out for the sake of lightness, except that several triangular spreaders (vailō) are left intact to keep the flaring sides from collapsing. A joint is cut in each end, at a somewhat acute angle, to take the lower end of an end-post."

"When each joint [KS: of a canoe] is made satisfactorily tight, holes are bored at corresponding points in the two surfaces. Then the two are sewed together, with sennit cord. The leading end of the cord is stiffened, for pushing through the hole, by tying it to a makeshift bodkin or eyeless needle, which consists of a slender strip or splinter cut off a coconut leaf midrib. The cord is passed round and round through each hole; but the technique is strictly sewing rather than lashing, as it is sometimes called, because the cord passes through the planks rather than around them. The first attachment is only temporary.

With the end-pieces in place, breadfruit planks are hewn out of the biggest pieces available, and fitted and sewed together by the processes just described. Wood is so scarce that even wormeaten pieces are used, and patched if necessary. The joints between planks take whatever shape--usually a very irregular one--will waste the least wood. In this way the hull is built up to the size desired, or that dictated by the available timber."

1: Burrows--58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Next the end-pieces (par) are hewn out. Though much smaller than the underbody, they must take the brunt of any end-on collision. So they are made of hard, tough wood, usually rages. They are the only pieces in the hull to be made of other wood than breadfruit, though hardwoods are also used for the masthead and several parts of the outrigger and platforms.

Each end-piece is trimmed to form a cutwater (vetang) as sharp as it can be without weakening it too much. Even in the largest canoes, the cutwater is usually less than an inch wide. The inboard side is hollowed out, leaving two or three triangular spreaders, as in the underbody. The one that will come at the height of the gunwales has a special name, ta li vetvet. A shallow round pit or socket is cut in its upper surface. This holds the apex of the sail, when that end is the bow; and supports the butt of a fishing-pole when the end is the stern and the canoe is being used for trolling. The forked head, the shape of which has already been discussed, is hewn out of the solid top of each end-piece; or, if wood is lacking for part of the fork on one side or both, separate pieces are shaped and fastened on. Finally, the bottom of each end-piece is cut to fit the joint cut in one end of the underbody. The post must set at such an angle as to give the overhang characteristic of all Ifalik canoes."

1: Burrows-58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The technique of fitting two pieces together, which begins with joining the parts of the forked head or, if that is all in one piece, with joining the end-post to the underbody, is always the same. It is a very slow one, requiring repeated trial fittings. The two parts to be fitted together are first shaped by eye; and the eye is such a practised one, in the case of experienced canoe-carpenters, that an approximate fit is achieved at once. But hardly ever can it be good enough to make a watertight joint. So the joining surface of one of the pieces--always the lower one, on the piece first put in place as the canoe is built up--is daubed with red paint. The other piece is then lifted into place, with its joining surface against the fresh paint. Any protrusions, which widen the joint, take the paint, and show the carpenters where more wood has to be taken off. After the reddened bits of surface have been removed, and any other changes indicated by the fitting completed, the upper piece is tried on again. The process is repeated until the joint is satisfactorily tight at every point. This task, which is repeated for every piece in the hull where two surfaces are to be in contact, goes very slowly, with many pauses for consultation and rest. Only a few men--two to four seems a usual number--stay on the job through this stage."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"No ribs or inner framework stiffen the hull as a whole. Such a vessel, made of planks simply sewn together edge to edge, seems very flimsy. And, indeed, there is always danger, in a heavy sea, that the hull may be crushed or broken apart. Yet several devices help to strengthen it. The little triangular spreaders left in place in hewing out the underbody and end-posts have that effect, as far as they go. Broad gunwales (mesāp), laid flat, surmount both sides, stiffening them as well as turning aside some of the water that would otherwise splash in. The two outrigger booms, running athwart the hull amidships, are perhaps the strongest braces of all. The little rosemani, which keep to the lagoon except in calm weather, have no other thwarts than these. Larger canoes have several, the number varying with their size. Those nearest the bow and stern of sailing canoes have a special name (metangār) and an additional function. They project beyond the hull, and end in knobs. When the mast is up, the halyards are made fast to these projections, and the knobs keep them from slipping off.

These stiffening devices are most effective against inward stresses that threaten to crush the hull. Against outward stresses, so communicated from one member to another that they threaten to spread the hull apart, there is less protection. As a last resort a rope may be slung about a canoe at sea, to hold the hull together. Not everyone knows how to do this; in fact, the purpose of a song in which I first heard it mentioned was to shame a crew of young men who had let their canoe break apart on a sand-spit because they did not know how to rope it together."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"When all the pieces of the hull have been hewn to shape and fitted together, there is another burst of work, requiring a considerable number of men. The hull is taken apart, a few chips hewn off here and there to make the joints fit better, then it is all put together again, this time permanently. The joints are tightened with thin strips that act like caulking, though they are laid in place, not driven in. The seams are glued; and the lashing is replaced more carefully than before. At this point in the building of Tom's canoe, 31 men were counted in the canoe-house, though there were rarely more than 10 working at any one time.

The strips that correspond to caulking are made of the husk of mature coconuts, skillfully cut in very thin slices (päle). Sometimes, it is said, dried moss may be used instead; but coconut husk is preferred for the best canoes.

Over the caulking is spread a glue of breadfruit gum (bwIIIs). The gum collects on slashes made in the bark and outer wood of the trunk. It is kept, nowadays, in glass bottles. To remove it for use, a stick is thrust into the bottle. When withdrawn, it pulls out after it a white rope of gum. This is wound on the stick in a ball. Before applying, it is heated with a torch (kal) of coconut spathes. Thus softened, it comes off on the caulking in a thin, even sheet."

1: Burrows--59-60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Taking the hull apart, caulking it, and re-assembling it, constitute a full day's work, though taken at a much faster pace than the leisurely one used in fitting planks together. About midday the owner of the canoe feasts the workmen on breadfruit or taro in coconut cream, which is usually all he has to offer.

Although this is a day of great activity it is not taken as solemnly as the days of more delicate, risky tasks. The workmen are not subjected to any tapus [sic], and the only ritual performed is a short prayer and offering a bit of food just before the men begin to eat. This is customary at any distribution of food to a group larger than a household. [60]

The fitting of gunwales and preparation of the parts of the outrigger make up another slow, careful stage, with only a few men working at a time. The outrigger booms are centered in the hull by measuring its overall length with a sennit line, then doubling the line. At points equidistant from the halfway mark so determined, and about a yard apart, the outrigger booms are fitted into the gunwales. The same measure--half the overall length of the hull--is used for the distance from the middle of the hull to the point on each boom directly over the middle of the outrigger float."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik 1-2

"The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy. Four forked sticks (iam) form the Y or crutch connectives. The insides of the forks are carefully fitted to the booms to make as tight a joint as possible. Their lower ends are also fitted with great care to the upper surface of the float. On each boom, one fork presses against the inboard angle of this surface, the other against the outboard angle. They are not fastened at this end in any way.

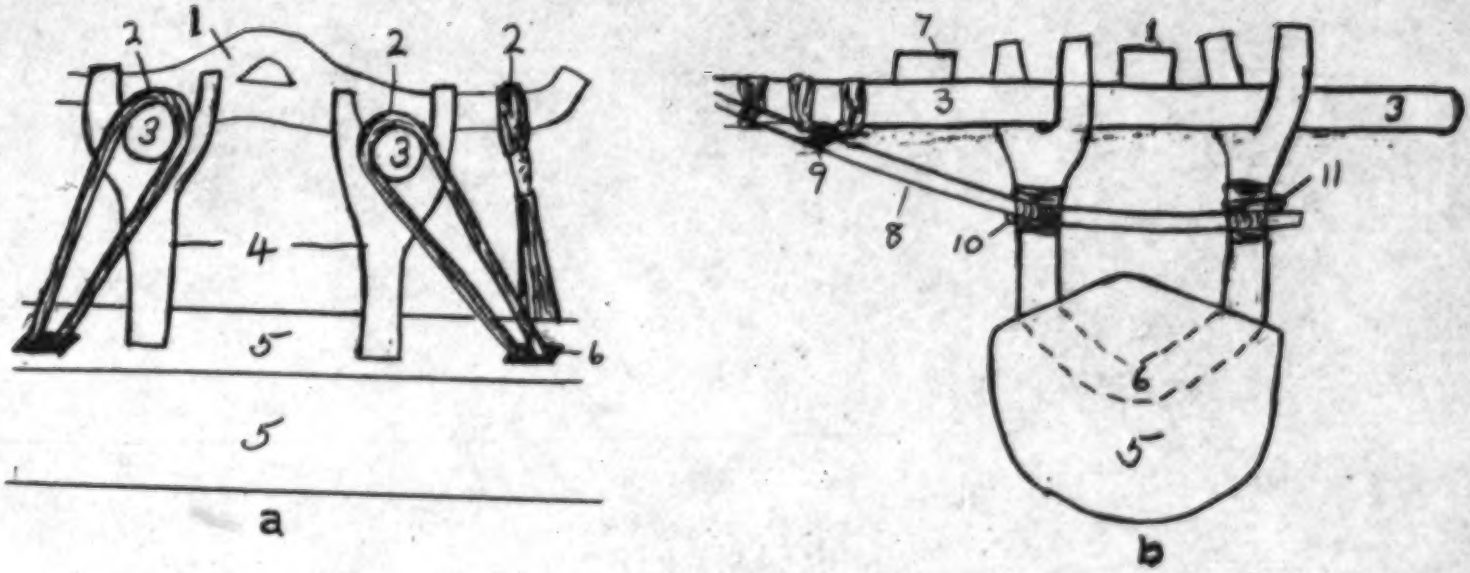
A number of other pieces are added to strengthen the outrigger attachment. A yoke (wā lieng) connects the two booms between the inner and outer pairs of crutches. Just inboard from the inner pair of crutches, another spar (sosoā) connects the two booms. Riri fern leaves are tied on with the lashing that attaches this brace. These leaves are thought to ensure the presence of fish whenever the canoe goes out after them. If the leaves were omitted, there would be fish sometimes, but not always. The fact that fish are not always found even when this requirement has been met does not seem to disturb anyone's faith. The structure is further braced by means of light struts which run diagonally from the outer side of each boom to the outer sides of each pair of crutches. Another light stick connects the lower side of the booms at the upper ends of these struts; still another connects the two outboard crutches at the lower end of the struts. These pieces are very small, usually less than 1/2 inch in diameter; but they are made

of the strongest kinds of wood, commonly gaingei. Thus the outrigger attachment is braced and reinforced against stress in almost any direction, while the lashing, and at some points the elasticity of the wood, allow the structure to give a little without breaking. The crutches and their bracing serve to keep booms and float at the proper distance from each other. The float is fastened to the rest of the structure solely by stout rope lashing (Fig. 1, 2). It can be quickly and easily detached by simply undoing these ropes; and this is often done, to save space and strain, when a canoe is stowed in the canoe-house.

The light platform on the outrigger booms is built next. As this involves no new techniques, the details shown in Fig. 12 seem sufficient. The same is true of the lee platform shown in Fig. 13.

When all but the rigging [KS: of a canoe] is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength."

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment." See next page.



"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment.

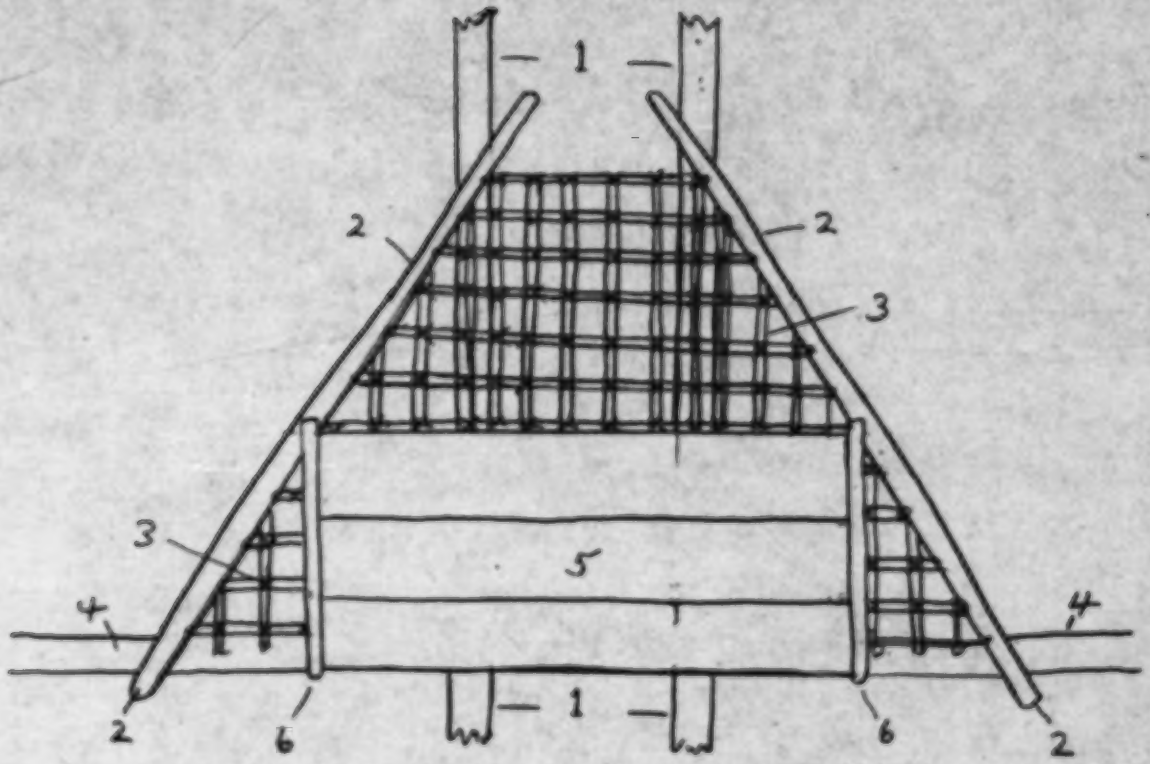
For the sake of clearness, this diagram omits many details, such as the lashings that bind crutch connectives, yoke, and brace to the boom.

a, from outboard side. (Only the outboard pair of crutch connectives is shown.)

1, yoke (walieng); 2, lashing attaching yoke and booms to float;
3, booms (gio); 4, crutch connectives (amw); 5, float (tam);
6, holes in float through which lashings pass.

b, end view. (Only one boom, with the inboard and outboard connectives and strut attached to it, are shown.)

Numbers designate the same parts as in (a), with the following additions:
7, brace; 8, strut (rege); 9, light brace between booms;
10, light brace between inboard connectives; 11, light brace between outboard connectives."

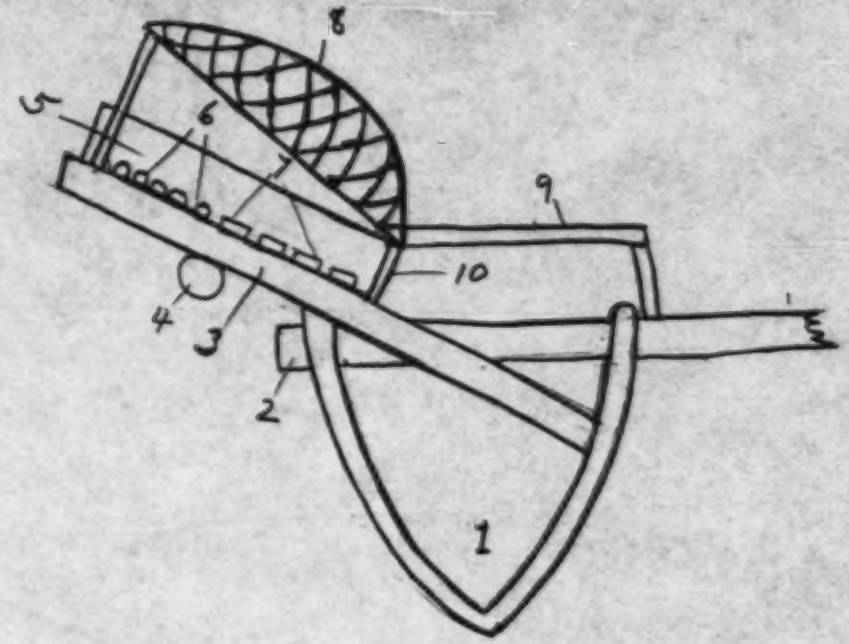


"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform." See adjoining page.

"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform.

1, booms; 2, diagonal spars (metare vang) between booms and gunwales;
3, withe platform (vang), spaced to show lower layer of transverse withes.
(Actually they are laid so close together that the lower layer does not show);
4, gunwales; 5, plank platform (peraf);
6, shaped upright planks (mwale maor) at forward and after ends of plank platform."

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep)." See next page.



"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep).

1, hull; 2, boom; 3, supporting spar. There is one supporting spar at each end of the platform; only the nearer one is shown. Midway between them is a squared beam, not shown, which forms an additional support to the platform but does not extend across the hull. It is called outeni i pep.
4, longitudinal spar (walieng); 5, end frame piece (pal i pep; only the farther one is shown);
6, withes forming floor of outer part of platform (fang i li pep); 7, slats forming floor of inner part of platform (ujili i li pep); 8, pandanus-leaf roof or shelter over platform (gaimwemwe; this consists of whole pandanus leaves, overlapping, laid over a light frame of withes lashed together. A top layer of sennit netting prevents the leaves from being torn off by the wind); 9, transverse board (folak; there is one at each end of the platform; only the farther one is shown); 10, inboard frame place (weliwā)."

"The shaping of the mast (gaus) is once more a task for one or two men. The mast is made in two pieces, a main spar of soft wood and an extension or masthead (mer e li gaus or just mer) of hard wood. Logs that drift ashore from the east, and are said to come from America, furnish the favorite material for the main spar. The masthead is [61] attached to the main spar by lashing over a long diagonal joint. At the top it is finished off in diamond shape, like a blunt spearhead. This part is broader and flatter than the rest. Through its center is cut a hole, which serves instead of block or pully to take the halyard that hoists and lowers the sail. As the sail is suspended from this halyard, the pull of the wind comes against one side of the hole in the masthead. The stress would be too great for a soft or easily-split wood. That is why the masthead is a separate piece, of the toughest wood available. The favorite wood is ragēs.

Long, light spars (irañū) are prepared for two of the three sides of the sail. In most cases they are pieced together with the same kind of long, diagonal lashed joint as that used to join the two pieces of the mast. Most of the spars have a slight double curve, like an extremely flat 's'. Hence the sail, instead of being a rectilinear triangle, flares out a little, from the apex toward the after side, where there is no spar. This shape of spar seems to be deliberately preferred; whether simply as a matter of traditional taste, or because of some real or supposed advantage in the flare that it gives to the sail, is not clear."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The finished strips are brought to the men. They lay out the gaff and boom on a level piece of ground, usually in front of the canoe-house, at what is judged to be the angle they will take when the sail is finished. The strips of matting are laid in place, according to length, parallel to the gaff and with an inch or two of overlap. Then they are sewed together with light sennit lines. Not only are seams sewed where the strips join, but the whole is strengthened by other lines of stitching run across at right angles. Foreign sailmakers' needles of copper or brass are used for this work. Most of the stitches are several inches long.

It would be perfectly feasible to plait a sail in one piece. But a sail made of strips has several advantages. It is stronger, because of the double width along the seams. When a tear does start, it is apt to be confined to one strip. And such a tear, or worn place, can be easily repaired by replacing one strip, or part of one.

As soon as the rigging is ready, the canoe is carried into the water and launched. It is taken for a trial run (gaterax), to see how it performs under sail. First it is paddled out to where it can catch the wind, then the mast is stepped and the sail hoisted for the first time."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner.

The length of the largest strip is determined, then, by the length of the yard; the number of strips by the length of the boom. The length of each succeeding strip, as they taper off, is worked out by trial and discussion among all concerned. There is no formal position of master sailmaker among the women, but the ranking member of each working party, according to seniority and experience, is accorded some deference."

1: Burrows--62 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik 1.2

"The heel of the mast is set into a socket cut in a block on the outrigger platform, just amidships and directly over the gunwale on the outrigger or weather side. (This side is called palietam; the lee side, igetā.) The sail is hoisted by hauling on the peak halyard that runs through the masthead and is fastened to the yard on the upper long side of the sail. The mast is tilted forward until the apex of the sail settles into a socket cut for it in the wedge-shaped brace (ta li vetvet) on the inboard side of the end-post, at the height of the gunwales. This corner of the sail is made fast by means of a short line or tack. From this point the lower spar or boom rises at an angle, so that the short side of the sail, the one without a spar, is highest and farthest aft.

The mast [KS: of a canoe] is supported to windward by a shroud running from the mast-head to a hole in the middle of the yoke which connects the two outrigger booms directly over the float. For and aft it is supported by a running stay attached in the middle to the masthead and at the ends to the projecting endmost thwarts. The sail is let in and out by a sheet attached to the boom, much as in sails of European type. To shorten sail in case a squall threatens to capsize the canoe, the boom can be raised by means of

spilling lines reeved through the masthead. *

In order to change to the other tack in beating to windward, or to make any sharp turn of more than a right angle, the canoe does not go about like European sailing craft, but changes ends. This is quickly done, while the canoe swings toward the new direction, by the following procedure: raising the boom to shorten sail, unfastening the apex of the sail, swinging the sail around the mast to leeward, and stepping the apex in the other end. This converts what was the stern into the bow. The steersman takes his post in what was the bow, which now becomes the stern. The boom is lowered, the sheet let out. The sail catches the wind, and the canoe moves off in the new direction. Obviously, the reason for this procedure is to keep the outrigger on the windward side, and so balance the vessel against the sidewise pressure of wind on the sail."

"* This rig is shown, more clearly than words can do it, in some of the illustrations in Haddon and Hornell; particularly Vol. 1, Figs. 269 and 270. Fig. 268 shows more clearly the shroud from masthead to yoke, but the sail is either in the wrong position or is of a different type from that used in Ifalik. Abb. 150 on p. 53 of Damm's book shows how some of the lines are attached to the mast. But the artist who redrew Sarfert's sketch made the mast too long and the apex of the sail too high, like a European lateen, rather than an Oceanic one."

"For maneuvering in shallow water, sailing canoes use the same equipment as small paddling canoes; paddles and even poles, though poles are rather for staving off coral heads than for propulsion, as the large canoes avoid water shallow enough for poling. The paddles have round, straight shafts, without knobs or other elaborations at the top, and lanceolate blades. These taper symmetrically from a low ridge along the middle to thin edges. At the tip, in most paddles, the middle ridge is extended and slightly expanded (Fig. 14, c.) The protruding knob or spike helps to prevent the blade from splitting when the paddle is used for poling or staving off an obstacle; though such use is avoided, if there is time to seize a pole.

In open sea, canoes are kept on their course by a quarter rudder (Fig. 14, b.) It is shipped near the stern on the leeward side. The line through the hole in its upper part is made fast to the projection of the stern thwart on the opposite side. The direction of the blade is regulated by the handle. To hold the lower part of the blade against the side of the canoe, the steersman has to sit on the gunwale with one leg over the side. For this reason, steering at sea is an awkward and strenuous task. [63]

The quarter rudder not only steers the canoe, but cuts down drift like the sideboards sometimes fitted to small canoes in the United States when they are sailed."

"The hulls have a total height of four or five feet, and when loaded draw from two to, at most, three feet of water. Lacking a keel, or even the flattened leeward side of some other Micronesian canoes, they can sail close to the wind, and drift rather badly. This seems to be the main weakness of the canoes, otherwise admirably fast under sail, and seaworthy for their size. One of the chief worries of a native navigator is that he may drift off his course unless he has a following wind, and miss entirely the small, low island which is the only destination he can have within three or four hundred miles of Ifalik.

Unless the trial run indicates the need of some further work or readjustments on the canoe--none were necessary on Tom's masterpiece--the permanent lashing (or sewing) is at last put in, and the hull painted. This is the final step in making a canoe. It is always done in red, black, and white, according to the traditional design shown in Fig. 15. This design was part of the traditional lore of canoe-making brought down to men by the gods Seilangi and Semerik. If ever an Ifalik man seriously considers painting a canoe in any other way, the mentality of the island will be very different from what it was in 1948. No tabu against painting a canoe in some other design, nor penalty for doing so, was ever mentioned. It did not have to be. No such idea ever comes up. There is only one right way to paint a canoe, so, of course, they are all painted that way. There is scope for individual fancy at only one point: the middle of the upper red band, between

the outrigger booms, where little decorations or attempts at writing may be painted. Tom's choice for this part of his canoe was an American flag.

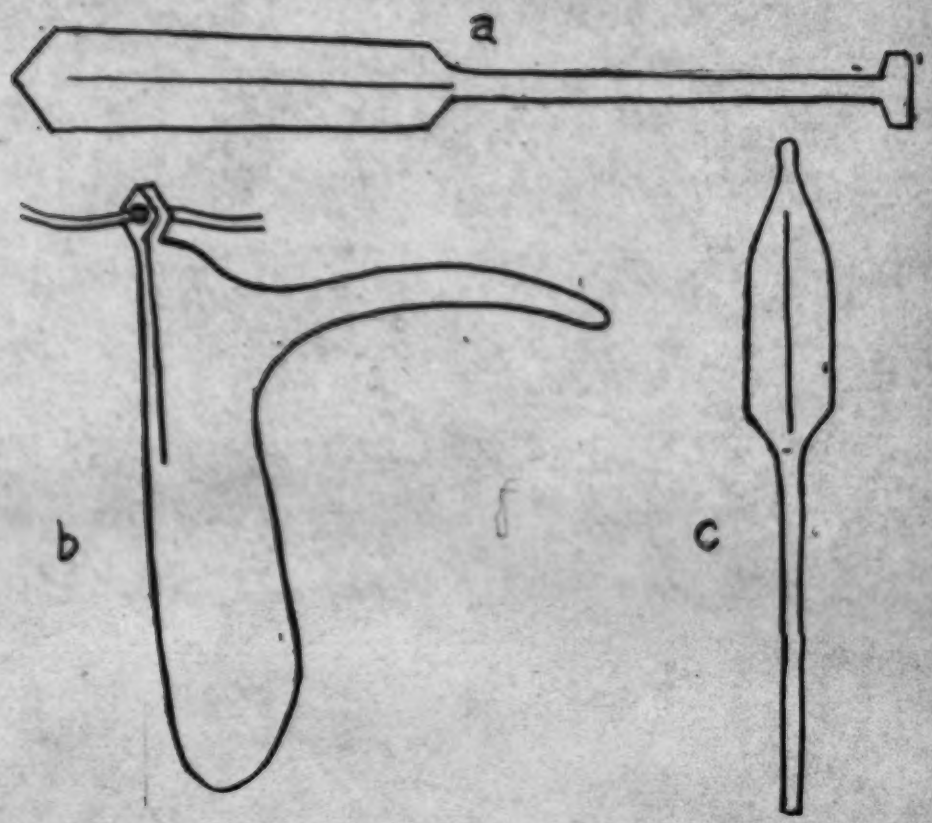
The pigments used nowadays [KS: for painting canoes] are bought from foreign ships; but the red, which is the first put on and apparently the most prized, is still mixed with breadfruit gum. If my informants can be trusted as to the pigment formerly used, it was bark of the rel tree soaked in water and mixed with coral lime. When this red paint is being applied, one of the huge leaves of the giant arum (filē) is suspended over the hull. This can hardly be anything but a bit of magic or ritual or[sic] ensure success of the job, or of the canoe after it is finished. But Tom could not explain its symbolism. He fell back on his usual statement about traditional practises whose meaning had been forgotten--'blong before.'

No part of the outrigger is ever painted. Pestered again with the inevitable 'Why?', Tom at first parried with 'blong before.' After thinking it over, he suggested that the paint might be too heavy. We were talking especially about the float, and this suggestion at least reflects native insistence that the float must be light; so light that the wood of only two of the nine varieties of breadfruit is considered suitable for it."

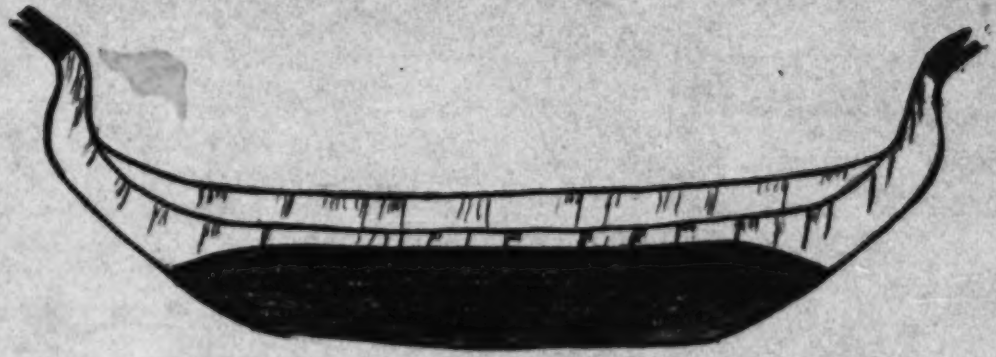
1: Burrows--63-A
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 14. - a, steering paddle;
b, quarter rudder;
c, paddle."



"Fig. 15. -Traditional design for painting a canoe.

The colors are red, black, and white. Portions painted in red are shown by shading. The little panels of white, outlined with black, are called rajūm; the red portion (perhaps only the wide parts of it near bow and stern?), mētegal; the black line through the middle of the red, fare; the narrow lower strip of red, lanīlap; the boundary between red and lower black, meteitralo; and the black under portion, amīs."

1: Burrows--64 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

"The ancient art of navigation in native sailing canoes is still in use on the seas about Ifalik. Most of the voyages are short, between neighboring islands. Probably more than half of the traffic in and out of Ifalik is with Woleai, only 30 miles away. Yet trips to any of the islands within 100 miles are not unusual. And though longer distances, as to Yap, Truk and Guam, are now ordinarily left to foreign steamers or airplanes, sailing directions for them, too, are still remembered. Tom, whose claim to be the foremost 'captain' of Ifalik seemed to be generally acknowledged, said that he could still reach any of those islands by the old methods. However, he owns two compasses, and knows how to use them from his long service on foreign ships. He would supplement native lore by taking one along."

1: Burrows--64-65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 132 Ifalik 1.2

"A glimpse of the extent of interisland voyaging is afforded by the list of sailings to and from Ifalik during our six months there:

Aug. 18. --A visiting canoe from Faraulep, which had been at Ifalik since our arrival (July 28), awaiting a wind from the south, set out for home, accompanied by an Ifalik canoe.
Sept. 2. --Ifalik canoe returned from Faraulep.
Sept. 11. --An Ifalik canoe set out for Woleai.
Sept. 17. --Ifalik canoe returned from Woleai, accompanied by a Woleai canoe.
Sept. 19. --Woleai canoe returned.
Oct. 3. --Another canoe arrived from Woleai.
Oct. 11. --Visiting canoe went back to Woleai.
Dec. 6. --Ifalik canoe went fishing to the reef Faiaulap.
Jan. 14. --Woleai canoe that had visited Ifalik in October came again.

The long interval from Oct. 11 to January 14, with no sailings except one overnight fishing trip, was partly accidental, but largely due to the prevailing winds. During October and November they varied in both direction and force. They were mainly from the west. A west wind is good for reaching Elato, Lamotrek or Satawal from Ifalik.

But Tom was the only one who wanted to go that way (to visit a son on Lamotrek). And he was kept at home by two considerations: first, he had the visiting anthropologists to look after; second, his new canoe was not finished. [65]

Another deterrent at that time of year is that the westerly wind may blow up, with little warning, into a typhoon. Ifalik was not struck by a typhoon at that time; but twice --once in November, once in December-- was in the edges of one whose full force was felt on Yap. On those days the wind blew hard enough to uproot trees. That is far too strong for a canoe to venture out in, though one caught in such a blow may menage to ride it out.

From late November on, the trade wind blew from the east nearly every day. During the early part of its season this wind, too, is often too strong for safe sailing. Later on it dies down, and is more often a mild sailing breeze. Moreover, beginning about May, there would be occasional days of west wind; so that a canoe that went to Woleai before the trade might expect a good wind for the return trip without too long a wait. (A similar situation accounts for the frequent sailings to and from Woleai during September and October.) More frequent sailings might be expected during our spring and early summer months; but as we left Ifalik before then, no record can be given."

1: Burrows--65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 554 Ifalik

"An accredited navigator is called palū. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, palu e lap, great captains, and palū gitigit, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a palū when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recognized palū on Ifalik during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man; and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a palū gitigit. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called palū e lap. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recognized as palū.

The position of palū is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The palū is higher in general esteem than the sennap or canoe carpenter; higher also than the tau bwongbwong or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of palū does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring."

1: Burrows--65-66 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 773 Ifalik

"The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth [66] but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on that special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky."

"In beginning one of his greatest favors to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or 'talk for cap'n', Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
Farewai

He has also four sons: Paluelap
Farewai
Valur, later known as Sagol
Wëriëng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and LangorIk, whom Tom there called his 'nephews').

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no

longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap
LongorIk
and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names."

1: Burrows--66-67 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"The myths in Tom's 'talk for cap'n' follow, in the order in which he gave them. In one or two places, as noted in parenthetical comment, some other order would seem more logical. Indeed, the whole episode of magical canoe-building by Seilangi, god of shipwrights, seems to belong with the lore of canoe carpentry rather than that of navigation. If Tom [67] had been asked, it may be that he would have accepted such changes. But it seemed that a more accurate picture of native thinking would be given by not questioning his original version, thus giving native tradition precedence over a foreigner's notion of logic."

"1. How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifalik

The god Aluluei came to Bwennap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwennap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger LongorIk.

Underneath Bwennap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

Aluluei, who was the greatest of navigators, began to teach his lore to his sons. One day Longolap came to his father and said he wanted to take a wife. Aluluei objected, because if Longolap were to marry, he would spend too much time with his wife, when he should be listening to the lore of seamanship. But Longolap was set on marrying, and finally had his way. After that, he spend [sic] a great deal of time with his wife, and did not come back and listen to his father for many days. At last he came again, but only learned a little bit.

LongorIk, the younger son, did not want to marry. He stayed with his father, and learned all about seamanship.

One day LongorIk told his father he wanted to cut a breadfruit tree and make himself a canoe. He took his adz and went out in the land below Bwennap, where there were plenty of trees of all kinds.

On the way to the breadfruit grove LongorIk met Longolap.

'Where are you going?'

'I am going to the grove to cut a breadfruit tree, to make myself a canoe.'

'I'll go along and help you.'

So they went together to the grove, selected a tree, felled it, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

In the morning they returned, only to find the tree standing, with all the chips back in place, and nothing to show that any work had been done on it. They felled it again, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

Aluluei asked LongorIk 'Is your canoe nearly finished?'

'Yes.'

On the third morning LongorIk set out again, but this time Longolap did not go with him. Coming to the tree, he found it once more standing, with nothing to show for all their work. [68]

This time LongorIk did not set about felling the tree again, but went back to his father. He said to Aluluei:

'Isn't there something about the lore of seamanship that you haven't told me?'

'What makes you think that?'

'Why, every day we fell a tree and work away hewing it to shape. When we go back

in the morning, there it is standing, with nothing to show that it ever felt the edge of an adz.'

'Oh! So that's it! Tell me, did you see a bird while you were working?'

'Yes.'

'Well, you go back and get to work again, and when you see the bird, talk to it.' And Aluluei told his son how to greet the bird.

LongorIk went back to the grove, felled the tree again, cut off a length of four fathoms, and was hard at work hewing it to shape when the bird flew toward him, uttering the high trilling spund that gods make.

LongorIk greeted the bird with the prolonged cry his father had taught him: 'Va irōu!'

At this the bird changed to the form of a man. It was Seilangi, god of canoe carpenters.

'Oho! That's better!', the god said. 'I think you didn't know me before. Who told you who I am?'

'It was my father, Aluluei.'

'Very well. Go back and tell your family that the canoe is all finished.'

So LongorIk went and told his family.

'Finished so soon?' Aluluei asked him.

'Yes.'

So Aluluei told the women to plait a pandanus mat sail for the canoe. Meanwhile

Seilangi summoned his people, the ants. They finished the canoe in one day, mast and all, except for the sail, and carried it into the water.

When LongorIk came and saw his fine new canoe, Seilangi asked him:

'Is the sail finished?' [69]

'All finished.'

'Bring it along.'

So LongorIk brought the sail, and it was quickly bent on.

Then LongorIk told his family to make him plenty of food. He said to his father:

'I want to go to your land, Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei.)

'Very well. But take care! You will come to a place where they eat people. Follow my instructions exactly. When you come close to shore, and a man asks you 'Shall I anchor your canoe for you?', don't let him do it! Anchor it yourself. Then when they show you fresh water to bathe in, you will see two pools. One has fine, clear water, the other has dirty water. Be sure to bathe in the dirty water.

'Another thing: before you go to sleep, cut pieces of white coconut meat and tuck them under your eyebrows. Then when someone comes and looks at you he will see a gleam like the whites of your eyes, and will think you are wide awake. And finally, while you are there you must ask the people for a big stone that belongs to me.'

But before LongorIk was quite ready to go, his brother Longolap came to him and said:

'Don't you go this time! Let me go first. You can come later.'

So LongorIk let his elder brother take the canoe and go first.

Longolap set out. He only knew a little bit. But he got to the Sands of Aluluei, and there found his father Aluluei, who had come by magic, sitting under the lone wutu tree that grows there. Seilangi had come along, too, in the form of a sandpiper.

Longolap chanted the chant he had learned, to bring his canoe safe home, and set out on the return voyage. He came to another island. As he drew near shore, a man called out to him:

'What are you doing here?'

'I am going to the land of Aluluei.'

'Whose son are you?'

'Aluluei's son.'

'Very well. Let me take your anchor rope, and I will anchor your canoe.'

Longolap, who had not heard his father's instructions, let the stranger take the rope. The man tied it about a big mweial shell under the water. [70]

Longolap went ashore to the Men's House. A man asked him if he wanted to bathe, and offered to show him fresh water. He and his sailors went with the man, who showed them two pools, one of fine, clear water, and the other of dirty water. Since he only knew a little bit, and had not heard his father's instructions, he bathed in the fine, clear water.

Then Longolap came back to the men's house. Tired after their voyage, he and his men were soon asleep. While they were sleeping, the men of that land came upon them, seized them, and put them into the rounded end of the house, where the roof overhangs. They had this walled off like a separate room. They did not kill Longolap and his men. But the one who had anchored the canoe went and unfastened it, took it out to sea, set it adrift, and then returned.

Back home in Bwennap, LongorIk worried about his brother and wanted to go and find him. For that he needed another canoe. He went into the woods, thinking over his problem, and there met Seilangi.

'Do you want another canoe?'

'Indeed I do.'

'Well, just go back and tell your people to make the sail.'

LongorIk told his people, while Seilangi and his ants finished the canoe in one day, as before, and put it into the water. When the sail was bent on, LongorIk came and told his people to prepare plenty of food for the journey.

He sailed to the Sands of Aluluei, and there was his father waiting for him.

LongorIk and his sailors came ashore, tired and hungry. LongorIk said to his father: 'We want something to eat.'

Aluluei said: 'Look about this land. There are no coconut trees here, no taro. How can you eat?'

LongorIk answered: 'You find something.'

So Aluluei talked to his people underground, as if on the telephone. The women down there got together wot and pulax. The men climbed trees and got coconuts. They brought a great feast for LongorIk, then went back under the sands.

LongorIk said to his father: 'I want to go and find my brother Longolap.'

'Very well. Go. But do not forget any of the things I told you!'

'I won't forget.' [71]

LongorIk sailed on and came to land. He went through the pass into the lagoon and was nearing shore when the man who had deceived his brother called out:

'Give me a rope so I can anchor your canoe!'

'No, you go back ashore', LongorIk replied. 'I'll take care of the anchor.'

And he tied his canoe to a coconut tree.

He went into the Men's House, and the men of that place asked him 'What did you come here for?'

'I came for the big stone that belongs to my father, the stone of Aluluei. Is it here?'

'Yes. It is here.'

'I'd like to go and bathe.'

'You'd better let some of us show you where.'

Some of the men guided him and his crew to the water. They urged them to bathe in the fine, clear water, but LongorIk refused, and he and his men bathed in the dirty water.

Then they went back to the Men's House.

LongorIk told his sailors not to go to sleep yet. He had them prepare coconut meat and put it under their eyebrows, so that when they had to go to sleep that night, the people would think they were awake. The men of the place came during the night, but thinking they were awake, did not attack them.

In the morning LongorIk told the people he wanted to go back home.

'Can you bring me my father's stone?'

'Yes, but it will take all of us, men, women, and children, to haul it. It is very heavy.'

'Well, if you'll bring it to the shore today, I'll go tomorrow.'

So the people went into the interior and tugged and heaved at the stone. They could barely move it; but they kept at it, inching it along toward the shore.

When they were all at work, LongorIk went back to the Men's House. He hewed through the wall that closed off the rounded end, and found his brother and the crew that had come with him.

Longolap muttered drowsily 'What are you doing? I want to sleep.'

'Are you sleeping or are you dead?' [72]

'Just sleeping.'

'Well, you'll be dead if you stay in here much longer!'

He took them all to his canoe, untied the mooring line, and put out to sea, leaving the

people of that land tugging and heaving at the big stone.

When they came to the Sands of Aluluei, LongorIk went ashore and talked to his father.

'Did you bring your brother back?'

'Yes.'

'You see, it's just as I told you. Longolap doesn't know the lore of seamanship. He only knows a little bit.'

'Let's go back home now.'

So LongorIk went back to Bwennap, taking his brother with him in the canoe, while Aluluei went back by magic, and was waiting for them when they arrived.

They came ashore, and Longolap went to his wife. LongorIk, who had no wife, went home to his father.

(The episode that follows seems quite distinct from the story of Longolap and LongorIk. Logically, it might well precede that story. But Tom gave it as the conclusion to what has gone before.)

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwennap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wëriëng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The

canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

'What for?'

'I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink.'

'All right. Bring it along.'

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said 'That is not enough.'

'Drink it anyway', the girl answered. [73]

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

'Climb into the canoe', they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

'You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father.'

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

'What is this?' the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. 'I don't understand it.'

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

'Come look at this chart!'

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

'Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship.'

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk. There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifalik and Woleai and Faraulep.

That is how the lore of seamanship first came to Ifalik."

"2. Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wërië̈ng went from Bwennap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wërië̈ng's [74] wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wërië̈ng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wërië̈ng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwennap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wërië̈ng stayed four days in Bwennap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipërë, gus, and apap. But Wërië̈ng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wërië̈ng's house.

Wërië̈ng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

'I'm not dead!' he shouted. 'Here I am!'

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wërië̈ng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wërië̈ng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifalik.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wërië̈ng threw him overboard at sea."

"3. The Overconfidence of Longolap

Farewai understands the east and the west. By looking either at the morning sky in the west, he can forecast the weather--clouds, winds, rain, or fair weather. He taught this knowledge to his nephews, Longolap and LongorIk. Longolap only learned a little bit, but LongorIk learned everything.

LongorIk looked in the east and saw bad weather coming. Longolap looked in the west, and thought he saw fine weather. So in spite of his brother's warning, he put out to sea. A typhoon came, with torrents of rain, and broke in the hull of his canoe. Longolap was not drowned, but swam beside the wreck.

LongorIk looked at the sky and saw fine weather coming. So he made a big canoe. Then he took 2,000 coconuts, loaded the canoe with them, and went to look for his brother. His father, Paluelap, went with him. [75]

After a while they caught sight of Longolap, swimming beside the wreck of his canoe. They tied the 2,000 coconuts together, making a floating drydock of them. On this they placed the wreck of Longolap's canoe, and thus repaired it well enough so that he could make his way home in it.

LongorIk said to his brother 'See? What did I tell you?'

Longolap followed his brother's canoe back to their home. When they got there, Paluelap and LongorIk told Longolap he had better stay ashore thereafter. But he said

'No. I want to find the place where Aluluei lives.'

So he set forth again. He found the Sands of Aluluei. But there are two islands by that name. One is where Aluluei lives. The other is inhabited solely by sandpipers, who spend their time singing for the god. It was the island inhabited by sandpipers that Longolap found. When he saw that his grandfather Aluluei was not there, he went on.

There is an enormous taro growing in the ocean that belongs to Aluluei. A number of little taros grow close around it. Longolap came to this, and tried to get one of the little taros to eat. But in order to do this, it is necessary to sing a certain song, and Longolap did not know the song. So the ants of Aluluei bit him when he tried to pull the taro. He tried again and again, but at last had to give up.

Then for a long time Longolap saw no land, and had no food to eat. At last he came to a lone coconut tree, growing in the midst of the ocean. This, too, belongs to Aluluei. But in order to climb it a man must sing a certain song; and Longolap had not learned the song. So he could not climb the tree. Some of his sailors starved to death.

Again LongorIk came to the rescue and found him.

'What are you doing out here? You've been away from home a long time.'

At last Longolap had to admit that he did not know all he needed to know to succeed at seafaring.

'Come with me', said LongorIk. They came to the taro growing in the sea. LongorIk sang the proper song, pulled some of the little taros, and they had food to eat.

They went on and came to the lone coconut tree. Again LongorIk sang the proper song, climbed the coconut tree, and they had ripe nuts to eat and young ones to drink.

LongorIk said 'Follow me. I'll show you the way home.'

But Longolap, now that he was well fed, had regained his confidence in himself. He said 'No. You go where you please. I know the way.' [76]

LongorIk sailed directly home. Longolap cruised about on the sea for four months, and could not find the way. He and his sailors were so famished they could not walk.

Once more LongorIk came and found him. 'I will show you the way. If you do not follow me you will die.' And Longolap, once more driven to admit his ignorance, agreed and followed his brother.

When they reached home, LongorIk waded ashore. But Longolap and his men had to be carried."

"This is not the place for a systematic analysis of these myths as examples of folklore. But a few striking characteristics are worth noting, if only to suggest some of the possibilities of such an analysis.

For one, the tales are developed to a considerable extent by repetition of incidents, one of the commonest devices in folk-tales. Examples of repeated incidents are: the tree twice restored after being felled and hewn; the two canoes built for LongorIk by Seilangi and his ants; the several voyages of LongorIk in search of Longolap; the anchoring of the canoe, choice of pools for bathing, and use of coconut meat to simulate whites of the eyes, on the cannibal island; the two visits to the huge taro and lone coconut that grow by themselves in the sea; and even such little phrases as the one about LongorIk knowing everything about navigation, while Longolap only knew a little bit.

One of the incidents in the first myth is widely distributed in Oceania, --the repeated restoration of the hewn tree by a god until he is properly placated, whereupon he builds a canoe out of the tree with miraculous speed. Frequently, as here, the god appears first as a bird. Beckwith, in 'Hawaiian Mythology' (pp. 272-3) notes the occurrence of this incident nearly everywhere in Polynesia; in one island generally classed as Melanesian (Mota of the Banks group); and in one Indonesian tribe (The Dyaks of Borneo). Probably several other incidents, such as the inexhaustible drinking nut, are also widespread.

In the story of Longolap and LongorIk, it is the younger child who is successful. This motif, 'youngest child successful', is world-wide. One variant of it is the incident of Cinderella and the glass slipper. Is this a piece of wish-fulfilment fantasy, a solace for younger children who are relegated to an inferior role? Such questions are easy to ask, but hard to answer with anything more trustworthy than a guess. A method of reaching rigorous scientific answers to such questions has yet to be developed.

Another outstanding characteristic of the two tales (or two variants of one tale?) about Longolap and LongorIk is that they serve to point a moral. This puts them in the category of fables, like those of Aesop. The moral here, of course, is: Don't let a woman distract you from your study of navigation.

Finally, all these myths have an inconsistency and shiftiness that give them a dream-like character. This shows up especially in comparison of [77] the myths with the 'genealogy', if it deserves the name, of the gods of navigation. In the genealogy Longolap and LongorIk are grandsons of Aluluei. In the myth they are his sons. In the genealogy Wĕriĕng and Valur are sons of Aluluei. In one of the myths they are strange gods from afar, who bring Aluluei the chart containing all the fine points about navigation. The other strange god does not appear in the genealogy at all.

The peculiar characteristics of the island Bwennap reappear in the other island called 'Sands of Aluluei'. Both are sandy islands, with only one wutu tree growing on them. But underground, in both of them, is a large and populous realm, abounding with all

useful plants. Bwénnap is given a location in the Pacific. The Sands of Aluluei and the unnamed cannibal island are not located; but from Tom's statement that the gods of navigation live in a special part of the sky, I suppose that these islands may be thought of as in the sky. Yet canoes can reach them from Bwénnap.

Such inconsistencies and vaguenesses are of course not uncommon in folklore. The 'genealogy' looks a little like an attempt to pull the myths together and give them consistency; but if so, it is a very sloppy job. Evidently the custodians of these myths--that is, the navigators of Ifalik and the islands about--never got together and worked out an official, consistent version of them, as the priests of various other lands have done with their traditions.

After all, the myths serve what seems to be their main purpose without being precise and consistent. That purpose is to give the lore of navigation the dignity of divine origin. This wins respect for the lore of navigation and gives confidence in the navigators. Presumably the special connection of the navigators with the gods helps to preserve discipline aboard ship."

"Songs for Divine Guidance

Seven songs were dictated by Tom as part of the navigator's lore. They seem to be both prayers and incantations, if we define prayer as an appeal for help to a divine being, and incantation as a song thought to have magical power in itself. Each song is accompanied by a bit of ritual, which reinforces its meaning as gesture reinforces the meaning of ordinary speech. But these are not mere optional gestures. They are essential to the proper utterance of the song. This seems to give them the character of magic, credited with power in itself, rather than of religion, appealing to an outside power. Yet the ritual can well be thought of as obeisance appropriate to an appeal, like a bow or salute to a human superior. It is my impression that the natives do not make the distinction between the two, but regard this behavior both as what we call magic and as what we call religion.

The texts of the songs will be given in the study of native art. One of them is an appeal to Sautā, a god not mentioned in the myths, for wisdom. [78] He is asked to illuminate the navigator's mind by lighting a fire within him. As he sings this, the navigator rubs over his chest sand, mixed with sea water taken from the point where land and water meet. A similar song, using the same figure of lighting a fire but not naming any particular deity, is uttered while cutting off the bud end of a coconut and mixing the juice with leaves of aro.

A third song, which Tom said was particularly advanced and hard to get, is intended to lighten the canoe so it will stay afloat. It invokes Loulemwau, whom Tom called 'god of the canoe.' It is sung while the navigator, holding a ripe coconut in its husk, bound about with a strip of coconut leaf, wades around his canoe, tapping the hull at the water-line with the coconut.

An appeal for fair weather is sung to the god Wĕriĕng. To sing this, the captain goes aboard with a piece of white young coconut leaf. This he taps against the sail as he sings, then ties bits of it to all the lines of the rigging.

Before the mast is set up, it is swept with a strip of white leaf, while the navigator sings a song to Ilekerĕp, god of the sea-lanes, asking him to bring the canoe safe to its port. A similar appeal for the return voyage is sung as the mooring line is untied from a tree, and rubbed back and forth against the landward side of the tree. In this song Soupalele, god of the navigator, is asked to anchor the canoe in the woods, in the center of the home island.

Far the longest and most comprehensive of the songs was described by Tom as his own special prayer for success at sea. It had been given by one of the gods of navigation--he did not know which one--to a navigator of ancient times, and handed down to his pupils from generation to generation ever since.

This song invokes not one god but a multitude of them, running up the number in a

final stanza from one hundred to ten thousand. It appeals for most of the gifts asked separately in the other songs: wisdom in seamanship, divine guidance of the canoe, strength and health for the navigator, fair weather, and shortening the distance between Ifalik and Woleai. As he begins singing it the navigator ties about his wrist a strip of white coconut leaf. He drinks a coconut for the gods, and offers a piece of taro and an umule fish."

1: Burrows--78-79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 532 Ifalik

"An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single [79] image. They are said to be vangvang (? Dann uses bangwang for 'prayer', but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifalik when we were there."

1: Burrows--79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Ifalik

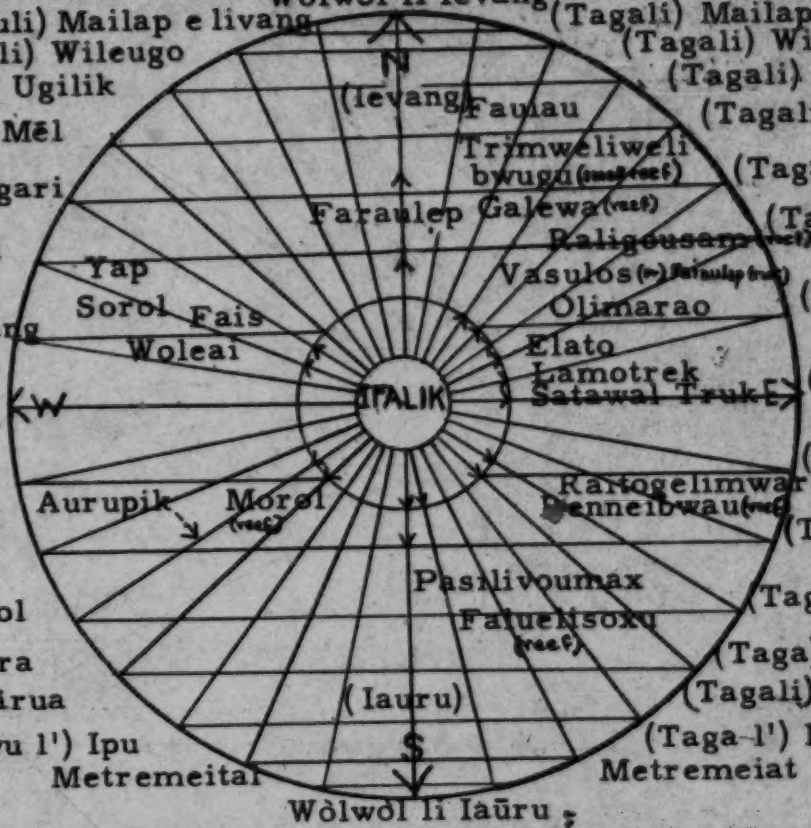
"For some reason, Sarfert was told that the old lore of navigation had been mostly forgotten. But the two best navigators of Ifalik were away at the time. He did collect names and positions of 28 stars, which correspond fairly well to the 32 given me; and some other details. However that may be, Tom had a remarkable amount of 'talk for cap'n' in his memory. The supernatural part of it has been given. What we would consider the practical part follows. Even this has many details that seem to us fantastic and impossible; notably the bits about sighting particular birds and fish at particular places. Some of the guiding stars named for certain islands, even, are not accurate, according to our charts. Yet conceivably they may serve the purpose, for some reason of wind or current. It is noticeable that the directions have not the vagueness and inconsistency of the myths. At any rate, canoes are able to reach neighboring islands most of the time, though being lost at sea is unquestionably one of the people's haunting fears. Directions for more distant points are little used and may be more dubious.

Fig. 16 shows the positions of the stars used for navigation in Ifalik; of the nearer islands and reefs; and a few of the more important ones at greater distances. Tom gave them to me from memory, but with a compass before us; and I wrote them down on sheets of paper with circles drawn on them like those on Figure 16, marked to show the points of the compass. This kind of notation was suggested to me by Tom's occasional use of English terms for points of the compass. He approved it, and at times supervised my notations closely, so far as directions are concerned."

1: Burrows--79-A
116, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2



"Fig. 16. -Star chart."

See next page.

1: Burrows--79-A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502 Ifalik

"Fig. 16. -Star chart. Names outside the circle are those of stars used in navigation. Taga means 'rises'; tubwu, 'sets'; li being the definite article. Horizontal lines indicate the paths of the stars across the sky. Inside the circle, the two words in parentheses indicate the most clearly conceived cardinal directions: (Ievang) north, (Iauru) south. Names inside the circle and not in parentheses are those of islands or reefs said to be reached by steering for the rising or setting points on the same radial line."

"Damm, from a sketch by Sarfert, shows positions of some stars on a rectangular figure. Undoubtedly Tom's approval of my use of circles came from his familiarity with the European compass. It is questionable whether natives unfamiliar with the compass would conceive the universe with either square or circular boundaries. What they would have in mind, pretty surely, is something corresponding to the horizontal lines of Figure 16, which represent the courses or paths of the stars from rising to setting. When I asked Tom what a navigator would do when his guiding star was not in sight, he said 'He must know the road for that star.' Damm, too, speaks of the road of a star (die Bahn dieses Sternbildes) and may be quoting, via Sarfert, a native expression.

To save space, the corresponding charts for other islands are summarized in Appendix I. This does not exhaust the lore in Tom's memory. After giving me the lists from several islands, he asked me whether I wanted them all. As the process was taking a good deal of precious time, I decided that lists from the nearest islands and from the three most important farther ones--Guam, Yap, and Truk--would do to illustrate the nature [80] of native lore and suggest the extent of it. How many more he could have given I am not sure. Perhaps not many; but I recall his speaking as if he knew a similar list from Puluwat, which seems to have been a center of particularly high development of native navigation. And probably he could have given several others.

It is noticeable that the lists from the farthest islands are the least complete and

exact. That for Guam, which because of the east-west direction of prevailing winds is the most inaccessible by sail from Ifalik, is the worst of all. Putting Europe north by west from Guam is the nadir. But in that Tom was, of course, departing from anything in native tradition. I suspect that the mistakes in locating Saipan and 'Nuta' (Rota?) from Guam are not errors in his knowledge but in his use of English. He was subject to lapses in which he would say 'south' for 'north', and vice versa. One such would account for these errors. In spite of this, the Guam list is not impressive. Yet the total amount of his memorized information, and the accuracy of a good deal of it, do speak well for native mental capacity."

1: Burrows--80
116, 821, 132, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Stars as Weather Signs

Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ūlu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west."

1: Burrows--80-81 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 815 Ifalik

"The following attempt to identify the guiding stars with names used in our astronomy is due to the kindness of Dr. Maud W. Makemson of Vassar College. She computed the azimuths of the stars as located by Tom according to points of the compass, and identified them as nearly as possible from such rough data. In the third column are given identifications of some of them as given by Sarfert. Several agree with those worked out by Dr. Makemson from Tom's location. Others differ slightly; for example, one of the possibilities for Pauievang is Alpha Aquilis, in Dr. Makemson's list, while Sarfert gives 'Adler' (Aquila) for the next star to the south, Mailap. Still others, such as Sarfert's !Orion' for UgilIk as compared to Dr. Makemson's Nu Ursae Majoris, are completely incompatible. But in that case Sarfert's own identifications are inconsistent; for if UgilIk is Orion, then Elieli, half a sky away, can not be the drei Könige im Orion or Orion's belt.

Possible Identifications of Stars

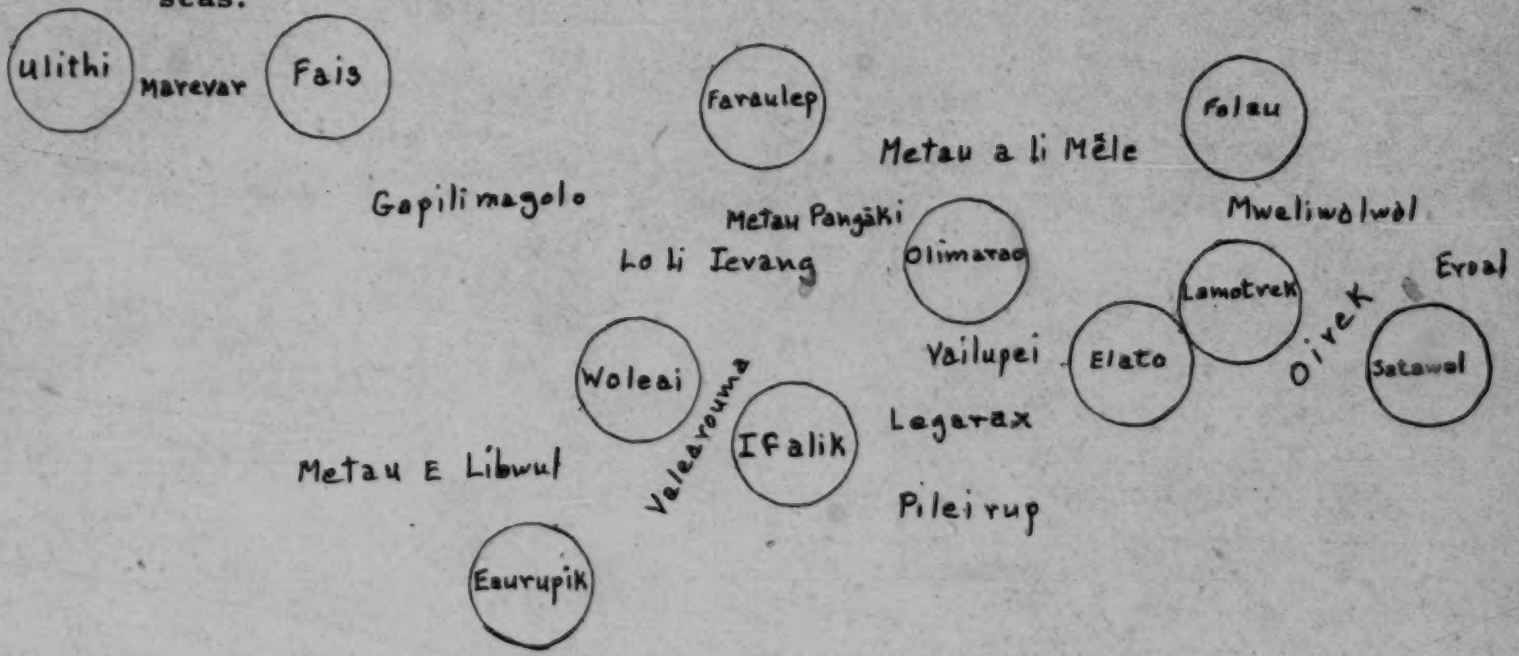
Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wolwol li ievang	Polaris	Polarstern (fr. report on Faraulep) [81]
Mailap e li vang	Beta Ursae Minoris	- - - - - - - - -

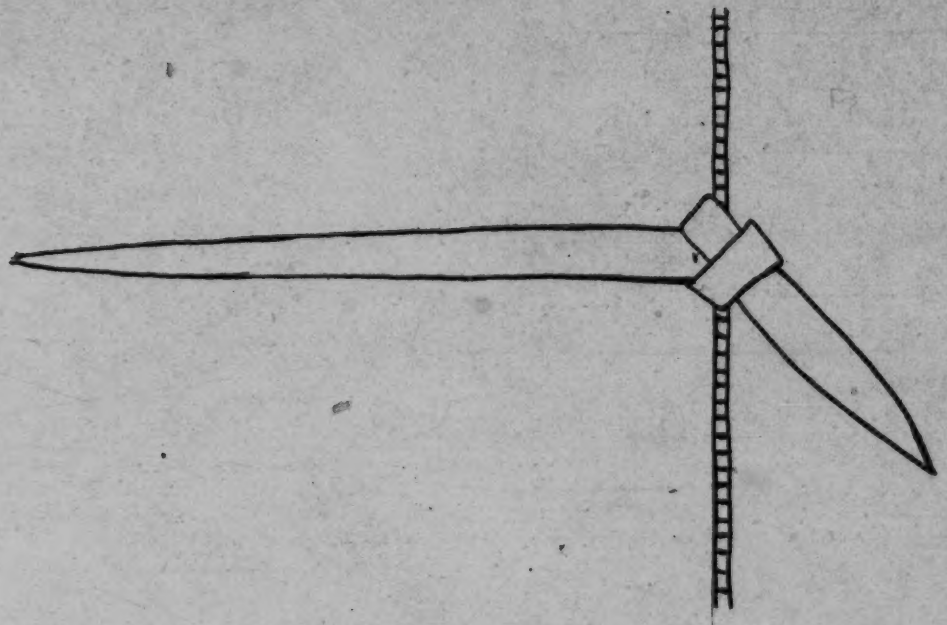
Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wileugo	Alpha Ursa Majoris (Zeta Cassiopeiae)	- - - - - - - -
Ugillk	Nu Ursae Majoris	Orion
Mēl	Vega--Alphae Lyrae	Leier (Lyra)
Megarigari	The Pleiades (Pollux Beta Geminorum)	Plejaden
Ulu	Aldebaran-Alpha Tauri (Arcturus-Alpha Bootis)	Aldebaran
Pauievang	Betelgeuse-Alpha Orionis (Altair-Alpha Aquilae)	- - - - - - - - -
Mailap	Belt of Orion (3 stars)	Adler (Aquila)
Pauiaūru	Spica-Alpha Virginis	- - - - - - - -
Elieli	Alpha Capricorni or Epsilon Leporis	Drei Könige im Orion (Orion's Belt)
Sarabwol	(Beta Fornacis) Fomalhaut- Alpha Piscis Australis	Rabe (Corvus)

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Tumūra	Theta Scorpii or Lambda Velorum or Alpha Phoenicis	Jungfrau (Virgo)
Metārua	Canopus-Alpha Carinae	- - - - - - - -
Ipu	Alpha Cantauri Beta Cantauri	- - - - - - - -
Metremeital or Metremeiat	Magellanic Clouds	- - - - - - - -
Wolwol li aūru		- - - - - - - - "

1: Burrows--81-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 102 Ifalik

"Fig. 17. -Diagram map of the atolls about Ifalik, with native names of the interisland seas."





"Fig. 18. -Weather vane, lowered into the water to show the direction of the current."

1: Burrows--81-82 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 823 Ifalik

"Lore of Currents

On any voyage, as soon as the canoe is out of the pass and far enough from the island it is leaving to be clear of currents affected by that body of land, the direction of the current in the open sea is tested. First the sheet is let go and the sail left flapping until the canoe loses headway. Then several light lines, weighted with sinkers, are lowered over [82] the sides. Each has attached to it a strip of coconut leaf, as shown in Figure 18, to act as a weather vane. The lines are lowered until these strips are far enough below the surface not to be knocked about by waves, but are still in plain sight. The current will then swing them around until the longer end points in the direction in which it is flowing. The several lines provide a check on each other, and prevent the navigator from being misled by some accident, such as a swirl of water around bow or stern, that might affect one of the vanes.

The captain then picks his course to allow for the current. If, for example, the current is flowing from north to south, he will choose a guiding star farther north than the true direction of the island he is heading for. Thus he guards against one of his great perils, --drifting off his course (mennāxo)."

(1947-48)

"Detailed Sailing Directions

The following directions include, besides guiding stars, some further directions: a rear sight on Ifalik while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been misled. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali-or tubwuli-for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifalik to Woleai and Return

Guiding Stars-Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.

Rear Sight- Keep Matolo, the channel between Falārik and Falālap, 'open'; that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ellā in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falālap are visible to the south of it.

Birds- If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it). [83]

Stars for Return Trip-The star indicating the true direction is Elieli. If the current flows north, take a course between Elieli and Mailap; if it flows south, between Elieli and Sarabwol."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 227 Ifalik

"Wild animals, particularly sea creatures, are used in more varied and ingenious ways. The skin of the fish called rel, which has a silvery gleam in some lights, is wrapped around the shanks of fish hooks to serve as a lure, usually in connection with a tuft of feathers."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 152 Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 492, 281 Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 301 Ifalik

"Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments: bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifalik come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 224 Ifalik

"Dogs are not used in hunting. There is hardly anything to hunt except rats. The dogs hunt these on their own, but not very effectively. Apparently the cats do better at it. Rats are also caught in simple box traps with trap doors tripped by a tug on the bait. These are not much used. Spring traps bought in trade are preferred."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 301, 227 Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

"Pearl shell and turtle shell are combined in the bonito hook (pā). This is of a type widespread in Oceania. It is composed of two pieces, a pearl-shell shank and a turtle-shell point. In the thick end of the shank a hole is bored to attach the line. (As this end is nearer the fisherman when in use, it is convenient and customary to call it the proximal end.) Little grooves are cut in the sides of the distal end to hold the lashings which attach the turtle-shell point. There are two of these lashings. In a specimen collected on Ifalik, which is now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu, both lashings pass through holes in a proximal projection of the point. Damm illustrates both this type and another, which has only one hole, for the distal lashing. In this type the proximal lashing passes entirely around the projection of the point, which flares out at the [83B] end to keep the lashing from slipping off.

Local variations in attachment of point to shank on bonito-hooks have been studied by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck). Following his lead, the writer compared types in different parts of Polynesia (Burrows 1938), and came to the conclusion that the type with two holes in a proximal projection of the point was invented in western Polynesia. Its occurrence as far west as Ifalik throws doubt on that conclusion. Fuller data from Micronesia will probably make possible a clearer reconstruction of the invention and diffusion of bonito hooks in Oceania.

The shank is shaped like the body of a small fish. This, and its pearly gleam, quite

like that of a fish's skin and scales, make it a most effective lure. As Buck has pointed out, shanks can be made of different colors by grinding off more or less of the outer layers of the shell. This is done deliberately, and the fisherman chooses which hook to use according to the light at the moment, or the kind of small fry on which the bonito are feeding, or by trial and error. Three names for hooks of different colors were told to me on Ifalik: renifār, with yellowish lustre; alo, bluish; and reneverale, reddish or coppery. Damm lists four names collected by Sarfert, none of which corresponds to these. Probably both lists are correct as far as they go, but incomplete.

As an additional lure, many bonito hooks have, lashed to the distal end, a tuft of feathers or of white fibers from the roots of the plants called guan and bogo li le pā."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116/321, 202 Ifalik

"Conch shells are used as trumpets (taui). In Ifalik the hole used for a mouthpiece is made, not by cutting off the pointed end, but by drilling in one side. The long-drawn monotone of such a trumpet summons the people to public meetings, and warns off evil in several rituals. One trumpet hangs from a branch of a small dead tree stuck in the ground beside the channel between the two inhabited islands. An obvious use there would be to summon a canoe from the other side for a ferry. But I never happened to see it so used. One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

"Methods of capturing animals for food are varied, though mostly simple. The extreme of crudity is catching a chicken. There are no coops, and while the birds stay near the houses, they roost in trees or on rooftops, and can fly for considerable distances when alarmed. When one is doomed to be eaten, young men and children, some of them armed with sticks or stones, try to surround it or run it down. No particular skill is shown, and the process often involves a lively hue and cry. This, like a good many native activities, rates very low on any scale of efficiency, but has a high yield of fun.

More ingenious, and demanding respectable acrobatic skill, is [83C] the method of catching noddy terns. They sometimes visit the island in great numbers. At such times the men hunt them by climbing at night the coconut trees in which the terns roost, and catching them in large, light nets with short handles and round wooden rims. During our stay on the island, the terns were not considered abundant enough to repay the effort of catching them. But during our last weeks there, when we were known to be short of meat, our faithful Tom--rather along in years to be scrambling in the treetops --twice caught a brace of terms, which his wife cooked for our breakfast. Unplucked and bedraggled, they were not appetizing to look at. But they proved to be surprisingly tender and well-flavored."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225, 262, 565 Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalũ, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225 Ifalik

"The easiest and most favored way of catching turtle is on land at night, when they come ashore to lay their eggs. They leave easily recognizable tracks on the beach. When found on shore, they are turned over on their backs. Then they are helpless and can be dragged at the end of a line or, with manpower enough, carried. Three of the four caught during our stay were taken in this way. The fourth was speared, we were told, by the chief WolpaitIk. How he managed to drive a spear through the shell, or whether he speared the head or a flipper, I was unable to make out. After WolpaitIk had speared it, I was told, another man dived and speared it from beneath. It is said that turtles are sometimes caught by running a noose of rope about the head and one of the fore-flippers. Tom--apparently as much for fun as anything else--once attempted to catch a turtle in the lagoon by riding it ashore. He could not guide it, and as it took him toward deep water, he gave up the attempt."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

"Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's [83D] monopoly on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third,for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps

two or even three times that.

The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (witigo terag) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (ui) over the belly. The intestines (tal) were then hauled out

into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (sha), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all [83E] three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Men's kinds of fishing are so numerous that probably this account does not include all that are known and occasionally practised. The list of fishing methods noted by Sarfert during his short stay on Ifalik includes several I did not hear of, --as my list includes several not in his. Having learned elsewhere about fishing with a baited hook attached to a kite flown over the water, he asked the people of Ifalik about it, and was told it was known and practised there. But we saw none of it. He was also told of catching shark with a noose, which is spread out, while a separate line run across it holds a smaller fish used for bait. No shark were caught during our stay, except for small sand-shark occasionally rounded up in seines or caught on a hook. He also lists fishing with poison as a technique learned from Yap. My question about this was answered in the negative. Ifalik has a few Barringtonia trees, whose crushed fruit is used elsewhere for fish poison. The people told me they knew of this method being practised elsewhere, but did not use it themselves. And indeed, in the absence of fresh-water streams, which make narrow channels in the fringing reef, I know of no suitable enclosed spaces in the water where the poison could be effectively concentrated."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called măt:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li gēru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getrioú.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trū eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

Go tai ninge mware ru e pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83F-83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-3

"The native composite trolling hook is still in use. Wooden boxes with fitted lids (sawe le pā) with one or more hooks in them, were hanging up in all the canoe-houses.

Trolling for bonito has the greatest emotional appeal of any kind of fishing, to judge by the fact that 5 out of 16 fishing songs collected celebrated feats of bonito trolling. No other kind of fishing had more than two songs. Yet this kind of fishing was not once undertaken during our stay. Weather may account for this. Trolling has to be done in small canoes outside the lagoon, and is only feasible during fairly calm weather; and a good deal of the dalmest weather comes during the part of the year when we were absent. Yet the people did not say that this was a seasonal kind of fishing; only that wind and sea had to be just right. Having worked in two Polynesian islands where this strenuous kind of fishing had gone out of use, I wonder whether it is on the decline in Ifalik.

Enough was learned about it to indicate that it follows the same general pattern as in Polynesia. The poles are of bamboo, most of which has to be imported. The lines, said to have been made of hibiscus bast before foreign lines were available, are about the same length as the pole. The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds--in Ifalik the white fairy tern and the black noddy--hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito. The canoe paddles over the [83G] school, and the fisherman--one in the stern of each canoe--lets out his line astern, resting the pole in the forked head of the canoe or sometimes against his body. The pole is tilted at such an angle that the hook skitters along the surface of the water.

As he lets out the hook, the fisherman holds the pole with one hand, while with the other he splashes water over the lure. This throws a screen of water between the hook and the boat, so that the bonito which sees the hook will not see the boat just beyond it and be scared away. The fisherman keeps up this splashing while he is in the school, when not too busy hauling in fish.

When a fish strikes the hook, it is hauled in with one motion. The tip of the pole is raised, lifting the fish out of water, then swung around slowly, in order not to frighten away the other fish--until the fisherman is facing the bow, when he lets the fish strike against his chest, which knocks it off the barbless hook into the bottom of the boat. Failing this, the sailor sitting nearest him may remove the fish from the hook. It must be done quickly, for the canoe is only in the middle of the school for a short time, and the fisherman must make the most of that time.

Several bits of religious or magical procedure accompany this kind of fishing. Before they set out, the fishermen must bathe carefully, to remove any odor of the body or perfume of their wives or sweethearts. Once a fisherman takes a pearl-shell out of its box, he must have no contact with a woman until he has returned from fishing. As he sets out, he waves a branch of aro, and sings a prayer to a god, to vouchsafe him a good catch. No one god has power over bonito-trolling, but each fisherman sings to a god whom he considers favorable to him. Leaves of aro may be rubbed over the body and on the

lure. The fisherman[sic] may adorn themselves--as men do on any social occasion--with strips of white young coconut leaf. This leaf is also displayed on the return trip as a sign of success. As will be seen later, some of these precautions and bits of ritual also accompany other kinds of fishing.

A similar kind of trolling is practised from large sailing canoes over reefs within sailing distance of Ifalik. The most frequented, called Vasulos, lies about an overnight sail from Ifalik, a little west of north. This reef is also called Faiaulap or Great Faiau. One trip there was made during our stay on the island. The catch consisted of one yellow-fin tuna, weighing perhaps 100 lbs. This was the only tuna caught during our stay, and its flesh is highly prized; yet one fish was considered hardly worth the effort of the long trip. It was also reported that the seas were breaking over the reef, so the expedition was not repeated during our stay. The time was December 6, early in the trade-wind season. Calmer seas are to be expected near the end of that season, and such expeditions may be more frequent at that time. Species commonly caught by this kind of fishing, besides yellow-fin tuna are albacore, pompano (Hawaiian ulua), and wahoo (Hawaiian ono)."

1: Burrows--83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Hook and line are also used for angling about coral heads in the lagoon, a method practised mostly by solitary fishermen who expect no greater catch than will make a family meal. Casting along the shore, with small hooks, is another minor kind of fishing. Occasionally, at low tide, men will cast into the surf at the outer edge of the fringing reef on the eastern side of the atoll. However, as they have no reels, and use lines not much longer than the poles, the casts are short."

1: Burrows--83H (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

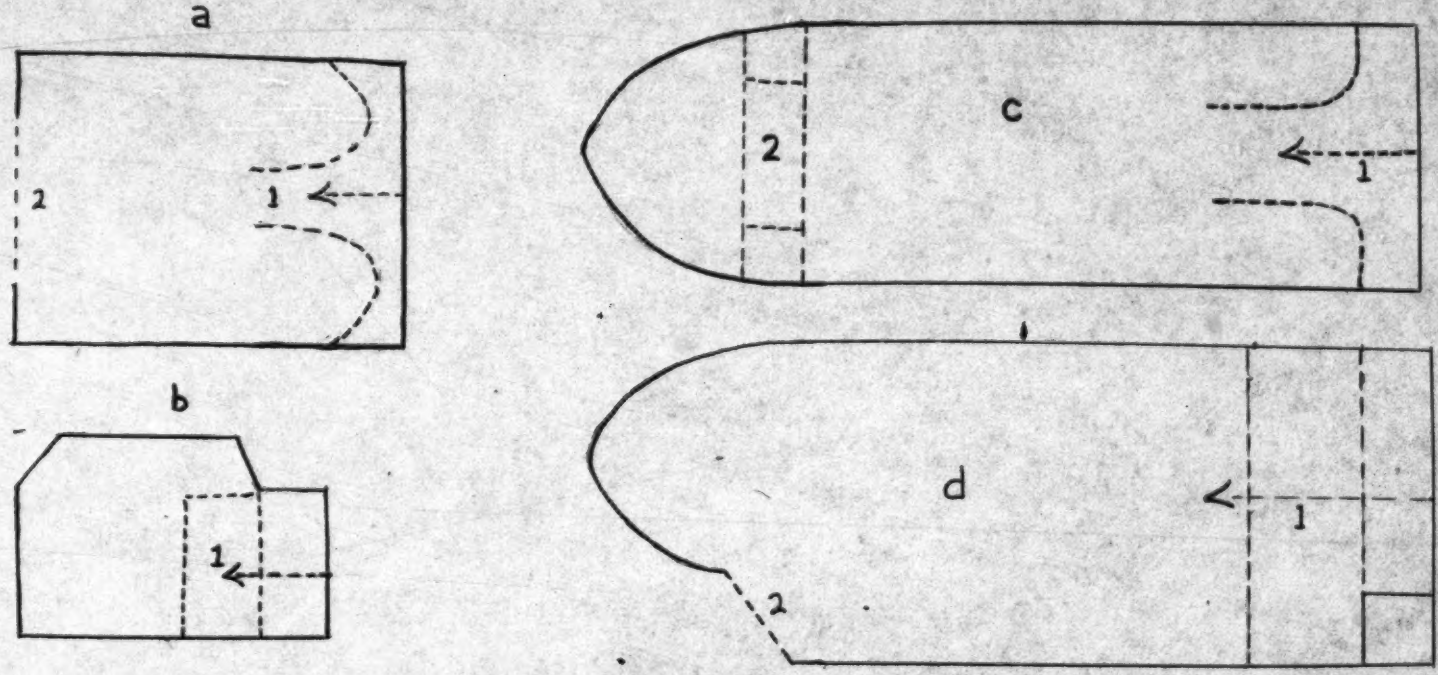
"Fish traps, (ul), are made of wattle. The frames are of light withes. Coconut leaflet midrib, commonly doubled, is used to fill in the walls. The pieces are lashed together with light sennit cord. There are two distinct sizes, differing in name and use.

The smaller traps, ul pam, average 2 or 3 feet long and 1 or 2 feet high. The general shape is diagrammed in Fig. 16a and b. These are set on the bottom in the shallow water near shore on the lagoon side. They are weighted down by pouring sand over them. Most of it sifts through, but some stays on the bottom of the trap and some on the top. It also gives the trap a natural appearance, like that of the surrounding bottom. These traps are baited with crushed crab of the small kind called ragūm. The fish most commonly caught in them is the oerIk, a fish averaging four to six inches long, schools of which appear suddenly in the lagoon, stay for a time, and then as suddenly vanish. The fish are cooked whole on green leaves laid over the usual light fire of rubbish. Before eating, they are cleaned by removing the heads, tails, skins, and the spine with entrails. Thus it takes several fish to make a mouthful. In spite of their small size they make very good eating. For over a month, beginning in mid-November and continuing through December into January, they constituted the main supply of fish. Occasionally other fish are caught in these traps. The best catch seen numbered a dozen or more fish of fairly good size, up to about a foot long. They were reef fish of various kinds, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.

The larger traps, ul merouā or merouel, run about six feet long, three feet wide,

1: Burrows--83H-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik 1-2

"Fig. 19. -Fish traps. a, small trap, plan; b, small trap, side elevation. c, large trap, plan; d, large trap, elevation. 1, narrow entrance; 2, door for removing fish."



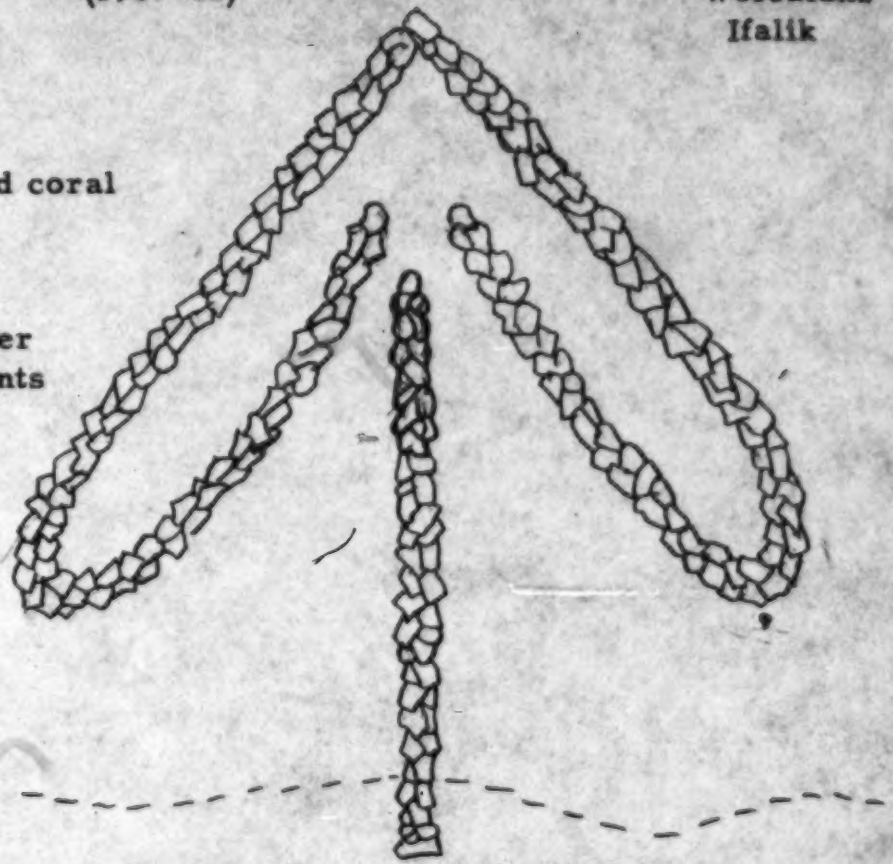
and two feet high (Fig. 19, c and d). They are carried out to sea in sailing canoes to search for drifting logs, which attract certain kinds of fish. When a log is sighted, the men dive overboard and fasten the trap to it. It is said that huge catches are sometimes made in this way, but during our stay the canoes went out day after day without so much as finding a log; and only twice did they have fair success. The largest catch reported was '200'. The largest seen numbered about 100, rather small fish, mostly of the kind called rel, with a few larger fōfō. Fish caught in this way are laid directly on the coals and broiled whole. We were warned not to put them in our frying-pan, for if we did there would be no more driftwood.

These large traps are also sometimes set on the seaward side of the reef. Tom described a bit of ritual accompanying their use. When driftwood is sighted, a half coconut shell is attached to a stick called merouel, and an incantation sung over it. Then stick and shell are put inside the trap. Nothing was said about bait being put in the shell."

1: Burrows--83H-B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 20. -Fish weir (gamei) of piled coral blocks.

The dotted line indicates high water mark on the beach. The weir points into the lagoon. Its arms are perhaps 50 feet long."



1: Burrows--83H-83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik 1-2

"The only kind of fishing device that is constantly in use is a permanent weir (gamei) built of blocks of coral. These are set up along the beach on the lagoon side of Falārīk, --evidently the shore of Falālap is not considered suitable for them, perhaps because most of it, instead of sandy beach, is irregular, shelving more steeply, and of coarse gravel. The shape of a gamei as indicated in Fig. 20, is something like a broad arrowhead. They are made with their points away from shore. The single wall that would correspond to the shaft of the arrow extends out from approximately high water mark. The double walls, corresponding to barbs of an arrowhead, average 30 to 35 feet long. At high tide they are covered with a foot or two of water; at low tide they [83I] rise out of water from a few inches to about a foot. Fish that come close to shore at high tide, mostly by night, are expected to follow the single wall to seaward as the tide goes out, and so to be led into the V-shaped space between the double walls. When the water is below the top of the walls, they can not escape.

During our stay on Ifalik (late July to early February), there was only one catch of consequence in such a weir, and that in only one out of four of them. On the morning of December 15 we were given five fish out of a catch estimated by Maroligar at 100. The largest, somewhat less than a foot long but not improbably the best of the lot, was one of the several kinds that in Hawaii would be called papio or--in a restaurant--'baby ulua.' The others seemed to me to be horse mackeral--in Hawaii akule; but Maroligar insisted they were not the same as the picture of akule in Hosaka's book.

Someone took a glance at each of the gamei every morning; but no one was disappointed to find them empty. It is only on rare occasions, when a run of small fish enters the lagoon, that the weirs are sometimes so full that the fish can be scooped out by the netful. However, the labor of building them has to be expended only once, after which a little repair work now and then will keep them in working condition indefinitely. Good catches, even though they come months apart, are worth that much trouble."

1: Burrows--83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-2

"The most important fishing done with dip-nets, and the technique [83J] attended with more formality and ceremony than any other, is catching flying-fish by torchlight. This kind of fishing, with all its institutional elaboration, is called turu.

When the trade-wind season, called vang or seu e vang, has about three months to go, the chiefs may order the observance of turu. This is not done every year. The only consideration mentioned as determining whether it should be done or not was that turu is observed 'when there is plenty of food.' Since there is always plenty of taro and coconuts--except after a typhoon--and since breadfruit is out of season at this time, I could not make out the meaning of this statement. It might refer to an observed abundance of flying-fish. But the same factor--abundance of food --is also said to determine the time when men's dances are performed. It seems to be a conventional explanation for a decision made 'on impulse'--that is, based on an indefinite variety of factors.

During the observance of turu [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (mar). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both pulax and the scarcer wot--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons.

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 226 Ifalik

The technique of fishing principally associated with turu involves preparation of many torches of dried coconut leaves, which are rolled into bundles and fastened by wrapping and tucking in the leaflets. Canoes, each supplied with plenty of these torches, go out of the lagoon on calm nights, fishing in the open sea, mostly not far from the seaward side of the reef. They light the torches, which have given their name, turu, to the whole observance. The light attracts the flying-fish. While some of the men handle the torches, and others manage the canoes, the most skillful wielders of dip-nets catch the fish as they swim about the boat. An occasional one may be caught in mid-air, as it flies over the boat or strikes against a sail; but the main supply is dipped out of the water."

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the SauvelārIk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupik), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Coconut-leaf torches are also used for fishing in shallow water without canoes; either wading in the lagoon near the beach, or walking at low tide on the exposed reef, where fish may be impounded in shallow pools. Usually three to six people accompany each light. Only men and boys were seen when the fishing was in the lagoon. For scouring the reef, some of the groups were also made up entirely of men, but others were household parties including women. The torch is usually carried in the left hand of the most expert fisherman. In his right hand he carries a dip-net. One of the others carries a basket to hold the fish; another a bundle of spare torches. Some kinds of fish, especially limen, may be struck with bush knives. Spears are not used in this kind of fishing. One of the fish most commonly taken with the dip-net in the lagoon is the needle-fish, which swims near the surface. Scouring the reef yields a greater variety. Crabs and molluscs may also be picked up there."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 262 Ifalik

"Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangéri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, 'a big, fat one', probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu."

1: Burrows--83K-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 21. -Shuttle used in making fish nets. Made of split bamboo.
(Shuttles of the same type, but usually of hard wood instead of bamboo, are used in weaving.)"

1: Burrows--83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"The length of a seine can be extended indefinitely. Two sizes are recognized. The longer ones, called ausepā, measured by pacing off a number of them spread on the ground to dry, average a little less than 200 feet. The shorter ones, called ăting e sau, run less than half that long, with considerable variation among them. The people make the distinction that an ăting e sau can be cast several times in a day, while one cast of an ausepā is a day's work. For the largest operations, such as rounding up a school of bonito, a number of seines are stretched end to end, and further extended by lines of rope at both ends and across any gaps between seines in the middle. The length of such a barrier is limited rather by available manpower than by material. We never saw all the seines of Ifalik in use at one time. Judging by the two bonito drives seen, a total length of half a mile for seines and rope is not uncommon.

For shorter casts, single seines may be used in the same way as the leaf-fringed lines in rop fishing. Or two seines, usually of the shorter size, may be used to extend the sides of a short section of net which is doubled and then sewed along the lower edge to form a pocket. When stretched straight, these form a V-shaped barrier with the pocket-shaped piece at the apex. An enclosure is formed by bringing together the outer ends of the seines which form the arms of the V. This is then narrowed by hauling in the seines in the usual way. When all the fish are driven into a small space near the apex, they are taken out, first by dip-nets, and finally lifting the pocket-shaped net out of water and dumping the fish into a canoe."

1: Burrows--83L-83M (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-2

"The climax of seine fishing comes when a school of bonito enters the lagoon. Indeed, though less celebrated in songs than trolling (which better displays individual prowess), and less attended with myth and ritual than torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, such an occasion involves more people (virtually all able-bodied individuals), and when successful yields a greater quantity of food than any other fishing. We saw two such drives. The first ended in failure, but the second was a success, capturing the whole school. That worked up a higher pitch of public excitement than any other event of our six months' stay on the island. [83M]

Except for the outcome, the course of events was much the same during the two drives, one August 1, the other August 9. The following account is pieced together from notes taken on the two days. The actual catch and succeeding activities were witnessed, of course, only once.

Both times the fish were sighted early in the morning. It takes a skilled eye to distinguish the little ripple or swirl made by a school of bonito from all the other surface movements of the water; but the difference is so important that the male population has life-long practise at it. Months later, a false alarm had the men out on the beach or in canoes for a while, until the disturbance was found to be made by small fry. The first time, the announcement was made by boys, who sped by in three canoes, shouting the glad tidings. Tom said afterward that the cry is Garangap ē! (Bonito ho!) The second time, it was Maroligar, No. 2 chief, always an early riser, who first saw the school of

fish. It is one of his functions to take charge of a bonito drive. He hurried to the nearest canoe-house and bellowed at the top of his voice to call out the men. To us, in our tent close beside the same canoe-house, it seemed that they took their time about getting there. Certainly they showed no such amazing speed as did the immediate neighbors on the one occasion when I saw a thatched roof catch fire. Still, they probably turned out as fast as they well could for what was apt to be a long day's work.

The first task was strenuous: hauling canoes from the canoe-houses into the water; unrolling seines, which are stowed on the tie-beams in balls some three feet in diameter; dragging them to the water--with men strung a few yards apart along them--and piling them into the boats; then heading for the rendezvous where they hoped to surround the school.

Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)

1: Burrows--83M-83O (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-4

"There are four places about the edge of the lagoon where the impounding of a school of bonito is said to be feasible. One is a little bay off the beach of Falārlk district. The second is the bay called Lé, opposite the men's house in Rauau district. The third is the shallow water next to the beach on Falālap, just north of the largest canoe-house on that island called Gavilea. The fourth is a bay near the northernmost point of the uninhabited islet Ellā. The one used on both occasions during our stay was that off the shore of Falālap. It is nearer the pass [83N] than the sites off Falārlk; the line of seines when fully extended there nearly shuts off the pass. It is nearer the canoe-houses than the site of Ellā. Whether these were the reasons for using it I could not make sure. It seems not to be a matter of where the school is first sighted, for the fish swim fast, and on both occasions made the circuit of the lagoon more than once.

The men stretched a line of seines, with intervals of rope, from one canoe to another, forming a barrier that extended from the shore nearly due west to the pass. At this stage on the first day there were 22 canoes in the line, ranging in size from the smallest to big sailing canoes. The number increased later to 33, then 37, but some of these were in other parts of the lagoon, trying to round up the school of fish, which escaped at least twice. The largest number of canoes counted in action at one time was 46; 26 of them in the line of seines and rope, the others driving the fish toward the barrier.

The next step, that of bringing the ends of the line of nets around the school of fish, is slow and hazardous. Towing or hauling the nets is hard work and can not be hurried.

At this stage the women take a more active part, wading out to help pull the nets. This interferes with the dance, but they go on singing. Partly towed by canoes, partly hauled by lines of men and women, the nets were swung around and their ends hauled in until they formed a crescent with its points toward shore. By the time this was accomplished on the first day, it was too late to complete the catch before dark. So the ends of the net were pulled together, leaving the fish impounded. All night canoes moved about the circle of nets. Conch trumpets and boatswain's whistles were blown, apparently to keep them from escaping. But they did escape, not only from the nets but from the lagoon, into the open sea.

On the afternoon of the second day, after several escapes, the school was herded into the space between the crescent of nets and the beach, and kept there while the two ends of the crescent were hauled ashore. The hauling continued, bringing the fish into shallower water, closer and closer to shore. Soon they could be plainly seen whirling about within the narrowing barrier. The top of the net was sometimes lifted where they came near, or they were frightened back by shouts and splashing.

The excitement mounted. All the men were shouting orders at each other. Many of the men had managed to deck themselves with young white coconut leaf during the slow hours earlier in the day. The women who were not hauling on the line came dancing down to the beach, swinging their hips in wider circles than ever. The ranking chief and

Later inquiry about the purpose of this performance brought only the usual answer that it was an ancient custom. My guess is that the song and dance were addressed to the men, to cheer them on, rather than with any magic purpose in mind. The words may be those of any well-known love song. Once when I passed close to a group as they sang, their giggles and sidelong glances suggested that they were improvising words about me."

was said that one fish was allotted to each person. As the pile for each district was finished, young men came up, bowing low in deference to the authority represented by the occasion (though only the lowest-ranking chief was taking part), and carried the fish away.

There were plenty of fish left, so the distribution continued. First five small piles were counted out, one for each of the chiefs. Then three larger piles, one for each of the most populous and highest-ranking clans: Kovalū, SauvelārIk, Mangaulevār. The other five clans were ignored in this allottment, though the lowest chiefly title belongs in one of them. However, that clan, Rapevelū, has less than half as many members as any of the ranking three.

Still a few fish were left. I did not make out on what basis they were allotted, but they were divided into little piles, and taken away by young men, like the others."

1: Burrows--83O-83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik 1-3

"The people scattered to their homes [KS: after the bonito catch], but not to sleep. Those who had not taken part in the distribution had been busy preparing earth-ovens (um), not in the cook-sheds behind the dwellings, but on the foreshore near the beach. Shallow pits were hollowed in the sand. Piles of dry firewood were brought from the cook-sheds, and supplemented by dry coconut husks; and fires were laid and kindled in the pits. When the fires were going well, basketfuls of coral gravel were thrown over them to be heated. Meanwhile the bonito had been cleaned, cut into large pieces and made into bundles with wrappers of banana and breadfruit leaf. When fires were well burned down, the bundles were laid over the hot coral and the whole covered over with coconut leaf and earth. There they stayed for what was left of the night. (This traditional kind of cooking is no longer used to prepare ordinary meals in the cook-sheds, but only for special tasks like cooking large fish and turtles.)

Early next morning the pits were still covered, but the people were busy making racks (fang) to smoke the bonito. Four upright posts were set in the ground forming a rectangle. On top of them, at a height of about four feet, a horizontal frame was made of poles, either laid in forks on top of the posts or lashed in place with sinnet [sic] Pieces laid crisscross over this formed the rack. Most of them were of green coconut leaf midrib, which does not burn easily. The wrappers of cooked fish were laid on the rock, the top roofed over with plaited green coco- [83P] nut leaf, and the sides walled in with the same material, except for a low opening left on one side for feeding a smudgy fire,

mostly of coconut husks. This fire was kept going as long as the supply of fish held out. Some of it, cooked over an open fire, had been eaten the night before. (I did not see any eaten raw, but some may have been, as bonito commonly is in Japan, Hawaii, and other parts of the Pacific). From then on, smoked bonito was the daily fare for about two weeks. Gifts made to us would spoil overnight, until we asked our neighbor Maroligar to put them on his rack. Toward the end the fish was very hard and smoky, but as long as it was kept on the racks, no more tainted than smoked and salted fish eaten in the United States.

For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

the foreign observer, as they stood on the beach, were ardently wooed behind their backs.

Some of the big blue fish began to flop ashore. Men and women ran down, seized them by the tail with one hand and ran a finger of the other under a gill-cover, then tossed them up on the bank. Others were seized and thrown from the water. Sometimes the chiefs order the use of spears at this stage; but this time they decided that the catch could be managed better without them.

The whole catch was carried, some in canoes and some by hand to the space in front of the men's house, and laid in a great heap. People took [830] time out to breathe and bathe, and eat a hasty snack.

After dark, by the light of a fire of dry coconut leaves, the catch was counted and distributed. The total number was 311 (at least one had previously been given away, to the anthropologists). Garegeligar, priest and healer, seemed to be in charge of the distribution, though he is not a chief. (He never missed a chance of being the center of attention.) The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toroman. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on.

The first distribution was made by districts: Falālap, then Rauau, then Falārlk. Within each district there seemed to be a count of heads, by households; at any rate, it

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Some indication of the relative importance of different kinds of communal fishing is given by journal entries of expeditions noted during our stay. It applies mainly to Rauau district, partly to Rauau and FalārIk together. (Falālap had a different schedule, though on the same general pattern.) The long gaps during the early months may mean that fishing was less noticed at first. Yet it is also possible that during that time most of the fishing was done individually or in small groups. That was a daily undertaking. The journal entries take no account of it, except for the use of small traps, which was a general response to the appearance of the little OerIk in the lagoon."

1: Burrows--83P-83S (1947-48) Wŏleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fluctuations that appear in the list are not necessarily seasonal, as some kinds of fish come and go at irregular intervals. Indeed, the kind of fishing that is most strictly seasonal, torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, is not noted at all, as it was never witnessed. It comes at the end of the trade-wind season, when we were not there.

The entries follow:

Aug. 1. -Bonito in lagoon. Left in the circle of nets overnight.

Aug. 2. -The school of bonito got away during the night.

Aug. 9. -Bonito in lagoon again. All caught late in the day.

September 6. -One turtle caught.

September 20. -Men of all districts fished night and morning for feast in connection with religious ceremony. (The kind of fishing was not noted because of concentration on the ceremony.)

Oct. 6 -Big rop fishing, 8 to 10 canoes. Small catch. [83Q]

Oct. 11. -Rop fishing by men of Rauau. Good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish, many of them parrot-fish.

Oct. 13. -Three sailing canoes put out with traps, looking for driftwood. Found none.

Oct. 14. -One canoe put out with trap; driven back by strong wind.

Oct. 15. -Canoes continue to go out at dawn every day. No luck so far.

Oct. 19. -Daily sorties with traps abandoned. Twelve canoes from Rauau, 8 from Falārik, went out today for rop fishing. Came back early in the afternoon

with a good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish of many kinds, parrot fish predominating. Large black ulua presented to us.

Oct. 22. -Canoes from Falālap out rop fishing. Good catch; provided a feast for the men who had recently replaced a corner-post on one of the canoe-houses.

Oct. 28. -Rop fishing by Rauau men. Fair catch; '20-odd big ones and a few shovelfuls of little ones.'

Oct. 30. -For several days men in all the canoe-houses have been making big seines for Falālap.

Nov. 6. -Rather large party from Rauau and Falārlk; 22 canoes counted. (Fishing probably rop.) Poor luck; reported at 50-60 fish. In the afternoon, Rauau men swept the reef near the men's house with seines. Good catch, reported at 300.

Nov. 14. -The little Oerlk (Anchoviella?) has appeared in large numbers in the lagoon. People are setting out small traps for them. First catch noted this day. (For some time after this, use of small traps for oerlk was a general daily practise. It seemed to go by bursts and only conspicuous activity is noted.)

Nov. 16. -One canoe from Rauau, one from Falārlk, went out with large traps looking for driftwood. No luck.

Nov. 18. -Everybody setting out small traps, catching oerlk.

Nov. 19. -At last a good catch with a big trap, around driftwood at sea. Number reported at 200, which seems a standard figure for a good haul.

Nov. 20-22. -Canoes out daily after driftwood. The usual poor luck. Fish are scarce.

Nov. 24. -An unusual catch in one of the small traps, of fish bigger than oerIk, about a dozen, mostly parrot -fish and goat-fish.

Nov. 26. -A turtle came ashore at night and was caught.

Nov. 27. -Another turtle speared in the lagoon.

Nov. 28. -A third turtle caught; this one came ashore.

Nov. 29. -Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, butchered the three turtles. [83R]

Dec. 4. -Scarcity of fish continues.
Canoes have been going out pretty regularly, looking for driftwood. One of them made another good catch in the big trap; about 100.

Dec. 6. -A canoe went trolling over the district reef Vasulos. Caught one yellow-fin tuna perhaps 4 feet long; but this was not considered enough for the long, hard trip. High seas reported over the reef.

Dec. 12. -The boys went out still-fishing over the fringing roof on the eastern side of Falālap, to get fish for a feast celebrating completion of canoe-house repairs in Rauau. Used small canoes, as in solitary fishing; but went out in a body, and to an unusual place. Catch rather small, mostly the red toothy lipwaix.

Supplemented at feast by a clam-like bivalve.

Dec. 13. -At least two sailing canoes out this morning after driftwood. Caught nothing. Maroligar ordered a scouring of the reef by torchlight at low tide, which came in the middle of the night. Five lights counted on the western barrier reef. Others fished the fringing reef on the eastern side. Catch reported small.

Dec. 15. -First and only considerable catch in a coral weir. Number estimated at 100. Commonest species looked to me like horse macherel, [sic] but identification is not certain.

Dec. 16. -19. Shortage of fish continues. Canoes go out nearly every day with big traps, but find no drifting logs, though many are coming ashore on the eastern beach. Small traps are not set out along the lagoon beach for oerIk; some are caught, but not many.

Dec. 20-26. -Small traps set out daily for oerIk. No communal fishing. High seas, --a near-hurricane on the 21st. Men busy in the canoe-houses making small traps.

Jan. 2. -Young men of Rauau out rop fishing. Moderate catch. Estimated at 100. This was for a feast following a ceremony on behalf of a sick woman.

Jan. 15-19. -Seas calmer, some angling even on eastern fringing reef; but the

daily trapping of oerIk seems still to furnish the main supply.

Jan. 24. -No more catches of oerIk. They seem to have left the lagoon. Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day making several casts of small seine along lagoon shore Catch small while I was watching, but later we were brought two fish big enough to make a good dinner for the two of us.

Jan. 26. -Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day on one cast with the big seine on the lagoon shore One end anchored to a stone pier. Catch moderate, but again we were brought two fish, one of which was enough for us. [83S]

Jan. 29. -Disappearance of oerIk seems confirmed. None have been caught for some days now, and the people have given up setting out traps for them.

Feb. 2. -Men and boys of Rauau went torchlight fishing on the eastward fringing reef. Catch reported small.

Feb. 3. -Another torchlight expedition on the eastward reef."

"While this list has some value for illustration, it is obviously too slight a foundation for any general statement as to which kinds of fishing are most in favor or most successful. With this limitation in mind, its showing can be roughly summarized in tabular form. Only communal methods are included, which leaves out the use of small traps for oerIk, casting, and most of the angling.

Fishing Technique	Number of Mentions	Large Catches	Small Catches	Failures
large traps	9	2	0	7
rop	5	2	3	0
seines	4	1	2	1
torchlight (on the reef)	3	0	3	0
trolling	1	0	1	0
angling (communal)	1	0	1	0

This review of fishing methods makes it clear that the people of Ifalik are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to

furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifalik are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"Discussion of the pattern of relationships among the people of Ifalik may well begin with a list of the bonds that unite the whole population. This unit has all the characteristics ordinarily cited to define a society, community or tribe. In fact, few of the aggregations called by those names are held together by as many bonds as the people of Ifalik. They share, to begin with, a common habitat and a common culture. Being so few, and confined within so little space, they are all personally acquainted by the time they grow up; though of course the degree of acquaintanceship varies widely. The chapter on government will show that they form a political unit; that on religion, that thay [sic] make up a single church or congregation.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that all are biologically akin, But that is according to our way of thinking, not their own. As long as they do not recognize kinship, it does not exist as an additional bond except within the smaller groups to be discussed later."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 648 Ifalik

"Toward the enormous populations that inhabit vast lands far away-- or some of them--the people of Ifalik show a certain deference. They are used to being ruled by outsiders-Spanish, then Germans, then Japanese, and now Americans. But this does not put too great a strain on their self-esteem. They like to think that the world power with which they are affiliated is the largest and mightiest of all. Nowadays they are glad to accord that supremacy to the United States, as formerly they probably accorded it to their previous rulers. But world powers are so vast that Ifalik people can form only a dim conception of them; and so far away that most of the talk about them is of the kind we dismiss as 'academic.' "

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 186 Ifalik

"The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; 'all same one people', as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifalik. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. 'To talk like a Yap man' is one way of saying 'to lie.' And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifalik's solidarity."

1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Occupation also governs the formation of temporary groups only. Some of these, as already noted, have other bonds as well--sex, age, common residence. There are no formal permanent organizations of fishermen, canoe-builders, or specialists of any kind. Navigators from different islands, on the rather rare occasions when they meet, may gravitate together. They have a good deal in common; not only a common part-time occupation, but a common status, next to that of the chiefs, and common possession of the restricted lore of seamanship. But since they meet only at long intervals, and then mostly in twos or threes, they hardly constitute a distinct group."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462 Ifalik

"Groups whose membership is delimited by sex have only a temporary or intermittent existence. Usually, even then, they are united by some other bond in addition to that of common sex. Often the other bond is occupation. Groups of men or of women gather to perform some task allotted by custom to one sex alone, as fishing for men, cooking for women. Such groups disband on the completion of each task, unless they are also united by membership in the same household. Virtually all of them have the additional bond of residence in the same neighborhood. Hardly ever do all the men of the atoll, or all the women, act together without the participation of the other sex. War would bring about such a group of the men, but warfare in Ifalik is a thing of the rather remote past."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 561, 882 Ifalik

"Some groups formed on the basis of age-those of children and (approximately) adolescents-have a more continuous existence. They are united also by common residence, for it is only the children, or the youths, of one particular neighborhood who play together regularly. Quite young children play in groups that include both sexes. (By 'quite young' is meant here old enough to talk and be fairly sure-footed, but too young to wear clothes, which are put on at about the age when our children begin school.) But when they reach adolescence their only distinct groups are limited by sex as well. It is only the young men who form groups of any permanence. Adolescent girls, more restricted by custom to their own households, may go out together to gather pandanus leaves for a mat, or carry on some similar task; but these gatherings, like other work gangs, disband when the job is finished. Formerly, when the unmarried men slept in a men's house, of which there were several at one time, or in one of the canoe-houses, they were almost continuously together. But of late they separate every night to sleep in the households of their relatives. Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifalik as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip."

1: Burrows--85-86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 575 Ifalik

"Ifalik has nothing corresponding closely to the secret societies, guilds, or other formal associations that abound in some primitive cultures. To use the [86] convenient term recently suggested by Lowie, Ifalik lacks sodalities."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

"Much of the daily activity of the atoll is carried on by, or on behalf of, permanent groups organized on the basis of common residence, or kinship, or both. In the discussion of these that follows, the source of the specific figures given here and there is a census by households, taken during our first days on the island. A rather thorough collection of genealogies, made later on by Spiro, revealed some inaccuracies in the census. So most of the figures represent the consus [sic] as corrected by the genealogies."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"The largest territorial subdivisions of the population are determined by residence on one or the other of the two inhabited islands, Falārik and Falālap. Although some individuals have ties on both islands, and shift their residence rather freely from one to the other, nearly everyone is clearly identified, for participation in communal activities, with one or the other. The most conspicuous case of shifting residence, within our observation, was the chief Maroligar, who had close relatives on both islands. But his title involved authority over part of Falārik island, which identified him for most practical purposes, with that territorial group.

Each of the islands is further divided into two districts (gapilām). On Falārik island these are Falārik district, to the north (households 8-8 inclusive), and Ranau (households 9-19). On Falālap they are Ievang, to the north (the name means 'north'-households 20-24) and Iauru ('south' households 25-29).

In 1909 Sarfert recorded three sub-divisions in what is now called Falārik district: Sago, Gadjudolling, and Ledjourou. There are no longer any dwellings in the area corresponding to his 'Sago,' though the site of a former men's house is still pointed out there. 'Gadjudolling' (my 'Gajuteling') is the name of a canoe-house; and 'Ledjourou' may well have been the name of another, for which I was given only Fan ni Wā, the generic term for 'canoe house.' In Rauau, too, he collected two names for territorial subdivisions: 'Lawuau,' obviously the same as my 'Rauau,' and Sawolōb, as clearly the canoe-house name I recorded as Sabwōlap."

"Now the word gapilām, which I translate 'district', is used in two senses: (1) for the more formal territorial units of which there are now two on each inhabited island; and (2) for the smaller, informal neighborhoods made up of the households about each canoe-house. The canoe-houses, through their use by men and boys as club-houses, constitute neighborhood centers for the males. The obvious interpretation of the difference between Sarfert's list and mine is that he, or his interpreter, did not distinguish between these two uses of the native word. That would not be surprising, in view of his short stay on the atoll.

However, the very ambiguity of the word suggests another possibility: that what are now mere neighborhoods may have been more distinct units, perhaps even political subdivisions, 38 years earlier. The situation on Falālap reinforces this suggestion. There the two districts, Iauru and Ievang, are the same as in Sarfert's time. Some of the song-texts collected suggest a distinct consciousness of difference between them. (The age of a song, except for some quite recent ones, is impossible to determine.) But in 1947-8 they were distinct in little more than name. They were sometimes treated separately in distribution of food. But they had only one canoe house, Gavilea in Iauru, large enough to accommodate sea-going canoes; so in communal fishing they acted as a unit, and seemed to do so in [87] most other public activities. For most purposes the island during our stay had only three districts: Falālap as a whole and, on Falārik island,

Rauau and Falārik districts. Iauru and Ievang were well along toward merging. Further evidence of a tendency to merge former subdivisions will be given in the chapter on government (pp. 139-141)."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"The smallest unit based on common residence is the household, except insofar as the family maintains separate residence within the household. Both these units are determined also by kinship so they will be discussed later."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 588 Ifalik

"Kailang exogamy is the only formal verbalized incest ban. Marriage between a girl and her father, though he is of a different kailang, seems not to occur to them as a possibility. This ban does without saying, as it does among us. nformal exogamy will be discussed further by Spiro."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 614 Ifalik

"One kind of kinship tie--common descent in the maternal line--places each individual in one of eight groups called kailang. These groups have names: Kovalū, Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, Rapevelu, Sauwel, Kailangailuk, Bwel, and Kailangalualea. They are exogamous, and this rule is strictly observed. There was no case on Ifalik during our stay of a wife and husband both of the same kailang. Children adopted into a kailang other than their ancestral one may not marry members of either kailang."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 194 Ifalik

"Three details of pronunciation of the word kailang may be useful for comparison with related areas. First, the initial k is not only unaspirated, but pronounced so lightly that at first I did not hear it, and recorded the word as ailang. (This is the name reported for similar groups in some other islands.) Later test and inquiry showed that in Ifalik the k is always present, or at least is thought to be. Second, in the language of Ifalik, as commonly in neighboring islands, l and n are equivalent sounds, variants of one phoneme. So this word can be pronounced kainang as well as kailang. Third, a final vowel, though not sounded unless the next word begins with a consonant, is conceptually present. When it is sounded, it seems to be the 'neutral' (central, mid, unrounded) vowel. So one of the ways of pronouncing the word is very nearly the same as kainanga, the name for the largest descent group in some Polynesian islands. The Polynesian groups, however, are patrilineal."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"The name in commonest use for unilineal, exogamous descent groups like the kailang of Ifalik is 'clan.' Clan will be used here as the translation of kailang. Since the line of descent that determines membership here is matrilineal, this group would still be called a clan in the terminology formerly common among American anthropologists, whereby a patrilineal group was called a 'gens.'"

1: Burrows--87-88 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans are not localized, --that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelāchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--88-89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 162 Ifalik 1-2

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan mambership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

	Falārik	Raŋau	Falālap	Total
Kovalū..	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik..	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār..	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū..	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl..	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk..	9	12	2	23
Bwēl..	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea..	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"No other clan is associated with a particular plant or occupation. But the name of one of them suggests former localization: SauvelārIk. Two of the clan names, and a third on Sarfert's list, begin with 'sau'. This recalls a prefix which occurs in the names of certain descent groups in western Polynesia: Samoan Sā, Futunan Sa'a, Tongan and Uvean Ha'a. In the clan name Saupolowat, collected by Sarfert, the clan is said to have come from Puluwat. Accordingly, I asked whether SauvelārIk meant 'clan (or people) of Falārik'. Tom and another member of the clan--as I recall it, the chief Maroligar--said that it did. That this was not merely a matter of falling in with any such suggestion is shown by the fact that a similar question--whether Bwēl and Sauwēl were offshoots of one original clan--was answered in the negative. Of course, the answer of natives to any such question may be wrong. Yet the probability that the name indicated former localization of this clan seemed strong enough to be worth mentioning."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"The localization of the clan Bwēl, however, seems more than accidental. The name bwēl, as a common noun, means taro swamp. The clan Bwēl is especially associated with the cultivation of taro. Traditionally no others can equal them at horticulture. Since all but a few small patches of taro swamp are on Falālap, the localization of this clan there seems related to this traditional function. However, this showing is weakened by the fact that Bwēl, too, is a small clan, and all but one of its members belonged to a single household."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik 1-3

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamōl. Valū means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelarIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamōl';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

Kailangalualea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and SauvelārIk's to yellow-fin tuna."

1: Burrows--90-91 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik 1-2

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalu, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--91 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 773 Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

1: Burrows--91-92 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 175 Ifalik 1-2

"Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifalik, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. My work with census and legends, and Spiro's with genealogies, provide so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifalik come first.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwalei	Called on Ifalik Saufalasik.	Apparently Sauvelārlk. Other name unknown on Ifalik.
Monaulifer	From Yap.	Mangaulevār. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947.
Bwol	From Pulap.	Bwēl. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for pulax, the commonest kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with taro cultivation.

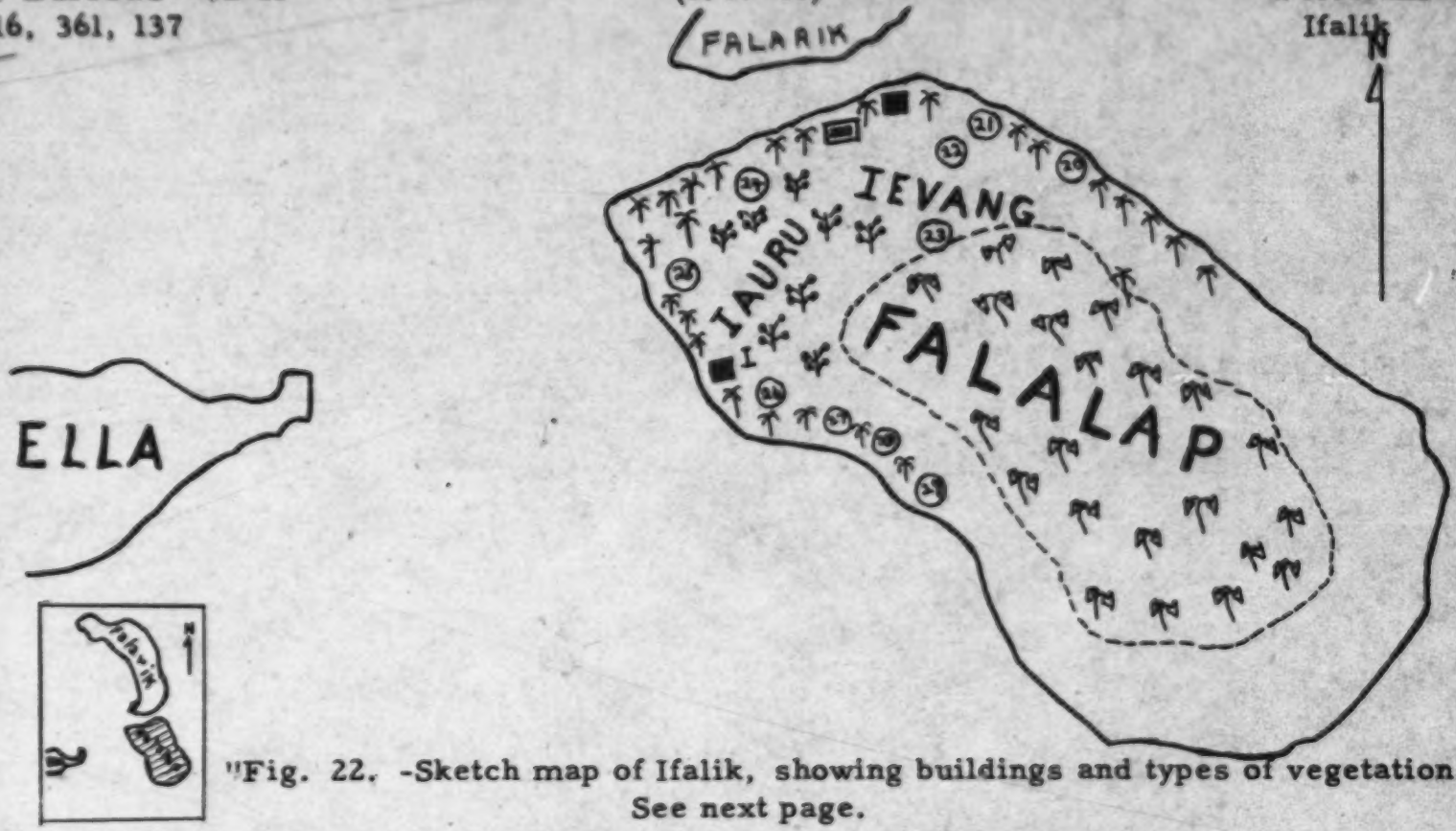
Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwol	From Woleai.	Sauwēl.. Origin incorrect. ' 'E talk lie', said Tom; Sauwēl like all the other clans, went to Woleai from Ifalik, not the other way. (See legends and discussion, pp. 139 ff.).
Saupolowat	From Puluwat.	Once represented on Ifalik. Died out long ago.
Wisusu	From Puluwat.	A clan of Puluwat and Truk. Never represented on Ifalik. [92]
Fanimei) Gadaman) Wolei)	From Yap.	Never represented on Ifalik.
Wuido	Called Djak.	Never represented on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--92 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"Conceptually and verbally, the clans are important units on Ifalik. The feeling of clan membership and solidarity is strong. People generally know the clan membership of everyone on the island, or nearly everyone. One of the commandments or exhortations that form a conventional part of the chief's speeches at public assemblies, is 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' Some of the chiefs in such exhortations address particularly the people of their own clan. Travelers from Ifalik are said to feel perfectly free to claim hospitality from their clansfolk in neighboring islands, and to reciprocate without question when clansfolk of other islands come to Ifalik, whether the claim is reinforced by previous acquaintance or not.

Yet clans never meet or act as units. Their only important effects on conduct seem to be the limitation they impose on marriage, and--a much weaker one--the effect of their rank on choice of a mate. House sites and chiefly titles are said to belong to clans, but actually are held and transmitted in the smaller groups to be discussed later (pp. 96-98)."

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik...."
See next page.



"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation."

See next page.

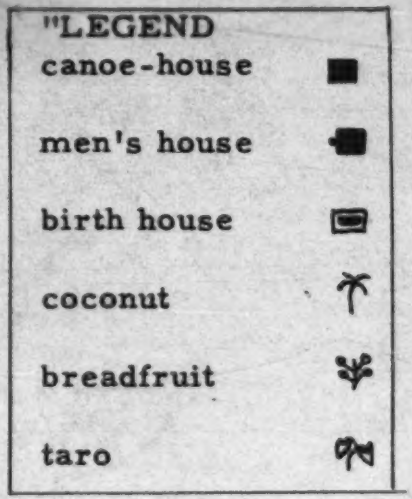


Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation.
Numbers designate homesteads, from north to south. Their native names follow: 1, FalolorIk; 2, Atrovalū; 3, Atiuwan; 4, Atielū; 5, Nuteitei; 6, Nimau; 7, Bwėnnau; 8, Falegumei; 9, Aulivang; 10, Faleoulėrix; 11, Uluas; 12, Fanneserax; 13, Xalingelū; 14, Foraix; 15, Welipeien; 16, Somat; 17, Falevelū; 18, Uelepi; 19, Uarigin; 20, Metalegop; 21, Apilimat; 22, Falūn; 23, Weluāra; 24, Gauong; 25, Auriela; 26, Leagago; 27, Fal i Trel; 28, Arotrang; 29, Ilux.
Canoe-houses, from north to south: A, Pa'ugop; B, Gajuteling; C, Fan ni Wā; D, Sabwōlap; E, Fale Pëngā; F, Katēlū; G, Fan ni Wong; H, Pa'urël; I, Gavilea."

1: Burrows--92-93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik 1-2

"The buildings in which the people of Ifalik live are not isolated and self-sufficient, nor are they apartments in larger buildings. They are single-room structures, always grouped in clusters. Most often the clusters include several dwellings (im) and one cook-shed (malūm); but some have only one dwelling, while others have more than one cook-shed. What gives them their unity is location on distinct, named sites or homesteads. During our stay on Ifalik 29 homesteads were inhabited, as shown on the map, Fig. 22. The number of inhabitants to a homestead ranged from 3 to 19. Of the 29 homesteads, 12 were occupied by 6 to 9 persons.

Membership in a household--defined for this culture as the group inhabiting a homestead--is determined not only by common residence but also by kinship. The kinds of kinship ties that typically unite the members of a household in Ifalik appear in the following list, which sorts out into broad classes the 29 households that existed there in 1947-8.

(a) Three households consisted of simple families--father, mother, and children.

(b) Seventeen households were made up of joint families of the type usual when residence after marriage is matrilocal, that is to say, groups to which the married men belonged by virtue of marriage, the others by virtue of common descent. More explicitly, seven of these households comprised a married couple (or one surviving member), their unmarried children, their married daughters, the husbands of these daughters, and the children of these couples. Two of the largest households--one with 14 members, the

1

other with 19--included two such groups. Seven more were similarly made up of kinsfolk related by common descent in the maternal line, plus the husbands of the married women. The exact membership of these varied with varying incidence of births, deaths, and marriages. But all conformed to the same type.

(c) Seven households included, in addition to an extended family, one or [93] more individuals, or families, more distantly related, or not recognized as kinsfolk at all.

(d) One household (Falūm) was made up of a family and a bachelor, the latter related only very distantly.

(e) One household (Uarigīn) was an extended family of the type brought about by patrilocal residence."

1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"All of the households which are not strictly matrilocal extended families include some deviation from matrilocal residence. To find out the extent to which this rule is observed, the type of residence exemplified by all the 60 married couples living on Ifalik in 1947-8 was reviewed. One case was not clear. Of the 59 others, 41, just under 70%, were matrilocal. Six were patrilocal, living on the husband's ancestral homestead. Twelve couples were heterolocal, living in various other places. Breach of the rule of matrilocal residence came to the rather high total of 18 couples, 30.5% of the total."

1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The typical household, then, is a matrilocal extended family. Its composition is determined by common residence, matrilineal inheritance of the homestead, and matrilocal residence after marriage. Most of the households that do not conform strictly to this type have an extended family as a nucleus, with some additions on the basis of other claims or of simple congeniality. Given the predominance of the extended family as the basis of membership in a household, the few households that consist of simple families can be regarded as vestigial or incipient extended families. Only two households, (d) and (e), vary fundamentally from the type.

The extended family is not as clearly envisaged in native thought as the clan. There are several terms for groups of relatives smaller than the clan, but none of them is strictly synonymous with 'extended family'. One, tral li votai (with a possessive suffix, in this case first person singular), means approximately 'all my relatives'--all who are recognized and treated as such. Another, welimwales, is also used in reference to some individual. Tom translated it as 'man, and women and boy blong that man.' Pressed to be more specific, he included the man's wife and sisters, and the children of both. These would not all be members of the same household or extended family. In the absence of a generic term for 'household,' particular households are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy."

"In order to bring out any common factor underlying cases of departure from matrilocal residence, the membership of households that include such cases is listed below. They are divided into three categories: (1) those which constitute extended families of the matrilocal type, but are not matrilocal in residence; (2) those which include a matrilocal extended family, but have some additional members who are not living matrilocally; and (3) those which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Most of the data were supplied by Spiro from his genealogies. Each case begins with the name of the homestead on which the group is living. Then follows, in parentheses, the name of the clan to which the site is said to belong; then the personnel of the household.

1. Households consisting of extended family of matrilocal type, but not exemplifying matrilocal residence:

Atielu (Sauwēl). A man, his wife, and her sister. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home, so residence is heterolocal rather than patrilocal. If these people had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

Uluās (Sauwēl). A family: man, wife, and one child. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home. If he had not set up a new household by moving there, the homestead would have been unoccupied. [94]

Metalegop (Bwēl). A family: man, wife and one child. The property belonged

to his clan: it is not clear whether he was brought up on it. If the family had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

2. Households consisting of a matrilocal extended family, with additional members not matrilocal in residence:

Nimau (SauvelārIk). In addition to three women of the Sauvelārik clan, who apparently had been brought up here, the occupants included two families without hereditary claim to this homestead. The wives in these families are sisters, of the Mangaulevār clan. Why the families came to live here was not specifically stated. But if the household had not had some such addition, there would have been no men in it to perform the men's work necessary for subsistence.

Faleolarik (Kailangailuk). In addition to a typical extended family, the occupants included the chief Maroligar (SauvelārIk), his wife (Mangaulevār), and their adopted daughter. Their claim to the site--one rather remote from the native rule of inheritance--was that the homestead had been that of Maroligar's father. Apparently living here rather than on his wife's ancestral homestead was a matter of convenience.

Alingeliu (Sauwel). In addition to a rather complex extended family, including four adopted children, this homestead was occupied by a woman of Kovalu clan, with her daughter and the daughter's husband. They

moved there after the death of a son of the older woman. No reason was given except her wish; but she made herself most useful by taking care of the numerous small children of the household.

Apilimat (SauvelārIk). In addition to two unmarried or widowed women who were brought up here, there were the following occupants:
(a) a woman from Faleolārik (Kailangailuk), with her husband and children. She may have been adopted into this household.
(b) A woman from Nimau (SauvelārIk), distantly related to this household. (c) A family-husband, wife, and two daughters-- none of whom had any hereditary claim to this homestead. Their reason for living here is not known.

Weluāra (Mangaulevār). In addition to a rather large extended family, the occupants of this homestead included a family of outsiders. The wife (hence the children) was of Rapevelū clan. The husband was of Mangaulevār, but from another homestead, Arotrang. No particular reason for their presence here was learned.

Falitrel (SauvelārIk). In addition to an extended family, this household included an unmarried woman, whose connection was uncertain, and a married couple, whose only claim to the homestead was a distant relationship

to the woman. She was of SauvelārIk clan, but had come from another homestead.

Fanneserax (Kailangailuk). In addition to a rudimentary extended family-two sisters who grew up here and the husband of one of them--the occupants were as follows:

(a) A widow from Nimau (SauvelārIk). Her husband had been of this clan. She had come here to live with him--a case of patrilocal residence--and had stayed on, with her three children, after his death. [95]

(b) One of (a's) sons and his wife, who came from Woleai. This was one of two reported cases of patrilocal residence after an interisland marriage. *

(c) A woman of Sauwēl clan, with her husband and their adopted son. She belonged to Alingeliu homestead next door and had moved

---

"* The other was that of a woman from Bwagolei, a SauvelārIk homestead no longer inhabited in 1947-8. She had married a man from Elato and gone there to live with his people. Cases of interisland matrilocal residence were not collected, but were more numerous."

here, it was reported, just because she chose to, regardless of custom.

3. Households which include no examples of matrilocal residence.

Foraik (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The site was occupied by two women of Kovalū clan with their families. They moved in from Welipeien, next door.

Uarigīn (Rapevelū). The only member of this household who was brought up here is the chief Toromann. He brought his wife to live on his homestead, a case of patrilocal residence. They have a son and a daughter. The daughter is unmarried. The son also brought his wife (Kovalū) to this homestead. By means of these two cases of patrilocal residence, the homestead has remained occupied and suitably manned.

Falūn (Sauwēl). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The occupants were a bachelor and a family. The bachelor's claim to the site was that his paternal grandfather lived there. The woman of the family had some similar, rather remote connection with the site. The reason given for this choice of residence was that the occupants wished to resettle this homestead, which had been deserted.

This list of deviations from matrilocal residence indicates that the main reason behind it is depopulation. The occupants of a homestead, according to the pattern of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, die off. The homestead is kept occupied, or re-occupied, either by switching to patrilocal residence, or by acting on some more remote, sometimes quite far-fetched claim; or even without any hereditary claim to the site at all. In the case of men who keep their ancestral homestead occupied by bringing their wives there to live, a sentiment favoring continued occupation of the old homestead may be one of the motives. Another, which may be involved in all cases, and seems the most likely one when no hereditary claim in involved, is simply a wish to take advantage of the availability of a desirable site. Whether matrilocal residence would be more consistently observed if the population were constant or increasing, is a pertinent question. But no answer can be given from the data on Ifalik, where the population is diminishing. While depopulation seems to be the main reason for residence other than matrilocal, it is not the only one. Although matrilocal residence is customary, it is not insisted upon. Residence elsewhere is not condemned or punished. In Sumner's terminology, matrilocal residence is one of the folkways, but--unlike clan exogamy--not one of the mores."

1: Burrows--95-96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"Married men, as a rule, have two households. One is the household of the mother, sisters, and maternal ancestors, ordinarily the one in which a man was brought up. By analogy with a term in common use for family, this may be called the household of orientation. (In exceptional cases, as has been seen, the household of orientation may be other than that of the mother and her lineage.) The second is the household of a man's wife and her lineage, ordinarily that in which he lives with his family after marriage. This, according to the same [96] terminology, is his household of procreation. Even if he does not live there, he is closely linked to this household through his wife and children.

Women have, typically, only one household. They live on the same homestead all their lives, so for them the household of orientation and that of procreation are the same. In the comparatively few cases in which residence after marriage is patrilocal, it is the woman who has two households, the man who has only one. In other exceptional situations, where residence is heterolocal, both husband and wife may be said to have two households.

In any of these cases, an individual has close ties with more than one household. A man's welimwales--the women and children for whom he feels responsible--includes his mother and sisters, and his sisters' children, as well as his wife and own children."

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

1: Burrows--96-97 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik 1-2

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too

remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones. *"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

1: Burrows--97 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik 1-2

"On Ifalik the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for 'lineage' in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage: vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as 'according-to-the-'. Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwēl), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored

attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited."

I: Burrows--97-98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"Although 'lineage' is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads--that is, in effect, with lineages--are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect [98] the lives of the living."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 588, 601, 611 Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 643, 611 Ifalik

"The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 611 Ifalik

"Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected--that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation--are both patrilineal."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--98A (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116; 612 Ifalik

"As suggested by the bilateral extension of kinship terms, a bilateral group of relatives or kindred also exists in each individual's mind. Its existence is proved by the fact that there is a name for it, --airō. The name was used by Tom in telling me where visitors on islands other than their own look for hospitality. He said they stay with their airō.

'What does that mean--airo? ', I asked him.

'All same clan. '

Taking a wrong turn on Tom's translation, I wrote this down as a term for fellow-clansmen. Spiro, in his more intensive and more internalized study of kinship, found that the term expresses the concept of a kindred. By 'all same clan, ' Tom meant that the airō is a group much like a clan. Spiro's inquiries also showed that Tom's use of the word to me in connection with hospitality was typical; in other words, that hospitality is the main overt expression of the feeling of unity within the airō. One treats his relatives on the father's side with the same open-handedness as those on the mother's side. Another, negative expression of this feeling is the extension of exogamy to patrilineal relatives.

An airō meets as a unit. The nearest to such a meeting is the taurang ceremony, when the girl whose first menstruation is being celebrated is adorned by the women of her father's as well as her mother's household, and marches with them afterward from her mother's to her father's homestead. Indeed, it is only for a rite of passage or similar

occasion, centered about one individual or at most one set of siblings, that such a group could very well assemble. For, by definition, its membership must vary for each set of siblings. Such groups are bound to exist mainly in the mind. No doubt that is why, as Murdock points out in 'Social Structure,' the existence of kindreds is frequently overlooked by ethnographers."

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik 1-4

"The terms used on Ifalik to designate relationships by descent and marriage are shown in the following table. These are exclusively terms of reference, not used in address. Whatever the relationship, people are addressed by their names, often shortened in familiar speech. The only term used in address that implies a relationship, so far as I learned, is autegi. This is not a kinship term but an endearment, sometimes used by a man to his wife when they are by themselves.

Kinship terms take possessive suffixes: tamai, my father; tamom, your father; taman or tamal, his father; tamare, our father; tamami, your (pl.) father; tamer, their father, [sic] The form used in the table is the first person singular. The third person singular appears also in composite terms. [99]

KINSHIP TERMS

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
+2	Paternal grandfather, tematemai. Descriptive composite terms for other grandparents: paternal grandmother, sin ni tamai, (mother of my father); maternal	Lineal terms extended to others of the same generation.	Descriptive composites, as tamatamān ni vetiai, paternal grandfather of my wife.

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
	grandfather, tamān ni silei; maternal grandmother, sin ni silei.		
+1	father, tamai mother silei	mother's brother, manenepai (sometimes manenepei; extended within lineage; sometimes further within clan. Mother's sister, silei, extended; father's brother, tamai; father's sister, silei; both extended.	Descriptive composites, as tamān ni vetiai, father in law (father of my wife).

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 601 Ifalik

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
0	sibling of same sex (brother of man, sister of woman) bwisi. sibling of opposite sex (sister of man, brother of woman], moengai.	bwisi and moengai extended.	spouse, vetiai. Other terms composite, as bwisin ni vetiai, sister-in-law (sister of wife) or brother-in-law (brother of husband); moengān ni vetiai, brother of wife, sister of husband.
-1	child, lai. (Son, lai mwal; daughter, lai rowot).	sister's child of man, vatuwei; extended within lineage. Lai extended to other nieces & nephews.	Descriptive composites, as laun ni bwisin ni vetiai, child of the sister of my wife, or child of the brother of my husband.
-2	grandchild, launei	launei extended.	Descriptive composites.

The system of classifying relatives exemplified by these terms is widespread in

Oceania, and has been called by a variety of names. The most generally used of late seems to be 'Polynesian system'."

1: Burrows--100-101 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik 1-5

"Another [KS: system of classifying relatives] proposed by Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago, is 'generation system.' This specifies the distinguishing characteristic of the type: that the strongest category in classifying relatives is that of generation or genealogical level. No term is applied to relatives in more than one generation. The category of descent is weaker in that terms for relatives in the direct line are extended to apply also to relatives in collateral lines.

In so far as the category of generation is stronger than that of descent, the terminology used on Ifalik differs from the actual alignment of relatives in groups. In two of the groups, clan and lineage, the category of descent predominates. In the joint family, three categories are involved--descent, common residence, and marriage. There are no groups based on generation level, and groups based on common age, as already noted, are relatively weak.

Yet kinship terms are not so completely at variance with usage as might appear at first glance. Although people are not formally grouped by generation level, the informal grouping of males in canoe-houses follows a line of cleavage which approximates that of generation. Boys and young men (even after marriage) cluster by themselves. Much of the time they are separate from the older men, though a common task, or even common interest in the subject of a conversation, may bring the two groups together. The most distinct young men's groups were in the two northernmost canoe-houses, in the part of Falārik where there are no longer any dwellings. Older men generally

congregated in the canoe-house nearest the homestead where they lived, so much of the time the youngsters had these canoe-houses to themselves.

Relative age is more generally important in that a senior outranks a junior. The clearest formal expression of this is in succession to chieftainship. It appears also in the form of a general attitude of respect and deference for elders. This is not elaborated by formal etiquette but is constantly perceptible.

At one crucial point the kinship terms make a distinction between lines of descent. This is in the use of separate terms for what we can only translate as 'father' (tamai) and what we can only translate as 'mother's brother' (manenepai). The same distinction appears in the reciprocals of these terms; that for 'child' or 'offspring' (lai--here there is no distinction of sex) and that for 'sister's child' (vatuwei).

Tamai is applied primarily to the father and to the men of his generation--mostly his brothers--who live, or lived before their marriage, on his ancestral homestead. If there is frequent association--which would ordinarily come about through neighboring residence--with more distant relatives on his side, the term would be applied also to them. Application of it to persons outside his clan (his father's father's brother's sons, for instance) is also usual, when association with such kinsfolk keeps the relationship in mind. In any case, this term, though rather widely extended to men of the older generation, ordinarily expresses a relationship through the father. Its most immediate use

is to express the relationship to the father himself; next, that to his brothers; next, to other men, if any, of his generation and lineage. Similarly, manenepai applies primarily to mother's eldest brother; then to her other brothers; then to other men of her generation and lineage. When extended further, as all Ifalik terms can be when occasion demands, it would still express a relationship to a man of the parental generation through the mother. The distinction between tamai and manenepai, as most often used, is essentially one between father's lineage and mother's lineage.

The reciprocal terms manenepai and vatuwei express a special relationship of the kind that Radcliffe Brown calls dyadic (SS: 'all social relations of person to person'); and the kind that our students of personality usually mean when they speak of 'interpersonal relations.' The language of Ifalik, too, has a term for such relationships. Maru e malu means a pair of closely related individuals; it may be husband and wife, parent and child, siblings, or mother's brother and sister's son. [101]

The latter relationship, commonly called the avunculate, is important in Ifalik, as might be expected in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. But it is not extremely developed. It is not emphasized by ritual, nor by any formal privilege, nor reinforced by cross-cousin marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not required, nor even especially preferred.

The mother's brother can not be said to supplant the father, though his role includes some functions performed by the father in societies of a more patriarchal cast. Because

of matrilocal residence, a young person's father usually lives in the same homestead with him, while a mother's brother, once he is married, does not. Yet the mother's brother is the most closely related older male in anyone's own lineage. He personifies the main source of livelihood, insofar as a man is a more appropriate representative or symbol of that than a woman is. The relationship is most conspicuous in economic reciprocity between males. The vatuwei, or sister's son (sometimes in a classificatory sense) is the heir presumptive of the manenepai, (or one of them,) and may be regarded as dependent on him for a livelihood. This imposes on the vatuwei an obligation which he discharges by services, particularly work performed for the manenepai. Specific examples of this will be given in the discussion of economic co-operation. When the manenepai is a chief, the vatuwei may succeed to the title, though younger brothers of the chief have first claim.

There is no corresponding special term for father's sister. She is one of the 'classificatory mothers', the term silei being extended to her. In this extension of the term, the category of common descent is disregarded; a father's sister can not be of the same clan as the mother, because of clan exogamy. No special powers are attributed to the father's sister, as in some Pacific islands; and no special obligations imposed on her reciprocal, the brother's child. Since father's sisters are the most closely related older women in the father's household, the relationship is kept in mind by the generally frequent

association with that household. So the relationship is a rather close, kindly one; but there is no formal empnasis upon it."

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 601, 593 Ifalik 1-3

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother

and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he

denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

1: Burrows--102-103 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 597, 162 Ifalik 1-3

"One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifalik is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked out an estimate of the number of people in the population less than 20 years old. (As they do not keep track of chronological ages, this had to be based on relative ages.) The total came to 81. Of these, 32, or 39.5% had been adopted. A corresponding percentage for the older people was not worked out. (This would have been more difficult as adoption among them is less widely remembered.) However, as we see no reason to suspect a change in the prevalence of adoption, the estimate for the younger people probably indicates fairly well the proportion of adoptions in the population as a whole.

A request for a child is usually made before its birth. A childless mother (or even one who has children, but wants another) will ask a pregnant woman for her baby. Such a request may be refused, but custom exerts pressure in favor of granting it. Negotiations for adoption may also begin after the birth of a child, when someone takes a fancy to it. Although the negotiations seem to be conducted by the women, their husbands share in a decision about [103] giving or taking a child. In talking about adoption with men, adopted children were commonly referred to as the vam (adopted child) of the adopting father.

The adopting parents prepare to feed the mother after the birth of the child, in order that she may have plenty of milk. The adopting mother makes a special planting in her taro patch. When the expectant mother goes to the birth house to be delivered of the

child, the adopted father goes fishing to provide food for her. Traditionally, he is expected to 'keep the fire going in the earth oven for 10 days', in order to feed the mother. Actually, the earth oven, the ancient way of cooking, is only used nowadays for cooking in greater quantities than usual, as when a turtle or large fish is caught. If a child is requested after his birth, the adopting parents are still under an obligation to give food, which then takes the form of a present to the biological parents.

Acquiring a new set of relatives by adoption does not mean renouncing the old ones. When adoption is within the lineage, it is only the parents who are changed, joint family and clan remaining the same. This is said to be the preferred kind of adoption. But the rule is not always observed. Adoption even from another clan is not uncommon. Six cases were noted in my preliminary census. Spiro's genealogical study later revealed many cases of adoption of which I was not told when taking the census, so adoptions without the clan are undoubtedly much more numerous than that.

When adopted into another household, a child's home is primarily with its adopting parents. But it knows perfectly well who its original parents were, visits freely with them, and may spend the night at their house whenever it cares to. When adopted into another clan, it acquires something like a double clan membership. It may not marry either in the clan into which it was born or in that into which it was adopted.

One of the functions of adoption is to express and reinforce good-will between two

families. Another one, obviously, is to continue a lineage which otherwise would become extinct."

1: Burrows--104 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 471 Ifalik

"The manual operations by which the people of Ifalik get a living from the soil and sea around them have been discussed under the heading 'Technology' [KS: pp. 27-44]. This chapter is concerned with the standards and practices that organize this activity; in other words, with the patterns that govern the control of material goods and the work of producing and distributing them."

1: Burrows--104-105 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"The concept of ownership of material wealth that prevails in Ifalik differs from our own. Ownership there is not absolute to the verge of irresponsibility, as in our economic system. A doctrine generally accepted among us--'It's nobody's business what I do with my own property'--would hardly be understood in Ifalik; or, if understood, would be indignantly condemned. Individual possession of material goods is, to be sure, a familiar idea with them. It is explicitly expressed in their language by possessive suffixes and adjectives. But in effect the individual 'owners', to whom these forms of speech refer, are no more than members of groups which share in the right to use the property; or else, in the case of those who have authority over its use by others, managers on behalf of the group. The whole group is the real owner, in our sense of the term. The nominal owner is either a co-owner or a trustee.

This contrast must not be taken as diametrical opposition. With us[105] too, there is of course a sense of public responsibility in ownership of some kinds of nominally private property; particularly property which the public uses and depends on, --public utilities, common carriers, and the like. This sense of public responsibility seems to have been growing stronger among us during the 20th century. But there is still a decided difference in degree between our concept of ownership and the one which prevails in Ifalik."

1: Burrows--105 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 471 Ifalik 1-2

"Most of what we would call public property is called in Ifalik the property of the chiefs. One example is the main roads or paths of the two islands; one running along the lagoon side of Falārik between the houses and the shore; the other a 'belt line' around Falārik close to the taro swamp. Another example is the big seines kept in the canoe-houses. The men's house and the plot of land around it, including the overgrown site of the former men's house--all regarded as a unit and called by the one name Katēlū--is also considered property of the chiefs. In this case the ascription to them has additional force, for one of the functions of Katēlū is to symbolize chiefly dignity and authority.

This concept, ownership by the chiefs of property not used by them more than by everybody else, suggests at first glance the feudalism of medieval Europe. But the resemblance is superficial. While ostensibly the chiefs can do as they please with this property, actually what they please to do is limited by tradition. It never has occurred to them to allot exclusive use of the road or seines to favored retainers, in return for services like the military services of feudal Europe. The former use of the men's house as a dormitory for unmarried youths, and the fairly definite tasks assigned to them, look more like services owed the chiefs in return for use of the chiefs' property. But the natives apparently did not think of the young men's work as room rent; at least the youths still perform definite tasks--so far as we know, the same as before--now

that they no longer sleep in the men's house. Nor have the chiefs ever thought of selling or trading these properties of theirs, or reserving them for their own exclusive use. Such uses of the properties seem inconceivable to them; hence, for all practical purposes, might as well be forbidden.

There is no telling what may happen in the future, as the influence of a foreign concept of property grows stronger. However, one other likely result of increasing foreign influence would be waning power of the chiefs. That would tend to counteract any inclination toward tyrannical disposal of property. But the outcome of such a pull between opposed tendencies, as complicated by an indefinite number of other pulls, is impossible to predict.

Meanwhile, what the chiefs do with such property is virtually the same as what our government officials do with property entrusted to their charge. Both issue orders controlling the use and upkeep of the property for the common benefit. For instance, fishing with the big seines, and repairing or replacing them, are done only on order of the chiefs. But fish caught with the seines are distributed among all the households whose men have done the fishing. If there are enough fish to go further, some will be sent to other districts. And when all districts take part in the fishing, the catch is distributed among the whole population."

1: Burrows--105-106
116, 427, 643

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute--a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in [106] Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property, --except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition."

1: Burrows--106 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

"Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemāni. (The rest of the rosemāni are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

1. Pa'ugop -Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
2. Gajuteling -Ilegemwār
3. Fan ni wā -Totogoeiti
4. Sabwōlap -Gabwileisei
5. Fale Pëngā -Fagaulīr
6. Katēlū -north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti

south side, Toromānn

7. Fan ni Wong -WolpaitIk
8. Pa'auēl -Wolpetau
9. Gavilea -WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men."

"Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni wā, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Pa'ugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings. [107]

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Pëngā, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question 'Why?', the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform

over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

1: Burrows-107 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 423, 643 Ifalik 1-2

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--107-108 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 501, 643 Ifalik 1-3

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence; but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

1: Burrows--108 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 618 Ifalik 1-2

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

1: Burrows--109 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 613, 241 Ifalik

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwël clan.

1: Burrows--109 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik 1-2

"All the land on the atoll, except for the road, the sites of the men's house and canoe houses, and the beach between high and low water mark, is divided into tracts, which have names like those of the homesteads. The boundaries of these tracts are supposed to be a matter of common knowledge; at least, those directly concerned seem to have no doubt where they are. Any natural object--most often, apparently, a coconut tree no different from any other--serves as a boundary mark."

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 423 Ifalik

"Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs --or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik

"To anyone accustomed to the rigor with which titles are searched and boundaries surveyed in our culture, the Ifalik system of land tenure must seem loose and vague. Yet it works satisfactorily. As long as there are enough coconuts, taro, and-in season-breadfruit to go around, their way of locating boundaries, which they consider exact but which might be open to question if tested closely, causes no difficulties. Presumably it would be quite a different matter if these crops were scarcer, or if foreign influence increased to a point where land was more intensively cultivated (if that is feasible), and productive of more than subsistence. Difficulties would almost certainly arise if the land became desirable to foreigners, and so began to be sold. In such a case the surveys, hearings and disputes that have tormented administrators of many other Pacific islands might be expected. But so long as the poor soil of Ifalik is of no interest to foreigners the native system of land tenure will suffice. We heard of no disputes over ownership of land."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--110-111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 576 Ifalik

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 422, 227 Ifalik

"The smaller fish-traps made by individual men are used, primarily by the maker, in small-scale fishing for his household. Any male member of the household--male, because women do not take part in this kind of fishing--would feel free to use such a trap, but would pretty surely ask the maker first, if there was any chance of his wanting to use it himself."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 422, 431, 462 Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

(1947-48)

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palū. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--111
116, 301, 431, 422

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

1: Burrows--111-112
116, 227, 422

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Larger fish-traps are made in the canoe-houses by groups of men, usually [112] of the same neighborhood but not necessarily of the same household. They are kept in the canoe-house, and taken out in large sailing canoes, on the order of a chief. As these are usually district expeditions, the traps are virtually district property."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine, --every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

"Labor

The emphasis in the following discussion, as distinguished from what has been said about work in the section on technology, is on the allotment of tasks among the population and the direction and organization of those in which more than one person takes part.

The fundamental line of cleavage in division of labor, that by sex, has been sketched here and there under 'Technology.' The following table affords a synopsis and adds some details, without pretending to be exhaustive. The tasks biologically allotted to women, bearing and suckling children, are not included. Nor is their time-consuming sequel, child care. One reason for this is that the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused. But the main reason for dismissing this subject in a few words is that it is vital to Spiro's problem of personality formation, and will be fully discussed by him.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
Production of food	Planting, cultivating, & harvesting taro	Planting trees	Planting and gathering bananas
	Gathering wild plant foods	Gathering coconuts & breadfruit	
		Making & collecting toddy	
	Fishing about boulders in shallow water (infrequent)	Fishing by the commonest methods: with hook & line, traps, weirs, & nets	Bonito drive: when a school enters lagoon (women's role subordinate).
	Gathering shellfish & other sea-food on exposed reef by day	Torchlight fishing with dip-nets, on reef and in lagoon	Scouring reef at night in household or family parties.
	Digging coconut crabs	Gathering small crabs to bait traps	

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		Making nets, traps & other fishing tackle.	
Preparation of food	Grating coconuts, extracting cream.		
	Preparing taro & breadfruit		
	Daily cooking in cook-sheds	Occasional cooking in earth oven, when large fish are caught or a hog butchered	
	Cooking for feasts and for work-gangs	Broiling fish to be shared by fishermen or other working parties	
		(No. 1 chief only: butchering and cooking	

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		turtle)	
		Carving wooden bowls (obsolescent)	Making coral pounders to mash taro & breadfruit
House-building	Plaiting screens and floor-mats	Hewing, fitting and assembling timbers	(Mostly youths) Gathering & strewing coral gravel for [114] floors & platforms
		Putting thatch on roof	Plaiting thatch-sheets
Canoe-building		Hewing, fitting &	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-5
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		assembling timbers; painting hull	
	Plaiting strips of mat for sail	Assembling and rigging sail	
Navigation		All navigation	
Preparation of clothing	Preparation of bast for weaving	Making looms	Preparing head-dresses, garlands & other finery
	Weaving & dyeing		
	Assembling belts, necklaces and other ornaments of shell	Cutting shell and turtle shell into beads for belts, strips for	

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 462 Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work or turtle-shell*	Men's Work bracelets, etc.*	Both Sexes
Basketry	Plaiting baskets of cured, doubled coconut leaf Plaiting pandanus baskets		Plaiting makeshift baskets of green coconut leaf.
Mats	All plaiting of mats		
Cordage	Preparing sennit fiber	Twisting rope	

The arrangement by activities, though it seemed on the whole more illuminating than any other, obscures some generalizations that could be indicated more clearly in some

---

"* Working in shell is a rather infrequent task. Necklaces and ear-ornaments are not abundant; and while nearly every woman has a belt, most of these are obtained by trade from other islands, especially Eaurupik."

other way. For example, woodwork, even the making of such a woman's implement as the loom, is virtually a monopoly of the men; while weaving and plaiting, except for makeshift coconut baskets, are women's monopoly."

1: Burrows--114
116, 462, 285

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of doubled coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 562 Ifalik

"Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: 'But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy.' Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked."

1: Burrows--115
116, 461

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Division of labor by age is less systematic and extensive than that by sex. Most of it can be brought under two heads: one, reserving difficult and responsible tasks to those old enough to be trusted with them; the other, relieving those past their physical prime from the more strenuous and dangerous jobs. An example of the first is that only grown women use up much of the scarce banana fiber in weaving; of the second, that elderly men are not expected to climb coconut trees, whether for young drinking nuts or for toddy."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 565, 461 Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--115-116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 565 Ifalik

"Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-8--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar--would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katēlū, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the [116] seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifalik--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup."

"A minimum of individual specialization is one of the most nearly consistent marks of communities we call primitive--that word of so many meanings that they threaten to cancel each other out. In that respect Ifalik is truly primitive. Most of the work can be done by any able-bodied individual of the right sex and age. Only the following activities are reserved to specialists:

1. government, to the chiefs
2. butchering of turtle, to the highest chief of Kovalū clan
3. navigation, to accredited palū
4. carpentry on canoes and public buildings, to accredited sennap
5. tattooing (a complete job only), to taupotu
6. some healing procedures, to tautavē
7. intercession with the gods, to taubwongbwong

Even this brief list has to be further qualified. In government, navigation, and carpentry, it is only the planning and direction that are reserved to specialists; others do most of the labor involved. Tattooing is an individual skill; but it is only the application of the complete traditional pattern that is reserved to taupotu. Anyone can put on other scattered motifs, as leaping porpoise along the outside of the legs. Moreover, in Ifalik this was an obsolete specialty during 1947-8. The only living taupotu had long ceased to practice his craft. Men who wanted a complete tattooing--if any still do--would have to seek a taupotu on some other island. This had not been uncommon in

the past; Tom, for example, had been tattooed on Woleai. The degree of specialization of healing and religious activity will be discussed in the chapter on religion."

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was WètrIliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 463 Ifaiik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwèl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 466 Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was GauaisIg, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 226, 466 Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 466 Ifalik

"Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house, was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood."

1: Burrows--117-118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 466 Ifalik

"In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. [118] It often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifalik way of working, everybody shares in the joys of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifalik combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifalik still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision."

1: Burrows--118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifalik are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifalik seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik 1-3

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārĭk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwèl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1; Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 286 Ifalik

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost Falārik. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is Falārik's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārīk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm or a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--121-123
116, 673, 476

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1.4

"Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falārĭk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

Aug. 1.-Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)

Aug. 9.-Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.

Aug. 10-12.-All work tabu except smoking of bonito.

Sept. 5-12 (approximately).-Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.

Sept. 20.-Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.

Sept. 27.-Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.

Sept. 28.-New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni wā, in Falārĭk district.

Sept. 30.-New thatch put on roof of Fan ni wā. [122]

Oct. 3.-Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.

Oct. 5.-Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Pëngā, Rauau district.

Oct. 6.-District fishing (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)

Oct. 11.-District fishing.

Oct. 13-18. -Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.
Oct. 19. -Fishing by united forces of Rauau and Falārĭk.
Oct. 21. -Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urĕl. Done by some men, but not all from both Rauau and Falālap.
Oct. 22. -Falālap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.
Oct. 24. -(and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in Falārĭk, one in Rauau, and one in Falālap). Men rehearse at night for performance of ur dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.
Oct. 25 (approximately, and daily thereafter). -Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falālap.
Oct. 31. -Feast at Falālap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.
Nov. 5. -New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district.
Nov. 6. -Rauau district fishing.
Nov. 7. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwōlap.
Nov. 10. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in Falārĭk.
Nov. 14. -No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of ur dance.

Nov. 15. -Men of all districts take part in final performance of ur.
Nov. 16 (and on into December). -Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.
Nov. 25. -Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)
Dec. 3. -Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.
Dec. 6. -Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulos.
Dec. 9-11. -Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district. [123]
Dec. 12. -Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.
Dec. 13. -Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.
Dec. 24. -Extra-tie beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwōlap, recently repaired.
Dec. 28. -Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.
Dec. 31. -Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe-houses.
Jan. 2. -District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.
Jan. 6. -Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches

and painting.

Jan. 7-14 (approximately). -Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.

Jan. 24. -District fishing, Rauau.

Jan. 26. -District fishing, Rauau.

Feb. 2-3. -Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falālap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role."

1: Burrows--123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work-- a catch of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense."

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 105 Ifalik 1-3

"The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of [124] his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the household of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products-- dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is

applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents,--cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 764 Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--125-126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 768, 158 Ifalik

"Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage, --witness the wrecking of houses by Galēt in the myth (p. 54), when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falālap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outbursts on the part [126] of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property."

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126
116, 585, 431

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifalik, --the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifalik, there are no weddings."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 597 Ifalik

"Adoption, we have seen, does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the child to those who give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair, -- an obligation of the adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a child already bespoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as payment for the child, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty of milk to make the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifalik, does confer an obligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified price. These obligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones of our culture. No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that is expected to continue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of good will."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

1: Burrows--127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 439 Ifalik

"Trade with Europe did not begin until comparatively recent times. Although Spaniards were established on Guam, only 350 miles away, from 1668, no European ship seems to have visited Ifalik until Wilson called in 1797. Trade with Europeans was negligible throughout the following century. When the German expedition arrived in 1909, the people still had only shell adzes. During the few remaining years of the German regime a beginning was made of buying copra in exchange for foreign trade goods. This was developed by the Japanese. For years now all cutlery has been of steel, and some other foreign wares, such as cloth, dyes, and cotton fishing nets and lines, have become fairly common, though only the dyes have displaced the native product. Up to the early months of 1948, American vessels had not begun calling regularly, and the people had not been able to resume making copra, as they never knew when the arrival of a ship would enable them to sell it. The prospect was that American transportation would eventually become organized so that ships would call more regularly, and trade would again reach the level attained by the Japanese. There was no visible prospect of its developing much beyond that, -the islanders have so little to export."

"Purely native trade with other islands has been going on for an indefinite period, - presumably ever since the islands were first settled. With its nearest neighbor, Woleai, Ifalik has little opportunity for trade, since the resources and products of the two atolls are nearly the same. What trading there is follows the native pattern of gift exchange. We witnessed one example. Woleai was short of breadfruit at the time, because virtually all trees had been destroyed on the largest island of the atoll. This destruction was begun by the Japanese in clearing for a landing strip, and finished by the Americans in bombing it. A canoe that set sail for Woleai during the breadfruit season took all of the fruit it could carry; in fact, several loads taken out in small canoes had to be returned for lack of storage space aboard the sailing canoe. Some of the breadfruit may have been earmarked for relatives or particular friends, but [128] most of it was to be distributed as the Woleai chiefs saw fit. Nothing was said about payment, or any return present. Woleai, in accepting the gift, assumed an obligation and will make a return when possible. But it is hard to see what it will be, unless Ifalik, and not Woleai, should be devastated by a typhoon. What Woleai has that Ifalik has not is mainly fish; and native methods of preservation would not get it to Ifalik in good condition. (The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.) One meager present of preserved fish was indeed brought in one of the canoes from Woleai. It was apparently a surplus from the supply taken on for the voyage; at least there was only enough for the chiefs. I did not get a close look at

it to see whether it was preserved in any other way than the usual smoking. Tom kept us away; rather officiously, it seemed, yet his explanation was doubtless true. We would not like it, he said, 'because stink'."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 439 Ifalik

"A regular article of import from Eaurupik is turtle-shell discs or beads for women's belts. Curiously, the German account of Eaurupik--written like that of Ifalik, by Damm from field notes by Sarfert--speaks of a belt of coconut-shell beads as characteristic of Eaurupik, and traded as far as Puluwat. But my Ifalik informants insisted that all their dark beads were of turtle shell, and that most of them came from Eaurupik. As usual, no mention was made of payment, or of return present. Swamp taro (pulax), of which Ifalik has an abundance, is one possibility; but this grows on Eaurupik too."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276, 439 Ifalik

"Native tobacco is imported from several of the nearest atolls, which seem able to grow more of it than Ifalik, though the soil can not be very hospitable on any of them. Faraulep and (this from memory) Lamotrek were mentioned as sources of tobacco."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 386, 439 Ifalik

"One highly prized article--'red' turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands; either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifalik, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorIk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifalik. Tom always translated rang as either 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'."

1: Burrows--128-129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 439 Ifalik

"It has been noted in the account of native navigation that canoes from Ifalik sometimes went as far as Truk to the eastward, or even farther. Whether these long trips accounted for most of the supply of rang [KS: powdered turmeric root used for body painting] from that direction, or whether most of it came by trading along the chain of low islands in between, is not clear. But certainly some of the supply from Yap was brought directly, in the course of the regular visits to the village of Gatschapar (Ifalik Garpar) in Gagil district, whose chiefs are regarded as overlords of Ifalik. The political aspect of these voyages will be considered in the chapter on government. As to the economic aspect, Fonachar of Yap told me that the people from outer atolls like Ifalik would bring cloths, mat sails and other pandanus mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy' (what he meant by 'candy' I could not make out). Yap gave in return, he said, rang, canoes of the larger and better timber available on the high islands, mats of Yap manufacture, betel nuts (but betel chewing is not customary on Ifalik), and foods not obtainable on the atolls, such as Tahitian chestnut. Since foreign vessels from the high islands have been making fairly frequent trips to Ifalik, most of the turmeric has been brought on them, though [129] the trade in it seems still to be in the hands of native sailors or passengers."

1: Burrows--129
116, 436, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is noteworthy that the people of Ifalik do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifalik; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what seemed to be this material was seen on Ifalik--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifalik illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifalik (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy."

1: Burrows--130
116, 475, 626

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Government on Ifalik, as described in this chapter, is limited to administration of certain rules regulating conduct. Another activity which might well be allotted to government is public works. But since the services performed are economic, and some of them involve distinctive techniques, it has been convenient to describe this activity under economics and technology, except for the matter of enforcing participation in communal undertakings, which will be discussed in this chapter. Various other activities performed in our culture by governmental agencies are either absent in Ifalik or seem to be outside the sphere of government as here understood.

Not all rules are regarded as governmental. Following Malinowski*, the distinction drawn here is based on the sanctions by which they are enforced. Rules not taken seriously enough to be sanctioned at all, or sanctioned only in informal ways, as by the inertia of custom, the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule, or the positive sanction of practical efficacy, are not the concern of government. And sanctions that we regard as supernatural, whether thought of as automatic, or as administered by superhuman beings, are allotted to religion."

"* Malinowski's views on government were first formulated in 'Crime and Custom in Savage Society,' redefined later in the preface to Hogbin, 'Law and Order in Polynesia.'"

1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"In Ifalik, matters of public concern, except for most of the religious ones, are administered by five chiefs, who hold office by virtue of hereditary rank."

1: Burrows--130-131 (1947-48) Woleaians/-3
116, 621 Ifalik

"....government in Ifalik might be defined as interaction between chiefs and populace, and between chiefs and foreigners. It is unmistakably institutionalized, in any sense of the protean word 'institution'. If we apply Malinowski's concept of an institution, government in Ifalik can be outlined as follows:

Group: Chiefs as the governors, populace as the governed.

Activity: Regulation of conduct in accordance with traditional rules; formulation of new rules when necessary.

Shared Environment: The atoll of Ifalik, including its reef and lagoon, and extending to the open sea as far as it is frequented by Ifalik canoes on short round-trip expeditions. (Interisland voyages take the canoes out of the jurisdiction of this institution.)

Material Equipment: The kind of property called 'property of the chiefs', and analyzed in the chapter on economics as public property: that is, the men's house, the path along the lagoon shore of Falārĭk and the belt line about the taro swamp on Falālap, especially the northwestern part of it, which constitutes the main thoroughfare among the houses; the big seines kept in the canoe-houses; to a great extent the canoe-houses themselves and the large sailing canoes,

though these are nominally private property; in emergency, any other property.

Charter: (1) The legends insofar as they confer the authority of ancient standing on the principle of rank, including subordination of Ifalik to Gatschapar in Yap, superordination of Ifalik over surrounding atolls; most specifically, the passages which trace the paramount title, and its succession in Kovalū clan, to the [131] prowess of Mailias as a warrior, and the second-ranking title, with its succession in SauvelārIk clan, to the feats of Maur as a leader and orator; less explicitly, the traditional association of these mighty men of old with the abandoned site of the ancient men's house just inland from the present one.

(2) Symbols of rank in material objects and deferential behavior. These cluster around the men's house, as described later.

(3) All traditional rules of conduct insofar as it is regarded as the business of the chiefs to administer them. (It is hard to draw a clear line between these rules and rules of two other kinds: on the one hand, those administered within the household or informally by public opinion; on the other hand, those administered by gods or--in the case of tabus--by impersonal supernatural power. An

attempt to draw this line will be made later. The belief that the spirits of ancient chiefs avenge any violation of the tabu on the site of the ancient men's house is a case in which governmental and religious rules, as those categories are here defined, merge into one.

(4) The traditional, unverbalized 'constitution' - which places every individual in a hierarchy of hereditary rank, and confers authority on the holders of five chiefly titles, each of which descends nominally in a particular clan (actually, so far as observed, in the senior lineage of that clan). This constitution specifies--by precedent, as in the British constitution and the common law--the duties and prerogatives of the chiefs, some division of authority among them, and the obligations of the commoners."

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians/-2
116, 622 Ifalik

"The following table shows the order of rank among the chiefs, the clans in which they descend, and the names of the individuals holding these titles during our stay on the atoll in 1947-8. The official titles of the chiefs, except for those in SauvelārIk clan, are the same as the names of their clans. Apparently the names of these particular clans, as discussed on p. 89-90, originated as titles. I never heard titles for the two chieftainships in SauvelārIk clan, and the name of that clan is not, like the others, a title. Indeed, the other titles are now used only as clan names. Although it is said to be proper to address the paramount chief as 'Kovalū', the third as 'Mangaulevār', and the fifth as 'Rapevalū', I never heard this done. There is no way to test the suggestion that this was customary at some former time, unless this custom proved to be general among surrounding islands of related culture, which would of course support the suggestion. Whatever may have been the former custom, nowadays the use of these titles in address is obsolete, so far as our observation goes.

Order of Rank	Clan	Title	Holder in 1947-8
1.	Kovalū	Kovalū	Wolpetau
2.	SauvelārIk	?	Maroligar
3.	Mangaulevar	Mangaulevār	Paliuilimar (died 1948)
4.	SauvelārIk	?	WolpaitIk
5.	Rapevelū	Rapevelū	Toromann

[132] In addition, Fagaurateu of Sauwêl was credited with a unique status as a sort of sub-chief. Tom said this position was called by the same name (tamōl) as that of the five full-fledged chiefs. Yet Fagarateu did not meet with them, nor sit with them on public occasions. His position seems to exemplify the traditional role ascribed to Sauwêl men--to act as errand-runners and subordinate executives for the chiefs. This was the only trace found of this role in current practise; and even this was only nominal, so far as observed. Being old and in poor health, Fagaurateu seemed not to exercise any of the authority accredited to him."

1: Burrows--132 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565 Ifalik

"Rank is so highly valued and respected that it stands out as one of the master-values of this culture. A hierarchy of rank runs through the whole society. In it each individual has a place; and standards of good behavior require each to show by his conduct that he 'knows his place'. This involves not only deference toward superiors, but a certain lordliness toward inferiors, --not in informal contacts, but on occasions of state. For example, when the highest-ranking chief of Faraulep was visiting Ifalik, and came to the canoe-house where the local chiefs met, Wolpetau remained lying on his back and paid his visitor only a negligent attention; this although he is personally an affable man, rather diffident in manner. The point was that traditionally he outranks the Faraulep chief, and was in duty bound to mark the distinction by his conduct.

It has already been shown (pp. 90, 131) that the chiefs are aligned in a definite order of rank; that the clans which hold chiefly titles have an order of rank corresponding to that of their chiefs; and that clans which have no chiefs rank below those which have."

1: Burrows--132 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"Within the clans, lineages rank according to traditional seniority. Even within lineages--or, what comes to nearly the same thing, households--there is a similar order among individuals. Insofar as the division of labor segregates men and women into separate groups, this small-scale hierarchy splits into two, one of men and one of women. It is unobtrusive, and may be weakened, perhaps even reversed occasionally, by individual differences. Yet it operates more continuously than the large-scale, comparatively formal hierarchy of chiefs and clans, because the individuals involved are interacting most of the time."

1: Burrows--132-133
116, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians/-2
Ifalik

"Rank, then, is a graded continuum. The sharpest line of cleavage is between chiefs and commoners; and this is in effect a part-time distinction, perceptible only on formal occasions. Ordinarily it would be hard to tell, from the behavior of a group of men, which among them were chiefs. All work and talk together like equals. The chiefs are treated courteously, to be sure, but so is everybody else; for courtesy is another of the master-values. The distinction in rank only becomes apparent in moments of formality. For instance, as already noted, communal tasks of any importance are made the occasion for communal meals,--not to use the word 'feast' for anything so unpretentious. Such meals always begin with the offering of a little food to the gods, with a brief spoken prayer, like the "grace before meals' customary--or formerly customary--in our culture. When there is a chief present, as there usually is, he is the one to make this offering; or if there is more than one chief, the senior one. That bit of ritual over, he again becomes indistinguishable from the rest. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the chiefs, elevated only by such part-time distinctions, can not be said to constitute a social class, as that term is ordinarily understood. Still less can they and their kinsfolk, whether households or clans, be said to constitute a [133] nobility. For what distinction there is is nearly all individual. The order of rank among clans is manifested only through their chiefs, except when a title is vacated by death and a successor has to be chosen, or--in the case of the two highest-ranking clans--on one rather infrequent occasion: when a turtle is appropriated by Kovalū, or a yellowfin tuna by Sauvelārlk.

In sum, for all the importance of rank in this society, the society is not stratified into classes.

The importance of courtesy, evident in all social behavior, is conspicuous in the treatment of distinctions in rank. When the occasion requires, the distinctions are made and accepted, but unostentatiously. They are not allowed to become invidious. So, while rank serves to enhance the authority of superiors, it is rather successfully prevented from humiliating inferiors, at least overtly. The emphasis--unless in malicious gossip, which would have to be furtive to be tolerated--is on the positive importance of rank, rather than the negative importance of lack of it. Even in the case of chiefs homage is paid to the office rather than the man."

"This fact is evident in the nature of the symbols of rank. They do not consist of emblems or insignia attached to the person and carried about. The reservation of turtle to Kovalū clan and yellowfin tuna to SauvelārIk, in addition to the practical advantage of use of these delicacies, symbolizes the superior rank of these two clans. This is the symbol that comes nearest to being invidious. Tom, a SauvelārIk man, fretted under the restriction on turtle. The requirement that the paramount chief butcher turtle in person is an individual distinction. Except for that, the symbolism of this custom distinguishes clans rather than individuals.

Only one other individual distinction was noted, --a bit of symbolic behavior. Once every rag, or twice a year, men from FalārIk district make a ceremonial offering of coconut toddy to the No. 2 chief, the senior man of SauvelārIk. We saw it once, on November 10. About mid-morning, a file of men came along the path, each carrying a bottle of fresh toddy. Maroligar awaited them on the homestead Somat, between Katēlū and Bwagolei. He does not live there, but now that Bwagolei is uninhabited Somat is the highest-ranking SauvelārIk homestead, hence the most appropriate site for this little ceremony. There was no elaborate speech-making. The men greeted the chief quietly, put down the bottles of toddy, and squatted on the coral house platform facing him. He saved out some for his relatives, and one bottle for the Americans, but redistributed the rest at once, and he and his callers drank it together."

1: Burrows--133-134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katēlū, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name Fan ni Wā) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is Fan Nap or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katēlū, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's clubhouse, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our [134] stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure."

1: Burrows--134
116, 345, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men-usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building (p. 189-190). Once a group of women, in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called perou. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called sur perou (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called ŏngarIk. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The ŏngarIk, unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by WolpaitIk, which Tom

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the OngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise, --to hang my placard on the OngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

1: Burrows--135-136 / (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784 Ifalik /-3

"The most sacred part of all Katēlū is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katēlū is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katēlū, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect

for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katēlū, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so

that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784, 565 Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of Sauvelārīk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

1: Burrows--136
116, 565, 576, 487

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falārlk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katēlū may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods, --indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--137-139 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik 1-5

"Succession to chieftainship is determined by primogeniture in the female line. Asked for a more exact statement of the rule of succession, the chiefs conferred and issued, through Tom, a series of choices, given below with the comment that seems necessary to explain them.

(1) When a chief dies, the first choice for a successor is a 'brother'. Tom said 'brother' as the only term in English to translate bwisīl. Actually, as shown in the discussion of kinship terms, this one (given there as bwisī, with 1st person possessive suffix instead of that for 3d person) applies not only to siblings of the same sex, but also to more distant relatives in the female line, --to all recognized relatives of the same lineage, sex, and genealogical generation. So this statement includes a range of choices. First would be a true brother; and among brothers, the oldest surviving one. Next would be mother's sisters' sons, with priority to the eldest son of the eldest sister; and so on, as far as kinship is recognized. As a rule, as has been noted, it is recognized only within the lineage. And as the lineage groups (living members of a lineage) are small, the usual extension of kinship terms does not take in a very wide range of relationships.

(2) If no 'brother' is available, next choice will be a 'sister's son' (vatu wei). This term is also applied to more than sons of sisters. The sons of women whom we would call parallel cousins or orthocousins of the deceased chief, on his mother's side, would also be eligible; for the chief would speak of any of them as 'my sister' (moengai); and

the term for 'son' would be used in a similarly extended sense by all of these 'sisters', So, in effect, any man of the chief's lineage, but one generation younger as generations are reckoned genealogically, would be eligible as a vatu wei. In practise, the term is not commonly extended beyond true sisters' sons and the sons of mother's sisters' daughters.

(3) If no 'sister's son' is available, the choice will pass to a son, (laú). This statement was a surprise, as a man's sons, or the nephews to whom the same term would be applied, are not of his lineage or even of his clan. When asked about this, Tom said that a son was a possible successor because he was of the same 'house' as the chief. The word for 'house' in this connection, he continued, would be im, the ordinary word for dwelling. He knew of no instance in which a chief had been succeeded by a laú. So this statement may have little or no practical significance.

(4) If none of the preceding choices is possible, the chief will be succeeded by 'some other relative.' Again it is questionable whether in practise succession would be, or ever need be, extended to such rather remote relatives. [138]

Because the people of Ifalik do not cherish genealogies, and can not trace relationships farther than their memory of living persons, the only specific cases of succession obtainable were those involving the chiefs in office during our stay. Each knew his own relationship to his immediate predecessor. Some of these statements were confirmed, from memory, by others. In the case of the two highest-ranking chiefs they could cite

names of earlier chiefs in order of succession; but did not know the relationships involved.

Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, was a 'brother', in the extended sense, of his predecessor Mul. Their mothers were true sisters.

Maroligar, No. 2 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor, Bwongalimoi.

Paliuilimar, No. 3 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor.

WolpaitIk, no. 4 chief, was a true brother of his predecessor; 'same father, same mother.'

Toromann, No. 5 chief, was a brother of his predecessor.

Succession in three of these cases followed the choice named first in the list announced by the chiefs. In the other two cases it followed the choice named as second. There is little doubt that these two choices provide a successor to a deceased chief in most instances.

Two limitations on succession were exemplified when the third-ranking title was vacated, shortly before we left Ifalik, by the death of the chief Paliuilimar. Though the matter may not have been entirely settled when we left, we were told that no successor to the title would be named for the time being, as no suitable person was available. If all members of Paliuilimar's clan, Mangauvelar, had been considered eligible, a suitable successor would have been available. But Tom explained that

within the clan, some were 'more high', others 'more down,' and that only the 'more high' could succeed to the chieftainship. Apparently this meant that succession is confined to the lineage. This is a typical example of the fact that the people do not clearly conceptualize lineages, even when in actual practise they observe distinctions among lineages. Typically, then, succession is limited to the senior lineage, except in SauvelārIk clan, which has two titles, so that members of two lineages in that clan may become chiefs.

The other limitation followed by not naming a successor to Paliuilimar was one of sex. There was a woman of suitable age in Paliuilimar's lineage. And it is said that women may become chiefs. No specific instance was found, and--unless there was a change after we left--this woman was not considered suitable. Whether female chiefs are entirely a thing of the past, or whether the elevation of a woman to chieftainship is still possible in exceptional cases, only time can tell.

One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for 'bad talk', he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head. In accordance with the general principle that the chiefs

interpret the rules, the [139] actual decision in such a case would be left to the chiefs in council. No actual instance was cited.

It is not practicable to leave the title of highest-ranking chief vacant, because final authority in matters of general importance belongs to this position. So when the senior line of descent in Kovalū clan fails, the senior chief of SauvelārIk clan, who ordinarily ranks No. 2, may take the No. 1 position. This had actually happened within the memory of our informants. Oraitiu, a Kovalū chief, was lost at sea during the typhoon of 1907, when he was returning from a visit to Lamotrek. In default of a suitable successor in the Kovalū line, he was succeeded as No. 1 chief by Daoreligar of SauvelārIk clan. Daoreligar was paramount chief in 1909, when Sarfert visited Ifalik. His successor, too, was a SauvelārIk man, Bwongalimoi (he whose name appeared in Japanese characters on the ŌngarIk). On the death of Bwongalimoi, though, the title reverted to Kovalū in the person of Mulelimar, commonly known as Mul. He was the immediate predecessor of Wolpetau, paramount chief during our stay."

"Matters of concern to the whole atoll are decided by the five chiefs in council. Matters of concern only to one locality are allotted to one or two chiefs, each of whom has some local jurisdiction. Three accounts of this local division of authority agree both as to the general pattern and some of the details, but differ in other details. One version was given by Wolpetau, the paramount chief and presumably best authority; but this was early during our stay on the island, and Tom was not present to interpret, so I may have misunderstood some points. The second was given by Maroligar and one other chief (my notes fail to specify which one, and I can not trust to memory) with Tom interpreting. The third is made up of answers given by Tom at different times, to a variety of specific questions.

All agree that Wolpetau, ranking No. 1, and WolpaitIk, ranking No. 4, have charge of Falālap. Wolpetau said that he had charge of Ievang, WolpaitIk of Iauru. This division was not mentioned by the others, but at least was not denied, so can be taken as correct. Absence of mention of this point by Maroligar or Tom apparently reflects a gap in my questioning. It may also reflect the fact, already brought out, that the division of Falālap into two districts is not very important. The only time we saw this local authority exercised--when a dog bit Spiro, in Ievang (p. 149-50)--the two chiefs acted together.

Authority over Rauau district is divided, and accounts differ as to which chiefs are in charge. Wolpetau said that the rulers of Rauau were Wolpetau, Maroligar, and

Toromann. Maroligar gave the list as Maroligar, Paliuilimar, and Toromann. The difference may be one between theory and practise. Whatever Wolpetau's nominal authority, he did not trouble to exercise it, so far as I could observe. Neither did Paliuilimar. Not only were these two the most aged of the chiefs, but neither lived in Rauau. Wolpetau lived in distant Iauru, Paliuilimar in Falārlk. Both came frequently to Katēlū in Rauau district, to attend chiefs' meetings; but usually left for home as soon as the meetings were over. If they took part in the local affairs of Rauau--which were of a routine sort, while we were there--it must have been only as consultants. The active chiefs in Rauau were the two who lived there, and whose names appear on both lists: Maroligar and Toromann. As between the two, Toromann's role was distinctly subordinate. He was not lacking in ability or initiative. But one of the points that attest his [140] intelligence is his clear understanding of the limits of his authority, as lowest-ranking of the chiefs. He knew his place, and never overstepped its boundaries.

Asked which chief had charge of Falārlk district, Wolpetau only laughed quietly; disparagingly, it seemed to me, as if to imply that Falārlk was beneath the notice of a chief. Maroligar's answer was not incompatible. He named Fagaurateu of Sauwēl clan as ruler of Falārlk district. Fagaurateu was not a chief, but held the unique position of sub-chief. These two answers presumably express the official position. Tom, at a later time, said that Paliuilimar was in charge of Falārlk. This may have been true in practise, for Paliuilimar lived in Falārlk, and was the only chief who did; so presumably

he would be consulted about any local problem. A still later entry in my notes, based on another comment of Tom, says 'It seems that Maroligar has authority over FalārIk, too.' The situation seems to be that Fagaurateu was nominally in charge; but he, besides being inferior in rank to the chiefs, was old, sick, and perhaps senile. Under the circumstances, any chief--but particularly Paliuilimar, who lived in FalārIk district, and Maroligar, highest-ranking and most active resident of FalārIk island--might well intervene whenever it seemed advisable.

Local division of authority among the chiefs seems, on the whole, rather elastic. Yet one statement by WolpaitIk suggests that individual chiefs are held responsible by the other chiefs, for the condition of the districts they control. The statement was in answer to one of a schedule of questions to bring out psychological characteristics. The particular question was aimed at sources of worry or anxiety. WolpaitIk said that one thing he worried about was that the other chiefs might criticise him for the condition of his district. (WolpaitIk was the junior, in age and length of service, of all the chiefs, as well as being next to the bottom in rank; so he might well have been more sensitive on this point than a more experienced man.)"

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that Sauvelārlk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior Sauvelārlk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in Sauvelārlk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 537 Ifalik 1-3

"Other evidence on rules of conduct is verbal. Yet much of it is in a native setting, hence probably more representative of native behavior than replies to questions from a foreigner would be. It consists of the harangues delivered by the chiefs to the people at three public meetings held in the men's house. At these meetings the chiefs not only make announcements and issue specific orders, but lecture the people about their conduct in general. These speeches or sermons are a traditional way of 'laying down the law'.

There were three of these meetings during our stay. One object of the first, held on August 14, was to issue as formal chiefly commands the suggestions of the American physician about hygiene, made during the visit of the ship that had brought us to Ifalik two weeks earlier. But the immediate occasion of the meeting was a chance remark of Spiro's that there were Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik.

Unexpectedly, this stirred up considerable excitement. The whole expedition, or set of expeditions, seemed to be taken as a kind of competitive examination, in which the visiting Americans would give the various islands a comparative rating in conduct, particularly in cleanliness. In other words, it touched off the lively sentiment of rank--in this case, comparative rank among islands. The people of Ifalik were eager to get a high rating--to gain in rank, if possible, at the expense of their neighbors, in the eyes of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as their superiors; or at least, not to

sink lower. The occasion of the 2nd meeting, held on September 4, was similar; to carry out the suggestions of the American governor and physician, made when the ship called on September 2. The occasion of the third meeting was, at least in part, my request to the chiefs for a performance of the men's religious dances (ur), which otherwise would not have been seen during our stay.

There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings [KS: public meeting]. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers [143] projecting into the lagoon from Katēlū, and blew repeated long blasts. The meetings were held at the highest-ranking site on the atoll, Katēlū. The people assembled in and about the men's house or big house (Fan Nap), highest ranking building on the site. When they were gathered, the chiefs took their seats beside the highest-ranking part of the building, the ÒngarIk or front ridge-post, decorated with symbols of rank. After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if 'introducing the main speaker'. In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs. The second speaker, at least in the first and last of the three meetings (this point not noted for the second one), was Wolpetau, paramount chief. Other chiefs spoke, as the spirit moved them, in no fixed order. This was partly a matter of individual gifts

and inclinations. Old Paliuilimar, who had a reputation as an orator, always spoke, and was the most vehement and dramatic; indeed, at the close of some of his speeches he looked alarmingly exhausted. Wolpetau always spoke, ex officio; but seemed not to revel in it as Toromann and Paliuilimar did. Ordinarily he was a man of rather few words. Maroligar spoke only once, and then briefly, in a low voice. WolpaitIk never spoke at all. Not only was he the youngest in years and length of service, but he was fat, had a very high voice, and was a bit of a clown and butt of ridicule, though the jokes were always good-natured. Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like 'amen-shouting'. In this the most frequent expression was Rongrongo! (Hear, hear!)"

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

"For a more specific picture of one of these meetings, here is the account of the last one, from my field journal:

Oct. 23.-Third public meeting today. The people had notice of it yesterday. In the morning Toromann blew the conch from the stone pier. He made two trips, seemed like an hour apart. The people were slow to come.

Toromann began with what sounded, in Tom's translation, like the usual formal beginning. Come all ye. Listen to what the chiefs have to say. 'Work good, no work bad. No steal something from 'nother man.' He spoke in five bursts, with meditative pauses between. Burst 3 was apparently a joke, but I didn't get it translated in time.

As usual, WolpaitIk didn't talk. Maroligar, toward the end, did, but in a low conversational tone and at no considerable length. In a pause between Toromann's early efforts, Maroligar suggested something to Paliuilimar, seemed like [144] urging him to speak; but P. said nothing at that time. Toromann's last burst was to the effect that when women were working in the taro swamp, they should not take taro that did not belong to them.

Wolpetau was the second speaker. He talked about menstruating women. Said when the blood first appeared, they should go into their seclusion house and stay there, not go to the taro swamp. When the flow was finished, and not before then, was the time to go back to work.

Between bursts, he worked industriously at rope-making.

Wolpetau's second burst was to the effect that when the chiefs tell men to go out fishing, they are to go. Then, if there is a good catch, the chiefs will see to it that fish are distributed to all the people.

Third burst: if any man doesn't want to go out with the others when the chiefs order a fishing expedition, let him speak up now.*

Then Toromann filled in, beginning with a hear, hear the words of the chief. He pointed out that if men didn't go fishing, and women didn't work in the taro swamp, there would be nothing to eat. Ifalik is too small. (Meaning, apparently, too small to support loafers.) He called on Paliuilimar to speak, but the old man did not respond until the second urging. Then he finally got going, in a low voice at first, but warming up. He told the people to heed what their chiefs said--the regular formula. Said some men didn't seem to like to work when the chiefs told them to. Very bad business that. He also told them to do whatever Mel Spiro and I told them to (but of course we're not giving orders, except to Talimeira and Uveli**of a morning.) He told them to clean up,

---

"* Apparently a challenge to some malingerer. Mainly rhetorical; as might be expected, nobody spoke up.

** Talimeira was assigned by the chiefs to work for us; Uveli volunteered for the same service.

against the coming of the ship.

Finally, when everything seemed about over, Wolpetau said that by and by there would be dancing. This was the promised response to my suggestion that I'd like to see some of the ur I have been getting the words to. I could not make out whether he set a definite time, but they'll come through.

Paliuilimar and Toromann wound up with short speeches. I had asked Tom to tell the chiefs that the important place to clean was around the houses, and to avoid stagnant water because of mosquitoes, rather than to do a wholesale weeding job in the interior, as they did after the last call of the ship. Pointed out that the doctor was the man interested in how clean they were. Paliuilimar said something to that effect in his final speech, but by the time it got back to me in Tom's translation it was somewhat diluted.

The element of formality makes of these meetings a ritual, not unlike the type of church service in our culture that emphasizes the sermon. In this case the meaning is not religious. Like the kava ceremonies of western Polynesia, parts of Fiji, and some eastern Micronesian islands, these meetings serve to manifest and emphasize the sentiments of rank and law and order, as exemplified by obedience to the chiefs."

1: Burrows--144-146 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 626, 646 Ifalik 1-3

"To show which rules of conduct are particularly emphasized, recurrent [145] commandments in the speeches at the three meetings are listed below, beginning with those that seemed most frequent. The list is minimal, because Tom was not so well trained for running translations as the interpreters who perform the same service at meetings of the United Nations; so his accounts were sketchy. It was only at the last meeting that I could understand any considerable part of what was going on; and even that was only midway in our stay on the island, so the language was still only dawning on me. The commandments recorded were these:

Heed the words of the chiefs
Clean away rubbish
Work hard, so that there will be plenty of food
Do not steal (with emphasis on food)
Share with the poor and sick (emphasis on food)
Build 'overwater heads' or latrines

Another commandment, not recorded at these meetings, but heard several times--one of them, in a hypothetical chief's address to the people dictated by Tom as a text--was 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' During one of the meetings, Paliuilimar spoke especially to people of his clan, Mangaulevār, and Maroligar followed with a brief talk which contained repeated mention of his clan, SauvelārIk. I did not manage to get a translation of this passage.

The repeated insistence on respect and obedience to the chiefs illustrates one of the main purposes of these meetings. The repeated emphasis on food suggests that one of the main sentiments clusters about food; at least, that abundance of food is a master value. The repeated strictures against idling and stealing suggest that these may be particularly common forms of misbehavior, though the only specific instance noted was the tongue-lashing about shirking communal fishing, which seemed to be directed at one or more specific malingerers.

Conspicuous by their absence from these harangues are rules about sexual relations and violence. To be sure, the one mention of the traditional behavior required of menstruating women is in the general area of sexuality. But nothing was said about clan exogamy or adultery. Clan exogamy is certainly taken seriously. We have seen that there were no violations of it in 1947-8. Perhaps it is so generally observed there is no need to talk about it.

Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce.

As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs speeches at public meetings

suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorók). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifalik would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected."

"On the evidence at hand, the government seems to confine itself to a rather narrow jurisdiction in enforcing rules of conduct. Malicious talk, idling or malingering, theft, and failure to observe the restrictions imposed on menstruating women were the kinds of misconduct rebuked by the chiefs at the public meetings. From other sources, to be discussed shortly, violence and some kinds of sexual misconduct can be added to the list. Other rules--and in some instances, even those just mentioned--seem to be enforced only by public opinion, as expressed particularly in gossip; or by concerted action within a small group of relatives--a household or two or three closely related households; or by fear of supernatural punishment.

Positive sanctions for observance of these rules consist mainly of continued trust, friendliness, and co-operation. Promotion to higher status, another way to reward approved conduct, has little scope in Ifalik, where status is so largely a matter of descent and primogeniture. Yet informal promotion to higher standing in general esteem is constantly operative; and, though the absence of any marked tendency to compete with others or excel them in good works makes the operation of public approval inconspicuous, the general smoothness of human relationships suggests that the desire for approval may be a powerful motive.

Negative sanctions to punish breach of the rules follow a general pattern of retribution in kind, with increasing severity for repeated offences. Sarfert obtained a list of punishments for specific offenses, like a criminal code. Being based only on verbal testimony

--and presumably on only one questioning--it is probably over-simplified. Yet it accords with the general pattern that emerges from my longer, more passive observation. First offenses of a minor kind, such as 'bad talk' or malingering, are punished by reprimand and warning from the chiefs (the paramount chief, Sarfert says; probably so in most cases). Repeated offenses of these kinds will be punished by confiscation of property (Sarfert specifies a canoe)."

1: Burrows--146 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 685 Ifalik

"Theft calls for restitution to the aggrieved party of goods approximately equivalent to those stolen, --rather like damages for a tort in our law. The thief is also publicly reprimanded; and repeated thefts will bring down heavier confiscation, more like what we call a fine. (Ifalik, however, makes no such distinction as we do between civil and criminal law)."

1: Burrows--146-147 (1947-48) Woleaians
116. 682 Ifalik

"Assault may be punished by anything from a reprimand, in the case of a first and mild offense, to confiscation of all property (Sarfert specifies plots of land, canoes, and clothes) in the case of murder. According to Sarfert's list, a murderer is also bound, brought to the men's house, and severely reprimanded in the presence of the whole populace, but then released. Sarfert also specifies payment for lesser injuries:

For loss of an eye, arm, or leg--a canoe and two cloths.
For loss of both eyes, arms, or legs--two canoes, and all of the cloths owned by the culprit.
For loss of a finger--one cloth.
For loss of two or three fingers--two cloths.
For loss of four fingers--two or three cloths.
For loss of a hand--three or four cloths. [147]

Not having a copy of Damm's monograph on Ifalik, I did not check this list with native informants. I see no reason to question its authenticity. But the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song."

"Destruction of property is mentioned in one song as a penalty for adultery. The poetess--who was the 'other woman'--sang:

If his wife finds out,
Her people will attack us.
If I steal her husband,
They will wreck our house.

Tom--with confirmation from the chiefs, who were all present when the song was dictated by one of them--said that this is a traditional penalty for adultery. Relatives of the aggrieved spouse destroy crops on the land of the homebreaker, cutting down banana trees and coconuts. (I did not make sure whether this referred only to bunches of nuts, or to the coconut trees.) They also destroy any portable property and objects in the house, but not the house itself. This procedure is said to have the approval of the chiefs. But there had been no actual instance of it for a long time.

The penalty for incest--defined as sexual relations with fellow-clansmen or parent--is death or banishment. This was Tom's reply to a question from Spiro. The fact that the penalty is by far the severest we heard of, shows how seriously clan exogamy is regarded. But I never heard of an actual case of incest, and no couples were 'living in sin' in this sense while we were on Ifalik. So as far as we know this rule is only a threat, though perhaps an effective one.

One other hint of law enforcement in sexual relations occurs in a mother's lament for

a daughter who died young. The burden of the whole song is 'Don't gossip about her now.' There is mention of 'a man from the district' coming to spy upon the girl and her lover, because she was considered too young for love. Asked whether this was customary, Tom said it was. But no such patrolmen were on duty during our stay. Presumably one would be assigned by the chiefs in case of complaint or scandal."

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . .He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . . More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become

infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 683, 158 Ifalik 1-3

"The lone human culprit was 'Tarof', the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katēlū, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a 'mental case' and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falālap to Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously) in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent: once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of angorIk (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifalik, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifalik are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention--in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave--than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public [150] works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifalik seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt

to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked."

1: Burrows--150 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 642 Ifalik

"An attempt to compare the government of Ifalik and that of the United States is interesting, though the data do not permit doing it with scientific rigor. In form the government of Ifalik is strictly aristocratic. In practise it is quite democratic, in the sense that every individual gets a chance to express his opinion and can make sure that it will be heard and considered by those in power. Perhaps any form of government would be democratic, in practise, with so small a population, unless there were rigid class distinctions.

The government of the United States, in form, is strictly democratic. In practise, as all citizens seem to agree, it falls far short of that ideal. Again, size and complexity are obviously a main factor.

If democracy in practise is the goal to aim at, there seems to be no reason to change the traditional form of local government. All the more, in view of the remarkable degree to which the people observe their laws. There is, on the other hand, a strong reason against attempting such a change. Any form of government foreign to their traditions would be confusing and disturbing. It would lead to difficulties that would probably extend into matters remote from government, so that some of them could hardly be foreseen. Pretty surely, for a long time at least, it would not work as well as the established system."

1: Burrows--151 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 609 Ifalik 1-2

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik, --to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions: and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

about recent contact with foreigners."

1: Burrows--151-153 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173 Ifalik 1-4

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands. [152]

On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two

from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelū clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwēl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwēl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimēng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today.

The first men's house was built at Iramai, in the Ievang district of Falālap. No building stands there now, but the site is still remembered. It was used by Tatar, Alovar, and the other early settlers. Another early chief of Kovalū clan was Filitamol. Another early chief of SauvelārIk clan was Maur. In dictating this story, it was said that Maur used the men's house at Iramai. But in the story of the war with Woleai, Maur is associated with the men's house Katēlū on FalārIk.

This was the story of first settlement as dictated by the chiefs. Bits of information from various other sources support it in some details, differ in others. Tom himself

made one change in the course of passing the story on to me; a very slight one, yet not insignificant. In his first version he named Ifalik before Woleai. This was later changed to conform to the order given as the chain of command. This seems to reflect an unresolved inconsistency about the relative rank of the two atolls. In the foregoing story, Woleai outranks Ifalik. In the account of the war with Woleai, to be given shortly, Ifalik outranks Woleai. Questioned about this, Tom said that the account of the war, giving Ifalik precedence over Woleai, is true; but that Wetegau in Woleai precedes Ifalik in the matter of relaying messages from the high chiefs in Yap. This could reconcile the two stories; yet it was my impression that in Tom's mind they remained unreconciled.

In one detail the story may seem self-contradictory. Iau is named both as sister of Tatar and as sister of Uelisogo. Asked about this, Tom said there were two women named Iau. Another possibility is that Tatar and Uelisogo were brothers. The name Ilimang or Ilimëng also occurs twice; once as the founder of the clan Kailangaluelea, once as the wife Maur took on Woleai.

Among the details in which other accounts vary are the names of the first settlers. In a brief account received from Fonachar in Yap, before we went to Ifalik, the name of the leader of the colonizing party was [153] recorded as Liomerer. The only name at all like this in the story collected on Ifalik is Lemaregara (final 'a' silent), the woman of Kovalū clan. Sarfert names as the first settler Modj (recorded by me as Maur) said

to have come on a raft with his wife Filitamol. My informants insisted that Maur was a later chief of SauvelărIk clan, and Filitamol a later chief of Kovalū clan. Sarfert has llamai as the name of the house where Modj and Filitamol first lived, while my informants used it as the name of the site of the first men's house."

1: Burrows--153 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

"Lieut. Carrol identified the Kovalũ clan of Ifalik with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifalik's Kovalũ. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the SauvelărIk clan of Ifalik with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifalik, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must have reached Ifalik indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifalik came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, mat sails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifalik, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifalik nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these

mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifalik did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of [154] sarcasm in an Ifalik song about a typhoon:

> The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this;
> There will be nothing left for them to take."

1: Burrows--154
116, 648, 175

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-8
Ifalik

"Foreign vessels, as they came to replace native canoes for such long voyages as that between Ifalik and Yap, continued to foster the old relationship by carrying passengers both ways. Maintenance of the traditional chain of command has been a policy of the U.S. Naval government, though some officers disapprove of it. In 1947-48 the American ships, on their tours of these 'outer islands', took along the Yap chiefs who were regarded as overlords of the atolls. The highest-ranking of them, Fithingmau, who was old and partly paralyzed, was represented by his heir-apparent. He claims no special jurisdiction over Ifalik. Foneg of Gatschapar village (Gagil district, Yap) was considered the overlord of Ifalik. On these trips he would always meet with the chiefs, receive gifts, particularly of cloths, and pray. Lieut. Carroll said that the prayers were for good crops, an abundance of fish, and fair weather. Lieut. Carroll considered the ascendancy of the Yap chiefs mainly a religious matter. Some other Naval government officials, who disapproved of encouraging this old relationship, said that the Yap chiefs maintained their ascendancy mainly by threats of inflicting disaster through their supernatural power. During our stay, the Yap people brought to those of the atolls many baskets of food, particularly boi nuts (Tahitian chestnut), bananas, watermelons and pineapples.

Return gifts were meager: hospitality-but nothing lavish-while the visiting chiefs were ashore; a cloth or two on each trip; perhaps other bits of handicraft; young coconuts to drink. Some other atolls contributed a canoe or two. The people of Ifalik seemed to

accept their subordination. I heard no grumbling about it. No more did I see any signs of enthusiasm."

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimëng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau'. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimëng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau'.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and

cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifalik, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimëng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewau, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālus. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālus and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimëng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katēlū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangaluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raūr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungā, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungā.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katēlū. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man 'e savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wĕtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wĕtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungā on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its

men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wëtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in

canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the

same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tom translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwèl Ifalòk, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a

denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

1: Burrows--160 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 171 Ifalik

"Satawal

As a sequel to the Lamotrek legend, Tom said 'Satawal all same.' In those early days, he explained, that island was uninhabited. Some of the Ifalik people who had settled on Lamotrek went on to Satawal and began the population of that atoll.

As already noted in the discussion of clans, the virtual identity in culture among the other islands named in these legends begins to diminish at Satawal. This was perceptible even in my few hours ashore there. The sound pronounced on Ifalik as a lingual trill, sometimes attacked by way of a stop like our 't', is replaced on Satawal by a sound identical, or nearly so, with our 'ch'. Thus 'Lamotrek' becomes 'Lamochek'; SauvelārIk, 'SauvelāckIk. Moreover, some of the clan names did not resemble those of Ifalik clans. The notes I took there were lost in reboarding the Navy government ship, and I cannot recall whether I asked the Satawal people about this story of first settlement. Probably not, as the difference in dialect made it more difficult to talk with them."

"Faraulep

Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other island made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Faraulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep

man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time. Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past.

Warfare, indeed, seems to have gone out of mind to some extent since the German expedition of 1909. Sarfert collected barbed spears and clubs with points or little blades at both ends. We saw nothing of the kind.

Tom need not have troubled to deny in advance a supposed Faraulep version attributing the massacre of the earlier population there to invaders from afar (presumably from Ifalik). At least Hambruch collected on Faraulep in 1909 a story about depopulation by civil war and repopulation from Ifalik, in essentials like the one just given, but with a number of additional details. The man whose name I recorded as Nagelimwara (final 'a' silent) is there called Nargetumar. He lived on 'Pix', evidently the islet called 'Pigue' on our charts (apparently from a French version.) I heard it as 'Pik', and the Japanese call it 'Piiku'. [162]

Hambruch's version begins as follows: During a visit on the neighboring islet called (like the whole atoll) Faraulep, Nargetumar insulted the people, then on his return to 'Pix' warned the people there of an impending attack from Faraulep. The men of both islets made spears. Those of Pix were the first to attack, invading Faraulep while the men were out fishing; killing women and children first, then the men--except for a few as they came ashore from their fishing.

The next incident in Hambruch's Faraulep version is lacking from my Ifalik one. The survivors on Faraulep are said to have asked a visiting Yap man to help them against Pix. He agree, and by magic raised a typhoon, which indeed destroyed all but 20 people on Pix, but on Faraulep killed all but one. This one, named Uerlipar, killed the survivors on Faraulep by the ruse of offering them fish, as in the Ifalik version. Then he went to Woleai, married a woman there, and at last returned to Faraulep. By that time people from Ifalik had taken over Faraulep, so Uerlipar went back to Pix and stayed there."

1: Burrows--162
116, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Eaurupik

By these three legends, the people of Woleai, Lamotrek, and Faraulep were accounted for as descendents [sic] of colonizers from Ifalik. Of the islands nearest to Ifalik, there remained only Eaurupik. I asked Tom if there was a legend about that.

'Eaurupik too', he replied. 'All same size' (a favorite expression of his for 'just the same'.) Ifalik more high.' But no further details were forthcoming."

(1947-48)

"Interpretation

What these legends do, obviously, is to affirm and reinforce the sentiment of rank. The fact that the natives feel this to be the main point of the stories is plain in Tom's triumphant conclusion to the one about Lamotrek. He repeated this phrase in saying that the same was true of Eaurupik. 'Ifalik more high.' This significance is emphasized again by the penis of Maur, carved on the front post of the men's house and constituting a climax to the symbolism of rank that clusters about the site Katēlū. The same emphasis appears once more in the exultant little song about Lamotrek.

This general effect of the legends works out more specifically in two functions, one of them social, the other psychological. The social function is to strengthen the institution of government by validating the principle of rank on which the Ifalik system of government is based. The psychological function is to meet the human want of prestige by giving everyone in Ifalik the satisfaction of feeling himself superior to the people of surrounding atolls. This craving for prestige is sharpened among the people of Ifalik by their traditional subordination to the chiefs of Gatschapar in Yap. The legends help them to work off the sting of this by superordination over somebody else.

Within this general framework, still more specific use is made of two of the legends, those telling of the conquest of Woleai and Lamotrek. These supply an origin and validation for the high status of the two chiefs at the top of the local hierarchy of rank. Mailias, [163] it is said, was the first to receive the title of Kovalū, or paramount chief,

because of the military ability he showed in planning the attack on Lamotrek, with its smoke screen and ambush. Ever after, succession to the highest chieftainship has remained in his clan, which has taken its name, Kovalū, from his title. Similarly, Maur became second-ranking chief because he instigated the successful attack on Woleai.

In general, Maur is a more prominent traditional figure than Mailias. He is celebrated, not only in the Woleai legend, but in the carving on the front post of the men's house, and in another tale or myth which ascribes to him the invention of the torch and dip-net technique of catching flying-fish (p. 83J-K). In the stories collected by Sarfert, Maur was even named as the first settler of the island. In spite of Maur's prominence, the title descending from Mailias outranks that descending from Maur. Tom explained why. Mailias won glory as a warrior, Maur as an orator, and prowess in war is greater than prowess in talk."

1: Burrows--163 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 502 Ifalik 1-2

"Eastern Influence

The only story attributing important influence on Ifalik to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 67). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, ehich, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that troublt; but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; wIrIs Truk, Truk banana, and wIrIs Valupē. Valupē is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifalik in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, rang, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'. Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as

---

"* The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifalik and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifalik and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik

"Spiro came upon one bit of Christian tradition when questioning Gargeligar, who might be called a native priest, about sickness and healing. Gargeligar said that at one time there was no sickness. When asked further, he gave a fairly full version of the story of Adam and Eve, applied to ancestors of the Ifalik people, --whether on Ifalik or not, he was not certain. The account of an original state of blissful ignorance, replaced by suffering as punishment for eating forbidden fruit, seemed little changed. Indeed, it fits readily into the native ideology, with its concept of punishment for violation of a taboo. The serpent was omitted from the first version, but remembered overnight. Gargeligar said he learned the story from his grandmother, which makes a Spanish source more likely than any other."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 212, 797 Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

1: Burrows--164-165 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik 1-1

"Islands more or less closely resembling Ifalik in name and position appear on several charts of the early 18th century. These charts were drawn partly on the basis of names and sailing directions obtained from native informants. The first European vessel to sight the island appears to have been the missionary ship 'Duff', Captain James Wilson, which reached there on the 27th of October, 1797. The 'Duff' did some trading with the natives, but Wilson's account of the voyage has nothing further to say about them.

Some whalers and perhaps other foreign ships called at Ifalik between the visit of Wilson and the next one on record, that of Captain Frederick Lutké. He called at the 'Wilson Islands' on April 3d, 1828, and noted the native name, 'Ifalouc'.

Lutké noted that the natives differed from all other Caroline Islanders he had seen in their 'boisterous spirit' (humeur criarde). Two of them went overboard with loose pieces of ironware. Others tried to detach pieces that were fastened. Lutké recovered the stolen pieces by notifying the chief, who was aboard, that he would not be allowed to leave the ship until the iron was returned. Von Kittlitz, who called about a generation later, was told by whalers that the natives of this island demanded exhorbitant prices for their wares. At least one other visit is recorded during the 19th century, that of the English trader [165] Cheyne, and presumably there were several that never got into print. My informants recalled that an American named Keefe used to put in at Ifalik before the German times. He was in partnership, they said, with another American

named Louis or Luis, who kept a trading post on Lamotrek. A daughter of his, supposed to be enormously rich, was said to be still living on Woleai. Keefe is pretty surely D. D. O'Keefe, celebrated for importing stone money to Yap from the Palaus. (He claimed American citizenship.)"

1: Burrows--165
116, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2

"For short periods during the latter part of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, foreign traders lived on Ifalik. Damm mentions a white trader whom the natives called 'Sau'. He was there while Olaitiu was paramount chief, but left before the typhoon of 1907, when Olaitiu was lost at sea. During the typhoon, Damm reports, there were three Japanese on the island; but they left immediately after. However, these traders can not have had very much to sell. The best proof is that when the German expedition visited the island in 1909, all the adzes in use were of shell, though some of the drills had iron points.

A decided change came after the Germans, who took over the whole area at the turn of the century, brought in more transportation. They developed a fairly regular trade in copra. They also took natives as laborers on copra plantations as far away as Samoa, and as phosphate diggers, not only on nearby Fais but, if my information is correct, on Angaur.

German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon

And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them."

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.
The first mate takes them aboard.

German influence, though decidedly stronger than any that had preceded it, still left few traces by 1947. Tom used to say 'deutsch' for German, and had a memory of Germans as men with very white skins and knotty muscles. Perhaps the greatest change was in wider knowledge of the outside world, and in replacing the 'boisterous spirit' of Lutke's day by a more submissive one."

1: Burrows--166
116, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Damm's mention of three Japanese on Ifalik in 1907 has already been noted. My informants told a somewhat different story. They remembered only one Japanese, a little old man married to a woman from Woleai. Tom told me, after consulting others, that this Japanese lived on Ifalik for 10 years; but since they do not keep track of years, this means only that he was there for a considerable time. During the typhoon of 1907, he had to swim for his life, but with native help, succeeded in getting to higher ground. He worked for the Germans--presumably the Jaluit Company, which is said to have maintained a station on Ifalik.

The Japanese took over the islands in 1914. After World War I, when the area was mandated to them by the League of Nations, they resumed the copra trade. They had a trading store in Rauau district, but kept it closed except when their ship was in port. The most conspicuous effect of their regime on native life is in cooking. The native earth oven is now used only for cooking the meat of fairly large animals: pig, turtle, and such large fish as bonito and tuna. As these are not part of everyday diet it may be said that the earth oven is used only for festive occasions. Ordinarily household cooking is done mostly in Japanese iron pots or mess-kits, many of them fitted with tight covers for cooking rice.

A few other Japanese articles are in fairly general use: small fish nets of cotton cord, fish-hooks, tools, cloth, and dyes for cloth of native weave. A little shrine in the men's house has a Shinto look, though used for divination of a native sort."

1: Burrows--166 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 159, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."

1: Burrows--167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"The first American contact during World War II was unfortunate. The Japanese had a landing strip on Woleai, 30 miles away. During the period when the Americans, without attempting to land in the Carolines, were neutralizing Japanese bases there and leaving their garrisons to 'wither on the vine', while Americans by-passed on both sides, Woleai was bombed often enough to keep the air-strip out of use most of the time. Americans flew now and then over Ifalik; and one of them sprayed the atoll--or at least Rauau district--with a machine-gun. I believe the native account of this because they said they could hear the bullets cutting through the leaves, a detail they would not be likely to invent. No damage was done. The chief WolpaitIk was in the lagoon, tending a fish-trap. The natives now make a funny story of his frantic scramble ashore. Yet they were sufficiently afraid of American planes so that when the first of several passed over at night during our stay, and flashed a spot-light on Falālap, they were rather panicky, and we were suspected of getting information to be used for their destruction, and of communicating with the plane with a flash-light. (I had gone out on a stone pier to watch it pass, and called to Spiro, who was in the lighted tent; but I had no flash-light.) We assured them that American planes, the only ones in the area, would do them no harm; and after they found that the first one had passed over peaceably, they were little disturbed by the others.

This machine-gunning may have been a mistake, for the aerial photograph of Ifalik used to illustrate this report was labelled 'Woleai'. Or it may have been intended to

intimidate any Japanese or supporters of theirs who happened to be on Ifalik. Or, finally, it may have been a case of trigger-happiness. In any case, the terror it inspired seems not to be insuperable."

1: Burrows--167-168
116, 787, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-3

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--168-169 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

"Religion, for the purpose of the following description, will be defined broadly and loosely, as any belief or activity that involves the supernatural. The supernatural, in turn, will be defined as an order of phenomena different from the common run and involving power of a mysterious kind, greater than everyday, well understood kinds of power.

Here and there in the foregoing pages there has already been mention of beliefs and acts that fall within this definition. They could not very well be saved up for a separate chapter, for the people of Ifalik are not inclined, as we are, to seal off religion from the rest of life. Their religion has been particularly evident in the accounts of fishing and navigation, activities which involve risk of failure and consequent disaster. Religion pervades everything they do.

For all the pervasiveness of their religion, the people of Ifalik make a clear distinction between natural and supernatural, or secular and sacred realms. As we shall see, the supernatural has its own personnel and its own geography. The distinction was consistently emphasized by Tom though he did not always draw the boundaries just where we might have done. Whenever anything came up that he regarded as religion, he would label it, 'talk for god.' Except in connection with canoe-building and navigation, he did not profess to understand much about it, and would nearly always consult the chiefs before giving any information. This seems to have been partly due to a special caution about revealing the sacred lore - another sign of a distinction between that and other

information. The people of Ifalik know that on all the islands round about, white men have attacked and, to a greater or less extent, destroyed the native religion. Because they still cherish their old faith, and get reassurance from it where they most need reassurance, they were naturally reluctant to expose it to attack by us or other foreigners.

Early in our stay, I made the mistake of failing to observe this distinction. Because the people seemed so frank and helpful, I decided to begin at the beginning in collecting tales, and asked about the creation. I got nowhere with my questions. They told me that all such matters had been forgotten. They, or rather their fathers, had made the same excuse to Sarfert thirty-eight years before; yet he had obtained some information. I gave them bits of this, following the newspaper man's technique of showing that something is already known, and thus suggesting that they might as well be frank. The chiefs did not remember Sarfert's brief visit, and were rather irritated and suspicious. They wanted to see the German book. But I had no copy, only brief notes I had taken, and fuller excerpts translated by Spiro. They admitted they knew the names of the gods he had recorded, but insisted they knew nothing more about them. At last it dawned on me that it was too early to try for that kind of information, and I asked for other kinds of stories, much to the relief of all concerned.

After the two-day ritual to be described later, I returned to the attack. At that time I was spending half of every day taking song texts; and it seemed appropriate to ask for the songs that formed part of the ritual. The chiefs began to give them, but - if I am

right about what happened - word of this reached Gargeligar, who may be called the native priest, and he objected. At least he spoke with the chiefs, whereupon the word issued 'No more songs.' Without questioning their decision, I made a little speech to them, which was translated by Tom. I thanked them for the songs already given, which would be most valuable; and regretted I could not have more. I added that I approved of what little I had seen of their religion and that, as far as Spiro and I were concerned, we would not try to change it, nor recommend any change to other Americans. [171] Fortunately for the purpose, I meant every word of it. It seemed to make the desired impression, for in a few days the flow of song texts was resumed, and eventually even the other religious ones were forthcoming - with only one exception that I know of. Meanwhile Spiro got around to interviewing Gargeligar. Partly in consultation with the chiefs, he obtained a number of the myths which, when I first inquired, had been ostensibly forgotten.

This chapter is intended to give a more comprehensive and systematic description of the religion than could be derived from the bits that come out in describing other activities. It will begin with what is available about beliefs; then will examine religious behavior. The account is by no means exhaustive. The tales Spiro collected, except for bits that seem essential to this account, will be left to him. Some of the interpretation, of a phychological sort, also belongs to his special problem. For that matter,

it is likely that a number of points, some of which may be quite important, have escaped us both."

1: Burrows--171 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik 12

"The same professions of ignorance which stopped my early inquiries were repeated, so far as the creation is concerned, when Spiro investigated this subject later on. 'We do not know how the world began,' they told him, 'but in Yap they know.' While it is possible that they were still concealing something from him, I am inclined to think that by this time they were telling everything, or nearly everything, that he asked for. If that is so, they know of the existence, but do not know of the contents, of the elaborate Yap creation myth, one version of which was recorded by Müller. Another was collected by Lieutenant Kevin Carroll of the U.S. Naval government, but so far as known has not yet been published.

Fragments of another creation myth, which accounts for the parentage of some of the gods of Ifalik, were collected on Lamotrek by Doctor Augustin Kraemer of the Hamburg expedition. According to this, the mother of all living beings was a great reef called Oledjapdjap (probably Wolraprap in my orthography). The reef gave birth to a primal couple, Iat and Iol. (Iat as an ordinary word means 'up' or 'above.' This suggests that Iol may mean 'down' or 'below.' The usual form for that is Ilalo, with the final vowel commonly silent.) Iat and Iol were the parents of three great gods: Saulal, lord of the underworld (thought of mainly as under the sea); Sauaur, lord of Aur, the land whence breadfruit came; and Aluelap, lord of all. A footnote to Kraemer's monograph (p. 143) says that this account was also found on Elato, and adds: 'Siehe auch Ifaluk, wo Ham. arbeitete (See also Ifalik, where Ham. worked). 'Ham.' is probably Paul Hambruch,

one of the ethnographers of the German expedition. But I find no mention in the Ifalik monograph of his ever having worked there. However, if the course of events dimly suggested by some other data really took place - that is, if the early culture of Ifalik was partly overlaid by relatively recent dominance of Yap - it seems not unlikely that some such creation myth may once have been believed on Ifalik, but later discarded out of deference to the overlords from Yap. Certainly their dominance is partly, perhaps primarily, religious."

1: Burrows--171-172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik

"The chiefs admitted, even in response to my unwelcome early questions, that they knew of the existence of two of the divinities mentioned in this Lamotrek myth: Saulal and Aluelap. If Sau means 'lord,' (as it does in some western Polynesian islands), then 'Saulal' would be 'lord of the underworld,' for the depths of the sea are called ilalo (below). 'Sauaur' would then mean 'lord of the south,' for 'south' is i auru (final vowel generally silent). In song texts i auru frequently means 'the southern sky.' The name of the other divinity, Aluelap, means 'great spirit.'

The German monograph on Ifalik gives still another fragmentary account of [172] creation: 'Solal created heaven and earth by taking a grain of sand in his hand and, while reciting a spell, rolling it from one hand to the other.' "

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The mystery which seems to cover the creation in the minds of the present inhabitants of Ifalik does not extend to the supernatural beings and places which, according to their belief, still exist. The general name for a supernatural being is alús. They are classified in several ways. According to where they live, they include alús lang or alús i lang, who live in the sky; alús tat or alús i tat, who live in the sea; alús salop or alús i salop, who live on land; and alús liol, or alús i li wol, who live in the trees. According to their behavior toward men, they are classed as alús mwan, good or beneficent gods, and alús ngau, bad or maleficent gods. There is some correlation between habitat and character of the gods; that is to say, gods of the sea are generally bad, and are among the most dreaded of all. Gods of the trees are also generally maleficent, but the harm they do (the commonest kind, that of inflicting disease) is in punishment for what we would call asocial conduct - disobeying the chiefs or lingering in the woods to shirk communal labor. Gods of the sky may be either good or bad, but among the sky-dwellers are the great beneficent gods.

Gods are of either sex. Gargeligar told Spiro that female gods are worse than male ones. Most of the important beneficent ones, including all the gods of navigation, are male."

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 769 Ifalik

"Ghosts of the dead (ngolu) constitute a special class of alus. They are among the most prominent in native belief and, though some are benevolent, among the most feared. Whether they are good or evil depends upon their character while in the flesh. A good (kindly) human being will become a good alus, while an evil (malicious) human being, even one who dies in childhood, will be an evil ghost. They are thought to linger about the places they inhabited before death, and to retain something of their former appearance. In general, ghosts of the recent dead seem to be most prominent in the native mind. Ghosts when seen - which happens not infrequently - are often recognized.

Ancestral ghosts whose lifetime may have been in the remote past are also influential. They are associated with homesteads inhabited by their descendants in the female line. Every homestead, as a rule, has one or more such ancestral ghosts. They are commonly helpful to their descendants, yet may do the kind of damage most frequently attributed to supernatural beings, that of inflicting disease. The sickness that took the life of the chief Paliuilimar while we were on the island was attributed to an alus associated with his ancestral homestead. Its particularly deadly character may have been due, though, to a strain other than ancestral; for Gargeligar said after his diagnosis that this was 'partly a sea-spirit'."

"Tom said that the gods of navigation live in a part of the sky reserved for them, but did not give it a name. Since Virár is one of these gods, it might be inferred that this place is Ururio (Ruialo), named as his home. Yet the myths about seamanship are set largely in Bwennap, which seems identifiable with the earthly island Pulap (p. 163). Longolap and Longorik travelled from there to Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei). Pie li Eluluei resembles Bwennap (but not Pulap) in having only sand and one tree above ground, but a large and populous place below, abounding in all food-producing plants. Sarfert-Damm name another residence of Aluluei - the island Piemal, three months' journey by canoe to the south of Ifalik.

Naturally, the gods of navigation were accomplished travelers. Aluluei went from Bwennap to the strangely similar Pie li Eluluei by magic. Valur and his brother Wëriëng went by canoe from Bwennap to Truk; and Valur, after he changed his name to Sagol, visited Ifalik and all the islands about. Since the canoes of these gods roam the skies as well as the seas, there is no great difficulty in supposing that they could take off from one medium to the other, like a sea-plane. Nevertheless, the information at hand does not enable us to plot the celestial islands on a chart."

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

1: Burrows--172-173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik 1-3

"Another account of life after death seems inconsistent with this one of ghosts haunting the places they frequented in their former life. It is said that the soul of every human being, after death, sets out for the sky, along a road for ghosts. The people of Ifalik do not name a series of earthly points along this road, as those of some Pacific islands do. Names of two dangerous places along the road were mentioned in a song, and there may be more. One is Rourou, a lake of fresh water into which evil spirits throw the new ghosts, if they catch them. Those cast into Rourou are never heard of again. Others are similarly disposed of in Piseram, a dismal place a good deal like a taro swamp. The main hope of escape is in guidance or rescue by more experienced friendly ghosts, who on earth were relatives of the newly dead. Even when a ghost succeeds in reaching the sky, he may not be happy there. All depends on whether he falls in with friendly or malicious companions. [173]

The celestial geography is elusive and shifty. The region most clearly mentioned is the southern sky, but there is some mention also of the northern sky and the zenith. Islands are scattered up there as on earth, among sea spaces, which are traversed by the canoes of the gods. Two such islands are named in the myth of Galét: Ulimatau (also recorded as Ulimatol), home of Galét and his associates; and Ururio or Ruialo, home of Virár, who made off with Galét's wife and took her there. The home of TIIltr is said to be in Lengililo or Langiliol. (The names of these sky-islands seem to shift about as much as their location.)"

(1947-48)

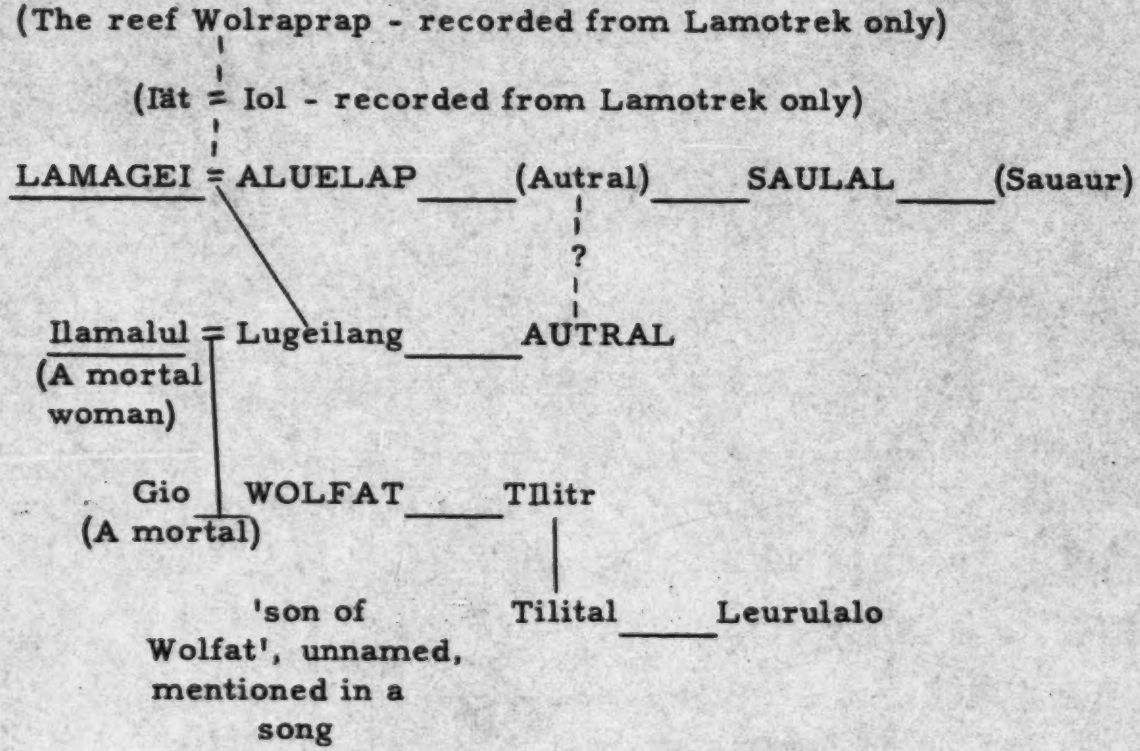
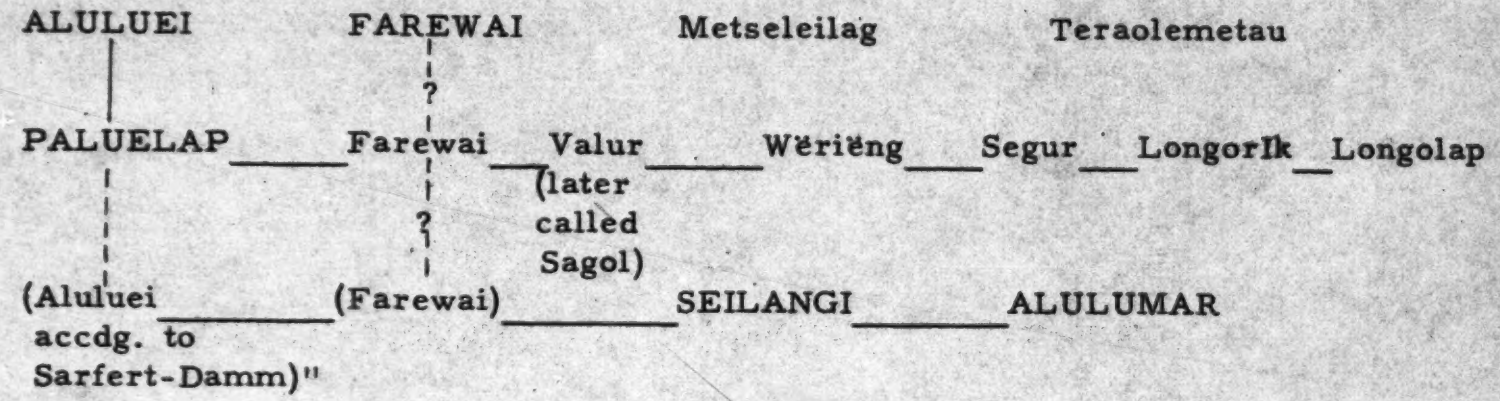

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP (Autral) SAULAL (Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang AUTRAL
(A mortal woman)
Gio WOLFAT Tlitr
(A mortal)
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.



"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I can not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people!'

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIlItr, with TIlItr's son TIlItal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeon-

fish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or Lugweilang) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said
'Let him be called Dung!'
'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'
Other names were suggested by the felā fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.
Finally the star Mailap suggested the name Lugeilang.
'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.
Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the account given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara- [176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIIItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIIItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIIItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented -- or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIIItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.
Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
The god TIIItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIIItr as Aluelap's representative.

TIIItal or TIIIlalo - son of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of
Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wëriëng to kill him.

Wëriëng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wëriëng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerep - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten

the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a

personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi. Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____.

Alulevalū or Alus falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti - Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIlltr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIlltr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alúsiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falālap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alús, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the sur perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk sur perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) sur perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIlItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

Urumwáretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laūra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangule -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laūra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungā in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik I-2

"The concept of taboo, widespread among Pacific island peoples, prevails on Ifalik in a rather simple form. The term itself, taken into English from a language related to that of Ifalik, is in use there, though the final sound is not voiced and speakers of English can notice it more readily by lip-reading than by listening. Following common practise, the local form is here spelled tabw.

The common expression E tabw can usually be translated 'It is forbidden.' But it is not applied to all prohibitions. Conduct disapproved because it is regarded as queer or foolish is not ordinarily called tabw. Nor is the term applied, commonly at least, to the prohibitions emphasized in the chapter on government; though usage seems to be somewhat elastic here. The term tabw, in a strict sense, refers to prohibitions thought to be sanctioned in a special way. We should call it a supernatural way; yet the sanctions are not, as a rule, thought to be administered by supernatural beings.

Conduct called tabw is thought to be dangerous in itself, to incur automatic retribution. The connection made between the misdeed and the penalty is something like what we have in mind when we say 'Don't get your feet wet, or you'll catch cold'; or 'Don't touch that wire, or you'll get a shock.' Yet an essential difference remains. In the case of taboo the connection between deed and consequence is not, as we should say, rationally explained. It remains somewhat mysterious, and is regarded with some awe, though not to the extent of avoiding discussion of it.

The kind of impersonal power believed to enforce the prohibitions called tabw is that

commonly called, by students of comparative religion, mana, --another term borrowed from an Oceanic language. That word itself, however, was not heard on Ifalik; nor was any other with an equivalent meaning. The power behind taboo seems to have, on this atoll, no explicit name."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 764, 784 Ifalik

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--180-181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"Childbirth is another event that imposes this condition. A woman is not surrounded by taboos during most of her pregnancy, except that sexual intercourse is prohibited from the time pregnancy is first diagnosed--commonly by the interruption of the menses --until the [181] external signs become apparent. The duration of this taboo is said to be about a month; intercourse during that time, it is said, would kill the baby. Thereafter intercourse is resumed, and indeed, approved, until a late stage in the pregnancy."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 846, 784 Ifalik

"When labor pains begin, or are momentarily expected, the woman goes to the birth house (im lipelū) on Falalap near the channel. This building is strictly tabw to men. If a man were to enter it, all the food would rot, and all the people suffer famine. Spiro did not succeed in having an exception to this taboo made in his case; even the psychopathic Tarobweliman did not venture into the birth house, so far as known.

While a woman is in the birth house, her close relatives, which means, approximately, her parents, husband, and children; perhaps one or more sisters as well - go to live in a house reserved for this purpose near the birth house. They stay there as long as the mother and child remain in the birth house. The conventional length of her stay is ten days. All are fām during that period. All return together to their home, and at this time the taboos are lifted from all except the parents.

Work other than caring for the child is tabw to the mother for a considerable period. First stated as two months, this was later defined more strictly as follows: if the moon is visible at sunset, or during the rather short interval thereafter before people go to bed, this tabw lasts for one month; if the moon is not visible at that time, for two months. It was also said that the mother may not leave the homestead for three months. The homestead is here defined to include a bit of shallow water opposite the house site, where the baby is bathed. The father too, is subjected to some restrictions, though they are less rigorous, for the same period as the mother. One taboo--on sexual intercourse lasts until the child can walk. The penalty ascribed to violation of this is the same as

that for sexual intercourse during early pregnancy--the death of the baby."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 841, 784 Ifalik

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term fām applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falārlk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falālap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

1: Burrows--181-182
116, 462, 784, 283

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting wot, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is tabw. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

1: Burrows--182
116, 562, 343, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from Falārlk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 252, 784 Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 835 Ifalik

"The word tabw is used for the incest ban, or prohibition on marriage within the clan or between some other close relatives. This taboo is said to have been ordained by the goddess Autran, though it was not said that she took an active part in punishing violations of it. Since the sanction of death or banishement, inflicted by unquestioned human agency, was said to be the punishment for violation of this rule, it seems to belong to a middle ground between taboos in the strictest sense, with supernatural sanctions, and rules of government, deliberately enforced by men."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 685, 345, 784 Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 784 Ifalik

"The morning fast imposed upon builders of a new canoe on the two crucial days of the job--the beginning, when lines are drawn to shape the hull, and the day of attaching the outrigger--is a ritual precaution to ensure that the vessel will sail fast and well. Though explained to me in this positive way, it could as well be put in the negative form usual in discussing taboos. Eating is taboo to the workmen on these two mornings. The penalty of a violation would be failure in their task, to the extent that the canoe would be slow."

"Some idea of the frequency of communal religious activities is afforded by a list of entries on this subject from the field journal kept during our stay. It must be noted in advance that this records only the more conspicuous events. Such little ceremonies as making flowers for the gods were too numerous to mention. Some performances found noteworthy the first time they were observed were disregarded later on, when they seemed merely 'more of the same'. A few such instances have been inserted in parentheses at about the time they took place, though the exact date can not be remembered. Finally, [184] since the center of ritual was the homestead Weluāra on Falālap, while we lived across the channel on FalārIk, a number of minor ceremonies undoubtedly escaped us altogether. As noted in one of the journal entries, 'They do this often in small groups, and say nothing about it.'

For what it is worth as illustration, the list of journal entries follows, with inserted comment:

July 29.-Just after we arrived, a dance, later found to be a gapeng peng or invocation to a god, was performed for Americans ashore. It was given in front of the men's house on FalārIk, instead of the usual place on Falalap. Though the dance and song are primarily religious, this particular performance seems to have been intended simply as entertainment for the visitors.

A rather long gap between entries here is probably due to the fact that this was the beginning of our stay. We could not yet interpret what we saw, nor talk to anybody except

Tom; and the people did not volunteer information as they did later on, because they did not yet know what we were interested in, and were still a bit shy and distrustful.

August 18.-Ritual to ensure safe arrival of a canoe departing for Faraulep. Most of the other departing canoes shoved off so early in the morning that this ritual was not seen. It is my impression that for the most frequent trip, to Woleai, it was dispensed with; whether because the people of Woleai, who are more or less Christianized, disapproved of it, or because this trip was too short to be considered a serious risk. Actually the ritual acts that accompany the beginning of a voyage do not form an integrated ceremony, but consist of various bits of ritual and incantations, some of them standard, others known only to a few navigators. So it might be hard to find two departures exactly alike, unless they lacked ritual altogether.

August 21.-Shouting overheard from Falālap. Explained as the conclusion of a thanksgiving ceremony given by a few people, probably one household. (Presumably a minor offering of flowers, invocation, and perhaps distribution of 'medicine'.)

August 26.-Funeral of a man who died the night before. (All funerals are preceded by a night of wailing. Women had been wailing over this man for about a week.)

September 12.-Rite of passage for a girl's first menstruation. (The song that accompanies this is also an incantation to drive off wind and rains.)

September 19-20.-The entire population devoted two days to the most elaborate invocation and distribution of medicine we saw. The gods invoked were TIlItr and his son

Tilital.

September 22. -A woman saw an evil spirit. Gargeligar possessed by TIIltr. He and a group of young men roamed about far into the night to exorcise the demon.

October 1. -Gargeligar possessed by a god again. He was instructed [185] to make medicine.

October2. -Gargeligar made medicine on Falālap, distributed it to all comers.

October 4. -Gargeligar on the prowl again, blowing the boatswain's whistle which is supposed to make a noise like a god. Hymn of invocation sung at the homestead Falevelū (a frequent occurrence at several of the more pious homesteads. The head of this household was distinctly a religious man.)

October 8. -Gargeligar once more roamed the island with the young men, singing.

October 9. -Dance to invoke the god on Falālap, followed by distribution of medicine. (A holiday for the whole population, but less elaborate than that of Sept. 19-20.) At night, Gargeligar and his young men walked and sang again.

October 11. -Funeral of a woman on Falālap.

October 12. -Tom drove off a threatening storm by going out on the stone pier at Katelu, blowing his conch horn, singing an incantation, and waving the clouds away.

October 21-23 (approximately). -Maroligar busy early every morning on the stone pier, sitting facing the lagoon, with a kinsman, doing divination with strips of coconut leaf. Said it was for a sick person.

October 23. -Beginning of rehearsals for uru dance, a religious performance, but held this time at my request. (Thereafter until the final performance, rehearsals were held nearly every evening unless it rained, at three canoe-houses; one in Falārĭk, one in Rauau, one in Falālap).

November 1. -Boys went to Falālap with Maroligar to 'make medicine' for his sick kinswoman Nobwŏr.

November 15. -Final daylight performance of uru at Rauau. Whole populace attended, though FalarIk men did not perform. An all-day celebration.

(During a period of rainy weather about this time, I happened upon Tom on the stone pier in Falārĭk, trying his incantation again on a storm coming from the west. He did not repeat the success of the other performance we saw, but kept valiantly at it until drenched.)

November 27. -Invocation and distribution of medicine on Falālap. (By this time the parades of Gargeligar and the young men by night had come to seem commonplace, and were no longer noted.) [186]

December 3. -Overwater head built for us beside pier at Katēlŭ (not the one used by Maroligar and Tom for their rituals), to end our violation of the tabooed site of the ancient men's house. The chiefs attribute the recent bad weather to indignation of the spirits of the great men of old.

December 12. -Offering of food noted at beginning of a feast to celebrate completion of

repairs on a canoe-house. Such offerings were made at the beginning of every communal meal; so such entries might have been made at the conclusion of all the public works listed in the section on economics.
(About this time, another rite of passage was held for first menstruation of a young girl, but not noted in the journal.)

December 26. -Invocation and making of medicine for the sick woman Nobwór. (Noted again on Dec. 28; we were told it was performed for four successive days by Maroligar, after that by Gargeligar.)

December 27. -Lines drawn to guide hewing the hull of a new canoe for Tom's elder son. Workmen observed a partial fast.

December 28. -Outrigger attached to Tom's canoe. Workmen fasted. (This was a different canoe, and different workmen. The fact that the crucial tasks on the two came on succeeding days was a coincidence.)

January 2. -Feast at the homestead Soumat, concluding the series of invocations for Nobwór. The sick woman, now very weak and wasted, lay in one of the houses used for the feast.

January 12. -Ritual for diagnosis and healing of the chief Paliuilimar, who has been suffering for some time from a wasting sickness, apparently the same as that of Nobwór.

January 15. -Funeral of Nobwór.

February 2. -Funeral of Paliuilimar.

In spite of the incompleteness of the list, the entries average less than a week apart, showing that religious services of one kind or another are more frequent in what may be called the church of Ifalik than in churches that hold services only on Sundays. Plainly they are not held at any fixed interval. As a matter of fact, the time for each of the more important ceremonies, in which the whole population takes part, is set by the chiefs, though the initiative is often taken, as the people believe, by a god, who takes possession of some man--most often Gargeligar--and commands that a ceremony be given.

Some of the gaps in the list are due to irrelevant factors, such as our poor observation during the early days of our stay, perhaps sags [187] in interest later on, and such misfortunes as bad weather and fatal disease. Aside from that, I had an impression of something like waves or tides of religious interest. Data are insufficient to test this, except that one concentration of religious feeling is clearly perceptible, from September 19 to October 4-or perhaps, tapering off, to October 9. The big invocation seems to have heightened religious feeling to the point where other events followed in quick succession; a woman saw a demon, Gargeligar was repeatedly possessed by a god, and thereupon roamed the trails with the young men to drive off evil spirits. Observation over a longer period might well show a recurrence of such surges of feeling, possibly even some regularity in them."

1: Burrows--187-188 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789 Ifalik

"Casual as the list is, it still shows something of the kinds of rituals that prevail on the atoll, and the interests about which they cluster. An attempt at classification of ritual follows:

1. Invocation of beneficent gods:
   (a) communal, to ward off disease, ensure a plentiful supply of food, or for other purposes, more than one of which may be combined in one ceremony. Involves flower offerings at the shrine (described on p. ___), singing a hymn of invocation, making and blessing a medicinal drink, and a concluding feast.
   (b) invocation by communal performance of the song and dance called gapengpeng. One dance for men, another for women; both performed seated.
   (c) invocation by communal performance of the dances called uru. Performed by men only, mostly standing. The only performance witnessed was held at my request and may have been less heartfelt than usual; at any rate, the religious element in it seemed subordinate to one of merrymaking. The song texts are partly religious, partly a medley including at least one love-song and one lament.
   (d) private incantation by a religious specialist; most often for diagnosis and treatment of disease, or for help in driving off an evil spirit, --these, too, feared mainly for diseases they are believed to inflict.
   (e) by a builder (an individual performance, but commonly in the presence of his

workers), to ensure success in his work.

(f) by a navigator (again individual but in the presence of others) to keep the canoe afloat, ward off storms, and otherwise ensure a successful voyage. One ritual seen was addressed to Paluelap. [188]

2. Exorcism of evil spirits:

(a) communal, by invoking a blessing on square mats (timās) of young white coconut leaf, which are hung about the shore so that they are visible from the sea.

(b) by groups of young men, under the leadership of a religious specialist possessed by a god; the other too may be possessed. They roam the trails by night, singing songs which are both invocations to beneficient spirits and incantations to exorcise evil ones.

(c) private, by a healer who sings incantations to exorcise the evil spirit responsible for illness.

(d) by navigators, who sing incantations to drive off storms or evil spirits."

1: Burrows--188-189 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 782 Ifalik

"Offering (iōiō) to a beneficient god.

The general pattern is that these offerings are made by a chief or specialist at the conclusion (or at some crucial stage) of an important undertaking. (Commonly a first offering of coconuts is followed by one of cooked food. The offering is accompanied by a brief spoken prayer of thanksgiving and appeal for continued help in the future). The following seem to be the principal occasions:

(a) by the leader of a communal task (commonly a chief), at the beginning of the feast which celebrates its conclusion. The deity to whom the offering is made varies with the nature of the task.

(b) by a healer, to Lugeilang, who is asked to make the treatment effective. One offering of coconuts, a later one of food.

(c) by a master-carpenter, to Alulemas, when a building is completed. Coconuts are distributed to the workers; the juice that spurts from them when they are opened is regarded as the offering. The prayer offers thanks for success of the task, and asks for help with the next one. [189]

(d) by a shipwright. Such an offering, at an early stage of the work, is described in the account of canoe building. When a canoe is completed, an offering of coconuts is laid beside it for Seilangi. The prayer announces the offering, and asks that the builder's next canoe may be a good one. Later, at the

feast for the workers, a package of fish and taro wrapped in a leaf is put into the sea for Seilangi.

(e) by a navigator, to Aluluei. When a canoe enters the pass through the reef, outward bound on a voyage, the navigator offers, first two coconuts, later food and a new cloth. Asks protection from wind and rain and safe guidance to the port. These offerings are not thrown into the sea. The food is later eaten by the navigator and crew, the cloth kept for use."

1: Burrows--189-[redacted] (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Plainly these categories [KS: of religious activities on pp. 183-189] are not mutually exclusive. Exorcism of evil spirits is accomplished largely by invocation of beneficent ones. Offerings include invocations. A song may be at the same time a prayer and an incantation. Indeed, religion and magic are so blended throughout that any attempt to separate them would distort the picture.

These forms of worship might be classified in a variety of other ways, but no one basis of classification could be entirely satisfactory. For all its shortcomings, the table above seems to bring out the prevalent pattern."

1: Burrows--189
116, 881, 764

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arūerū), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--189-190 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"One ritual that was never seen can not be classified for lack of clear understanding of its purpose. It was a specialty of the second-ranking chief, Maroligar, and involved apparatus kept in the men's house, Katēlū. On one of the middle posts, just below the tie-beams or about 6 feet from the floor, hangs a bag of sennit cord, subconical in shape. A slender wooden rod, about 2 feet in length and 1/4 inch in diameter, is threaded in and out across the top of the bag. Below, about a foot from the floor, is a platform approximately 5 feet square with vertical side-boards. The poles that support the corners continue upward to a height of about 4 feet, where they are connected by cross-pieces. These form a kind of rack, on which are hung cloths as offerings. Other offerings--garlands, tobacco--are sometimes left on the platform. The whole suggests a rude Shinto 'god-shelf' and its form decidedly suggests Japanese influence.

[190] Tom, when asked what this apparatus was and how it was used, said that inside the sennit bag are 12 shells of a mollusc called livou rór, that lives under stones by day, and comes out at night. Ordinary specimens of this creature are eaten. A shell that he brought to show what they are like is a flat spiral 2 or 3 inches in diameter and about 3/8 of an inch thick, with an elaborate pattern of brown markings on a white background. Each of the shells in the bag has a name of its own.

From time to time, Tom explained, people bring an offering to Maroligar, and ask him to perform the ritual. He takes down the bag, opens it, lays the shells on a fine pandanus mat, touches each of them with the stick, and names it. The names are known

only to a few, and Tom was either unable or unwilling to reveal them. He gave no more details about the ceremony, but said that after it is performed there is a taboo on work, for the whole population, for four days. Thereafter 'there is plenty of food of all kinds, both sea food and vegetables.' People bring food from all parts of the atoll, and consume it in a communal feast at the men's house. Obviously Tom's description was minimal. The obvious next step, questioning of Maroligar, was postponed, in the hope that we would have an opportunity to see the ritual performed. But this never happened during our stay, and the interview with Maroligar was still pending when the ship returned and took us away. From Tom's description, the ceremony seems to be a form of invocation. Yet the touching and naming of the shells has the look of divination."

1: Burrows--190-191 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 787 Ifalik 1-3

"Several ways of foretelling the future, particularly by means of strips of coconut leaf, are rather generally known. Yet some know more about them than others. In these Maroligar was a specialist, and had been from his youth: for two love-songs composed in his honor mention this skill of his. The list of excerpts from the journal notes that on several successive mornings in November he was seen to go out, soon after sunrise, on one of the stone piers that projected into the lagoon from Katelu. [191]

Another man, a fellow-clansman, accompanied him. They sat facing the water, the other man a little to the rear and to one side of Maroligar. Maroligar tore little strips of leaflet, about a quarter of an inch wide, from a coconut leaf he brought with him. These he manipulated, one by one, for a long time, then stared solemnly out to sea. Asked what he had been doing, Maroligar explained in his rudimentary English, 'Suppose some man, woman, boy, sick. Man come. I make.' He explained that he talked to the strips of leaf; then looked at them, to find what ailed the patient; and so determined what should be done for a cure. Of the strips of leaflet he said 'All men savvy make. No all men savvy talk, look.' The words then, were in a particular form, evidently a prayer or incantation. The whole procedure was an attempt at diagnosis of desease and prescription for it. Maroligar volunteered his opinion that its efficacy was limited: 'Me think, small no-good; small good.'

More specific explanations of two kinds of divination with strips of coconut leaf were obtained from Tom. One, called bwei, is a specialty of sea-captains, hence within Tom's

special sphere of knowledge. He tore off three strips of leaflet and tied a series of simple knots in each. Then he laid them in the spaces between his fingers. The knots, he said, are counted off in a series of fours. The number of the last knot determines the answer to the question in mind. Each of the numbers - 1, 2, 3, and 4 - has a special meaning. These meanings are known only to a few, Tom said, and did not tell me what they are. This kind of divination may be used to determine what evil spirit is inflicting disease. It has to be worked separately for each alus until the one responsible is found.

Another method is called trip or tribwe. (The first pronunciation seems to be the common one in ordinary speech. It may be a contraction of the second, which was recorded in a song text.) Tom said he did not know all the rules of interpretation, but showed no reluctance in imparting what he did know. This attitude, contrasted with his reticence about the form he was supposed to know, suggests a belief that imparting the true lore to an outsider may impair its effect, while there can be no harm in passing along mere hearsay. To make a trip, the four fingers of the left hand are extended, close together, and a strip of leaflet, without knots in it, is wound around them. The answer to the question in mind depends on what part of the hand is reached by the end of the strip. If it comes to the second finger, on the inside of the hand, the augury is good. If it comes to the second finger on the outside of the hand, the augury is very bad. If it reaches the little finger - whether inside or outside was not specified - the omen is favorable.

1: Burrows--190-191 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 787 Ifalik

This divination will reveal whether someone far away is alive and well. A song celebrating the homecoming of a seafarer says: 'The coconut leaf told me you were well.' It may also be used to find out whether love is requited. One of the songs about Maroligar describes this:

He sits under a tree nearby
And splits off a strip of leaf.
I must go see how it turns out!
Out there in the sunshine,
Taking another strip, he sees that he will win me;
The charm has told him so.
We were both very happy;
We looked in each other's eyes
And shyness overcame us.

When I told Maroligar about the plucking of daisy petals in our culture, and how they say 'He loves me - he loves me not', he was much pleased at the similarity of custom."

1: Burrows--192 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 787, 753 Ifalik 1-2

"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--192-193 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 791 Ifalik 1-3

"Specialization in religion among the people of Ifalik is a matter of degree. There is no sharply differentiated priesthood. Yet two men were distinguished, while we were there, as oracles of a god and one other was recognized as a neophyte. Still another was the leading diviner; while several, especially Tom and his fellow-navigators, controlled limited lore and powers in connection with some other specialty.

The oracles were Orgalebwā and Gargeligar. Orgalebwā, old and emaciated, was confined to his sleeping-mat, on the floor of the house at Weluāra which was also the house of the great gods. He was the one upon whom the god descended to assemble the people for the most elaborate invocation ceremony we saw. Gargeligar was the most [193] frequently possessed and far the most active, both as master of ceremonies and as healer. In his capacity as master of ceremonies he was called taubwongbwong. This term, if I understood Tom's explanation, means master of waving to and fro. This refers to the beginning of the full-fledged invocation ceremony, when a fringe of dried coconut leaf, rather like a miniature thatch-sheet, is waved to and from by men who squat about the altar of the great gods and intone the first part of the hymn of invocation. The meaning of this particular bit of ritual has been extended to cover the whole. Sarfert translated what seems to be the same word as Anrufung or invocation. Indeed, Gargeligar told Spiro that bwongbwong is the same as gapeng, the name of the song and dance of invocation; but Tom denied this.

The neophyte was Truesai, son but not heir of the paramount chief. He had not yet

been possessed by the god, Spiro was told. He seemed to be word-perfect in the hymn of invocation; but so did a number of others. He sang part of it as a solo at the great invocation ceremony. He was prominent in dances of Falālap, and walked with the chief mourners - though he was not one of the closest relatives - in at least one funeral procession, when the body of the woman Nobwór was carried from her house to a canoe for burial at sea. Both he and Gargeligar were muscular, handsome men, fond of adorning themselves with flowers and filling the public eye. A foreigner, to whom matrilineal succession is not a matter of course, might well wonder whether one reason for Truesai's taking this road to prominence might be that his father was paramount chief, while he, as a member of his mother's lowly clan (Bwél) had no chance of succeeding to a title, unless one exceptional and even questionable possibility announced by the chiefs - that of a man succeeding his father - were invoked in his case. Everyone seemed to expect that the god would descend on Truesai later, and that he would succeed Gargeligar as taubwóngbwóng.

Divine possession was not strictly limited to Orgalebwā and Gargeligar. They seemed, indeed, to be the first choice of the god TIlltr as messenger of Aluelap. It was through Gargeligar's mouth that TIlltr first sang the two final stanzas or sections of the hymn of invocation. The preceding parts were known before Gargeligar's time. He told us that after the god left him he knew nothing of what had happened. Several times we saw Gargeligar when the god was supposed to be upon him. He was unquestionably in an

exalted state. To us it seemed that, whatever other influences might be at work, he showed every sign of having imbibed freely of fermented toddy. Orgalebwā was the only one I heard speaking in the special way Tom called 'talk for god'. It consisted of a strange intonation, - beginning on a high pitch, descending waveringly to a low one, then starting on the high pitch again. Whether the words uttered differed much from ordinary speech I could not be sure. The people seemed to understand them without difficulty. I could make out nothing; but this was rather early in our stay, when I understood very little even of ordinary speech. From time to time the god descended upon others. The youth Talimeira, assigned by the chiefs to help us, told Spiro that the god had descended upon him during one of the nights of walking and singing with Gargeligar. Asked how he knew, he said that he found himself shaking from head to foot, and singing at the top of his voice. He was distinctly a 'minor,' and in all probability had not had any fermented toddy. At the time of the first great ceremony, before any of this nocturnal activity, the chiefs told Tom to explain to us that we would probably notice the young men walking about at night and singing. They had Tom caution us against thinking that the youths were drunk. The psychological nature of this divine possession falls in Spiro's field on [sic] inquiry."

1: Burrows--193-194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 759, 787 Ifalik

"As a prominent healer, Gargeligar was called tautavē or master of medicine. Skill in the healing art is even more a matter of degree than specialization in other matters connected with religion. Indeed, not all healing was religious. Some herbal remedies, like those listed in the chapter on technology, seem to be common knowledge. Others are hereditary, apparently within the lineage. Massage, with a kneading or pinching motion, was practised by various experts, among them Maroligar. Maroligar, [194] indeed, as leading diviner, was probably second to Gargeligar in the healing art. As noted in the excerpt from the journal for December 26, he and Gargeligar both invoked the great gods while the woman Nobwórs was on her death-bed. I did not hear the term tautavē applied to him - as a chief he had no need of lesser titles - but am confident he would qualify for it. Indeed, this seems not to be as formal a title as tamól (chief) or palū (navigator), which are applied exclusively to a few individuals who have been awarded it by 'due process.' As far as I could make out it seems rather elastic, like the title of master-carpenter on houses. At any rate, Gargeligar claimed pre-eminence among healers on the ground that he alone received diagnoses and prescriptions for treatment direct from TIlltr. He would invoke the god, then follow instructions--a different process from divine possession, for then he was supposed to remember nothing of what the god said."

1: Burrows--194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 353, 824 Ifalik 1-2

"The visible trappings of religion on Ifalik, like nearly all their artifacts are extremely simple. The so-called 'house of the gods' at Weluāra differs neither in appearance nor use from any other dwelling. The most distinctive building on the atoll, the men's house at Katēlū, has indeed some religious significance. The equipment for Maroligar's special ritual, described on p. _____, is kept there, and a cloth commonly hangs on the front wall as an offering to a god. But the symbolism of this building, as shown in the chapter on government, emphasizes human rank and authority more than religion.

Most conspicuous of religious emblems are what I have called shrines on some of the house platforms, just outside one end - the western end in every case I noticed - of a dwelling. These are little round flower-beds, about a yard in diameter, spread with clean, smooth sand that contrasts with the coral gravel of the rest of the platform. They are called tariaga (once recorded as tariege), but if Tom and I managed to understand each other on this point, the general word for flowers (mware), is also sometimes applied to them. The plants grown on them emphasize verdure and fragrance rather than blossoms: the large 'elephant-ear' leaves of true tar (wot) also prized as food; an occasional sprouting coconut, with leaves two or three feet high; and various aromatic shrubs, such as warung. During a ceremony the greenery was supplemented by a whole fresh coconut leaf and a leafy shoot of aro, stuck into the sand.

Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition

to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlItr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

1: Burrows--194-195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 782 Ifalik

"Another conspicuous religious emblem is the timâs, a mat of white young coconut leaf a little more than a foot square, with the pointed ends of the leaflets projecting along one side in a stiff fringe. Numbers of these are plaited by the young men, taken to the house of the god - or sometimes elsewhere - to be endowed with divine power, then hung all about the shores of the inhabited islets. They are suspended from branches which overhang either the beach or - on the lagoon side - the water itself.

The ceremony of blessing these timás is brief, and not of itself an occasion for assembling the whole population. At Weluāra it sometimes accompanies one of the [195] regular ceremonies of invocation. In that case the prayer or incantation that confers power on the squares of mat is part of the regular song of invocation. Once the sound of a conch horn, blowing from FalārIk district, was explained as part of a ceremony of blessing timás. We were told it would be over before we could get there. Whether the usual hymn was also used on that occasion is not certain.

Once in position facing the shore, the squares of mat can be seen from some distance at sea, especially when they are fresh and of a bright ivory color, contrasting with their green background of leaves. They are thought to act as talismans and keep off evil sea-spirits."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 778 Ifalik

"Visible emblems (Sinnbilder) accompany invocation to certain particular gods, according to Sarfert. That for Lugweilang is a paddle with two coconut leaves tied about its handle. The adze-head had formerly been used when Lauliār was invoked, or rather exorcised - for the object was to prevent the rainbow-god from destroying canoes at sea. But this adze-head had been washed out to sea in the typhoon of 1907. Carpenters invoking Alulumar used a dancing-staff (guruguru) with a strip of coconut leaflet tied about one end. Maroligar used one of the few carved dancing-staffs seen as a walking-stick, but I never saw it used in connection with the repairs to canoe-houses that he supervised; and when I asked him if he knew how I could get a specimen of such a staff, he readily gave me one of the two he owned. He would hardly have done this if the staff had been a sacred emblem."

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 778, 178 Ifalik

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliār, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIlItr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIlItr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 534, 778 Ifalik 1-2

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning.

Gargeligar had one of these whistles. Its sound at night was usually the first indication to us that the gods were abroad again. Wolpetau, paramount chief, had one too. He held it in his mouth and blew it occasionally during performances of religious dances, when he walked behind the rows of dancers, holding up a bit of tobacco or other little gifts which anyone was privileged to snatch from his hand. The suggestion seems to be that these are gifts of the gods. Attribution of divinity to the chief himself was never suggested, and would surely be denied. For that matter other chiefs, and even

commoners, might distribute gifts in that way if they wished. At least once, Tom took that road to the glory he craved.

Another occasion for blowing the whistles was during one of the nightly rehearsals of the uru dances. According to an ancient custom, women, muffled from head to foot in cloths, came up behind the dancers, and each put a garland on the head of the man of her choice. The complete wrapping-up was explained as a disguise, so that neither the favored men nor the woman's husband could recognize her. If the husband found out, Tom explained, he would be very angry. This institutionalization of jealousy must be left to Spiro to interpret. As to the religious significance of the whistles, it is diffuse and dim. I got no verbal explanation. All that is sure is that the whole performance, song, dance, and all, is essentially a religious ritual. As already noted, it seems to be taken lightly; and the blowing of the whistles may have no more vital connection with the supernatural than the costumes of ghosts and witches worn by children, among us, at Hallowe'en.

A final use of the whistles may have no religious significance at all. At least two of the whistles were sounded one night - and with them, conch trumpets - from canoes on the lagoon, surrounding a circle of seines in which a school of bonito was impounded. So far as I learned, these were simply noise-makers to frighten the fish and keep them from escaping. As noted in the account of fishing, it did not work. The point here is that these instruments seem to be not restricted to sacred uses."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"*Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.'* Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

1: Burrows--197
116, 846

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to birth, it can not be said that this crisis is entirely unaccompanied by ritual. The taboos imposed on the parents and closest relatives constitute ritual precautions. The observance takes this negative form rather than the positive one of a definite rite of passage, such as a birth or naming feast or some more distinctively religious act."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
H6, 754 Ifalik

"More striking, and more obviously significant, is the absence on Ifalik of any form of black magic, - sorcery, witchcraft, or whatever it may be called. We both inquired about this repeatedly, in various connections. Sometimes the questions were not even understood. Whenever they were, the idea of any such behavior was rejected with either indignation or amusement. I am confident that this is not a matter of successfully concealing from us existing practise. Surely some accidental bit of evidence would have betrayed any such practises if they existed. In particular, any such emotionally charged complex should have turned up somewhere in more than three hundred song texts; for instance, in laments for the dead, if death was ever attributed to sorcery. Sorcery can confidently be recorded as absent. The only practise at all like it is exorcism of evil spirits. Since evil spirits may be regarded as scapegoats, personifications of evil, the only action appropriate to them, is aggressive. That is a different matter from aggression against other human beings. Not that such aggression is altogether absent. The chiefs' structures show that gossip exists on Ifalik, as elsewhere. But it hardly ever breaks out overtly; and, from all our evidence, never summons supernatural support."

1: Burrows--197
116, 585

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any wedding ceremony is the most conspicuous gap among rites of passage. This is one of the most nearly universal of all rites; witness the generalization in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology:' 'Ceremonies mark the difference is marked simply by the young man's coming to live in the household of a girl with whom he has usually been carrying on one of the semi-furtive love affairs expected of all young people. This moving in, to be sure, is more than just a change of residence. It is symbolic, and has to bear all the significance expressed elsewhere by elaborate sacraments and exchanges of property. But without more formal, definitely patterned behavior, it can hardly be construed as a rite. Spiro was told that when a girl is unwilling to accept a suitor he may still win her by offering gifts to her kinsfolk. This suggests the bride-wealth so important in many cultures; but it does not, of course, constitute a wedding ceremony."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 304 Ifalik

"Specialization on one sex in initiation or coming-of-age rites is not uncommon. But the sex chosen, even in islands relatively close to Ifalik geographically and culturally, is often the male. The writer thinks first of western Polynesia because of previous field work. Initiation rites for young men there cluster about one of the operations loosely called circumcision, or about tattooing, which may itself amount to a rite of passage. But for Ifalik I have no evidence of surgery on the male genitals. Sarfert's informants explicitly denied the existence of any such practise. Tattooing, to be sure, is elaborate, and its origin is attributed to the god Wolfat. (Since this is an art form, a fuller account of it belongs in the forthcoming study of native arts.) But it is optional, and so far as known has always been so. Robertson states explicitly that in the third quarter of the 19th century not all the men were tattooed, and that the practise was in no way compulsory. While rites of passage need not be universally observed, tattooing here is no more than a form of decoration whose use is dictated by individual taste."

1: Burrows--197-198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 832, 533 Ifalik

"Another gap in the pattern is love magic. Lovemaking is perhaps the dominant [198] interest during the early years of maturity, and this interest is slow to wane. Throughout life, if only by reflection, it is one of the major interests. Study of sexual life was left to Spiro but this point was apparent even in casual observation and conversation. It is reflected, too, in song texts. The very name of the love song and accompanying dance (bwarux) is forbidden in mixed company, itself an indication that the subject is exciting. Yet love songs are the most numerous, and the most frequently heard of any kind of song. There is divination in the course of lovemaking, and it is mentioned in the songs. If there were any attempt to win love by magic, that would undoubtedly be mentioned too."

1: Burrows--198 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 105 Ifalik

"These gaps in religious behavior can be summed up in the statement that the pattern of rites of passage in Ifalik is a scanty, broken one; and that the people do not use magic on each other. Healing magic may look like an exception to the latter statement. But it is not a real exception, for the magic is aimed at the evil spirits thought to inflict disease rather than at the patient. The gaps in the pattern call for explanation; but that can not be attempted here. The explanation would have to be either historical, or psychological, or both. A historical explanation would necessitate comparison of the customs practised on Ifalik with those of surrounding peoples, a task beyond the scope of this local ethnography. A psychological explanation would require fuller data, of a kind that may be afforded by Spiro's line of inquiry, but not by mine."

"One of the prime objectives in the comparative study of human cultures, particularly among American anthropologists in recent years, has been that of dominant tendencies which give the people who live by any particular culture a characteristic motivation. Most of these tendencies may be universally human; yet differences in emphasis and phrasing give each culture a bent of its own.

Some of the explorers along this line have attempted to grasp this characteristic bent as a whole. One name for it--used, for example by Bateson and Mead in 'Balinese Character'--is 'ethos'. Ruth Benedict saw it as 'configuration'. Herskovits uses the metaphor, 'focus'. Others list a number of more specific and limited tendencies, for which they use a variety of names. Beaglehole summed up the 'master ideas' of Pukapukan culture. Kluckhohn listed main 'premises' of the Navaho way of life. Morris Opler brought out prevalent 'themes' in Apache and other cultures. The Lynds listed 'values' that make up 'The Middletown Spirit.'

Without attempting a critique of these related terms and concepts, still less aspiring to supersede them, a different label will be used here, --the well-worn term 'sentiment'. It has two advantages. One is that it emphasizes emotional rather than intellectual content. If there is one point on which all students of human behavior agree, it is that motives are powered by emotion rather than thought. The other advantage is that 'sentiment' suggests a complex, comprehensive unit. That is the kind that emerges from this study of the culture of Ifalik.

The term 'sentiment' is often used by social scientists, but usually by way of sketching in a background, without rigorous definition. Shad's 'Foundations of Character' is generally thought of as a pioneering attempt to make scientific use of it. Roethlisberger, Fritz and Dickson have recently used it effectively in 'Management and the Worker'. They acknowledge indebtedness to Radcliffe-Brown ('The Andaman Islanders'): he in turn acknowledges his debt to Durkheim and others of the French sociological school.

The only explicit definition found, in the hasty search that accompanied the formulation of this chapter, is that offered by Radcliffe-Brown in a footnote: 'Sentiment, --an organized system of emotional tendencies centered about some object.' It seems to serve the present purpose. As viewed here, the 'object' about which a sentiment is centered is some rather general interest or activity. The sentiment, then, includes all the emotions, experiences, principles and lore that concern this object. In particular, it involves one or more values, both positive and negative. When directed to some more specific object, sentiments give rise to attitudes."

1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 181 Ifalik 1-2

"What follows is a summary of the sentiments that stand out in the foregoing account of the culture of Ifalik. The list can not pretend to be exhaustive. For example, the sentiment centered about sexual fulfilment is not included, because the sexual life of the people of Ifalik is not included in this study; though the importance of this sentiment was suggested in discussing the absence of a wedding ceremony. Quite unintentionally, the sentiments listed fit the classic formulation of four fundamental human wishes by Thomas and Znaniecki in 'The Polish Peasant in America.' [200]

Seafaring

Seafaring is the object of a sentiment whose strength varies according to sex--being mainly a man's concern--and according to individual character. The importance of this sentiment to the people of Ifalik is attested in most of the foregoing chapters. Canoe-building and navigation are the unrivalled high points of native technology. The principal way for a man to achieve status, as distinguished from inheriting it, is to become a palū or navigator. Another way, of somewhat lower rating yet by no means to be despised, is to become a sennap or masterbuilder of canoes. Some of the most elaborate myths validate or dignify the lore of navigation and canoe-building. The gods of navigation form a distinct group, equal in number to what I have called the 'high gods', and more clearly differentiated in function. Safety at sea is the object of a relatively rich collection of rituals and incantations.

The fundamental positive value in this sentiment is that of adventure or as Thomas and Znaniecki call it, new experience. Presumably it is enhanced by the negative value of monotony or boredom involved in staying at home. The restricted range of experience available on a tiny atoll is oppressively apparent to a visitor from afar. How keenly the natives feel it is hard to make out. One indication, though, is that the youths who loaf in the canoe-houses never tired of hearing and talking about foreign countries. Conversations turned so incessantly to this subject that my patience soon wore out. Spiro's far outlasted mine, but eventually he, too, began to steer clear of chatting with the youths in the canoe-houses. Moreover, this interest motivates more than talk. Within the limits of their capacity these people still love to roam and see the world.

The most powerful negative value in this sentiment is the fear of death at sea. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for security. It is especially powerful in this culture because their vessels and knowledge of navigation, though admirable in a way, are far inferior to our matchless technology. The risk of seafaring is correspondingly greater. It is probably through fear of losing their menfolk, more than anything else, that women participate in this sentiment. The rituals and incantations for safety at sea are precautions that attest the strength of this fear among men, too. One of the great duties of beneficent gods is to roam the seas, looking for canoes that have gone astray, and bring them back to port."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (ongarIk) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

1: Burrows--200-201 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 771 Ifalik

"Rank figures less prominently in religion than the other sentiments discussed here. That may be because it is a center of less emotional [201] tension. Yet the opportunity to emphasize it afforded by communal rituals was not lost. The chiefs appointed the time for the ceremonies. During the proceedings they sat together, in a prominent position. When Gargeligar reported the admonitions of the god, he included praise of the chiefs and instructions to obey them."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

1: Burrows--201-202 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The positive value of the sentiment of rank, for those whose position is relatively high, is obvious: the satisfaction afforded by a feeling of superiority. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for recognition. The negative value, for those whose position is low, is of course humiliation or a sense of inferiority.

As individual rank is so largely settled by birth, a man can not do much to improve his position. Most of those of rather humble status seemed content with their lot. Presumably Spiro will penetrate into this matter farther than I can. But even the foregoing account, focussed as it is on formal, shared patterns of behavior, has repeatedly shown how two individuals were driven by craving for a higher position than their genealogies [202] allowed them. They are the two most prominent individuals on the atoll, in our eyes, except for the chiefs; and there is some doubt about even that exception--namely, Tom and Gargeligar. Though the writer is by no means qualified to diagnose a neurosis, he can not help pointing out how the behavior of these two resembles the standard picture of an inferiority complex."

1: Burrows--202
116, 554, 578, 159

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalū clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

1: Burrows--202-203 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 577, 152 Ifalik 1-2

"A sentiment that in a way counteracts that of rank--at least counteracts any tendency to take advantage of rank by arrogance--is that of kindliness. There is less evidence in the way of formal patterns of behavior to attest the strength of this sentiment than the others. The high value placed on kindliness is probably related to the absence of sorcery, though there is no telling, on the evidence at hand, just what the relationship is.

The particular form of kindliness usually singled out for praise is kindly speech. People are praised for what Tom called 'fine talk'. 'Bad talk' is condemned, and people with a reputation for what we call 'a sharp tongue' are avoided. Or so they say; we never knew an actual instance among this courteous people, who seem to live up to their ideal in this respect amazingly well. Children were sometimes scolded--mostly, so far as I noticed, for a boldness toward us that was considered presumptuous. But the scoldings were mild, as compared with tongue-lashings far from rare in our culture. The only voices I heard raised in serious anger were directed at the psychopath Tarobweliman, whose defiance of the [203] proprieties wore out the patience of his relatives.

People told us repeatedly that they liked us better than the Japanese because of our kindly talk. This was itself a case of the fine talk they value. No doubt there was flattery in it. Yet I think there was truth as well. Naturally our address to them was friendly; a considerable part of our job was to win their confidence and enlist their

help, without which we could never have worked up more than a superficial account of their culture. Besides, it was no strain to talk kindly to these masters of the soft answer.

Fine talk is particularly important in people who are important themselves; most of all in the chiefs. In discussing succession to chieftainship, I once asked Tom if a man who was first in line of succession to a title might be passed over because of undesirable personal qualities. Without stopping to refer the matter to the chiefs--though they were there to be consulted--Tom said oh, yes; if the heir-apparent was given to bad talk, he would never be considered for the title.

Songs in praise of various chiefs extoll their talk more than anything else, referring especially to the formal speeches at public assemblages. Some of the praise is for oratorical skill; a smooth, rich flow of words, 'like coconut oil'. But the main emphasis is on kindliness. More than one of the songs refers to a belief that if the talk of the chiefs is kindly, the people will thrive and live long; if the talk of the chiefs is harsh, the people will perish. How strong this belief is, I have no way of telling; but it accords so well with this sentiment of kindliness, as expressed particularly in speech, that it is pretty surely more than empty words. The positive value in the sentiment of kindliness is the joy of pleasant human relationships. It corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for response. That wish is also exemplified in the master-sentiment here mentioned only in passing: that of sexual fulfilment."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIIItr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

1: Burrows--204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 688, 784 Ifalik 1-2

"The same preoccupation appears in the following list of penalties thought to follow violation of a taboo:

Misdeed	Punishment
A man enters the birth house-	famine
A man enters a menstrual hut-	one version, starvation; other version, sickness
A man enters a pool for soaking coconut husks-	he will be unable to catch fish for 20 days; so his household will be short of food
Fish caught in a big trap are cooked in a pan-	no more driftwood, no more fish for the big traps; i.e., shortage of food
sexual intercourse during turu fishing, or immediately before trolling-	failure to catch fish; (shortage of food again)
sexual intercourse during early pregnancy, or between birth and walking-	death of the baby
menstruating woman approaches rongonax tree-	typhoon. (Typhoons are followed by famine.)
menstruating woman visits taro patch-	the taro will not thrive

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Misdeed
leaving a dead body ashore-

Punishment
the vegetation will wither, and the people will starve."

1: Burrows--204-205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 262 Ifalik

"The object of the ritual which only Maroligar can perform is to ensure abundant food. Divination is more often to learn the outcome of sickness, or what evil spirit inflicted it--so that he can be exorcised-- than for anything else.

The high value of food is emphasized in the chiefs' talks to the people. A related value, industry, is prized mainly as a means to abundance of food; 'If you do not work, there will be no food.' The people are exhorted not to steal, --especially not to steal food. They are urged to share--share food especially--with those who lack it, and with the sick.

There is a positive side to the value placed on food. The custom of concluding every communal task, and every ceremony in which all the people take part, with a feast, is evidence of that. The offering to [205] the gods at the beginning of such feasts may be a precaution, but may well have a more positive tone, that of inviting the gods, in token of good will and thankfulness, to share the people's bounty. Tom was fond of saying that Ifalik has plenty of food. So it has, as far as coconuts and pulax go; but the supply of breadfruit depends upon the season, and that of fish is rather scanty."

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

1: Burrows--206
116, 197

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The native language of Ifalik is assigned by linguists to the Melanesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It is identical, or nearly identical, with that of the immediately surrounding islands--Woleai, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Eaurupik, and (informants say) Sorol and Ngulu, (called on Ifalik Ngolu). Differences are apparent between this Ifalik (or Woleai) dialect and that of Fais and Ulithi to the northwest, but they are slight. Differences are apparent as near as Satawal to the east, but the people of Ifalik say they have no difficulty in conversing with the people of islands as far as Puluwat, nor even with those of Truk, though there the difference becomes substantial.

The language of Ifalik and that of Yap, however, are not mutually comprehensible, from all accounts. Many people of Ifalik can converse with those of Yap, particularly with their acknowledged overlords in Garpar (Gatschapar) village of Gagil district. But this means that one or other party to the conversation has learned a foreign language."

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 194 Ifalik 1-8

"The orthography used in this report has been adapted from those used by Sam H. Elbert for other islands in the Carolines, and is limited to characters readily made on an ordinary typewriter. It is not consistently phonemic, for the task of working out the phonemes, though begun, was not completed. Nor is the spelling entirely consistent.

The phonemes in use are relatively few. This very fact renders fine distinctions unnecessary in many cases, and a number of the phonemes are pronounced indifferently in several ways which, to speakers of English, are quite distinct. The most widely known of these phonemes of wide range is that which includes l and n, because it has been found on other islands, including Truk. In Ifalik, too, l and n are interchangeable except when prolonged or 'doubled.' Limen, the name of a kind of fish, can as well be pronounced nimel, limel, or nimen, as nearly as I could make out. There does seem to be some tendency to prefer one of these alternative sounds to the other in some combinations; but to determine just what this tendency amounted to would have been a time-consuming task, at which the writer was inexperienced; so it was not attempted. It is clear, at least, that the 'doubled' consonants are not interchangeable. The one most commonly doubled is n. The word fëngenni, 'together', is never heard as fëngelli. Nor is Ella, name of an uninhabited islet on the atoll, ever pronounced Ennā.

Some other phonemes of wide range are the following:

k - g - y - These three palatal sounds -- an unvoiced stop, a voiced stop, and a spirant -- seem interchangeable in initial position. All are sounded very lightly;

thus the word for clan was recorded as ailang for some time before the presence of this initial sound became unmistakable, and the spelling was changed to kailang. The name for the men's house was first recorded as Atelu, later as both Katelu and Gatelu (the G more or less spirantalized). In inter- [207] vocalic position the voiced form is usual, perhaps invariable. It is most commonly a spirant, but is sometimes pronounced so briefly as to sound like a stop. In rapid speech it may be elided; thus lago was often heard as lao. In final position the unvoiced stop seems invariable. The change according to position is tested by the usual practise of dropping final vowels. Thus, the full name of the atoll we spell as Ifalik seems to be Ifalugu, a form recorded only in song texts. It is usually pronounced Ifalo'k; in final position the stop is unvoiced; the sound of the vowel also changes. Similarly, the full name of the island we call Truk seems to be Trugu or Rugu (again recorded only in song texts); but it is pronounced Tro'k or Ro'k.

s, z, sh, j - There seems to be but one sibilant phoneme, which can be pronounced in any of four ways. Thus the word sari, 'child', was recorded as sari, zari, and jari. The sound written as j is like French j, or English si in 'occasion'. This sound is especially favored in songs, but is not uncommon in ordinary speech. The sound sh was noted only in final position; perhaps a matter of unvoicing the j when a final vowel is not sounded.

r, tr, ɾ - The basic pronunciation of this trill-plus phoneme, and perhaps the most frequently heard, is a simple lingual trill. But when the utterance is begun with the tongue in contact with the teeth and hard palate, it is heard as tr, with an initial stop. This is interchangeable with the simple trill in any position, though one form or other seems commonest in some combinations. This is one of the points at which the spelling used is not phonemic, the sound being written as most frequently heard. The third sound is less frequent, yet is the commonest in some combinations, usually in final position. Thus the word mauar (goodwill of any kind; like Hawaiian aloha) was first heard as mauas, though the final s seemed a little queer. More careful observation was induced by occasional hearing of a final trill in this word and in one other, the name of the boy assigned by the chiefs as our helper, Talimeira. We pronounced this at first as Talimeija (j as in joy): but after hearing it occasionally as a trill, careful listening brought out the apical spirant. It seems describable as an attempt at a trill, not pronounced energetically enough to make the tongue flap.

a, ă, - A as in father and a as in hat seem interchangeable. Emphasis appears to pull the sound toward ă. The emphatic, prolonged pronunciation of this sound gives a feline, caterwauling effect to overheard conversations. Here again the spelling is not phonemic. Because of doubt as to whether these two sounds were one phoneme, words are spelled with the sound most frequently heard. [208]

On the other hand, the language consistently makes some distinctions that seem rather fine to the ears of speakers of English. One of these is between w and bw. W is like English w, but sounded very lightly in initial position. The German Sarfert, for example, did not hear it, but wrote Oleai where we write Woleai, Olofat where I write Wolfat. The bw is a voiced spirant, very like a voiced English 'wh'. The fact that the native language distinguishes between the two is beyond doubt. For example, wong means turtle; bwong, night. Another fine distinction is between m (like English m) and mw (an m with rounded lips). The range of sound in vowel phonemes seems in general narrower than in consonant ones, and some of the distinctions observed are difficult for speakers of English. It can not be asserted that the spelling of vowels here is infallible.

The language does not tolerate juxtaposition of consonants. Whereever two consonants are written together, a vowel must be sounded between them. The vowel used is the 'neutral' one often written ə; like English a in 'unapproachable'. (Consonants were written together when the vowel between was not considered phonemic; but this conclusion is vulnerable.

Final vowels are not pronounced unless they are prolonged, or the word is followed by one beginning with a consonant. Even in the latter case, the sound heard is as often the neutral vowel as whatever the final one would be in the complete form. A number of the words written with a final consonant probably have an additional final vowel which was never heard. The kind of systematic linguistic study that would have been

necessary to identify all final vowels was not undertaken.

With this much by way of preliminary explanation and apology, a list of the characters used in writing native words, with the meanings intended, follows:

Vowels

i - like English 'ee' in 'meek'.

I - like English 'i' in 'hit.' Whether this is a distinct phoneme from the preceding one is not certain, but its pronunciation seemed consistent.

e - like English 'e' in 'egg'.

ė - like French 'e muet'; or like 'u' in 'ugly' but with lips rounded.

ë - back, high, unrounded. Not found in English.

a - like English 'a' in 'father'.

ä - like English 'a' in 'hat'. Seems interchangeable with the preceding in many combinations, but others were heard only in the one way.

o - apparently variable, from like English 'aw' in 'law' to more like British-English 'o' in 'got'.

ȯ - like English 'oo' in 'wool'.

u - like English 'oo' in 'boot'. Interchangeable with the preceding in some cases, as rowȯt - rowut. Dropping a final vowel, which unvoices the preceding stop, will change the vowel before that from 'u' to 'ȯ'. [209] Thus 'Ifalugu' becomes, 'Ifalȯk'.

ü - front, lower high, rounded. Not found in English. Like the 'i' of 'it', pronounced with rounded lips.

y - like English 'u' in 'ugly'. In some cases seens interchangeable with 'a'. The 'neutral' vowel, inserted between consonants, is also very like this.

Most of these vowels, perhaps all of them, occur successively. In this case, unlike English diphthongs, both retain about equal duration and emphasis.

Stops

Never aspirated or glottalized.

p - like English 'p' in 'lip' or 'apparatus'; not like the aspirated 'p' of English 'peak'.

pw - rare. Noted only in lipwaix, a kind of fish, and ganipwa, a kind of taro.

kk - like English 'k', but prolonged. Rare.

Stop-Spirant

k - g - As already noted, three sounds seem included in one phoneme; an unvoiced stop like English 'k' (unaspirated), a voiced stop like English 'g', and a spirant usually written phonetically with a gamma. Because of doubt as to whether 'k' and 'g' were always interchangeable, both letters were retained in use. There seems to be no doubt that the stop and the spirant written as 'g' are interchangeable.

Spirants

bw - bilabial, voiced, rounded; like a voiced utterance of English 'wh'.
w - like English 'w'; lightly sounded in initial position.
f - like English 'f' or 'v'; the voiced and unvoiced forms appear interchangeable.
s, z, sh, j - the point that these four sounds seem interchangeable has already been discussed. Because of some remaining doubt as to whether this is always so, they have been written as most frequently heard or, when that was in doubt, as 's'.
x - like German 'ch' in 'ach', or Spanish 'j'.

Nasals

m - like English 'm'.
mw - like an 'm' pronounced with rounded lips. [210]
nn - like English 'n', but prolonged.
ng - like English 'ng' in 'sing', 'winging', but occurs also in initial position.

Nasal-lateral

n - l - these two sounds, like those written with these letters in English, but farther forward (dental), are interchangeable. There seems to be a tendency to favor one or other in some combinations -- for example, the name 'Tarobweliman' was never heard as 'Tarobwenimal' - but in most cases no preference could be noted.

The writing here is as inconsistent as the pronunciation. Words are recorded as most frequently heard, or first heard; but any l can as well be an n, so far as determined.

Lateral

ll - the lateral is not often doubles, but when it is, it is no longer interchangeable with 'n'.

Trill-Spirant

r, tr - the three sounds included in this phoneme have already been discussed. Again the spelling is variable, like the pronunciation, with some attempt to record the trill as most frequently heard, but no way to write the spirant."

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 192 Ifalik 1-18

"The following list contains mostly words of rather general application. Some more specific or technical bits of vocabulary, given in the text, are not repeated here: numerals, names of plants and animals, and of kinds of turtle meat under Geography (some of the commonest species are repeated below); names of the parts of canoe, house, and loom, and of stars (navigation), under Technology: kinship terms -- which have no exact English equivalents -- under Social Structure.

IFALIK TO ENGLISH

ai - you (2d person plural before verb)
al - sun
ăl - road
alax - talk, say, speak
aleal - spoon (of green coconut husk)
alŭs - god, demon
amann - finished
angi - wind
aramat - man, human being
aramatakaua - somebody
arot - finished
ăting - seine, fishing with seine

arío - still fishing, without pole
arŭeru - lament, for the dead
aseal - pregnancy
aso - thatch
asogili - thatch of cured leaf
atiligetau - latch to fasten wall mats
atolief - wick, twisted like rope from crude coconut husk
atuafang - north-east wind
aúlap - much (of food)
aulóng - surf
auralap - south wind

bugum - anus [212]
bwa - if
bwames - moribund
bwarux - serenade (song and dance)
bwău - angling
bwei - kind of divination with coconut leaf
bwél - taro swamp

bwèrbwér - white
bwitog - come
bwogotai - (my) hereditary land
bwyng - heavy

eà - fishing line (made of gilivō, hibiscus bast)
ebòng - broken bone
egakatik - lie
egàrep - near
elepan - loin-cloth
engang - work (general) may be solitary
erotr - dark
eteram - light
etraual tamae - deathly sick
evangelap - north wind
ewai - mouth
ewès - old

fal pai - (my) armpit
faleval - make a canoe

falū - land (island)
fan - work house or storehouse
fan nap - men's house
fan ni wā - canoe house
far (fatr) - pandanus [213]
fäs - laugh
fatevät - thatch a house
fatogi - to plant
fätol - paddle
fätul - eyebrows
faumax - coral gravel
fe - intercourse, sexual
fengenni - together
fɑ - new
fóti - nose

gafitag - same
gai - penis
gajebwón - very short
gajɨ - bring

gajitok - bring
galola - urine
gami - you (pl)
ganei - give (to the speaker)
ganeu - give (to another)
gang - me, I
gapengpeng - invocation of a god by song and dance
gato - basket, round, with handle, to hold bowl
gatrepar - lie (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap)
gatru - happy
gel - you
gelago - dog
geligeli - weed a garden
gesebwal - wind (when aboard a canoe)
gili - mat (sitting)
gilivo - Hibiscus tiliaceus [214]
gilixa - pox? (sickness involving red spots on the body)
gir - we
gitigit - little, small
golgol - cord

gomware - sweetheart
gorōro - blue
guruguru - staff, walking-stick

ia - why
ia rigerik - tried
iauru - south
iät - up
ievang - north
ig - fish
igan - there (not far)
igei - here
igelan - there (far)
ikolevo - chills
ilalo - down
iletoru - west wind
im - house (dwelling)
imailolo - nausea
im mutumae - menstrual hut
ire - he

ire - they
itagula - perhaps
ivä - where
iwa - that's it (it is in the right place)
izamet - enough (of food) [215]
jatok - give (me)
jokŏt - little (of food)

kailang - clan
katiri - fast
kauerei - fishing with, or going about with turu, coconut leaf torch
kepalepan - loin-cloth
kepät - talk, say, speak
kepätepät - talk, say, speak
kĕri - rat
ketagumwaliel - turn (oneself around)
ko - fish hook
korrou - rain
kŏtu - east wind

lago - go
langi - sky
lap - big, much
legao - female baby
leguliwor - ocean (outside the reef)
ligetī - all gone
lip - pit (hole)
lo̱ - big wave (tidal?)
lalai - long
lo̱ko - broom made of coconut leaflet midrib
lu (nu) - coconut
luei - tongue
lugu - within, inside (of)

ma - from
mageru - backrest stone [216]
magetox - assemble
mäi - breadfruit
mako - tatooing, tattooed
makulong - northward (on land - toward Falārīk)

malemin - hurricane
māliel - thick
malieli - talk (in general)
malivilIf - thin
malo̍k - chicken, fowl; malo̍k rowot, hen; malo̍k nwal, rooster
mălu - weak
malu li pei - (my) elbow joint
malu li perei - back of (my) knee
maluelu - slow
malūm - cooking shed
maniling - cloud
māringeri - hard (stiff)
marmar - garland
masetra - dysentery? (blood in the feces)
mătotiu - sit
mauar - good-will
mazūr - sleep
melē - this
melekaua - something
melmo̍rok - thief

mennā - that
mennaxo - drift off the course
mesetat - sea-sickness
mesilipik - epidemic; also, name of a spirit blamed for certain diseases
metā - what
metag - pain [217]
metagtrimwei - sick in the head, headache
metai - (my) eye, (my) face
metala tut - nipple
metamasuro - blind
metär - lagoon side
metōtu - buttocks
mezoazou - strong (wind)
mizelök - seaward side
mongō - eat
morumor - short

na - to, toward
namo - lagoon
namu - mosquito

nangeta - famine
nau - tomorrow
ngi - teeth
ngolu - ghost
ni - in
nibwel - taro patch
nijor - morning
nijor a nau - tomorrow morning
niwel - wood or bush

ọae - (my) lip
onremai - (my) hair
owai - fishing spear

pa - bonito hook
pag - feces
pai - (my) arm
palū - navigator, captain (of a canoe) [218]
pät - thunder
paula - hole

paula - arm
pegInni - dark cloud
pei - sand
pelaperaliperei - (my) foot
perei - (my) leg
perou - beach sandstone
petrau - hungry
pulax - swamp taro

rag - season (5 months)
ral - fresh water
ran - day
rang rang - flame colored
rannu - soft
re - they (before a verb)
rere - message
retra - red
retralo - black
rewa - comb
rouro - yaws

rowot - woman
ru - upon, in (a canoe)

sa - tide
sa gunetox - incoming tide
sa pöretox - high tide
sa wat - low tide
sagai - (my) belly
saīpē - fan (pandanus) [219]
salax - go
sames - die
sangau - sad
sari - child
sari mwan - little boy
sari rowot - little girl
sekut ma sekut - easy
semet e la - it is different
sennap - master-builder
seu e la - same
shewoshu - to grate (food)

shugu - to pound (taro)
si - we (1st person plural inclusive)
sirō - hog, pig
si wolei langi - hurricane
si wolei malemin - hurricane
sibelawe - secret intercourse in the bush
siugao - male baby
siutax - stand
sopal - large adz
sor - talk, converse

taali - rope, large
tabw - taboo, forbidden
tabwol i velu - cape, or point of land
tagale mailap - east
tagolu - back
taif - house platform
taikole - eyebrows
tal - dream [220]
tamae - sick

tamól - chief
tangi - cry
taoro - pass (in and out of lagoon)
tapei - wooden bowl
tar - none, nothing
taramei - overcast sky
tari mwan - a youth
tat - salt water
täu - far
taubwong bwong - master of ceremonies, 'priest'
taui - conch shell, conch shell trumpet
tautavē - healer, (native)
tavē - medicine
tawol - land's end
temwau - sick, nauseated
tër - native cloth, woven on loom
tera - throw
teraia - throw-net
tetar - throw
tibwe - lower, descent; (of a god) descent to earth, take possession of a man

tingi - vagina
toai bwyng - light (in weight)
tobore - drill, (spun by hand)
topoxau - mat (sitting)
trau - heavy
trela - small adz
trelwa - hat of pandanus leaf
tribw - divination with coconut leaf [221]
trimwei - (my) head
triwerep - bay
trou - big scoop net
tru - bone
tubwu - sets (of sun or star)
tubwuli mailap - west
tufai - old person
tufai mwal - old man
tufai rowot - old woman
turu - coconut leaf torch
tut - breast
tutu - wash

ụmu - earth oven
unn - green
urur sari - play-pen for baby

vagilitọ́k - find
väu - stone
veivei - same
verugit - big, much
vori - make, do
vọ́rovọ́r - turtle shell
vus - star

wā - canoe
wait - trolling
wangevale - set a post
wenëng - far up, aloft
werIkar - hard (difficult)
wetau - basket [222]
wIr - banana
wọ́lwọ́l - vegetation, plant, wood

wórawóra - lightning
wot - taro (true taro)
wotr - reef

xai - we (1st person plural exclusive)
xauolotiu - put, place"

1: Burrows--223-234
116, 192

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-19

"adz, large - sopal
adz, small - trela
aloft - wenëng
angling - bwău (see also bamboo)
anus - bugum
arm - paula
arm (my) - pai
armpit (my) - fal pai
assemble - magetox

baby, female - legao
baby, male - siugao
back - tagolu
backrest stone - mageru
bamboo - bwău
banana - wIr
basket - wetau
basket, round - gato (go hold bowl)
bay (identation in coast) - triwerep
belly (my) - sagai

big - lap, verugit
black - retralo
blind - metamasuro
blue - gorōro
bone - tru
bonito hook - pa
bowl, wooden - tapei
boy, little - sari mwan
bread fruit - mäi
breast - tut [224]
bring - gajī, gajitok
broom - loko
builder, master - sennap
buttocks - metōtu

canoe - wā
canoe house - fan ni wā
canoe making - faleval
cape (point of land) - tabwol i velu
captain (of a canoe) - palū

chicken - malok; hen, malok rowot; rooster, mwalok mwal
chief - tamol
child - sari
clan - kailang
cloth, native - tër
cloud - maniling
cloud, dark - pegInni
coconut - lu (nu)
comb - rewa
come - bwitog
conch shell - taui
conch trumpet - taui
converse - sor
cooking shed - malūm
cord - golgol
cry - tangi

dark - erotr
day - ran
demon - alus [225]

descend - tibwe
die - sames
different - ṣemet e la
difficult – werIkar
disease - tamae: backache, tagumol; stomach-ache, metagiseni; sore leg, metag i leperei; broken bone, ebong; cut, kopitok; chills, ikolevo; fever, isamesilibwex; dysentery (? blood in the feces) masetra; 'red spots on the body', gilixa; sea-sickness, mesetat; yaws, rouro
divination - bwei, tribw
dizziness - maliel
do - vori
dog - gelago
down - ilalo
dream - tal
drift - mennaxo
drill, hand - tobore

east - tagale mailap
easy - ṣekut ma sekut
eat - mongō

elbow (my) - malu li pei
enough (of food) - izamet
epidemic - mesilipik, masen
eye (my) - metai
eyebrows - fätul, taikole

face (my) - metai
famine - nangeta
fan, (pandanus) - saipe'
far - täu
fast - katiri [226]
feces - pag
find - vagilitok'
finished - amann, arot
fish - ig
fish hook - ko
fishing, seine - äting
fishing, still - ario'
fishing, torch - kauerei
fishing line - ea'

flame colored - rang rang
foot (my) - pelaperaliperei
forbidden - tabw
fowl - malok
from - ma

garland - marmar
ghost - ngolu
girl, little - sari rowot
give (to the speaker) - ganei, jatok
give (to another) - ganeu
go - lago, salax
god - alus
gone, all - ligeti
good-will - mauar
grate (food) - shewoshu
gravel, coral - faumax
green - unn

hair - onremai

happy - gatru [227]
hard (difficult) - werIkar
hard (stiff) - māringeri
hat (of pandanus leaf) - trélwá
hau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) - gilivō
he - ire
head (my) - trimwei
headache - metag trimwei
healer, native - tautavē
heavy - bwyng, trau
here - igei
hog - sirō
hole - paula
hook, bonito - pa
hook, fish - ko
house, dwelling - im
house, canoe - fan ni wā
house, men's - fan nap
house, store--fan
house, work--fan

house platform - taif
human being - aramat
hungry - petrau
hurricane - malemin, si wölei langi, si wölei mal emin

I - gang; (before a verb), i
if - bwa
in - ni
in (a canoe) - ru
inside of - lugu (the distinction between this and 'ni' not clear) [228]
intercourse, sexual - fe
intercourse, sexual (secret in the bush) - sibelawe
invocation (of a god by song and dance) - gapengpeng

knee, back of (my) - malu li perei

lagoon - namo
lagoon side - metăr
lament - arūerū
land (island) - falū

land (hereditary plot, my) - bwogotai
land's end - tawol
latch (to fasten wall mats) - atiligetau
laugh - fäs
leg (my) - perei
lie - egakatik, gatrepar (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap)
light - eteram
light (in weight) - toai bwyng
lightning - worawora
lip - oae
little - gitigit
little (of food) - jokot
loin-cloth - elepan, kepalepan
long - lalai
lower - tibwe

make - vori
man - aramat
man, old - tufai mwal
massage - rere

master of ceremonies - taubwingbwing [229]
mat (sitting) - gili, topoxau
me - gang
medicine - tavē
menstrual hut - im mutumae
moribund - bwames
morning - nijor
morning, tomorrow - nijor a nau
mosquito - namu
mouth (my) - ewai
much - lap, verugit
much (of food) - aulap

nausea - imailolo
nauseated - temwau
navigator- palū
near - egárep
net, throw - teraia
net, scoop - trou
new - fo

nipple - metala tut
none - tar
north - ievang
northward (on land toward Falārlk) - makulóng
nose - fóti
nothing - tar

ocean (outside of reef) - leguliwor (? this term in doubt)
old - ewés
oven (earth) - umu

paddle - fātól [230]
pain - metag
pandanus - far (fatr)
pass (in and out of lagoon) - taoro
penis - gai
perhaps - itagula
person, old - tufai
pig - sirō
pit (hole) - lip

place (v.) - xauolotiu
plant - wolwol
plant (v.) - fatogi
platform, house - taif
play-pen - urur sari
pound (taro) - shugu
pregnance - aseal
priest - taubwongbwong
put - xauolotiu

rain - korrou
rat - këri
red - retrá
reef - wotr
road - äl
rope, large - taali

sad - sangau
same - gafitag, seu e la, veivei
sand - pei

sandstone, beach - perou
say - alax, kepät, kepätepät [231]
scoop net - trou
season (5 months) - rag
seaward side - mizelok
seine - äting
serenade (song and dance) - bwarux
set (a post) - wangevale
sets (of sun or star) - tubwu
shell, conch - taui
short - morumor
short, very - gajebwon
sick - tame, temwau
sick, deathly - etraual tamae
sit - mätotiu
sky - langi
sky, overcast - taramei
sleep - mazūr
slow - maluelu
small - gitigit

soft - rannu
somebody - aramatakaua
something (nearby) - melekaua
south - iauru
speak - alax, kepät, kepätepät
spear, fishing - owai
spoon (of green coconut husk) - aleal
staff - guruguru
stand - siutax
star - vus
stone - väu
strong (wind) - mezoazou [232]
sun - al
surf - aulong
sweetheart - gomware

taboo - tabw
talk - alax, kepät, kepätepät, sor
talk (general) - malieli
taro (true taro) - wot

taro (swamp taro) - pulax
taro patch - bwel, nibwel
tattoed, tattooing - mako
tattooing, specialist in - taupotu
teeth - ngi
that - mennā
thatch - aso
thatch (of cured leaf) - asogili
thatch (v.) - fatevät
that's it - iwa
there (far) - igelan
there (not far) - igan
they - ire
they (before a verb) - re
thick - māliel
thief - melmorok
thin - malivilIf
this - melē
throw - tera, tetar
throw-net - teraia

thunder - pät
tide - sa [233]
tide, incoming - sa gunetox
tide, high - sa pörctox
tide, low - sa wat
tired - iā rigerik
to - na
together - fëngenni
tomorrow - nau
tongue (my) - luei
torch, coconut leaf - turu
toward - na
trolling - wait
trumpet, conch - taüi
turn (oneself around) - ketagumwaliel
turtle shell - vorovor

up - iät
up, (far) - weneng
upon - ru

urine - galola

vagina - tingi
vegetation - wólwól

wailing (for the dead) - tangi
walking-stick - guruguru
wash - tutu
water, fresh - ral
water, salt - tat
wave, big (tidal?) - lo'
we - gir
we (inclusive) - si
we (exclusive) - xai [234]
weak - mälu
weed (v.) - geligeli
west - tubwuli mailap
what - metā
where - ivā'
white - bwerbwer

why - ia
wick (twisted from crude coconut husk) - atolief
wind - angi
wind (when aboard a canoe) - gesebwal
wind, east - kotu
wind, north - evangelap
wind, northeast - atuafang
wind, south - auralap
wind, west - iletpru
within - lugu
wood - wolwol
woods - niwel
woman - rowot
woman, old - tufai rowot
work (general) - engang

yaws - rouro
you - gel
you (pl.) - gami

you (pl. before verb) - ai
youth, a - tari mwan"

"Appendix II. Further Sailing Directions.

A. Ifalik to Faraulep & Return

Guiding Stars - Wolwol, due north, indicates the true direction. But because of prevailing currents, take first Tagalemailepalevang (on the chart as (Tagali) Mailapelivang) for 4 miles; then Tubwulemailepalevang for 1 mile; then Wolwol. After following Wolwol for 1 1/2 miles, Faraulep should be sighted.

Rear Sight - Keep Ella just touching the northwestern tip of Falārik.

Bird - If a metalipangerāle, with long tail feathers, is sighted, the canoe is off its course. Then the star Ulu (whether rising or setting not stated) will bring it in to Faraulep.

Fish - If a shark is sighted, follow the star Metremeiat.

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is Wolwol. To allow for currents, take first Metremeiat for 4 miles; then Metremeital for 1 mile. From there, Wolwol will fetch Ifalik.

B. Guiding Stars, Faiau to Ifalik.

Metremeital for 5 miles; then Tubwulemetara (on chart as (Tubwu li) Metarua) for 2 miles; then Tubwul'Ipu for 2 miles. This will bring the canoe in sight of Ifalik.

C. Rear Sights for Voyage from Ifalik to Lamotrek.

Put Ella just touching the end of the long stone pier on Falālap.
On the return trip, put the islet Falaite just touching the north end of Valipi.

D. Courses from Yap to Ifalik, with Intermediate Stops

First course: 1. Yap to Ulithi; guiding star, Tagal'ulu.
2. Ulithi to Fais; Tagalielieli.
3. Fais to Woleai; Tagatumūra.
4. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Second Course: 1. Yap to Sorol, Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Woleai; Tagalielieli.
3. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Third Course: 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Eaurupik; Tagatumūra.
3. Eaurupik to Woleai; Tagalimēl.

To sail from Ifalik to Yap, the preferred course is by way of Woleai and Sorol. The star Tubwul'ūlu is followed the whole way.

E. Courses from Truk to Ifalik. [236]

First Course: 1. Truk to Satawan, Tubwulimailap.
2. Satawan to Ifalik, Tubwulimailap.

Second Course (recommended because gaps are shorter):
1. Truk to Puluwat; Tubwul'ūlu; (2 nights).

2. Puluwat to Satawan; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).
3. Satawan to Lamotrek; Tubwul'ūlu (1 night).
4. Lamotrek to Elato; Tubwul'ūlu (1/2 day; these islands are in sight of each other.)
5. Elato to Ifalik; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).

F. Courses from Ifalik to Truk.

First Course: Ifalik to Satawan, Satawan to Truk; Tagalimailap the whole way.

Second Course (recommended because distances are shorter).

1. Ifalik to Elato; Tagal'ulu.
2. Elato to Lamotrek; by day, in sight; by night, Tagalielieli.
3. Lamotrek to Satawan; Tagalielieli.
4. Puluwat to Souk; Wolwol. (Why this detour to the south?)
5. Souk to Truk; Tagal'ūlu. [237]

G. From Woleai.

Tagaliwileugo - Faraulep.
Tagalimailap - Vasulos (reef).
Tagalielieli - Ifalik.
Tagalitumūr - Moroe (reef).
Tubwulitumūr - Aurupik.

Tubwusarabwol-Bugueluelueluarem (reef). On the way, one man o' war bird.

Tubwulūlu-Sorol.

Tubwulimwarigari-Ulithi.

Tubwulimēl-Fais. (One of the Ifalik dance songs, the Peiran of Falālap, disagrees. According to its text, the star Tubwulimwarigari will bring a canoe from Woleai to the rock Rimwelivarougoue in Fais.)

H. From Faraulep.

Tagalimailap e li vang -Saipan.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 fish, gapīle.

TagaliugilIk - 1 big fish - seu etag.

Tagalimēl - Faiau.

Pauievang - Kalūa (small reef).

Tagalimailap - Religousām - (reef).

Tagalielieli - one man o' war bird, (called in 'captain's language' neurevas.)

Tagatumūr - Trimaliwelibwugu (reef); farther, Olimarao.

TagalIpu - 2 whales, ualeliga jewetoxu.

Metremeiat - Vasutos (reef).
Wolwol li Iaūru - Ifalik. [238]
Tubwul'Ipu - Woleai.
Metārua - 20 porpoises, guatrIk.
Tubwulielieli - 1 bird with long tail-feathers, metalipangerele; Sorol.
Tubwulimailap - 1 whale, ualimen.
Tubwul'ūlu - 1 red fish, ig i seram; Fais.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 shark, trImeijou, with 2 small fish, sIlelīa, 'under his arm'; 2 big black diving birds, igotōro.
Wolwol li Ievang--many small black birds, asuval; Guam.

I. From Faiau.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Trilial (tinian).
Tagaliwileugo - Saipan.
Tagalimēl - Tipipi (uninhabited island).
Tagal'ūl - Tipapa (uninhabited island).
Tagalimailap - Getūa.
Tagalipauiaūru - 1 shark, laigelalo; his head keeps coming out of water.
Tagalielieli - Pigēla (uninhabited island).

Tagatumūra - Satawan.
Taga limetārua - Lamotrek.
Tagal'Īpu - Elato.
Metremeiat - 1 shark, with 1 man-o'-war bird over him, saumātol.
Wolwol li Iaūru - Olimarao.
Metremeital - 4 whales, nāgmetau.
Tubwulīpu - Vasulos (reef).
Tubwulimetārua (? designation undertain) - Ifalik
Tubwulitumūra - Faraulep.
Tubwulielieli - 1 shark with 2 small fish 'under his arm' - shemeijo.
Tubwulimailap - Fais.
Tubwul'ūl - 1 large fish with black head and white tail, tagural.[239]
Tubwulimēl - Vasielus (reef).
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'- war bird, gapilē.
Wolwol li Ievang - Guam

J. From Lamotrek.

Tagaliwileugo - 10 small fish, linked together like a chain - fātaleimware.
TagaliugilĪk - Pigello (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalimēl - Uraiseivetāl (small reef).
Tagal 'ūlu - Pigennot (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)
Tagalipquievang - 20 big porpoises; very bad, will try to crush canoe.
Tagalimailap - Puluwat.
Tagalielieli - Satawan.
Tagal'Īpu - many birds, tepāl, with strong odor.
Mętręmeiat - 1 whale, uauumaiaūru.
Wolwol li Iaūru - 2 pagennai birds, called in captain's language lairomwara.
Tubwulipauiaūru - Ifalik
Tubwulimailap - Olimarao.
TubwuliugIlĪk - Faiau.
Tubwuliwileugo - Faurĕp (reef).
Tubwulimailapliievang - RūtIk (reef).

K. From Olimarao. (Two versions were given of this. Intended to supplement each other, they disagreed at some points, as noted.)
Tagaliwileugo - many porpoises, called in captain's language naigām.

TagaliugIlĪk - black mwili birds, called in captain's language pongenōr.
Tagalimēl - Tipapa.
Tagalimegarigari - (other version - many mweli birds, called pongulōr.) [240]
Tagal'ūlu - Pigella (uninhabited island).
Tagali pauievang - (other version - Pigella).
Tagalimailap - Pigēnnot.
Tagalielieli - Lamotrek.
Tagatumūra - Elato.
Tagalīpu - 2 paugennai birds, called aurovālu.
Wolwol li Ievang - 1 common shark and 2 very small white sharks called laorumetau.
Metremeital - MIsailealu (reef).
Tubwul'Ipu - Ororang (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Wēraitogelimware (reef).
Tubwulisarabwol - Ifalik (? one version dubious, as Aurupik is south of Ifalik.)
Tubwulielieli - Aurupik.
Tubwulipauiauru - Ifalik (? one version).

Tubwulimailap - Woleai; Vasulos, one version; other has next star south for Vasulos.
Tubwulipauievang - Gautā, (reef).
Tubwul'ūlu - many porpoises, called in one version Falepeipeilalai; in the other Misailiealu, which the other uses for a reef under Metremeital.
Tubwulimwarigari - 40 fish, arōng.
Tubwulimel - SImweliulibwugu (reef); farther on, Faraulep.
Tubwuliwileugo - many small porpoises, uouwelinIran
Tubwulimailipelivang - OratIk (reef), one version; other has Galuā, apparently a little farther sw, under a star for which no name is listed.
Wolwol li Ievang - Farāp (reef), 1 version; other has Rajeivetāl, and, farther on, Faiau.

L. From Satawal (Satawal-aito).

(This list as given contained only directions toward the east. Two for the nearer islands to the west, however, were given 'in reverse' with the list for those islands - Lamotrek and Faiau - and are added here.)
Tagatumūra - Orejeivetan (reef). [241]

Tagasarabwol - Souk (Pulusuk?).
Tagalielieli - Oroural (reef).
Tagal'ūlu - TruatalevalerIk (reef); farther on, under same star, Truataligapelalei (reef); still farther, under same star, Puluwat.
Tagal'ugIlĪk - Pënënnot (Pikelot? Recorded elsewhere as Pigënnot). From Pëgënnot, the star Tagalielieli will lead to the reef Autaxileor, thence to the reef Autailemetau, and thence to Bwënnap. From Pegënnot, Tagatumūra will lead to Puluwat. From Bwënnap, TubwulIpu will lead to Puluwat.

M. From Yap.

Tagaliwileugo - Gaverot, island; 'steamer and canoe come close, go down in water.' (The name is virtually the same as Gaferut, which is about n. n. e. (?) from Ifalik, but about e by s from Yap.
Tagalimegarigāri - Ulithi.
Tagalielieli - Sorol.
Tagal'Ipu - Tongelap (reef).
Wolwolliiaūru - Ngolu (Ngulu)

Tubwul'Ipu - Gologol (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Palau.
Tubwulisarabwol - Olāt (long reef).
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwulimēl - 1 shark, ugelingaj.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 fish, sōm, whose dorsal fin slants toward the head instead of toward the tail; also seaweed, lem.
Wolwol liievang - 1 whale, walimIl, with many white birds perching on it.

N. From Truk.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 big man-o'-war bird, arIgemoa.
Tagalimēl - Pīsh (inhabited island).
Tagal'ūlu - Tennōmar (sandy island, with low trees and many fish).
[242]
Tagalimailap - Falepei (Ponape).
Tagalipauiaūru - Losap.
Tagalielieli - Leme.
Tagatumūra - Gotū.
Tagalimetārua - Satawal-airek (called Satawan on our charts; the suffix distinguishes it from Satawal-aito farther

west, near Lamotrek, which is called Satawal on our charts.

Tagalīpu - Namoluk ('Mortlock', Tom explained).
Wolwolliievang - Pelap ('much surf')
Metremeital - 1 whale, called uauemaiauru.
Tubwul'īpu - Pijemware.
Tubwulimetārua - 1 fish, lāgvIt.
Tubwulitumūra - 1 big shark, Oleleimwal, will crush a canoe.
Tubwulielieli - Souk. (Pulusuk?).
Tubwulimailap - Puluwat.
Tubwul'ūlu - Tamtam.
Tubwulimel - Bwennap
Tubwuliwileugo - Oloulo ('atoll, white men live there').
Tubwulimailap elivang - Faiau-aiat (East Fayu?).
Wolwol li Ievang - Namoin (Nomwin?).

O. From Guam.

Tagaliwileugo - Pāgang (Pagan?).
Tagalimel - Songorol ('no more people').
Tagal'ūlu - Tipipi.
Tagalipauievang - Tipapa.

Tagalielieli - Saipan.*
Tagaliṣarabwol - Nuta (Rota?).*
Tagatumura - Trilial (Tinian?).*
Tagal'Īpu - Lamotrek.
Mẹtrẹmeiat - Elato. [243]
Wolwol liiauru - Faiau.
Tubwul'Īpu - Faraulep, Ifaluk
Tubwutumūra - Woleai
Tubwulielieli - Yap.
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'war bird, called Vālemerizu.
Tubwulimailapelivang - Europe. "

"* These were given by points of the compass instead of stars. It seems likely that Tom said 'south' in these cases when he meant 'north'."

"BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Ifalik

Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands. OPNAV P22-7 (formerly OPNAV 50 E - 7) Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 1 April 1944.

Damm, Hans. Ifaluk. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, ed. G. Thilenius, II, B, 10, ii (Zentralkarolinen), pp. 1-106 (Based on field work by Ernst Sarfert)

Kittlitz, F.H von. Denkwürdigkeiten einer reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Mikronesien und durch Kamschatka, II, 152. Gotha, 1858. 2v.

Lutke, Frederic. Voyage autour du monde ... Paris, 1835. 3v.

Robertson, R. The Caroline Islands. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, V, 41-63. Yokohama, 1877.

Sarfert, Ernst, see Damm, Hans.

Wilson, James. A missionary voyage to the South Pacific ... ship Duff ... London, 1799.

II. The Pacific

Beckwith, Martha. Hawaiian Mythology. New Haven and London, 1940.

Burrows, Edwin G. Western Polynesia. Gothenburg Ethnological Museum, Ethnological Studies, 7. Gothenburg, 1938.

Civil Affairs Studies II. The language of the Japanese Mandated Islands. OPNAV 50 E - 15. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 20 June 1944.

Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands, A. NAVAER 50 - IT - 4. Chief of Naval Operations, Aerology Section, Washington, D.C., February 1944.

Elbert, S.H. Ulithi-English and English-Ulithi Word Lists. Naval Military Gov't., January 1947.

Fosberg, F. Raymond. Personal communication.

Haddon, A.C. and Hornell, James. Canoes of Oceania. B.P. Bishop Museum, Special pub. 27. Honolulu, 1936. 3v.

Hosaka, Edward Y. Sport Fishing in Hawaii. Honolulu, 1944.

Keesing, Felix M. The South Seas in the Modern World. Institute of Pacific Relations, International Research series. New York, 1941.

Krämer, Augustin. Oleai. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908-1910, ed. G. Thilenius, II, b, 10, i. [245]

Maps of the Islands of Micronesia under Administration of U.S. Naval Military Government, Pacific Ocean Areas. Compiled by Research Section, U.S. Commercial Company Economic Survey, 1946.

Mayr, Ernst. Birds of the Southwest Pacific. New York, 1945.

Müller, W. Yap. Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition, 1908-1910, ed. by G. Thilenius, II, b, II, 1-811. Hamburg, 1918. 2v.

Te Rangi Hiroa (P.H. Buck.) Samoan Material Culture. B.P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 75. Honolulu, 1930.

III. General

Bateson, Gregory and Mead, Margaret. Balinese Character. New York, 1942.

Beaglehole, Ernest. Ethnology of Pukapuka. B.P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150. Honolulu, 1938.

Benedict, Ruth. Patterns of Culture. New York, 1934 and 1946.

Herskovits, Melville J. Man and His Works. New York, 1948.

Hogbin, Herbert Ian. Law and Order in Polynesia ... with an introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski. New York, 1934.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. The Navaho. Cambridge, Mass., 1946.

Linton, Ralph. The Study of Man. New York, 1936.

Lowie, Robert H. Social Organization. New York, 1948.

Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen Merell. Middletown in Transition. New York, 1937.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. Crime and Custom in Savage Society. New York and London, 1926.

_____ see also Hogbin, H.I. Law and Order in Polynesia.

Murdock, G.P. Social Structure. (in preparation)

Notes and Queries on Anthropology. Edited for the British Association for the Advancement of Science by a Committee of Section H. 5th ed. London, 1929.

Opler, Morris. Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture. American Journal of Sociology, LI, 198-206. 1945.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. The Andaman Islanders. 2d ed. Cambridge (England) 1933.
_____ On Social Structure. Royal Anthropological Inst., Journal. [246]
_____ The Study of Kinship Systems. Royal Anthropological Institute Journal.
_____ Taboo. Cambridge (England) 1939.
Roethlisberger, F.J. and Dickson, W. Management and the Worker. Cambridge, Mass., 1939.
Shand, Alexander. The Foundations of Character. London, 1926.
Thomas, W.I. and Znaniecki, Florian. The Polish Peasant in America. New York, 1927. 2v."

2: Damm et al. --viii (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 123 Ifaluk

The sojourn on Aurepik from the 31st of October to the 2nd of November was short, and quite dramatic. Sarfert found an old man, who was well informed about the local history and legends. The collections were also satisfactory. Then as luck would have it, while the launch was on its way from the island to the ship, it capsized in the surf, and the photographic plates and all the ethnographic material were lost. That is the reason why we can not give any more exact details about the tools in the section devoted to the description of the material possessions, since neither Hellwig, Hambruch nor Krämer had been able to get anything from the natives, who had visited the ship, and they too had undertaken some collecting. Then Sarfert spent twelve days, from the 5th to the 17th of November, on Ifaluk. These natives were eager to cooperate in every way, but they did not know as much about the old religion and history of the island as he had expected. They themselves admitted that they had forgotten a great many of these old beliefs.

2: Damm et al. --1-2 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 175 Ifaluk

Islanders blown off their course discovered a large number of the Carolines, and described them to Europeans long before the latter actually visited them themselves. In this way the Jesuit father Paul Clain learned about 32 islands between 1678 and 1696, and among them was Yfaluc. However, this is not mentioned on the map, which Clain made, and where he located the position of each island as the natives had shown them to him with little stones, which they stuck in the sand. In 1710 Somera drew another map, following the directions of the Sonserol inhabitants, and again we find the archipelago Faloc. For the sake of completeness, let us refer to Krämer's hint that the island "ban" on Somera's pilot chart (1710) can probably be traced back to Lezcano, and may refer to Ifaluk. On Cantova's native map (1721) we find Ifeluc again. And it is certain that James Wilson discovered it on October 27th, 1797. Wilson first sighted a single island, but when he approached, he saw that there were two narrow islands, which lay very close together; they must have been Feladjik and Moai. He exchanged some things with the natives, but did not make any ethnographical observations.

On the 3rd of April 1828, Lütke found the Wilson Islands again, and identified them as Ifaluk. [2] In 1844 Cheyne visited the island, and observed some fine holothurians on the reefs; that was the extent of his interest in the oceanic island world.

On the 31st of March 1875, the commercial and fishing schooner "Rupak," under B. E. Gall, touched the island, but did not stay there.

2: Damm et al. --1-2 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 175 Ifaluk

On the 5th of November, 1909, the Hamburg South Sea Expedition left Sarfert on the largest island, and picked him up again on the 17th of November.

2: Damm et al. --3 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 103 Ifaluk

On their charts the natives called this island group: Faloc, Yfaluc or Ifeluc. After Wilson discovered this atoll in 1797, it was named for him for some time. Then Meinicke said that some other people called it Two Sisters. But these names did not last. Chamisso's authorities, the two natives Kadu and Edak, entitled this group Iviligk or Ibiliek. Lütke writes Ifalouk; the notorious dealer Cheyne likewise uses the native name Evalook, and his compatriot Russel Robertson, has Evalouk; all of these are equivalent to the German spelling: Ifaluk. Since this time the native name has been adopted much more widely. However, you also find Ifalik, which perhaps originated in Chamisso's accounts; this spelling was adopted for the Japanese Government Chart of 1925 (Number 772), and also for the Pacific Islands Pilot of 1933 (6th edition).

Lütke was the first to pay attention to the cartography of this atoll (1828). His chart [AN: see source] corresponds generally to the picture as it is today. But the northern part of the atoll is not correctly drawn, as Lütke sailed south. He shows the northwestern portion of the main island as a separate isle, Fararyk, which joins a large island, Ifalouk; in reality, both of them form the big Feladjik. On the other hand, the location of the two others, which he calls [5] Moay and Ella, is accurate. The Japanese Government Chart of 1925, Number 772, shows the most recent drawing of the atoll [AN: see source].

Location and Size

According to Cheyne, the diameter of the reef encircling the lagoon is about two miles. He estimates the circumference of the group as 5-6 miles, including the reef. With that he is considerably more exact than Meinicke *, who gives the circumference as "over a mile."

* Meinicke, Die Inseln. . . ., II, page 358. His figures are quite different from the other sources; for instance, he says that the group is 5 miles from Oleai, while the latest statement of the [AN: British] Pacific Islands Pilot (1933, 1, page 502) gives it as 30 miles. The difference may be explained by the fact that Meinicke reckons with geographic miles, while the other sources use nautical miles.

The following table gives the latitudes and longitudes of the various sources:

Year	Discoverer and Traveler	lat. N	long. E
1797	Wilson	7° 14′	144° 50′
1828	Lütke	7° 15′17″	215° 29′8″
	Raper	7° 14′	144° 30′
1844	Cheyne	7° 11′	145° 8′
	Gulick	7° 15′	144° 31′
1888	Meinicke	7° 15′	144° 31′
	Sievers	7° 15′	144° 31′
1920	Kolonial Lexikon	7° 15′	144° 31′
1925	Japanese Government Chart	7° 14′19″	144° 25′20″
		to	144° 27′13″

Structurally, Ifaluk is a low coral atoll with a lagoon, that has a circumference of approximately five miles; it is circular, or according to Sievers, almost square.

Lütke said that there were four islands, but actually there are only three: the main island, Felādjĭk, the second largest, Falālăp, which adjoins it to the south, and the little isle, Elă. There is no Ifalouk Island in the circle of atolls, and the one which Lütke called Moay is [6] really Falālăp. A comparison of the first two drawings will prove this. Lütke's mistake is due to the fact that he made a separate little island out of the northwestern portion of the large one. Although Cheyne spoke of only three, Lütke's assertion was upheld over Meinicke until very recent times; Meinicke made Imoai and Falalap one and the same island.

The little sand island Elănelap was first discovered by the Hamburg South Sea Expedition; it is possible that it is one of the newest atolls. But this type of sand island can disappear again very easily in any natural disturbances. During the typhoon of 1907 a little sand island called Măje became merged with the large Felādjĭk, and it is now the new part of Sāgo village.

Lütke (1828)	Meinicke (1888)	Sarfert (1909)	Pac. Islds. Pilot (1933) Jap. Gov. Chart (1925)
Fararyk Ifalouk	Flarik	Felādjĭk	Flarik

2: Damm et al.--5-6 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 133 Ifaluk

—

Moay	Imoai		
Ella	Ella	Elă	Ella
	Falalap	Falālăp	Flalap
		Elănelap	

The reef is typical of atoll reefs; on the southeastern side it makes a large bulge, and it is supposed to have a circumference of five miles. In the south there is a shallow, narrow passage between the Elăn and Falālăp Islands; Sarfert says that the broader one between Falālăp and Felādjĭk is sixty meters wide. There are two landing places on the southwestern tip of Felādjĭk Island.

2: Damm et al. --6-7 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 132 Ifaluk

The island group has not been spared by typhoons; in fact five of them have vented their fury on it. Previously, violent wind and rain caused some damage. Trees were uprooted, but nobody died, although these storms were followed by famine. The typhoon of March [7] 27-28, 1907 devastated the island, and 35 natives perished (24 from Jŏr, 10 from Jiwăn on Falālăp, and one boy from Felādjĭk). According to the local reports, the wind first appeared from the NE, and it lashed the island group broadside, but as yet there was no flood tide. But when it turned SE the water roared over Falālăp and Felādjĭk, and carried everything away. In 1909 you could still see some of the havoc that it had wrought. Hellwig wrote in the Logbook of the Expedition: "The dry, white trunks of great trees, that were bereft of their branches, stood out among the underbrush, and even at a distance you could see the palm trunks lying in rows on the ground."

On the other hand the typhoon did some constructive work; it fused the sand island Măje with the large island, and thus increased the area suitable for building purposes.

2: Damm et al. --8 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Ifaluk

The scenic charm of the group is greatly enhanced by the profusion of coconut palms and bread-fruit trees. According to the [AN: British] Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, these were only found in numbers on Felādjik and Falālap; Elā, on the other hand, only had a few of them.

2: Damm et al. --8 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 136 Ifaluk

At first it seemed that the island did not have anything except mosquitoes; they appeared at twilight, and came back every night. Sárfert's boy and the interpreter had to keep a smudge fire going all night, or else they could not have stayed on the island. Formerly there were only a few mosquitoes. The following table [AN: omitted here, see source, pages 8-11] gives just a small number of the land animals; naturally there are a great many more in the ocean.

2: Damm et al. --8-10 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 192 Ifaluk

[The vocabulary is omitted, pages 8, 9, 10].

2: Damm et al. --11 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifaluk

Only the two larger islands of the atoll, Felādjĭk and Falālăp were inhabited; Elā had never been settled. The population was divided in the following manner:

Year	Source	Felādjĭk	Falālăp	Total
1797	Wilson			about 200
1828	Lütke *			about 150
1852	Cheyne			about 140
1903-4	Sievers			281
1909	Hamburg South Sea Expedition	109	99 (62 in the south, 37 in the north district)	208
1914	Finsch			about 300
1930	Pacific Islands Pilot			305

* Lütke believed that this number was fairly accurate; his companion, von Kittlitz, speaks of a very large population.

2: Damm et al. --12 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 142 Ifaluk

The natives are tall and well built. Their skin is light brown, and the hair is black. Children often have very brown, almost blond hair; it is cut near the shoulders, at least Sarfert never saw hair, that had been allowed to grow to its full length.

The men do not have much beard; whiskers are never worn, but they do have a beard on the chin. Moustaches are kept short, and they are not very popular.

2: Damm et al, --12 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164, 178 Ifaluk

You seldom find ringworm. However, Sarfert saw a good many large scars, decayed legs, etc. In contrast to the other Carolines (for example Polowat, Satowal) syphilis occurs here. According to the natives, the life span was formerly very long, but people now die in middle life. The health conditions alone can not be responsible for this situation; it is much more likely that the cultural decline plays just as important a part in the premature decease of the inhabitants.

2: Damm et al. --12-13 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 192 Ifaluk

[AN: For a glossary of native terms describing parts of the body see source, pages 12-13.]

The natives were very cordial and friendly to Sarfert. The attitude of the women was most amusing, whether the men were present or not. By nature they were vivacious, but whenever their husbands were around they scarcely uttered a word. During the exchanges they turned away when they wanted to laugh; but their eyes showed what they were thinking, and the eyes glistened in a sly but quite provocative manner.

When Sarfert was alone with them, they made no secret of the fact that they were all crazy about him. They proved it by their caresses and the dancing movements, which they made; even a white haired old woman tried to allure him, and her zealous efforts aroused much mirth. The women all declared that they simply wanted him to give them tobacco; * and they promised, that they would tell all the white men who came to Ifaluk that he was much nicer in every way than they were.

---

* Tobacco has always been a very desirable commodity (Robertson 1876 / 1877 , page 50).

2: Damm et al. --14 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 152, 437 Ifaluk

Sarfert noticed that, when they were bartering, [AN: chiefly tobacco] they always had their minds set on one particular object; if they could not get it they usually took their exchange gifts back again. Then they calmly set ridiculous prices on even the tiniest things, which they were offering. If Sarfert became angry, they explained that the white man could produce all these items easily, and he had an adequate supply, while they did not! Lütke and Kittlitz also noticed this selfish attitude, and they had been warned about these islanders by the whalers.

They were astonished at the phonograph, laughed at it, but kept at a safe distance, and tried to peek into the horn. They thought that a man was hidden inside the apparatus!

2: Damm et al. --15 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 302 Ifaluk

The men use a pair of white ballich shells to pull out their hair; this shaving apparatus is called gum, and it is fastened to a lock of hair....

The hair is worn shoulder length, at least Sarfert never saw it full length. There is no thick growth of beard. Whiskers are not fashionable, but most men have a beard on the chin and a moustache; the former is short, and the latter is very thin.

There is no circumcision. Most of the natives prolong the lips of the vulva by artificial means; the men elongate the labia by pulling, and the women also pull out the hair "because men do not like it."

The early travellers frequently mentioned the amount of tattooing that you see among the inhabitants of Ifaluk. This was still practiced at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition. The majority of the natives were tattooed (to tattoo is mák), but not all of them. Anyone who does not like it, is not required to have it done. Then too the natives could not explain why they used this decoration; it was simply an old custom, that they still observed.

In 1910 there were still two men, who knew how to do tattooing; and a third was living on Faraulip, because he had joined some natives from that island, who had been staying on Ifaluk. The tattooing instruments are the tattooing comb (ralíd), a wooden stick, with a small comb containing several rows of teeth, made of bird bones, [16] and the wooden tattooing hammer (wãu) [AN: see drawings 3 and 4 on page 15 of source]. The coloring matter comes from the resin of the lágidj tree. It is burned, and the soot is caught in an earthen pot, the kind that comes from Yap. Then the soot is scraped together with a coconut leaf. During the operation the patient sits on a special type of mat (djõub) so that he will not interfere with the process. The drawings 5-9 [AN: See

source show the various patterns. Many men are not completely tattooed, but just have it on their arms and the sides of their legs. [17]

Tattooing was probably borrowed from Mogemog. But the natives believe that mankind learned about it through Lugeilän, a heavenly being, who is tattooed himself. They do not know from whom he acquired the art, but they assume that it was from Äluelöb, the highest god of all. When Lugeilän wanted a wife, he went down to earth, and at this time men saw the strange decoration, and learned the various patterns.

2; Damm et al. --17 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Wooden combs (lōuwá) are favorite adornments for the hair; they are made of little sticks, which are pegged or fastened together [AN: see drawings 10-12 in source]. For dances they are also decorated with feathers.

The customary ear adornment (djüerń) consists of little coconut rings (darak) and of conus shell rings (madj: Hellwig: märče). Drawings 13-18, 25-27 show the multiplicity of the forms and arrangement of the rings. One piece (drawing 20) shows a combination with the precious fáubóbo decoration. Men and women do not wear the same kind of ear adornments. Men [18] have numerous little coconut rings strung like beads into dangling pendants; the women, on the other hand, use larger coconut rings and white sea-shells; they are hung together like chains, and occasionally some tortoise-shell rings are added too; these also appear singly. Then there are even more unusual arrangements:

1. maregís (also unulánï) decoration (see drawing 35); formerly it had two Tridacna pearls attached to a tortoise-shell hoop; European glass beads are used today. (drawing 36)
2. sarún: spindle-shaped decoration for men, made of coconut and shell rings, arranged in various ways (see drawings 28-30). Most of them also have little chains, with spondylus disks attached.
3. legasirá consists of white shell and little black coconut sticks, which are arranged in rows on a coconut string. (see drawing 32) [20]
4. wódj is an old-fashioned triangular decoration for men, made of tortoise-shell; it is seldom used today. (drawing 33).

5. Men wear the wheel-shaped tortoise-shell decoration, that comes from Polowat; but it in no wise shows the variety of forms, that are found on that island. (see drawings 38-40)

6. fáu bóbo (also fáu djuerű) is a triangular little piece of spondylus (fáu is spondylus), which is generally attached to a little chain of shell and coconut disks, fastened to a ring of tortoise shell, and then attached to the lobe of the ear. (see drawings 19-23). Drawing 21 shows glass beads already in use.

7. Drawing 31 is a masculine adornment without any particular name; it consists of a small chain of sea-shell and coconut rings, with their ends held together by means of a strong spondylus disk.

8. Drawing 37 shows a unique type of ear pendant; a piece of tortoise-shell with white glass beads is hung from a coconut ring.

2: Damm et al. --20 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Nose decoration (djūeru-wṓt). The septum is pierced with a fish-bone, and fragrant flowers are placed in the opening; the blossom of the warṓn is the most popular.

There are many types of decoration for the neck. Necklaces, which seldom have two strands, (mălamar, and măremar) are made of hibiscus threads.
1. they are combined with coconut rings in various arrangements; this is called biligŏlu (drawing 41); similar pieces are in the Berlin Museum.
2. with large coconut rings, which are carefully arranged in rows; dajebă (drawing 42)
3. of smaller coconut rings: dărak (drawing 43)
4. of shell rings: bŭl, but generally these are mixed with coconut rings, (drawings 44-49); often the edges of the small rings or disks are not smooth, but sharpened (drawing 48). These attractive chains are also worn as a loin cloth. They come from Aurepik, Sorol and Fais, and are very costly. One Ifaluk native obtained this kind of chain on Aurepik for a wooden club.
5. of fish teeth: ńiligŭ (drawing 50)
6. of tortoise-shell disks (drawing 51)
7. of coconut beads with a tortoise-shell fish hook attached: kabiligŏ: drawing 52 shows a spindle-shaped decoration of shell with coconut disks at each end.
8. of small white shell and black coconut disks with red spondylus disks in rows between them: fáu mălamar [22] (see drawings 53, 54). This decoration was especially valuable, because the material first had to be bought on Aurepik, and then the things were fashioned on Ifaluk. When Sarfert was on the island of Ifaluk, he found that the king

had forbidden the natives to sell these decorations. He explained this by saying that this adornment belongs to the god Yaṅelap. It really belongs to the state, and has to be handed over for the tribute voyages to Yap. The king of Yap receives these chains. Broad rings of tortoise shell are frequently worn as pendants (see drawing 55); they are called borau. But Sarfert says that they are also used for arm decoration, and in this case they are named lārelak.

2: Damm et al. --23 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Fluted tall tortoise-shell rings are the most common kind of arm adornment [AN: see drawings 56-58 in source]; occasionally they are made of coconut (drawing 59). They are called wṓdj or dárak, according to the material used. They are frequently turned into ear rings. During the wṓdau dance the natives wear a garālibṓu; it is a peculiar decoration of locks of hair with white sále shells. (see drawing 60).

To decorate the hips there are:

1. gídi: girdles made of white shells and black coconut disks, which are also used as necklaces.
2. dáredar: girdles made of several rows of little shell rings (bṹl) and coconut disks (dárak); they are distinguished by the little fillets of mää́l shells [drawings 61-64 in source]; this is a feminine adornment. Drawing 65 portrays a type that is unique in that two spondylus beads and a glass bead are used instead of the fillets.
3. dedā́r: loin cloth of women's hair, like the ones on Polowat.

2: Damm et al. --23-26 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Ifaluk

Both sexes wear woven loin mats (bălebal) of banana and hibiscus fibers *. Generally they are decorated with long black stripes (garĭl), and then red stripes (garĭl ligodjăl) are interspersed between them occasionally. All of the mats have fringes (Maderăl). The most prized loin mats are the ones with artistic diagonal black stripes (dāb), which have a wealth of different types of patterns (gaiāgi dawŏl). [26]

Young girls wear an apron (siwisif) of leaf strips, which can be made from various kinds of trees; it consists of a front and a back apron, and it is fastened under the gidi girdle.

The hat (bālŭn) is made out of pandanus leaf strips, which are sewed together.

---

* According to Robertson this clothing is similar to what the Oleai natives wear, and it consists of fine pandanus mats.

2; Damm et al. --27 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 177 Ifaluk

—

There is a small selection of edible plants and fruit trees; three kinds of taro (wůlak, wód, file), bananas (widj), coconut palms (lú) and bread-fruit trees (mái). Sugar-cane (wóu) and pumpkins (galawás) were introduced by white men.

2; Damm et al. --27 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifaluk

Von Kittlitz made some important comments about the famine, which he found among the natives in the spring and fall. This applied to Ifaluk as well as to Aurepik and Faraulip. It is a question of a shortage of food (including fish), which recurs at regular intervals, and which the natives seek to off-set by preserving bread-fruit.

2: Damm et al. --27 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifaluk

The cultivation of taro is considered a feminine task; men only help occasionally, and quite unwillingly. Women plant the tuberous fruit in old ditches, (bóalu), and for this purpose they use a digging stick (gót), which is often sharpened at both ends. It is possible that the other pointed weapons may also be utilized in this fashion. Leaves serve for fertilizer (wáli). Women plant bananas inside and along the ditches too.

The men attend to the care of the coconut palms and the bread-fruit trees. The head chief superintends all the cultivation of the land.

The following varieties of fish are caught: mṓs, jalṓń, debắr, baligắli, ētắm, igeliwṓdj, mắl, moguḗïm, gamädjṻgid, rắli, balijalańắb, mắńar (flying fish), in addition to sharks and turtles. [29]

There are different methods of catching fish:

I. by angling:

a) gāwṓdj: the fish hook is made of tortoise shell (see illustrations 88-90); this is used to get the mṓs, jalṓń and debắr outside the reef,

b) bắ: composite fish hooks; they consist of a shell lure of various kinds (made of white tawắl, violet bajṓk, black Meleagrina, yellowish mắ́l, shining mother-of-pearl jắ́rr, black wắl, plus hooks of tortoise shell, tufts of frigate bird feathers, and the necessary lashings. There are two types of these bắ hooks:

1. with the mother-of-pearl side inside, to catch the balijalańắb.
2. with the mother-of-pearl side outside, for the baligắli and ētắm.

c) gōlimắt or djṻ: a hook of coconut shell for the flying fish (mắńar); it is fastened to an empty coconut, which has been plugged. Several of these fishing contrivances are thrown into the water, and when they jerk or disappear the fisherman knows that he has a bite. The canoe goes out at once, and brings them in with the floats.

d) goráiń: a large wooden hook, used to catch sharks; the shark is also caught with the snare.

The hooks are kept in coconut or bamboo boxes; the cover and bottom are made of wood.

II. Net fishing. Various kinds of nets are made of kalekál, a kind of coconut string, and they are all tied with wugawúg knots.

a) djóu net with a composite frame; the two parts of the frame have special names; the lower section with the handle is the úb; the upper portion the kadúl. There are two forms of this net;

1. with a broken frame (as on Sorol); this is used to take flying fish at night outside the reef, with a torch-light illumination. The following story tells how this night fishing started: in early times the natives did not know how to capture the flying fish at night. One day Módj was in Oleai, and about sunset he started for Fanalur. As he intended to stay there for a couple of days, he took his sleeping mat along. He left for home at twilight, and the sea was so choppy that his mat went over board. [30] He did not discover this misfortune until he arrived in Oleai. He got several men to take coconut torches, and to hunt for his mat. When the canoe was on the open sea, the flying fish appeared and sprang into the boat. Finally the men found the mat, and returned home with a good supply of fish. This was the origin of the night fishing with torches.
2. With a straight frame, for the igeliwódj, mál etc.

b) fă̄u is a large net with a circular wooden frame and no handle. It is used to take the moguĕ̄ĭm and gamädjŭ̄gid inside and outside the reef.

c) ă̄dĭ̄n is the ordinary net with floats (uabă̄s) and sinkers (fa͡ulĭ̄m). It is used to catch various kinds of fish inside the reef at ebb-tide.

d) ŭ̄g is a large, almost square net, which is folded on one side, and closed on one of the narrow sides, that are formed in this way. It is fastened to a stone with a string, and two ă̄dĭ̄n nets lengthen the opening; these are attached to the two vertical sides of the ŭ̄g, and laid out in such a way that they widen out on the sea side in a funnel shape. (See drawings 100-101). [31]

III. The smooth mesafă̄r or goba͡ī spear, which may be three meters long, is used for spear fishing. This type of fishing is combined with the use of the ă̄dĭ̄n nets. Several canoes make a circle of these nets; the fish are driven together, and then speared from the boats.

IV. Fishing with traps is called ŭ̄.

a) ulubă̄m: traps like the one shown in drawing 2 on the third plate [AN: see source].

The names for the different parts are:

entrance - mă̄d
bottom - badjebă̄dj
side wall - bĕ̄ĭg
roof over the entrance - rŭ̄gu

back wall - gábi raised pointed part of the roof - ún.
These traps are laid on the sandy ocean floor, and then sand is heaped around them, so that they can not swim away. Lágum (crabs) are used for bait.

b) úlimerouwóli is the same kind of basket that is used on Sorol; it is used to get the räli. The terms for the various parts of the trap are the same as in a).

This basket is fastened on one side to a wooden float, and then attached by a rope to the canoe, which has to proceed very slowly.

V. Kite fishing is known. The kite (djõligodjáiuk) is made out of bread-fruit leaves; a bait (kaulülu) of cob-webs hangs on the string; [32] elsewhere Sarfert says that the epidermal tissue of the shark is used as a bait.

VI. The natives engage in snare fishing (nim) at different times, and also use various kinds of snares.

a) the läwud, the bait-fish for the shark, is caught with a snare, just as it is on Polowat.

b) Drawing 102 shows the contrivance, used to catch the shark; the central vertical string (karigán) has the bait, which may be one of several different kinds of fish....

c) When the natives want to capture a turtle, they take an ordinary rope, make a noose, and slip it over the head and front feet of the animal. In this way it is easier to haul the prey into the boat. On land, they simply turn the turtle over on its back.

2; Damm et al. --27-32
116, 226

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-5
Ifaluk

VII. Fishing with poison was formerly unknown; later the natives learned about it through the Yap inhabitants. There is no name for this kind of fishing.

2: Damm et al. --32 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 224. Ifaluk

Hunting plays a very subordinate part in the life of the natives, as there are no large animals. Birds are caught

a) with the djóu net.

b) with snares (ním), like the ones used for fishing, only these are larger. The natives lay tubular traps (uligãs or dáwis) for rats; they are woven, and not made of bamboo, as most of the ones on the Carolines are.

2: Damm et al. --32 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Ifaluk

The only domestic animals that Sarfert saw were hens (mălŭk); there were no pigs (sĭlo). He only found two dogs (gelăgu), and all the cats (gadŭ) except one had been destroyed in the last typhoon.

2; Damm et al. --32 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Ifaluk

Women prepare the food, and steam it in earth ovens (felán); these are similar to the ones used throughout Micronesia and Polynesia; you seldom find dishes roasted over an open fire.

2: Damm et al. --32-33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372, 177 Ifaluk

According to the natives, Mòdj brought the art of fire-making from Yap. In olden days people did not know how to produce fire (jáf; buleliáf [33] the flame); so they ate everything raw, even meat. Today there are two methods of making fire:

a) the fire drill (liák), síne liák- flat stick, lâu liák- vertical and rotating stick.

b) the fire plane or fire groove (laulít), síne laulít - flat stick, launaulít- grooving stick.

The fire saw is unknown.

To kindle the flame they use the ordinary type of woven fan (saíbo), which is common throughout the Carolines.

felán - hearth, fire place, wurak - smoke, marodj - ash, fafi - firewood.

2: Damm et al. --33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 262 Ifaluk

The ocean provides the natives with meat dishes; in the list of fish, that we have already given, only the shark is not eaten; this is because it eats men (lódj), because it is poisonous, fâi, sâuufăn, mâudjilă, "because that is the custom."

The plant world supplies the natives with different varieties of taro, kodomŏlu, djâiwŏl, gŏb, waiwâi, gawŭdj, gili, mŏgumog, gäle, läle, fäliob, jalomä, sugar-cane, and pumpkins, in addition to the fruits of the coconut palms, bread-fruit trees, pandanus and bananas. The fruits of the coconut palm are distinguished according to their condition:

lŭ mesŏ - nut with a very hard shell, and meat that is still soft, and easy to remove; the broken surface of the shell is black.

sâu - lŭ mesŏ with a broken white husk, accordingly a very young nut.

šŏu - lŭ mesŏ with meat, which is already hard.

ŭb - lŭ mesŏ without meat.

The green husk of the nut is called bäjenne lŭ; the brown husk is bäjenne šŏu.

When they crack the nuts, the natives say: silŏu; on Faraulip: selŏu; on Yap and Sorol: serŭ.

2: Damm et al. --33 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 272, 262 Ifaluk

Palm wine (kári) is an important food. It is produced in the same way as on Polowat. And the natives prepare it in the morning, at noon and late in the afternoon. Cooked palm wine (lís) is mixed with water before it is drunk.

2: Damm et al. --33 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 276 Ifaluk

The natives enjoy tobacco (dámáko).

Among household implements people have:

a) scrapers, scratchers and graters.
   1. fâuguesŭ: a piece of coral, which is used to grate taro, etc.
   2. wăigañ: coconut scraper of the Central Caroline form.
   3. Tortoise-shell ax (jâufĕli), like the one on the Mortlock Islands, for peeling taro; this has not been used for a long time. [34]

b) crusher (fâulĭbōu) of coral lime to crush taro.

c) spoons (idīt) of coconut husk.

d) shell knives (sār)

e) coconut utensils.
   1. giwuări: small coconuts with a wooden cover, and occasionally with a wooden bottom; they are used to hold small objects and are put in the wŏdâu pouch.
   2. băle: large coconuts for palm wine.

f) wooden vessels of bread-fruit and lăgidj wood.
   1. kabăñebañ: large wood boxes with a cover and short handles; they are used to hold weaving materials.
   2. wăru: large four-cornered wooden boxes for loin aprons, etc.; these are no longer extant.
   3. săb: wooden containers with covers, but without handles of any particular form and size [AN: see drawings 111-118 in source]. The one with a push-cover [AN: See

drawing 118 in source] is peculiar. Fish hooks are kept in these containers.

4. döbi lemálaî: round wooden dishes without feet.
5. döbi lemábu: wooden dishes with noses but no feet; in this type the width exceeds the length.
6. döbi lemáulu: heavy, long wooden vessels.
7. döbi lemowalíel: circular wooden dishes with or without feet, but with handles (leníligágal) [36].
8. döbi úlu: these are the familiar Truk vessels, but there are no more of them to be found on Ifaluk. Hellwig collected a long dish with noses and four feet as a tepi; (this is the same as döbi).

g) baskets.

1. gáto: a small basket made of coconut pinnates with a woven handle (first plate, upper row); this is used to transport food.
2. dúgu: a tall basket of two coconut pinnae; they are used to carry food.
3. gabääs: large circular basket of coconut pinnae with a string handle; this is used to hold banana, pandanus threads, and all the other materials, which are necessary for weaving. [37]
4. wódâu: a long pouch of two coconut pinnae; it is the real purse for both men and women.

5. djūk: a pouch used to carry wood, coconut husks, etc.; it is made of two halves of coconut fronds, woven together. It is similar to an open gilidaudau mat; the ends of the fronds are tied into a handle.
6. wŏdau mān: four-cornered pouch of pandanus leaf strips. Sarfert could only obtain one specimen.
7. gāgadj: a curious form of pouch made of pandanus leaf strips. Smaller specimens were carried in the wŏdau pouch; this one is distinguished because of its plait, which runs diagonally over the middle of the pouch.
8. sigilāla: a high, narrow little pouch, with a cover of pandanus leaf strips. Sarfert could only find one specimen.

h) net pouches of coconut fiber strings.
1. djōudjoāle: large net-like pouches that can be tied together, made either with a narrow or a wide mesh; they are used for loin aprons, etc. [38]
2. djōulimar: boat-shaped net pouches used to get bread-fruit; they are also soaked in these containers.
3. wŏdau: pouch of narrow string weaving.

i) bamboo boxes (giwuāri) for smaller articles (tobacco etc.) have wooden bottoms and covers; they are often decorated with scratched designs. The double box, with a central connecting piece of wood, is a curiosity.

2: Damm et al. --39 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412 Ifaluk

The tools were: 1. shell axes (delakī) of different sizes. Other axes were unknown. The parts are called mimuēim - handle, fōfo - coconut string fastening, dēla - Tridacna blade.

2. Gimlet; there were two kinds; the plain stick borer (wūlewul, Hellwig: wurawura) with a shark's tooth point, now with an iron point, and the burr (malubōub) with a brace stick and a point of Pteroceras shell.

3. Compasses were unknown.

2: Damm et al. --40 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321, 301, 415 Ifaluk

Coconut shells are used to fashion bowls, boxes, spoons, but above all, beads for decoration. These beads are made in the same way on Luangiua. Drawing 135 shows some crude pieces, which have been strung on a leaf nerve, and are still to be polished.

2: Damm et al. --40 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321 Ifaluk

Shell is used for ax blades of Tridacna, fishing hooks of mother-of-pearl, shell beads, decorative disks of conus shell, dye bottles made of barnacles. The men make the red spondylus beads, and this task is especially important. This costly shell is purchased on Aurelik in exchange for loin aprons, knives and similar objects; the Aurelik natives fish for it inside the reef. Men break the shells into little pieces, grind them with a stone, and pierce them with the wúlewul borer. The large mother-of-pearl shell (sálo) was also worked in this manner.

Tortoise shell is used for decorative rings and fish hooks. The back shell of the tortoise is pried loose with a burning stick; then an ordinary bore is used to cut the fish hook out of the shell, and the rough skin of the ray's back polishes it and files it into shape.

The following dyes are used:

1. black dye.
   a) this is procured from black stones, that are found among the pieces of drift wood. A knife is used to scrape some of this stone into a wooden dish, filled with water; then the sap of a coconut is wrung into the same container, and the sap of a leaf of the gili tree is added in the same manner. This dye is used for the threads, which are to be woven.
   b) A large quantity of black coloring is required to paint the boats; it is obtained by burning coconut husks (bējenne); then they are dipped in water, and used on the wood as if they were brushes.
   c) The tattooing color is obtained from the resin of the lagidj tree.
2. red color; there again there are two kinds:
   a) to dye the threads; people peel the bark off the lāle tree, mix it with coral lime, which has been broken into small pieces and burned [42] and then it is all pressed into a wooden container with water (red color - ligodjá).
   b) to paint the boats; the natives take red earth from Yap, which is kept in little string pouches or in containers made of barnacles; this is stirred in water, and they add the sap of a tapped bread-fruit tree. A bird-shaped wooden bowl (dŏbimāb) is used as a dye pot.
   c) Body painting.

Braiding is women's work.

1. pandanus mats (gīagi); there are four types:
   a) faûsibēik is the sleeping mat; it is simply braided out of strips, which are usually about a centimeter wide, although they become narrower.
   b) fólu is an unusual form of sleeping mat; it is double, and in the center there is a strip about 5 centimeters wide; it appears that the two sides of the mat are plaited together through this strip. Sarfert was not able to obtain one of these mats.
   c) jáb is a simple mat for little children.
   d) djóub is the mat on which men sit, while they are being tattooed. At the present time these mats are no longer found.

The pandanus tree (fār) supplies the material for these mats. Women dry the green leaves for a while over the fire, and then spread them out in the open. They are exposed to the rain, but the leaves are not soaked more than three times. They are now put in the sun, and after four or five days they are ready to be worked. The leaves are smoothed with a piece of coconut shell, by drawing them through the hand, and then they are torn in narrow strips.

2. Coconut mats (gilī) are all used for slumber; there are several kinds:
   a) dábárau is a mat of two coconut fronds, with the nerve running through the center. This is because the two were laid together in such a way that the point of one coincided with the twig end of the other.

b) ädólo like a), however, the pinnae are plaited into a braid on the long sides, running parallel to the nerve. [43]

c) gíli dáudáu is a mat made of two half coconut fronds, which are twisted together so that the nerves will form one side, and the braid the other.

d) gíli ebába is a mat like c) except that it is braided out of one whole frond.

The coconut mats are all worked in what we call "cross plaiting."

3. Basket weaving is a woman's task. Coconut and pandanus leaves furnish the material for it.

a) baskets of coconut leaves are gáto, dúgu, gabääś, wódáu, djúk.

b) baskets of pandanus strips are gágadj, sigilála, wódáu mán.

2: Damm et al. --43-44 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 286 Ifaluk

Weaving.

The materials are made of fine banana fibers (wūis) or compact hibiscus fibers (gulifāo); occasionally they are dyed black or red. A wooden needle entwines artistic borders.

The loom (dāl) is fastened to two poles (wīsāl) which are stamped down into the ground, and then attached to the wall of the house or the roof; the similar system is used on Kusae. The girdle for the weaver is tied on the notched board. The weaver is seated on a plank (fāwa). The parts of the loom are called [AN: compare drawing 142]: [44]

Number in the drawing	English term	Ifaluk
1	warp and breast beams	bāb
2	sword	gabōb
3	heald rod	ńūń
4	separating stick	dēba
5	cross staff	olūd
6, 7		dīb
	warp threads	ƙnudōlu

2: Damm et al. --45 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 437 Ifaluk

In olden days there was more commercial activity than in 1909; however, the Ifaluk natives never equalled the skill of the Polowat people in this respect. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition they still purchased the fine spondylus shells on Aurepik and Truk, and paid for them with loin aprons and knives. The tribute voyages for Yanelap are not so important as they used to be either.

2: Damm et al. --45 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Ifaluk

In 1909 the knowledge required for seafaring was no longer preserved. Not one of all the men on the island knew how to sail by the stars. Only one had a vague idea about trips to Oleai, Faraulip and Lamutrik, but that was all that he knew. According to the islanders, there were still two experienced Ifaluk captains on Yap and Ngulu. Under these circumstances it was impossible to make a sailing chart.

2: Damm et al. --45-49 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-3
116, 502, 821 Ifaluk

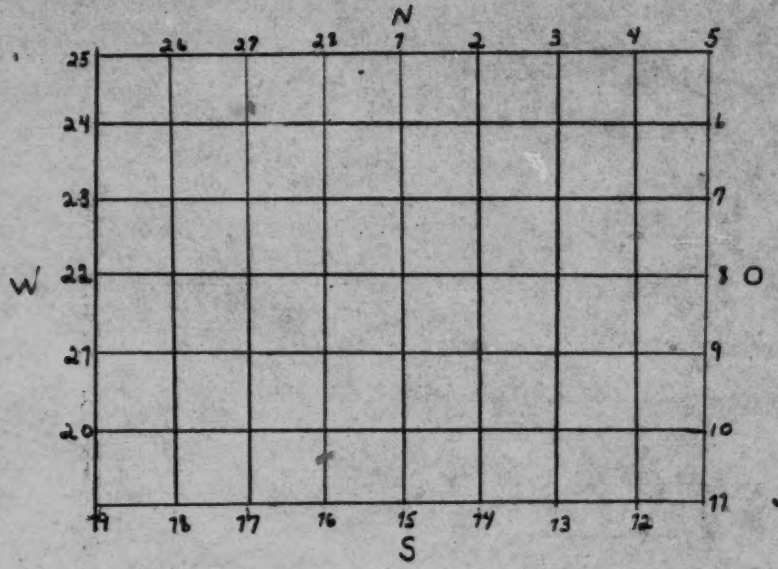


Fig. 143. Compass Rose (sketch by Sarfert).

A knowledge of the stars is the basis for all nautical information. The natives knew the following stars: (fŭš).

mŏl	Lyra	eruol	Three Kings (in Orion)
ugelĭk	Orion	dumul	Virgo
măriger	Pleiades	djerewol	Raven
ūl	Aldebaran	lup	
măilŏb	Eagle	wolewole	
gŭi	Fish, an enormous star, which travels all over the heavens; ugelĭk and erüŏl belong to it. [46]		
lăke		dagalĭp	
dŏbi		mōlărŭ	
ĭdj		măidjĭk	
mălu		ălalimēi	Milky Way

măllăm moon, the natives knew about the man in the moon, or Liganós: but they had no more exact information about him. The sun had no significance, whatsoever. Sarfert did not give a native term for it. They had no conception of the stars; the Yap inhabitants had told them that they were stones! Shooting stars - jajāle fŭš.

Drawing 143 shows a picture of the compass rose; the horizon was conceived in a rectangular form; point 1 is the place where a star rises in the vicinity of the polar star;

it sinks in number 15, so line 1-15 represents the course of this constellation. The same is true of the other constellations. [47]

Drawings 144, 145 show the position of the stars in the heavens at various times; when Altair goes down , and when it is at the zenith.

The natives know the following directions:

north	jifaṅ	northwest	ilodolifaṅ
south	jŏr	northeast	kodolifaṅ
west	ilodŏu	southwest	ilodolijŏr
east	jŏdou	southeast	kodolijŏr

[AN: the terms for the directions of the winds, pages 47-49 of source have been omitted.]

2: Damm et al. --49 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502 Ifaluk

The sailing trips, which are still known are:

Ifaluk - Oleai 9-23 of the compass rose.
Ifaluk - Faraulip 1-15 of the compass rose.
Ifaluk - Elato-Lamutrik 21-7 of the compass rose (Lamutrik is visible from Elato!)

Sarfert said that in olden days the natives also dealt with Satoan, which was settled by Ifaluk people, who came by way of Lamutrik.

Only one ship was known to have got off its course; the Hamburg South Sea Expedition saw the arrival of an Ifaluk canoe on Elato; coming back from Faraulip the boat was driven to Olimarau.

There must have been a great many boats in olden times, because Lütke declares that he was greeted by twenty-five, with around a hundred men in the crews. The Ifaluk canoes are similar to the ones of Polowat and the other Central Carolines in that they are made of boards (uá) of bread-fruit wood, and beside the out-rigger they also have the familiar fork-tail crest. There were various kinds of canoes :
a) wāliwuéī: a large sailing boat for long trips. They had their own names, and, as a matter of fact, they were named for the place where the breadfruit tree stood, the one that was used in the construction of the boat. The canoes were divided among the various clans as follows: [50]

The clan:	before the typhoon had:	in 1909:
Lawuáú	8	3 (one boat went directly to Faraulip.)
Sawōlób	1	1
Ledjōuróu	5	1
Gajudólin	3	0
Ságo	4	0
Jiwán	6	3(Of these one was in Faraulip and one in Lamutrik.)

Jŏr 14 1

b) manuwĭ́li: a smaller sailing canoe, used for fishing.
c) kafadŭ́le: a paddling canoe, which will not hold more than 4-5 men.
d) djašemắli: paddling boat for 1-2 men.
e) fofắt: float.

The natives also had play boats of various sizes; small ones were called galắl, and larger ones ligĕ́li. Drawing 146 shows a type, that was unusual in Ifaluk. This kind, which is called gắuat, has a crescent-shaped ornament; they are often seen on Satoan, and there was one of them on Ifaluk before the last typhoon (1907).

[AN: For terms for the various parts of the canoe see source pages 50-51] [52]

The cooking apparatus (felan galigắb) for long trips consists of a four-cornered (50 cm. square) raised frame with slender little sticks, which serves as a grill. This contrivance (drawing 151) stands on legs over the belắf. A small coconut leaf mat (ĭ́lafe) is laid in this polygonal frame, and then sand is sprinkled on top. Fish are roasted here. When the natives are on the high seas coconuts are used for water vessels. The men catch rain water in a hat, which is turned upside down, and its tip sticks into a coconut flask.

2: Damm et al. --52-55
116, 396, 173

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-2
Ifaluk

The natives trace their knowledge of boat building back to a mythological origin. Sēlăń constructed the first canoe; he brought this art to the men on Mŏdj Island, which lies a four days journey south from Truk. It is not known who taught the people of Ifaluk how to make canoes. The first settlers of Ifaluk were a man named Mŏdj and his wife, and they came to their new homeland on a raft. But soon after that time, and even while Mŏdj was living, canoes were constructed.

The canoes are made out of bread-fruit wood. First the trees are felled with shell axes, and in this task the brothers and sons of the builder assist him. The king must give his permission for the construction of a large sailing canoe. No particular tabus are attached to this work. Other men help drag the trunks to the canoe house. All the workers sing in rhythm, so that the pulling will be in unison and most effective. [AN: for native text of this work song see source pp. 52 and 54] [54]

... the various planks of the boat are carefully joined together and bound tightly. The joints of the planks are caulked with pieces (bă̄le)of coconut husk fiber (bējĕnne), which are mixed with bread-fruit resin (wĭ̄lis). Then the holes for the binding are smeared with a mixture of burned coconut fibers and burned coral stone (fă̄u), which has been crushed. Drawing 147 shows how the planks are painted with red soil from Yap and black coloring, which comes from coconut hulls, that have been burned and then stirred in salt water.

2: Damm et al. --52-55 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 396, 173 Ifaluk

During the canoe building there are four bäniewän conjurations, and these are always when the lines are drawn in the customary manner. On these days all the workers are tapu. Then, when the boat is finished, there is another conjuration, and a trial trip; while this is going on the men sing a certain song. [55] Coconuts are placed beside the boat during these magic spells; there are always two or more, but never three, five or seven. The size of this sacrifice depends entirely upon the quantity of nuts available.

carry the purlins, (falidibáb, no. 1 of drawing 156) into which the djúne are inserted. Girders and empty trusses (no. 2), both of which are called wóu, are stuck part way into the purlins. Just as on Polowat and Satowal, the ridge purlin is úri. The others (no. 3) have various names, according to whether they are attached to the empty truss or to the rafters; [58] in the first case they are kabanák, in the other: kabílal; both are interchangeable. The rafters (no. 4) are called gáto.

The gable walls are arranged in a special fashion. A central post (wadábáo) stands on the gabilibín, beneath which a áudánilálo beam is braced between the side posts. A roof (dábáu) projects over one gable wall; (no. 3 in drawing 155); its empty truss is called kabanák di bín, its rafters gáto di bín. This dábáu overshadows a veranda (bín), which lies at the level of the purlins, and has a pot-board (fáne di bín) in front. A special kind of beam support is not always available for it, as on Hok; the corner posts are šúle, the two long beams lying on them are dalielób , the diagonal one is áudánilálo. This porch was evidently devised to protect the householder from the rain, if by chance he wanted to sit in front of his door. The mats used for covering the roof are jáso.

2: Damm et al. --56-58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-4
116, 173, 342 Ifaluk

According to legend, Módj brought the art of house-building from Yap; it is not known who taught it to the inhabitants of that island.

1. The house design.

The frequent typhoons have often destroyed the houses; during the last one only four dwelling houses escaped, (3 on Feladjik, 1 on Fafalap). Then they were not rebuilt with the same care, which had been used before. Formerly there were more houses than there are today, and they were also larger; they had a six-sided plan, and were made of wooden planks. But the natives did not know how to construct houses without using supporting pillars on the four corners. The deceased brother of an old man, who was still alive in 1909, saw this for the first time in Aurepik, in the house of a man from Yap, named Gamelai; and he died on this island away from home. Since that time houses have been built in Ifaluk without any súle. It seems that the natives have never erected any stone foundations, like the ones that are used on Aurepik, but they use the same name for them, bäi.

im is the family dwelling. It is the ordinary rectangular house with a gable roof, that slopes forward, and no special stone foundation. Drawing 155 shows the old form. There are side posts (djúne) set in the framework of the floor (gorás, number 1 of drawing 155), which is made of four beams, and the walls (dibáb, no. 4) stand between them. The ceiling beams (gabilibín, no. 6) rest on the 4 corner-djúne, and then they

2: Damm et al. --58
116, 343

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

malúm is the cook house. Each dwelling house or each family group has a cook house. When the natives were asked why special kitchens are used, they replied that: "the large house is used for sleeping and working (weaving etc.)." The real reason is probably because the preparation and cooking of dishes require light and space.

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

fanüuá is the boat house. Externally it is like the dwelling house, except that it is open on all sides, and has larger dimensions. (see drawing 157). The canoe houses are erected by the various parts of the villages, and belong to them. Before the last great typhoon the number of canoe houses was considerably larger than it was in 1909. The division of the canoe houses was as follows:

Part of the village:	in 1909:	Number of canoe houses before the typhoon:
Gajudöllin	1	1
Ledjöurõu	1	1
Lawuáu	1	1
Jiwän	1	3
Jör	1	3
Sägo	0	1
Sawölöb	0	1

Sägo and Sawölöb do not have any more canoe houses; the natives in the former part bring their boats to Gajudöllin and Ledjöurõu, while the men in the latter shelter theirs in Lawuáu.

2: Damm et al. --59
116, 344, 177

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Fenăp is the house for bachelors; the natives called it the "house belong king." These houses are public buildings. Usually women were not allowed to enter them. It was only when the king wanted to address all the inhabitants of the island to give orders or discuss laws, that women and children gathered here with their male relatives.

A long time ago there were no houses of this kind. Under the reign of Dibŏdăn a man from Yap, Fagil by name, was blown to Ifaluk, and he built the first fenăp. The natives built three others on this pattern. According to the Yap style, these all had a stone foundation in the water, and they were joined to the shore by a stone bridge. Two of them were on the main island (one on Ledjŏurou and one on Lawuaŭ) and two on Falalap (one in the south and one is the northern district); the other parts of the village did not have any fenăp, so they had to be content with canoe houses. The typhoon destroyed all of them except one on Lawuaŭ, which is called Kadalŭ, and which served as an abode for Sarfert during his visit. It was 21 meters long, 5 1/2 meters wide and 5 meters high.

All of the men in one section of the village worked on the common canoe house, and when it was completed, they celebrated the event with a dance. Drawing 158 [AN: see source, p. 59] shows the floor plan of the only men's house still standing. The large supporting pillars on the sides (sŭlefan) were made of big stones, and a platform was built on the central post; this was used when the king spoke to the people. Both the pillars and the platform were characteristic of these constructions...

2: Damm et al. --59-60 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifaluk

imelibĕ́lu is the lodge for pregnant and menstruating women. Since the last typhoon they have ceased to exist. The women stay in a little house, for there are still many of them adjoining the dwellings. [60]
imosíĺo is the pig sty. These stalls are only known by name.
There is no chicken coop (imelimáluk) for the animals run all around.

2: Damm et al. --60 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 352 Ifaluk

When you make an inventory of a dwelling house, you find the usual tools, and weapons and also:

a) gogōdj: a pillow made of a loin mat, without any pattern.
b) ulūl: head support of wood
c) ujelijáb: head support of very soft drift wood.

The inhabitants do not distinguish between the village and the island; fálü is the word for both. Only Felādjík and Falālap are settled, and on the northern side. The farms lie scattered along the coast. Each house has a water-hole (ganíralu).

All of the land is divided into plots (bugodál), which have special names, and these also apply to the houses, which are built on them.

a) the village Felādjík on the main island is separated into the following districts:(see drawing 159)

1. Sāgo with the huts 1-4
2. Gajudōllin 5-13
3. Ledjōurōu 14-21
4. Sawōlōb 22-27
5. Lawuáu 28-43.

The districts 1-3 are included in Felādjík, the other two, 4 and 5 are Lawuáu. The oldest part of this settlement is Lawuáu, and the other sections were settled from here. This original portion also served as a residence for the king of the island group, Daoreligār [61] and his assistant chief Sairū. A long, long time ago Sāgo is also supposed to have had a chief, but his family died out. [AN: The names of the houses and their inhabitants, pages 61-65 of source, have been omitted.] [65]

b) The village on Falālap Island [AN: see Fig. 160] is divided into two districts, Jór

and Jiwán, in other words, into a southern and a northern part. This settlement is under the authority of Daoreligár, who formerly lived in Jiwán, and later moved over into the home of his wife. If the legend is true, the first chief of this island group, the man from Yap, Mṓdj, settled in Jiwán. [AN: the names of the plots with the houses and inhabitants, pages 66-71 of source, have been omitted.] [71]

c) Elă Island is uninhabited. The land is divided among the various houses. [AN: the names of the plots of land have been omitted.]

2: Damm et al. --72
116, 171, 411

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The bitter struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik show that the Ifaluk natives were a war-like people. However, they did not have a large array of weapons; they used:

1. The spear (dīlēk) from 1 1/2 to 2 meters long; occasionally it was equipped with a barbed hook, and then it was called rumu dīlēk. [AN: see drawings 161-163 in source]. The natives apparently never used sharks teeth on their spears.
2. The club (liwueïjéï) was a cutting and stabbing weapon in a simple spade shape [AN: see drawings 165-168 in source] or it may be a two-sided weapon, like the ones on Truk (drawing 164). The natives knew nothing about the former customary practice of studding them with sharks teeth.
3. Knuckle-dusters (rasirás) with horn-fish stings, [AN: see drawings 170, 171 of source]. Drawing 169 shows an interesting form, where the simple knuckle-duster is combined with an aṅipuṅipū.
4. The natives learned about stone slings (gaûl) from Truk.
5. Bows (dawír) and arrows were just childrens' toys.

2: Damm et al. --74
116, 601

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-2
Ifaluk

The terms used to describe the family relationships show to what an extent the family circle (lewugodâi sēudŏb or sēukaidŭn) was developed in a narrower and also in a wider meaning; these are the terms for:
grandfather (on the father's side) demăl dămâi.
grandmother (on the father's side) sīne dămâi.
grandfather (on the mother's side) demăl sīne, demăl silēi.
grandmother (on the mother's side) sīne jīne, sīne silēi.
father, husband of the father's sister, husband of the mother's sister dămâi.
mother, wife of the father's brother, wife of the mother's brother, silēi.
brother, son of the father's brother, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother, son of the mother's sister, bisīl, and also wisīl.
sister, daughter of the father's brother, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's brother, daughter of the mother's sister măanăl, also miănâi.
husband, wife, jaûdăg.
son lâûuli or djirimâle.
daughter lâûl or djiridjawŭd.
father's brother wisīl dămâi
father's sister măanăl dămâi.
mother's brother măanăl silēi or manenebēi.

mother's sister wisíl djín.
son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, laúnéi.
wife's father demál djáliganéai.
wife's mother síne ráli ganéai.
wife's brother máanál áli ganéai.
wife's sister wisíl áli ganéai.

2: Damm et al. --74-75 (1909) 1938* Woleaians
116, 462 Ifaluk

The man takes care of the construction of the house and of the canoe; he does the fishing, cultivates the bread-fruit and coconut palm trees, mades fish nets, dishes, net pouches and prepares the [75] palm wine (gāri). The woman does the cooking and light physical work like plaiting and weaving; she also goes out in the fields to plant the different kinds of taro and attend to bananas; their fine leaf strips are used to make loin aprons.

2: Damm et al. --75
116, 584

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The natives marry for love. If a man falls in love with a woman he makes a regular declaration. If she responds, he says: "go and ask your father." If he agrees, he says to his daughter: "Yes, bring him!" Then the girl brings her bridegroom home, and from that time on, he sleeps in the house of his parents-in-law. There is no particular ceremony or celebration, except that more food is served than usual, but the wedding is over.

If the girl does not like the man, but he is determined to have her anyway, he has to pay a certain price. Otherwise, there is no arrangement about payment.

2: Damm et al. --75 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Ifaluk

The man always goes to his wife's house and sleeps there. He also has a right to claim a share of the property of his wife's family. If several children appear in the course of time, the husband's sister takes some of them in her house, in other words, in the house of his father. If that is too small, possibly because it is inhabited by several married sisters, a second dwelling house is erected beside it.

2; Damm et al. --75 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 833 Ifaluk

The natives talked with animation about the forms of coitus. . . On Ifaluk the usual procedure is for the woman to lie on her back, and the man to squat between her knees and to draw her legs over his thighs. Other forms were only known to a few men, who had learned them on Yap and Mogomog. After the intercourse the man cleans the vagina with his Lavalap.

2: Damm et al. --75 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 839 Ifaluk

Erotic abuses. Onanism (sīlisīli) is known, and some people practiced it. Coitus in anum is unknown; according to Sarfert's native from Faraulip it is practiced on Mogemog. Sarfert's interpreter from Mogemog testified that cunnilinctus is also practiced on Ifaluk, and is called monodinii. On the other hand, the women do the same thing only when their husbands are dead, and then call this mǭnorai. Possibly it is a similar custom to the one on Luangiua. We have already discussed the lengthening of the labia of the vulva, and the removal of the pubic hair.

2: Damm et al. --75-76 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 582, 836 Ifaluk

Marriage is forbidden (etăb) with all the women, who live in the same house with a man, that is with his sisters, etc. These restrictions apply to two generations, but not to the third; [76] accordingly, the grandchildren of brothers and sisters are permitted to wed. In olden days, when the population was smaller, father and cousin were allowed to marry. There is no objection to free love between unmarried people, and boys and girls.

2: Damm et al. --76
116, 837, 684

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Adultery occurs. If a husband hears about it, he scolds, but does not strike his wife. The adulterer must pay a penalty in the form of loin aprons, wooden boxes, and small or large canoes.

2: Damm et al. --76 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 586 Ifaluk

Divorce is frequent. This is a very simple procedure; either a man leaves his wife, or she says that he must return to his own house. In this case the children are separated too; the boys belong to the man, the girls to the woman. Babies remain with the mother, unless the man's sister wants to have them. If the man marries again, he must pay an indemnity to the wife in the form of aprons, chests, boats etc. This is true for the wife too, only her family takes charge of the payment for her. There is a curious custom that this payment is disregarded if both partners marry again on the same day. In the other case, the one who weds first is the only one to make the payment, even if the other one is married on the following day.

2: Damm et al. --76 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 163 Ifaluk

The women have a good many children. Three (deceased) women had ten, but today the average is between 3 and 5. The cause of this declining birth rate is unknown.

2: Damm et al. --76 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 844 Ifaluk

Birth occurs in a special hut (imelibĕ̆lu); the afterbirth (bă̈̆i) is buried in the sand on the shore.

The woman remains for eleven days in the hut, and does not leave it until the "little moon" has been in the west for five days. Then the chief sends another woman to get her. The natives laughed heartily at Sarfert's question, whether this happy event were celebrated with songs and dancing. For two months the woman does not do any work; she takes care of herself, and looks after the child, which is kept in a cradle (gulóul). The husband and wife are not permitted to sleep together until the child is able to run around. If they disregard this, the child will die.

2: Damm et al. --76-77 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 857 Ifaluk

Children lead a happy and carefree existence; they help their parents, but most of the time they play outdoors, sing, and dance in the moonlight. On all of his expeditions Sarfert was accompanied by a throng of children, who tried to attract his attention by doing all kinds of tricks (standing and running on their hands). Naughty children are always whipped. The smallest boys are allowed to go into the men's house, and so they participate in the life of the men from a very early age. When they reach a certain [77] size, between the age of 4 and 7, the boys receive a loin apron; the natives say this is "because the mothers and sisters do not want to see their boys naked any more." At this time the column of the nose is also pierced with a fish-bone, and a fragrant blossom (waróñ) is inserted in the opening. Little girls receive the apron siwisiñ sooner than they do on Sorol, for example.

2: Damm et al. --77
116, 553

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Children are named when they are about five months old.

2: Damm et al. --77 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 561, 192 Ifaluk

Terms used to designate age:
nursling sălidali
little boy, little girl sălidali māl or sălidali djāwud.
big boy dăli mál
big girl dalăiwid
man māl
woman djāwud or faifil
bachelor, also widower ?
old maid, also widow libidj
old man dufēi
old woman djāwud dufēi

2: Damm et al. --77 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifaluk

When an inhabitant of the island dies, all the people of Ifaluk gather together, cry, scream and sing songs of mourning (dáń). The deceased receives a new loin apron; his throat, upper and lower arms and legs are decorated with strings of white beads, and finally the whole body is smeared with red paint (láń). The face just has a frame of color (see drawing 172). Then the arms are tied together between the upper thighs, the lower thighs are turned back, and bound to the upper ones. If the deceased person is a married man, his widow takes leave of him with móńorai [AN: fellatio]. Then the body is wrapped in a pandanus mat (ǵiagi) about 2 fathoms long, and he is buried with his head turned toward the west (!); the natives did not know the reason for this.

If death occurs in the morning, the burial is about four o'clock; in the other case, it is the next morning at sunrise. The corpse is laid in a box-like coffin (imelimáś) about a meter long, and this is made by all the natives, as soon as they realize that death is imminent. The coffin consists of sticks, which are fastened close together. Since the burial is in the sea, and inside the reef, the coffin is weighted with stones, which are either fastened to it, or laid inside... After serving as pall bearers the men are not etáb [AN: taboo].

2: Damm et al. --78 (1909) 1938 Wolcaians
116, 587 Ifaluk

The interval between the death of one spouse and the next wedding of the surviving partner can be 2-3 months, or only 1/2 - 1 month; the widower or widow determines this according to the affection he feels for the dead spouse.

The same things that we said about the clan relationships on Polowat apply to Ifaluk. The natives here know the Sáupólowat clans, which, as the name indicates, came from Polowat. Similarly, the Wisúsu clan originated in Polowat. The Monáulifer, the Fánimēi, the Gadamán and the Wolēi came from Yap. The last one is under the direction of the Polowat clan, that bears the same name. The Böl clan comes from Pulap; their chieftain (monáinan) was called Marēsú, and lived on Falalap. The Sáuwól clan came from Qleai. Then the Wuído clan, called Dják, and the Sáuwálēi clan under the name Saufalásik are also found here.

2: Damm et al. --78 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 167, 175 Ifaluk

Ifaluk played a special role in the history of the Caroline archipelago, partly because of its wars against Oleai, Lamutrik and Elato, and then also because it colonized anew the islands, which it had depopulated, as well as Sorol and Faraulip. The following facts illustrate the dependency on Yap. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, two men from Ifaluk, the only ocean captains left, had taken their boats, and 85 men and 6 women had gone with the steamer to Yap and Ngulu. Nobody knew when they would come back, because the king of Gatšapar kept these tribute payers on Yap for a long time; they had to work for him. So the suzerainty of Yap was still very powerful.

The chiefs are universally respected; when they enter, they are offered seats; children disappear into the corners of the huts, and are not seen.

The chief has a general superintendance over the islands of the atoll; he gives orders for public works, for instance the construction of the men's houses, and large fishing expeditions; then he also lays out the day's occupations; that is, he tells some men to work with the coconut palms, while others are supposed to cultivate the taro fields, etc. He gives these orders in the men's house. People also have to get his permission to construct large boats; this is not required for the smaller ones, or for the building of houses.

2: Damm et al. --78-79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifaluk

The lesser chief is a kind of representative of the head chief. He has to oversee everything, and give an account to the head. [79]

The two lesser chiefs execute the orders of the head chief. They call the population together in the men's house, organize the big fishing expeditions and superintend the construction of the men's house.

2: Damm et al. --79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643, 651 Ifaluk

The chiefs have certain specific excises. The head chief can claim a part of the yield of the fields and fruit trees for himself. He receives 1/5 of the catch of every fishing expedition, that one of his subordinates has undertaken, while the under chief gets 1/2 to 3/4 of what is handed over to the head chief. If the fisherman has not taken very much, the minor chiefs have much less, or nothing at all. In this case, the fisherman just gives a share to the tamól igidigit, whom he meets in the men's house immediately upon his return. The chief divides the booty from the common fishing expeditions among all the houses of the atoll (and not among the men); he and the other chiefs renounce their claims all together, or they may take one fish from the ones that are due to a house. If the catch is small, he takes a half, or even less of what a house is supposed to give him.

2: Damm et al. --79 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643 Ifaluk

A chieftain's successor is his eldest son, or it may be the son of the brother or the sister of the deceased. In the succession the sister's son always has precedence over the son of the brother. If the family of the high chief is nearly extinct, he names his successor before his death; and he also names a guardian to act as regent for a successor, who is a minor.

2: Damm et al. --79 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

A native of Yap, Mŏdj, is said to have been the first high chief; and he settled on Falalap in legendary times. Several of his children then went to Feladjik. . . . Mŏdj had two sons; the elder became the high chief, and the younger the lesser chief. The natives say that this is the origin of the great and the minor chiefs. In addition to these two important chiefs, (tamŏl solŏb), there are also two chiefs of a lower rank (tamŏl igidigit), who also come from the chief's family, and live in Lawuau; they are the men, who execute the commands of the chief, and give his orders to the people. Their position is reminiscent of that of the pŭlepŭle and kōkŏa of Luangiua and Nukumanu, who also belonged to the ruling families.

The names of the high chiefs were:

1. Mŏdj
2. Ällofăs [80]
3. Dădar
4. Aŭăp
5. Maĭliăs
6. Moŭraĭ
7. Soral
8. Gŏrigar; he is supposed to have lived at the time of the first great typhoon.
9. Modurŏk
10. Jalorăk
11. Gawurŏk
12. Malŭdjŏm
13. Idălŭb; he lived at the time of the third typhoon.
14. Ärŭlliămăn
15. Dibădău; he lived at the time of the fourth typhoon.
16. Soligŏu
17. Gilălobăk
18. Olaĭdiŭ, he lived at the time of the fifth typhoon (1907) and disappeared on the trip

to Lamutrik.

19. Daoreligár was head chief of the island group at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition (1909); the second chief was Sairū, lesser chiefs were Duwälior and Älewūdj.

2: Damm et al. --80 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 834, 576 Ifaluk

In the presence of any member of the other sex the rules of etiquette are strictly observed. No improper word may be used; for example, every term applying to sexual relationship, and even the words for apron, bälebal and siwisif, are forbidden. If the group is not a mixed one, the conversation is extremely blunt. Even in the presence of little boys, the men discussed sexual matters, and the children laughed about them. In the same way, the women used obscene language when little girls were around. When Sarfert was alone with the women, they spoke in round about ways of intercourse. When he showed them a waliwot with penis, they imitated coitus movements with it, or suggested this with their fingers. They made no attempt to hide the fact that they wanted to sleep with Sarfert, but they were afraid of their husbands, and of the head chief. This bold and provocative demeanor is in striking contrast to the custom, which requires that in the presence of their husbands, the women shall be restrained, even shy and frightened. Sarfert could always tell the difference. When men were in the group, the women only dared show their affection for him by sly signals, which they made from a distance.

2: Damm et al. --80 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 576, 763 Ifaluk

The customary greeting (gawón) for the people who are leaving is ólamál, and for the ones who are staying it is gosálok. These forms are always used, even if the absence will be for a considerable period of time. There is no particular expression, that is a farewell to the dying.

2: Damm et al. --81
116, 422

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The men's house and the large fishnets (ädin, ūg) for the big fishing expeditions are considered village property. The canoe houses are the property of the single village districts, Jor and Jiwan.

2: Damm et al. --81 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 592 Ifaluk

Land and soil do not belong to an individual, but to the family; this also applies to the stand of fruit trees. Even the five bugodăl, which the king possesses, are not his personal property, for he shares them with his brothers and sisters. The taro fields belong to the female, the coconut palm stands to the male members of the family. When a man marries, he brings his wife the usufruct of the property of his family. There is a mutual agreement about whether they shall receive their nourishment from the soil of his or her family. If the woman has any children, the husband gives one or two of his family plots to his wife's family. The amount depends upon his own wealth, and in any case they are never whole pieces of property; generally they consist of a taro field for the girls, and several palms for the boys. Some palm trees are always assigned; a group of them on the border of the property is notched in a particular way with a knife, so that a circular mark is made. This group is not for the children; it becomes the personal property of the mother's family. We can still see how the mother was formerly the central point of the family. A family has between one and seven pieces of property. The boundary lines (nibidăli bŭgod) are shown by trees.

The same regulations apply to the household possessions; the huts belong to the family, and indeed to the whole family.

2: Damm et al. --81 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 422 Ifaluk

In addition, the adornments and household implements belong to the family: necklaces, tortoise-shell rings (for women only), knives, boats, dishes, spears, fish hooks, fish lines, fish traps of various sizes, chests, net pouches, looms.
The following items are considered personal property: combs, ear-rings, loin aprons, baskets and giāgi mats.

2; Damm et al. --81 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 768 Ifaluk

Right of inheritance. This is essentially a family inheritance. The personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, even family pieces of jewelry. He keeps his mat and loin apron, but his basket is burned.

2: Damm et al. --81 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692, 643 Ifaluk

The chief is always the judge, and the court is the men's house.

2: Damm et al. --82 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 689 Ifaluk

If a man uses bad language, is wicked and wanton or lazy about his work, he is warned by the head chief. If this happens several times, there is a more severe punishment; for example, the head chief takes the canoe away from the guilty party, and keeps it himself.

2; Damm et al. --82 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 682 Ifaluk

If a murder has been committed, the chief orders the other men to bind the culprit, and to bring him to the men's house. Then all the inhabitants of the village assemble, men, women and children. The chief scolds the criminal severely, and then lets him go free; he is punished by being deprived of all of his property, canoes and loin aprons, and these things are given to the family of the victim. The principle, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is not observed, for the murderer is not slain.

2: Damm et al. --82 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 683 Ifaluk

In the case of a fight, if the assailant had just cause for the combat, he is admonished by the chief in the presence of all the villagers. If the affair was more serious, the following penalties are exacted: for injuring an eye, an arm or a leg -- a canoe and two loin aprons;
both eyes, both arms or legs -- two canoes, and as many loin aprons as the culprit possesses;
one finger -- one loin apron;
two or three fingers -- two loin aprons;
four fingers -- two or three loin aprons;
a hand -- three or four loin aprons.

2: Damm et al. --82 [4] (1909) 1938 Wolesians
116, 685 Ifaluk

If theft has been committed, the chief orders the victim to take a similar object from the thief. Occasionally, the chief also scolds the culprit in the presence of the whole population.

2: Damm et al. --82 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684, 643 Ifaluk

The chief does not intervene in a case of adultery. If the guilty man wants the woman, the husband surrenders her, but at a high price (large canoes, loin aprons, chests, etc.) If the culprit does not wish to take her, he does not pay so much; for example, a small canoe, or a large chest. In any case, the husband leaves his wife. If she has any children, the penalty is larger. The children go into the husband's house, but they are permitted to visit their mother.

2: Damm et al. --83-85 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-4
116, 173 Ifaluk

Formerly Ifaluk was uninhabited. The first settlers were Mŏdj and his wife Filidamŏl, who came from Yap. Originally, they came from Kárebar. * The parents of these first inhabitants are unknown on Ifaluk.

Mŏdj and Filidamŏl did not have a canoe, so they came on a raft (fōfát); they travelled over the already settled islands of Mogemog, Fais and Oleai. The natives believe, that they steered by the stars. After they landed, Mŏdj built a house, Ilamái on Falalap, in the northern district, Jiwán; this is no longer standing. He dug for drinking water, and planted coconuts, bread-fruit, etc. which he had brought from Yap.

Occasionally, men and women from Oleai and Faraulip came and settled, and some Ifaluk people went to those islands to stay. The most exciting event was the arrival of some very large devils in human form. These giants were so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.

Under Mŏdj's administration the Ifaluk natives became very warlike.

Battle with Oleai.

Mŏdj went to Oleai, and he liked it so much that he married a woman on this island. But the natives of Oleai did not like him. A quarrel started, and Mŏdj was wounded. He

* This is probably the same as Gatsápar, which is the site of the cult of the god Yonalév.

fled in his canoe, and went back to Ifaluk. Here he called his followers together, they returned to Oleai, and made arrangements for a long stay on the main island. After a while the Oleai people did not have anything more to eat, and so they moved over to Ráur Island. At once the Ifaluk men followed them, and there again they devoured everything. Then the Oleai inhabitants sailed to Bäliau, but once again they were molested by their enemies. The same thing occurred in Otárau and finally in Falálüs. Eventually some of the Oleai natives died of hunger, and the others were weakened. That was the moment for which Oleai had been waiting; he and his companions attacked the enemies, and killed all of them (except his wife and his son). This son became the chief of Oleai. [84]

Hambruch, in his notes about Faraulip, gives another version of a struggle between Ifaluk and Oleai. Móis * was king of Ifaluk, and a guest in Oleai. While an Oleai resident was out fishing, Móis raped his wife. He did this on numerous occasions, until the husband finally surprised him, beat him, and threw him out of the house for dead. About sunrise the rain wakened Móis. He got a piece of wood out of the bushes, and used it to swim back to Ifaluk, as he did not have a canoe. When he got home, some of

---

* probably identical with Módj.

his people took care of him, and after a long time he was well again. Then he went into the men's house, called all the inhabitants together, took off his apron and said: "We will sail and fight the people who live in the direction, where my organ points." His penis pointed toward Oleai. Then the men made a great many spears, took a vast number of canoes and went to Oleai; there they slew everybody, except the maidens. Later there was a

War with Lamutrik

Since there was not much to eat in Ifaluk, Mŏdj ordered his men to go to Lamutrik and take possession of this island. As Mŏdj was very old himself, he named Ällofăs, his future successor, as general of the warriors. Some of the Elato natives had already perished from hunger, and the others went to Lamutrik. Ällofăs followed them, and started a battle at once; he was wounded, and there were dead on both sides. Then Ällofăs returned to Elato, and remained there.

Meanwhile, two months had elapsed, and the expedition had not yet come back to Ifaluk. Mŏdj was anxious about the fate of his soldiers, so he took a few men and went to Elato. When he found Ällofăs there, he inquired why they had not slain all the Lamutrik inhabitants. Ällofăs said that it was because they were too strong. Then Mŏdj ordered his men to make a lot of torches of coconut leaves, and once again the Ifaluk people sailed with the southwest wind to Lamutrik. They made a secret landing on the

uninhabited side of the island, and then attacked the unsuspecting natives. It so happened that the wind blew the biting smoke of the torches into the eyes of the Lamutrik men, and so they could not see. They were all destroyed. Later Mōdj sent a man and two women to Lamutrik, to settle the island again.

Later, the chief Mâiliăs sent people from Ifaluk to colonize two islands of the Faraulip atoll, which had formerly been inhabited. They had fought each other until only one man, Uēliwă [85] was left. When Mâiliăs heard about this, he sent a woman, Nĭman, so that Faraulip might be populated again. This kind of civil war was unknown on Ifaluk; the two struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik are supposed to be the only warlike developments of any significance....

2: Damm et al. --85 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 175 Ifaluk

The head chief Olaidiu lived at the time of the great typhoon of 1907, but he disappeared on a trip to Lamutrik. Under his administration the white merchant Sāu left the island, and that was prior to the typhoon, while three Japanese, who were residing on Feladjik in Lawuāu, left immediately after the disaster.

The high chief Daoreligar ruled in 1909, and Sarfert's Faraulip interpreter declared that he was a very great king. After the last typhoon, which devastated the island under his predecessor, many Ifaluk natives went to Lamutrik, Yap and Palau, in order to avoid a famine. When the island population was assured that it would have enough nourishment, the chief begged Sarfert to see to it that no more people would be removed. He had a similar experience on Aurepik; the natives, who came to Yap, were brought to Nauru.

2: Damm et al. --86 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 772 Ifaluk

To the natives, the universe consists of the heavens (rán), the earth (selób) and the underworld (fariouál or ilól). They knew nothing about the world axis, that is found on Aurepik. The heaven is a large place, like Palau or Yap, and it is inhabited by people, similar to the ones on earth. These beings act like their earthly representatives, but the islanders could not say whether they too have to die, or not.

The underworld is arranged like the earth; that is, it has islands and oceans, and the sun, moon and stars shine when they have disappeared from the earth. It is also inhabited by men. Solál is the king; he is half man, half láwud (fish, snake or eel?); he does not have any parents, or any relatives. The large house, that he inhabits, is called Falisát; that is all the natives knew about it.

2: Damm et al. --86 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Ifaluk

Solál created heaven and earth, by taking a grain of sand, and then rolling it from one hand to the other, while repeating a magic charm. He also created the ruler of the heavens, whose name is Äluelöb (see 2: 776) and his sister Aùdjál, the real queen of the earth.

2; Damm et al. --86-87 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1.2
116, 776 Ifaluk

The starry heavens are the abode of Äluelŏb. He dwells as king in the house Fadjemál, which stands at the zenith (woliwū), and looks like a stately house on earth. He is larger than human beings, and omniscent; he neither eats nor drinks, and always has his eyes closed. He reposes on a platform in the middle of the house, while the other people sleep on the floor. His wife is Lamagéi. If one of the inhabitants of heaven does not know what to do about something (building canoes, weaving), he asks various people for information, then turns to Lugēilăn and if he does not know, he turns to Olofád. If he still can not find the answer to his problem, he begs Lugēilăn to ask Äluelŏb about it. [87] Then Lugēilăn goes to the king of the heavens, opens his eyes with his hand, and gets the information; and then Äluelŏb goes back to sleep.

Lugēilăn is considered to be the son of Äluelŏb, and people call him the right hand of the king. He has a house, which is near Äluelŏbs, but the name of it is no longer known. His wife is Lămălūl; she is not a heavenly being, for she comes from the earth. When Lugēilăn visited the earth once upon a time, he married her and lived with her. Finally, Äluelŏb sent a messenger to him, ordering him to come back and to call all the residents of heaven together to repair the Fadjemal, because the rain was getting into the building. While he was away, his wife gave birth to Olofád. During Lugēilăn's visit on earth men learned about tattooing.

Lugeilān has to superintend the work that is being done on earth on the various islands (building canoes and houses, fishing etc.). He gives a daily report to Äluelōb, and if the inhabitants of an island are not industrious, but are wasting time eating and sleeping, Äluelōb commands him to send storm and rain; he also orders Solāl to stir up the sea. Then the island is visited by a typhoon, which is of a severity commensurate with the sins of the inhabitants. That is why Oleai was laid waste, and many of the natives died; the same thing occurred on Aurepik and Ifaluk, but with a smaller loss of life. The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugeilān himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mās), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

After five months Lämälūl gave birth to Olofád, who emerged from the sutures of his mother's head. He could walk immediately, and paid no attention to his mother, when she wanted to wipe the blood off. He said he could do that himself, and so he rubbed himself on a coconut palm. That is why a number of palm trunks have a reddish hue. When his mother called to him, that she wanted to cut off his umbilical cord, he replied that he would attend to that, and so he took a knife, and cut it himself.

During his earthly life Olofád saw how all the other boys were drinking from coconuts. So he ran to his mother and asked: "Why do you not give me a nut, when all the others are drinking the milk from this fruit. ?" Then Lämälūl was frightened, because Lugeilán had told her that she would have a son, but that she should not permit him to drink any coconut milk; if he did so, he would leave her and come up to his home in the heavens. Accordingly, she said to him: "You must not drink, for if you do, you will die." [88] And so Olofád lived. But one day he saw all his comrades drinking out of these nuts in the big house, and so he ran to his mother again, and said: "Mother, all of them are drinking nuts, why can I not drink? I want to drink nuts too!" The mother answered sharply: "Then you will have to die." Olofád replied: "Good! I want to drink coconuts too, and if I have to die, it really does not make any difference." But his mother refused to give him a nut, and so Olofád began to scream, and he would not stop. Finally his mother surrendered, and brought him a nut. Olofád took it, and

drank the milk. While he was drinking, he looked up, and saw his father Lugēilān. Then Olofād cried: "I am not going to stay on the earth any more, I am going to my father's house in heaven!" But his mother said: "You shall stay here; what do you want to do there ?" But Olofād kept on screaming. Then his mother prepared food from coconuts, laid it in the fire, and when the smoke rose, she said to her son: "Come in the fire!" When he entered the flame, he rose with the smoke to the heavens. On the way he met some boys, who were playing with some little nōk fish. Olofād said to them: "Come, give me a nōk, I want to play with one too!" But all of them answered: "Why should we give you a fish; they belong to us." Only one boy gave his fish to Olofād, so that he could play with it. Olofād pretended that he was amusing himself with it, then gave it back, and went on his way. But he said to the fish: "When I go, catch the boys and sting them!" And so the fish stung the boys with the stings on their dorsal fins, and only one was spared.

As Olofād went along, he saw some boys playing with little sharks. He asked them to let him have a fish, so that he might play too. But the boys replied: "From whence do you come, and what do you want to do here ?" Only one of them gave him a shark, and he played with it. As he went further , he told all the sharks to bite the boys, and so it happened that only the one boy was saved. And Olofād went farther, and met boys, who were using play boats; they refused to let him join them, and only one boy loaned

him his boat. When Olofád left the boys, he said to the toy canoes: "You boats, go away quickly, so that the boys will not be able to catch you; go away quickly!" Then the canoes sailed away so rapidly that they could not be found. Only the boat of the one boy remained.

Then Olofád came to Fadjemál, and found that the men of the heavens were repairing the house. They went into the forest, to make supporting pillars out of the járo trees. When they saw Olofád, they noticed that he was an earth-dweller, and they resolved to slay him. While they were carrying a large prop on their shoulders to the house, they all walked on one side, and Olofád had to go on the other. When they reached the house, they all dropped the support quickly, so that it would crush Olofád; but he jumped quickly to one side, and was not injured. Then when the men wanted to sink the props in the hole [89] they sent Olofád down to enlarge it and line it with coconut fronds, as that is the custom when you set posts. Olofád took the leaf of the walimáko plant, and stuck some red earth (láb) in his mouth. As soon as he was in the ditch, the men let go of the beam, but Olofád took the nerve of a coconut leaf, and quickly bored a passage through the soft marrow of the trunk, and then he spit out the red earth, and the leaf, which he had chewed. The pulp ran down along the outside of the beam. Then the men thought that Olofád was dead, and they believed that the red sap was blood, and that the remains of the leaves were gall. When the house was finished, Lugēiláń prepared a repast for all the workers inside it. But Olofád crawled up through the hollow in the

marrow of the beam, and sat down out of sight on a diagonal rafter. While the others were eating, he ordered an ant to bring him a little piece of coconut. It did so. Olofád rolled it around from one hand to the other, and said that it should turn into a whole nut. And so it happened. Then he sent for a kernel of sand, and changed it into a stone, following a similar procedure; he cracked the nut, and then all the men looked up, and were very astonished to find that Olofád was again among the living. Then they all realized that Olofád was no ordinary mortal, but the son of Lugēilān. He told Olofád to come down, and to eat with them. And after this no more attempts were made on his life. Olofád was also tattooed in the Fadjemāl. He lives unmolested in the heavens, but occasionally he goes south, west, east or north and sees how the men on earth are singing and dancing, because he loves that; but he always goes back to Fadjemāl.

Another authority of Sarfert added the following episode to this story. Olofád saw the people cutting coconut fronds from the palms to plait the mats for the roofs, and he asked for a knife, so that he might help. But all the men refused his request, save one; he loaned his knife, and Olofád got up on a palm, and cut fronds. When he was tired of work, he gave the knife back, and as he left he said: "All the men are to get stiff where they are, and they are not going to be able to move any more." And so it happened. The men remained rigid, wherever they were, one was climbing, another coming down, the third chopping, and another was carrying the fronds to the house. Only the helpful man, who had loaned Olofád the knife, could move.

Baluelŏb * is another resident of heaven; nothing definite is known about his relationship to Aluelŏb, although many people think that he is a son. [90] He lives with his wife Jiawŏk and his sons Älülüéï, Selän, Farawäï and Ällülümädj in Fadjemäl, and in olden days, like the other residents of heaven, he used to visit the earth. At that time people on earth could also come up to heaven. Balüelŏb is an authority on sails, and he also knows how to mend broken canoes.

His sons also know about seafaring. So Älülüéï sees to it that the natives sail the

* The natives of Mogemog and Polap are supposed to know a great deal about him; the other islanders obtained their information from this source.

right course in their canoes, and that they find the islands, which they want to visit. He keeps bad weather away, and provides a good breeze. In payment for this, the captains have to make bánewan, and lay a sacrifice to him on the canoe; this takes the form of a loin apron and two coconuts. If the sea gets rough, Älülüéï takes this gift, that means, he throws it into the water. Älülüéï lives on Biemál Island, which is south from Ifaluk, and it is supposed to be a three months journey. It is uninhabited, and only has one pandanus tree. The canoe house of Älülüéï also stands here; it is called Gaiméim, and it is the place where the spirit keeps thin coconut thread (galogál) for nets, houses etc.

Selán is the real canoe builder; he made the first boat in Mődj, and taught the art to men. Mődj is a small inhabited island in the east, that lies a four days voyage south from Truk.

Farawáï is a competent judge of the weather. He can tell at sun rise whether it is going to rain or not, and he informs Älülüéï about it. There is no bánewan for him.

Like his father, Älülümädj knows how to repair boats and houses, which have been destroyed by storms and tides. It is no longer known how he taught this art to men.

The air and its inhabitants.

The rainbow is a male spirit, Lauliăr, who is in the service of the king of heaven. The natives did not know anything about his origin. He came to Ifaluk once upon a time, and he was swimming on a piece of drift wood. A woman, whose name was Illegieri, was washing her child Illebanigi in the water, and had laid her loin apron aside. Lauliăr seized the little boy, and refused to give him back until the woman promised to become his wife. Then they went to her house, and Lauliăr stayed until Illebanigi was grown. Then he taught him the banewan, and the Ifaluk natives learned it later from him. After that Lauliăr returned to the heavens.

The natives believe that the earth is ruled by Audjăl, the sister of the king of heaven. She has the normal figure of a woman, and no animal's body. Although she never married, she had a number of children, and they populated all the islands. The inhabitants believe that she is the first mother of humanity. [91] Audjăl demanded tribute from her children, and they paid it faithfully until modern times. Since her house Lamolŭ or Lamorŭ is in Karebar * on Yap, the king of Karebar occasionally sets a time for the various islands to pay their tribute. The amount depends upon what is assembled.

---

* This is Gatschepar on Yap.

The Ifaluk natives bring loin aprons, home made boxes, resin from bread-fruit trees to calk the canoes. In the boat house, where Sarfert stayed, there was a chest with about twenty loin aprons for Aûdjál.

Tree spirits. There are also spirits in the trees, Ällüsiliwōli. Their king is called Jalūlefálu; he gets his orders from Lugēilān, and then conveys them to his subordinates. They pursue the men, who do not obey the earthly chief.

The ocean is also peopled with spirits (Ällüsidäd), who obey Solál. You can obtain their favor by engaging in a bañewañ in the canoe; then Solál orders the spirits to give the fisherman a fine catch.

2: Damm et al. --91-92 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 789 Ifaluk

Bánewan means the invocation of a deity; several inhabitants of the heavens have a sort of symbol (wálewóli) *, which plays a certain part in the bánewan. It is not known in every case how men learned about it. In this connection the islanders made a reference, which is worthy of note; they said that the people of Mogemog and Polap were the first ones to know how to sail great distances, and that Sarfert would be wise to consult them about this matter. At all events, only certain men understand about bánewan.

1. The bánewan for Lugéilán is used during sickness, because this god lets men get ill. In order to be successful, it is necessary to undertake four different bánewan in an interval of 4-5 days. It is best to do this when the moon is in the west or the east, in other words, when it is small. If the disease is not yet cured, there is nothing to be done. Solál gave these bánewan to Áluelób, who transmitted them to Lugéilán, and also to his sister Áudjál; it was she who taught them to men. In 1909 there were still two men who knew these bánewan. The symbol (wálewóli) is a paddle, with two coconut leaf knots fastened to its handle.

2. There are two bánewan for Láuliár; and they are designed to drive away the rainbow

* According to another version, Sarfert calls this bánewan invocation wáliwól.

which Lâuliăr wants to use to destroy the canoes on the sea. The bă̆newaṅ only succeed [92] however, when the oarsmen have not made Äluelŏb too angry, and when he has not resolved to kill them. These bă̆newaṅ, which were called faruelŭs, were only known to two men, not to the king. An ax (dă̆lăi bă̆lăi) served as a symbol, but the last typhoon took it away; now there is no such wāliwŏl.

3. The bă̆newaṅ of Älülümă̆dj is called bŏuwă̆n. It is employed during house repairs. Using the wāliwŏl, a dancing stick with a coconut leaf knot (uwŭd) on one end, a native utters the charm, pushes the stick against the damaged house, and runs around it.

4. The bă̆newaṅ for Älülüé̆ï is lïolāu; it was a wooden figure, equipped with ray stings; but Sarfert found a second waliwŏl of Älülüé̆ï in the men's house, and this one had the shape of a conch shell (dâui); it belonged to a captain. Both are used to drive rain away. While you are repeating the charm you swing the first wāliwŏl back and forth, and thrust its point in the direction of the storm; meanwhile, the conch shell is blown from time to time.

5. The bă̆newaṅ for Leläṅ is called lümŭliwalewal. It is pronounced during the canoe building, at the time when the bow and the stern crest are added. While this is in progress, a coconut leaf knot is hung around each worker.

6. Baluelŏb has no special bă̆newaṅ; so the ones for Leläṅ and Älülüé̆ï are used for him.

7. Bă̆newaṅ with coconut leaf knots for sea spirits.

2: Damm et al. --92-93 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifaluk

The souls of the dead (noli) * stay in the air; the natives do not have a world of the dead, as the Bur people do. * The noli can wander around the earth invisible [93], or they go through the air like a wind. Lugeilan or Aluelöb is the ruler of these souls of the dead.

---

* The following native words are given to complete this: shadow - nuru, name - idæl.

* According to Sarfert, Lugedad is also unknown; but people speak of him as a spirit of the Mogemog islanders.

Aluelöb established the Tapu. (etab; the opposite is daitab). If a man is tabu, no one is permitted to take food or drink from him, or to give him anything. He can not sleep with a woman. Various things cause a person to be tabu, and this state usually lasts four days.

a) If anyone is undertaking a banewan, he is tabu for four days, and in case a cure is operated in this fashion, it applies to the patient too.
b) Women in the menstrual lodge are tabu; during menstruation it is for four days, or until the end of the period; after births, for ten days.
c) If a man is consulting an oracle (buă) for someone, who wants to travel to a distant island, he is tabu for four days.
d) During canoe-building all the workers are tabu, but only on the days when the banewan is undertaken.

Then individuals are tabu for certain specific things; captains, or people, who know the banewan for Allülei, or those who can prophesy (buă) from knotted coconut leaf strips, are not permitted to go to the blood house. Then there is a general tabu on the bread-fruit trees; that means that none of them may be felled.

The natives did not know whether the custom decreeing that women may not go into the canoe house, goes back to an ancient tabu, or not; they just said that it was an old custom. Neither do they know the basis for the custom of not eating certain sea animals;

in general, the shark is not eaten "because it eats people, and therefore, men are afraid of it"; then the bā́ro, lā́wud, lṓdj (poisonous fish) and fâi (ray) are not touched either.

2: Damm et al. --94 (1909) 1938 Woleaians 1-2
116, 534 Ifaluk

Sarfert did not find any real musical instruments, unless you want to put the common conch shell trumpet in this category, and it is more like a signalling instrument. Drums are unknown.

2: Damm et al. --94 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifaluk

The natives love songs. In addition to dance songs, there are others (gūli and walugulumāle or gūlumāle), which are composed by women. They are love songs, in which the qualities of the swains are praised. Men do not know anything about composing. Shark and turtle songs, like the ones on Sorol, are not known.

Dancing (wăluk). There are dances for men and women. All of them, with the texts, are supposed to have been brought from Yap and Mogemog. The natives have no idea about the invention of the dance. The Ifaluk people do not know how to devise texts (ewadŭlu); they only knew one man, who died before 1909, who had composed the words for a walugisăb.

a) Men's Dances (jalomăle):

1. Laulă (stick dance). It is danced in two rows, and the performers have their faces turned toward each other. The stick (gŭlugŭlu) is held by both hands in the middle. The song, which accompanies this, is relatively soft, and only rises to a crescendo at the end. The dance consists of single turns, which are distinguished by various movements and speeds; the characteristic feature is the way that the men strike the people standing beside them, and across from them with the ends of the stick. Then places are exchanged frequently, so that no dancer is in the same position, at the end of the dance, and yet he has the same partners beside him and across from him. The striking is quite complicated, and demands great skill. This dance is often performed in groups of four.

2. Kabanăk is a dance that is performed standing; it is rather similar to the walugisăb.

3. Walugisăb is partly a standing, partly a sitting dance.

4. Wuliăl; Sarfert did not see this dance. [95]

b) Women's Dances (jalorăwud); there is only the dăgar, which is partly a sitting and partly a standing dance.

c) Mixed Dances (gabalfielue), in which women and men dance together; they have no particular name.

d) Children's dances and girls' dances are known; the movements are especially graceful and fine. While Sarfert was staying on the island, a youth brought some girl's dances from Lamutrik, and they were performed every evening; even women took part. Sarfert never saw boys dance alone.

Sarfert found all the games (ūlu, Mogemog: rāgam), by watching the children; he never saw men and women playing.

a) gāref'a: ball game. The cubic ball (gāref'a) is plaited of coconut leaves, and it is tossed from one opponent to the other.

b) gedādal: wrestling match, both overhand and underhand grappling are used.

c) limés: jumping with both feet.

d) ligef'ēt: walking on the hands.

e) djūerū: it is a game of tag between two people. Each one erects a pile of sand to serve as his base. Then each opponent tries to catch the other, and to reach his base.

f) liwas: a sand game, in which the players make holes in the sand with their index fingers, while reciting a verse; then they say another verse and pull them out again.

g) dilidīli: a running game; two groups take hold of hands; one runs past the other, and the last one must hold on to a boy in the other row.

h) sawōf'ā: a tug of war between two groups. They take hold of each other after reciting a verse, and then pull in opposite directions.

i) lifolūr: a game like the German "Fox in the hole." A circle is formed, and a "sleeping spirit" kneels in the middle. The players in the group sing, then the spirit

wakes and tries to break through the group, by throwing himself on the arms of the players. In the spot where he gets through the line, one of the guilty children must be the "spirit."

k) fisilāle: a circle is formed, and each player puts his right leg over his neighbor's. Then they sing a song, and everybody makes a quarter turn to the right, and hops around in the circle. The position is so awkward that some of the players naturally tumble down, to the general amusement of all concerned.

l) ńóudâulugubāí: four players stand in the corners of a rectangle, [96], and four others sit between them. The latter put their feet together, and give their hands to their neighbors on both sides. Then the children, who are standing, run around in a circle, and keep the others swaying back and forth.

m) imādirāu: it is the German "blind cow" game. The eyes are bound with a coconut leaf.

n) gafibói: a chain is formed, then the first player crawls between the 2nd and the 3rd, and everyone keeps his arms folded. Then they turn around suddenly, and swing their arms over their heads, so all the players hold hands again.

o) igalimūd: the children squat in a line. Then the last one is grabbed by two larger boys, and swung over the whole row.

For toys they have a ball, bow, toy boats, a bull-roarer (legawūliwuli) of coconut

leaf, a little windmill (legafilǟn) of leaf strips with an axis of coconut nerve, a pipe (gǎdigedik, gǎdik) of coconut leaf.

2: Damm et al. --97 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 345, 531 Ifaluk

The men's houses are the only ones, which have colored ornaments (kawoluắl), arranged in a rather artistic decoration. Formerly the central supports and the roof supports (wắu) were very ornate. In the men's house Sarfert found an old beam under the roof; two sides of it were decorated with the rašŭ́m pattern [AN: see drawing 176 of source]. . . while the third had a double rhomboid design, wŏ́wo, which was supposed to represent a fish of the same name (drawing 177 of source).

On the pillar of a small dwelling Sarfert saw the vertical karebắli wulugắlâi pattern, which was supposed to reproduce the tail of the wulugắlâi fish [AN: see drawing 178 of source].

There were practically no wood carvings; however, Krämer found a wooden fish in the chief's house; then the waliwŏ́l for Ällülḗï should also be mentioned among the artistic products.

The year does not have any particular name; it is divided in two parts: edjăk or răk is the season, when the west wind prevails, while ĕwăn or niwăn is the time of the east wind.

The year has twelve months, which are named for the stars; (fŭs); they fall into the following groups: [98]

ĕwăn	edjăk
elüŏl	maîdjĭk
mălu	maîlŏb
ĭdj	sōdă
djelewŏl	lăke
elemaûdj	gŭ *
dumul	ul

Sarfert calculated the 7th of November, 1909 as the 26th day of the month mălu. Each month has 30 days (răau, daûat), which were named for phases of the moon; they are:

1. sugŏru	11. jalowugŭ	21. wosolăn
2. jelĭn	12. olawŭe	22. garodălu jafalăk
3. mädjälĭn	13. olomău	23. sabăr mäimŭli

[Continued on next slip.]

* a fish; this star extends over the whole sky.

[Continued from previous slip.]

4. mädjăl
5. mädjafŭs
6. mädjoăl
7. mädjălo
8. lamädjăl
9. djuawŏn
10. ăbēi
14. mădj (full moon)
15. ŭlu
16. nădŭ
17. gilăi
18. galăuăr
19. sabădj
20. jafelăk
24. ilăi
25. gomālŏ
26. djumalifăl
27. jarofŭ
28. jŏu
29. ifaiñ
30. erăfi.

[AN: the names for the various parts of the day have been omitted.]

2: Damm et al. --99
116, 177

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The following story tells how the Ifaluk natives learned to write [AN: see drawing 180 of source]. A Truk missionary, who was on his way from Olol to Truk, was blown off his course to Aurepik; several Truk natives were with him. He stayed in Aurepik for quite a while, until a boat came from Oleai with the chief. The latter asked the missionary to go home with him. So the missionary and his Truk inhabitants accompanied the hospitable chief to Oleai, and settled there. At that time there was a merchant on Oleai. The Truk men already knew how to write, and they taught their hosts. Finally they went back home by way of Ifaluk and Lamutrik, and so these islanders learned the letters too.

2: Damm et al. --100 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 197 Ifaluk

Lütke has already given some valuable information about the linguistic relationships of the Caroline Islands. He established the fact that all of the languages are similar, and that from Lukunor to Uluti you find the same roots, although there is a considerable difference in the pronunciation. Others have expressed the same thing; Cheyne declares that the Ifaluk natives speak the same tongue that you hear on Oleai, and that the vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal. Girschner learned that "even today Kusai is spoken on this island."

The following equivalents are observed:

Ifaluk	Satowal
l	n (r)
n, r	l
s	' j
d	s

In the pronunciation we notice:

l is the English l; that is the tip of the tongue is laid firmly against the alveolars, and then removed quickly. s the tongue is high, and close to the gums.

- Demonstrative pronoun. This man here (the man standing near) is ălimătăl, that man there (the man, who is at some distance) is ălimătălă.

Personal pronoun. I is găn, you is găl, he is ĭe, we (including I and you) is gĭdj, we (exclusive) is gamăm, you is gămi, they is ĭle. The same rules apply to the possessive pronoun as on Polowat.

a) To indicate persons and relationships, the following pronouns are used:

my father	demăĭ
your father	demăm
his father	demăl
our father	demăr [101]
your father	demămi
their father.	demăle.

b) on the other hand, compound and preceding pronouns are used for all living creatures (animals etc.)

my dog	lăĭ gelăgu
your dog	lămu gelăgu
his dog	lăl gelăgu
our dog	lăŭre gelăgu
your dog	laŭmi gelăgu

their dog	laúle gelágu

c) the pronoun precedes in the case of trees and flowers.

my coconut palm	gelái lú
your coconut palm	lúmóm lú
his coconut palm	lúméle lú
our coconut palm	lúmáre lú
your coconut palm	lúmi lú
their coconut palm	lúmále lú

d) forms similar to a) are used for lifeless creatures, which have been killed for food, or captured: for example, gelái málúk is my hen (destined for food), gelám ík is your (dead) fish, etc.

Measures are taken from the human body, that means that when Sarfert's authorities speak of "fathoms", they mean the length of the outstretched arms, and the width of the chest.

one fathom	ɛ̆năf	six f.	olonăf [104]
two f.	ruanăf	seven f.	fiŝinăf
three f.	selinăf	eight f.	walinăf
four f.	fanăf	nine f.	diunăf
five f.	limanăf	ten f.	sɛ̆k

Shorter lengths are indicated by simply taking hold of the body, for example:

the first finger joint	makorĭk
the first and second finger joint	makŏlăp
a finger length	segăd
a hand length	sɛ̆băranĭm
a half forearm	sɛ̆djeliwŏr
a forearm	sɛ̆măluk
an arm	sɛ̆bau
an arm and half the chest	sɛ̆dilŏup
an arm and chest	sɛ̆făl
an arm and chest and a forearm (up to the elbow)	gŏbau

an arm and chest and three quarters of the arm, (up to the middle of the forearm)	dalidáne gōbáu
an arm and chest, and an arm (up to the wrist)	dago ƙṅáf
length of the outstretched arms and chest.	ƙṅáf

2: Damm et al. --105
116, 192

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The terms right and left are unknown; the natives say sibēkimāsibēik, which means at my sides.

no	idoai
yes	ilā and ńā

Like the majority of the Central Caroline Islands, Aurepik was introduced to Europe through the letter which Father Clain wrote on the 10th of June, 1697; he called the island Yaropie, but it is not mentioned on the map that was included with his letter. If we accept the statement of Krämer, who has made a critical study of the history of the discovery of Micronesia, we find that our island appeared for the first time on the chart of Pilot Somera, who was under Captain Don Francisco de Padilla in 1710. And Krämer believes that his Isla de Casa (House Island) is the same as Aurepik, on account of the peculiar houses on stone terraces, which give the island its characteristic cachet, and make an indelible impression on the visitor. On Cantova's native chart (1721) the atoll is called Eurrupuc, and it reappears under this name on Vaugondys's map (1756).

The information that we find in the Kolonial Lexicon (Vol. I, page 98): "Aurepik was discovered by Hunter in 1791, "is not correct, and it probably goes back to Gulick (1867, page 59). It is doubtless explained by a misunderstanding of Chamisso (Bemerkungen und Ansichten, page 104), who writes: "Compare the Phillip Islands of Captain Hunter, 1791 and the two islands of 1791, to which we have already referred as Eurüpük." However, he did not want to identify it with this group, for on page 98 he mentions it as a separate cluster, which joins Aurepik. I think that Brigham (page 148) is much more exact, when he identifies the Phillips Islands with Sorol. [110]

On the 12th of April 1828, Lütke sighted the Island Eourypyg from the west (Kittlitz:

Eurupyk), but he did not land, and continued his northern route. Although there were a number of boats on the beach, the natives did not come to the ship. Von Kittlitz explains this by attributing it to a tabu laid on the boats, during a yearly festival. In September 1844, Andrew Cheyne visited the island, and on the 25th of March 1876, von Miklucho-Maclay touched the group as he came north on the little trading vessel "Sea Bird," but he did not go on shore.

On the 31st of October, 1909, the expedition ship, the "Peiho" of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, put Sarfert on land, and he stayed here until the second of November. At that time the "Scott" came from Yap to the island occasionally, and then the Japanese also called here once in a while.

2: Damm et al. --111 (1909) 1938 Woleaians 1 2
116, 103 Aurupik

In addition to the native names Yaropie and Eurrupuc, which were the first ones known, there is also Lütke's spelling Eourypyg which Brigham turned into Eurupig; v. Miklucho-Maclay writes Auropik. However, the majority of the discoverers and whale fishermen gave the group new names; some of them were inspired by the distinguishing characteristics of the islands (Low Islands), while in other cases there was no connection (Kama, of Horsburgh). All of these names appeared in Meyer's Colonial Kingdom and in the Kolonial Lexicon. But both of them use the term of the Reichsmarineamt "Aŭrepik" as the principal cue. The Japanese Government Chart of 1925 gives Eauripik, however. The scientists of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition give the island name in the following manner: Aùrepik (Sarfert), Auripig (Hambruch), Aŭrupeg (Krämer), Jâurupek (Hellwig). In the text that I have before me, Sarfert's spelling is employed.

2: Damm et al. --111 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 177 Aurupik

Lütke made the first exact cartography of the island (1828), but he only saw the archipelago from a distance*, and so he could only give an approximate picture of it. The various Naval Staff charts of the seafaring powers do not give any exact picture of the group either; the first officer Lorenzen of the "Peiho" was the first to survey it and to make a map (see Fig. 183).

/

* Cheyne (1852, page 138) says that you can see the islands at a distance of 12-13 miles from the ship's deck.

2: Damm et al. --112-114 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-3
116, 131 Aurupik

Lütke's chart [VMM: see source 2: p. 110, drawing 181] gives an accurate reproduction of the oval form of this atoll; Cheyne also describes it in this way, and he gives the largest diameter of the lagoon as 2 1/2 miles in the ESE-WNW direction. Meinicke says that Aurepik is "a small lagoon island half a mile long," but in reality Lorenzen's map shows that it is 5 1/2 sea miles long. The following table gives the latitudes and longitudes of the different sources: [113]

Year	Discoverer and Traveller	lat. N	long. E
1828	Lütke	6° 39' 44"	216° 49' 2"
	Horsburgh	6° 40'	143° 11'
1844	Cheyne	6° 35'	142° 59'
	Raper	6° 40'	143° 11'
1900	Brigham	6° 40'	143° 10'
1910	Sievers	6° 43'	143° 10'
1920	Kolonial-Lexicon	6° 42'	143° 6'
1925	Japanese Government Chart	6° 41' 12"	143° 4' 49"

In the text, both Lütke and von Kittlitz mention two islands, but Lütke's map shows four.* Cheyne also speaks of two low coral islands; he says that the eastern one, or the main island, is inhabited, and that each one is about a mile long. Meinicke also seems to have utilized one of these sources; perhaps he referred to Cheyne, because he, too, only knows about two little islands on the northern side, of which just the eastern one is inhabited. Miklucho-Maclay claims to have seen three little islands. Sievers gives the same number, and he is correct in stating that two of them are settled. In reality, the reef girdle of the group is studded with five islands: Aurepik, Uau, Ellanidigit, Bägefas, Sidene, but only the main island, Aurepik, on the eastern end of the atoll, and the second largest one, Uau, which lies farthest west, are inhabited. On the southern side of the big island is a landing place that canoes can use at high tide. The table shows the various spellings of the different island names:[114]

---

* Lutke 1835, Volume II, page 148; von Kittlitz, Vol. II, page 163. The difference between the text and the map may be explained by the fact that Lütke knew that two of the islands were uninhabited, and so he did not refer to them in the text.

2; Damm et al, --112-114 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-3.
116, 131 Aurupik

Sievers:	Reichsmarineamt:	Sarfert:	Lorenzen:	Japanese Chart:
Aurepik	Aurepik	Aurepik	Aurepiik	Eauripik
Uau	Oño	Uñu	Oño	Oao
		Ellañidigit	Elangkilekit	Elangkileku
		Bñgefás	Behefas	Bekefas
Siting		Sidéne	Sitong	Siteng

2: Damm et al. --114
116, 133

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

According to Brigham, the reef has a circumference of 2 1/2 miles, and there is no channel to the lagoon; an insufficient passage is on the SE side, but it permits the natives to bring their canoes over the reef to the beach at high tide. It may have been this difficulty which prevented the inhabitants from taking their boats to Lütke's ship when it sailed past the northern side of the island. The surf is very high, and the British Pacific Islands Pilot says you encounter it on the northern side if there are light southwest winds. It almost cost Sarfert his life; for, as he was going back to the "Peiho", his boat capsized...

2: Damm et al. --114 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 132 Aurupik

This island also suffered a great deal from the dreadful typhoon of March 1907, and you could still see traces of it in 1909." The natives told Hambruch, that the typhoon had carried away a part of the eastern end of the island. Sixty years before, a similar storm is supposed to have devastated the island.

For general information about the climate and temperature on the Carolines, compare Singer (1899, Globus, Vol. 76, page 41).

2: Damm et al. --115 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Aurupik

Sievers emphasizes the fine growth of coconut palms; among the cultivated plants you see principally field and swamp taro, and sweet potatoes.

2: Damm et al. --115 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 136 Aurupik

There were a great many wild doves in the jungle, while quantities of chickens ran around in the villages.

The population is small; the following table lists them together:

Year	Population	Source
1791	about 50	Hunter (according to Gulick, page 59)
1828	about 30	Lütke, 1835, Vol. II, p. 326
1844	about 150	Cheyne, 1852, page 138
1900	50	Brigham, 1900, page 62
1903	48	Sievers, Vol. II, p. 364, 347; More information Deutsch Schutzgeb. Vol. 17, p. 194-196. Deutsches Kolonialblatt Vol. 15, p. 12-14.
1909	60-80	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1914	about 50	Finsch, 1914, page 64
1930	113	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 501.

2: Damm et al--117
116, 142

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

At first glance, the natives of Eauripik reminded Sarfert of the Sorol inhabitants. There were two distinct types of natives; some had a broad head, and were stocky; the others were slender, and with a narrow head; the latter were not so numerous. The women frequently had masculine features, and their coiffure enhanced this appearance. A number of the women wore most of their wavy hair cut short over the forehead, the rest had it long or parted. So there was no uniformity about it. Miklucho-Maclay apparently did not see any bobbed-heads among the natives, who came to call on him, for he writes that their curly and frizzled hair forms regular "caps". This recalls the costume of the young Rauelimar. The coiffure reminded Miklucho-Maclay of the natives of the islands southeast of Ceram; he concludes that there must be a mixture of Papuan blood on Aurepik.

Usually the women are considerably lighter than the men; the babies were almost as light as European children. Miklucho-Maclay identifies the coloring of the natives whom he saw on the ship as number 37 of Broca's scale.

2: Damm et al. --118 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Aurupik

From the first, the natives were most cordial and friendly to the white man, and they were glad to talk to Hambruch. Hellwig observes that even the smallest children were not shy, although ships come to the island only at very rare intervals.

Z: Damm et al. --118 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 141, 177 Aurupik

You realize how little contact these natives have had with civilization when you learn that Hambruch could not get any anthropological measurements because the natives were afraid of the instruments.

2: Damm et al., --119 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 304 Aurupik

Unwanted body hair is pinched off with two sharp-edged shells (belʃk), in the same way that it is done on Polowat.

Some of the inhabitants wear a moustache and a beard.

2: Damm et al. --119 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 304 Aurupik

Both sexes are tattooed on their arms and legs, and the women also tattoo their hips and the lower part of the body. Miklucho -Maclay ascertained that the arms above and below the elbows were tattooed in bracelet patterns. Mrs. Krämer drew a group of tattoo designs for women and men. Tattooing is fälufer, a tattoo pattern is mäk, a tattoo comb is ralfd, the hammer is dajo. The tattoo coloring matter is made of soot, which is obtained by burning ólat nuts (Calophyllum).

Hair adornment. 1. The natives put the ordinary Carolinian type of combs in their hair, but they are often decorated with feathers. 2. Young boys frequently wear garlands of flowers in their hair.

Ear decoration. Boys and girls pierce the ear-lobes, and widen them with tortoise-shells disks. The hanging ornaments of coconut and shells are so heavy that the ear is often pulled down to the shoulders. Hellwig says that the general term for ear decoration is sŭrŭu. There was as large a variety of shapes and materials as on Ifaluk. Some of them stuck tortoise-shell disks of various sizes into the holes, while others wore pendants of polished conus shells or rings. The most common ear rings were made of [122] coconut beads or disks, which were often clustered together with tortoise-shell rings. Once in a while you would see a spindle-shaped pendant, which was strung with alternate coconut disks (daxax, Hellwig) and shell plates (lĂan, Hellwig).

Flowers and leaves are worn in the pierced nasal septum.

The neck decoration (marremarre, Hellwig) consisted of shells, coconut disks and coconut beads, which were strung by themselves, or mixed together. Hambruch collected a specimen, and learned that it was called tarrăk; he found that the coconut rings are tarrăk ururŭ, and the shell rings pfŭle. Many of the neck decorations are sold in the East; the Polowat inhabitants were glad to buy them.

The knots of leaves had magic significance.

The arm rings (Hellwig: lăxelăxe, Krämer: puósch) were made of tortoise shell (Hellwig: wŏaɣ, Krämer: uóth); they were broad and ribbed as on Polowat and other islands; less frequently you saw arm rings of Tridacna.

Finger rings (Hellwig: xalăxalax) were of tortoise shell. The silver ring which Hellwig found on Aurepik, and which he later traced to Faraulip, is made just like the native rings, despite the foreign material.

2; Damm et al, --123 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Aurupik

Both men and women wear the woven loin aprons, which constitute their clothing. Little girls wore a grass skirt, while the boys were naked, or donned the woven loin apron of the men. a) Grass skirts (Hellwig: bánü; Krämer: pánnü) are worn by girls before they reach adolescence. They consist of pandanus leaf strips (Hellwig: vas), which are tied to a coconut fiber string. b) Woven loin aprons (dóle) are made of hibiscus or banana fibers (Hellwig: wuis, wüis); the latter are softer and have a silky sheen, so they are more expensive than the others. The designs on Eauripik clothing mats are as varied as they are on Ifaluk. Krämer made the following table of mats, but he observed that the notations came from a Faraulip man.

1) dór (Hellwig: dórr); a mat with two narrow black strips along the sides; the center has two broad black and two narrow red strips.
2) gab; a mat with two narrow black border strips and a middle strip of equal width.
3) bulou; see plate 8, left center. [VMM: See source]
4) dóro kiti see plate 8 left below. [VMM: See source]
5) bëig; a mat with two narrow red strips in a black middle field; see plate 8 upper left. [VMM: See source]

c) Hip girdles for women: 1) xrim (Hellwig) made out of human hair, as on Ifaluk. 2) Datar (Hellwig) of coconut disks, in three strands, and with tortoise-shell fillets. These girdles are characteristic of Aurepik; they were sold to Polowat.

d) Hats (dólivat) of pandanus leaves stitched together; these are for both men and women.

2: Damm et al. --124 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241 Aurupik

The fields of Eauripik were cultivated in the same manner as on the other low islands of the Caroline archipelago. They were planted with swamp taro, common taro and sweet potatoes. Coconut palms and bread-fruit supplied edible fruits. Hellwig also mentions jáxun and kŏpo as plants used for nourishment.

2; Damm et al. --124-125 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 226 Aurupik

For fishing the natives had:
a) a fish spear (kowuâi); it is an ordinary pole;
b) fish hooks (angling rod is wău, Hellwig: wahâu); these are to catch the xăli, large čŏp, mădi, small ătám. (Hellwig). 1. hooks that are fastened together (bă, Hellwig: pă) of many shapes; bait of Meleagrina (Hellwig: săr), less frequently wâi shells or spondylus, tortoise-shell hooks (wŏad), light flies of the feathers of the frigate bird (xatáf), string of ărom fibers. 2. simple tortoise-shell hooks (gāuŏdj). 3. simple coconut hooks to catch flying fish (măñar) in the daytime; an empty coconut serves as a float. 4. wooden hooks (gŏ) for sharks.

The hooks are kept in the familiar covered baskets (Hellwig: sávo, sâuwo, sâub, săp, săob) of bread-fruit wood (Hellwig: kalâuv, xalâu).
c) Nets (djōu, Hellwig: srōu) in the shape that was described in the Polowat volume; Hellwig adds: frame - katté, wood - ūŭ, tying - vâuva. The handle (īb or īboli măñar) is fastened on shortly before the net is used. These nets are used to catch flying fish (măñar) at night in torch light. [125]
d) fish kite (djoligodjâuk) to take the dāx (Hellwig) with a bait of fish (?); this is attached to a line between three and four meters long.
e) snares (nŭm) to catch sharks; the same method is used on Polowat. Râigumeń is invoked before each fishing expedition, and sacrifices are brought to him.

2: Damm et al.--125
116, 224

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Hunting is not important. There are not supposed to be any rats on the island group, and accordingly the Carolinian rat traps (dáwis) do not exist, although the natives know them by name.

2: Damm et al. --125 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 223, 225, 252 Aurupik

Birds are caught either with the djǒu net, which does not haye a diagonal stick, or with snares (nǔm). There are two varieties of the latter: a) little snares arranged in rows on a wooden stick; b) a noose fastened to a stick. If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

2: Damm et al. --125 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Aurupik

Hens are the only domestic animal; there were no dogs or pigs. However, the inhabitants seemed to take great delight in tamed animals. Sarfert saw a pair of herons and two sea-swallows which stayed in the boat house and were not disturbed by the islanders; then Hellwig saw another swallow tied in a boat in the midst of some tools.

2: Damm et al, --125 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252 Aurupik

The food is roasted over an open fire (jăf; fire-wood is uĕs, smoke-bulăk, ash - madjŏdj) or steamed in the ground oven (felăn).

2: Damm et al.--125-126 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372 Aurupik

There are two methods of making fire:

1. by rubbing: the flat stick is called sine laulit, the vertical one is laul, and the whole apparatus is laulit.

2. by "drilling": the flat stick is sil liak, the vertical one laul liak, together they are liak. Hellwig obtained a "fire-wood box (xuluxul) for smokers;" it is made of bamboo reed, and has a wooden cover (pilepil), which is attached to the bottom with a string; it is really a tinder box, like the ones found on Polowat. There are three ways to fan the flame (Krämer: saipa).

The following story tells how fire came to mankind. The thunder fell on a pandanus tree on Yap Island, and it could not get away. It has become entangled in the leaves, and fluttered back and forth like a chicken. Then a woman passed by, [126] Medirädi by name. The thunder called to her, and begged her to set it free. But the woman was afraid that she might get burned. The thunder promised her that she would not be harmed, and so the woman helped it get out. Then the thunder said: "You do not know how to make a fire! Your food is really not good!" So he took two sticks, and showed her how to drill a fire. Finally, he also told her about the earth oven; she should make a hole, put the flame inside, and put the food on top; after a certain time it would be good. When the thunder had spoken, it went up into the air. The woman did as he had bade her, and then she told other people about it. Then they all knew how to make a fire.

2: Damm et al. --126 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 415 Aurupik

For cooking utensils they had first the simple hand scraper (Krämer: valegïer), made of nautilus shell, and the three-legged coconut grater (Hambruch: ueïgännu, Hellwig: wäïgan). Hambruch noted these names for the various parts: perrăk - shell (Hellwig: pelïg), forrofor - binding, ueïgánnu - board, beramă - legs. Then there was another degenerate form, a simple board, without legs, and with iron planes fastened to it.

taro crushers (Hellwig: fäurúpo) of coral stone (Hellwig: päran)

coconut utensils of half or whole fruits, and with or without covers (bŏr, Hellwig: pŏr) were frequently used for water and palm wine.

There are various forms of dishes (Hellwig: tapit, Hambruch: täbbi) of trälle wood:

a) simple and boat-shaped with a flat bottom.
b) raised, with feet, equipped with lugs, and occasionally made quite wide.

Krämer ascertained that the following kinds of baskets are used to keep food:

a) gádo, a tall basket with handles.
b) a borou, a rather long basket with handles, made of the ordinary kind of plaiting.
c) dúgu (Hellwig: tūx), a tall basket with a tuft on the bottom.
d) a bolaú, a basket without handles, which is trapezoidal on its longitudinal axis.
e) léipo, a trough-like basket without handles.

2; Damm et al. --128 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 322, 412 Aurupik

Wood was rough-hewn with the ax, which had a firm shell blade that could not be turned (dălâi berĕĭ). The single parts are called: handle-imĕĭm, shell blade - berĕĭ, binding - fŏfo.

2: Damm et al. --128-129
116, 321

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The origin of the shell and coconut disks was very important. According to Dr. Born, the island was an important manufacturing center for spondylus disks and plates, and it supplied the larger part of the Carolines with its products. After the shell was cracked, the little square pieces were pierced, and for this purpose various instruments were used; the coconut disks were drilled with the stick borer (wúrrewurr) or with a shark's tooth (Hellwig's nilibágo) and the sea-shell disks with the drill, (walupâup), which has a special swinging disk of turtle bones (Hellwig: šû lüwón); formerly it had a stone point, but that has been replaced by a wire point. While the drill works vertically, the stick borer is turned with the palm on the leg, so that its point stands up obliquely. Then you press the coconut plates with your free hand against the point. Now the pierced disks are threaded on a coconut leaf nerve, which has been split. Finally they are ground on a board with a piece of coral stone (-fâau), [129] and they are frequently wet with salt water during the process. Hellwig secured one of these half-finished chains from the little eleven-year-old, Marâi. She had just given the string the first grinding, which lasts about six minutes; and she had deliberately left the ends untouched.

2: Damm et al. --129 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285 Aurupik

Aside from the baskets, the natives braid pouches (Hellwig: yâipáč) of pandanus strips for decoration, etc.; but above all, they make mats:
a) gíagi, of narrow pandanus strips; worked double for sleeping mats;
b) gíli (Krämer: gerri, Hellwig: xedi) out of the two halves of a coconut frond; they serve as sleeping and door mats;
c) tabachau (Krämer) a mat made double with four frond halves;
d) jás, roof mats of coconut fronds.

Weaving (to weave is dódor) formerly played an important role as a household craft, but today this is not so popular on account of the introduction of the European calico. In olden days the material was bananas (ɣemies) and hibiscus fibers (gulivă). Materials woven of the former are costly and, naturally, are preferred to the crude hibiscus fabrics. The fibers are scraped with a stick (Krämer: bäüro) in order to make them supple. The weaving material is kept in round baskets (gabăăi, Hellwig: xabăes) of coconut leaf strips.

The fabrics are placed on a horizontal loom, which has the same bracing box as the one on Satowal, for example. [130] The members of the expedition give the following terms for the various parts of the loom:

Numbers in the drawing	Hambruch	Krämer
1. bracing box	úijă	buijallo
2. foot	bothell e úijă	
3. upper ledge of the box	thumall e úijă	
4. warp beams	berappă	
upper		babanügun
lower		babaripälam
5. bamboo lease rod	tepañŏ	

	thin wood stick	ollotó
6.	sword	c hapob
7.	shuttle	tibua
8.	box girdle of coconut string (xoloxăle)	dăle

2: Damm et al. --131 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 438 Aurupik

Aurepik was an important center of commerce for spondylus ornaments. These red shells are found in such abundance that they have become one of the principal articles of commerce, and they are exported in great quantities to the Yap inhabitants, who pay for them with curcuma roots. There is also lively commercial activity with Lamutrik, Ifaluk, Faraulip and Polowat.

The nautical knowledge of the Aurepik islanders is not inferior to that of the other Caroline natives, for example the Polowat men. Sarfert's authority, Captain Wasäu, had visited all the islands between Ngulu in the west, and Satowal in the east, in his canoe; he had also sailed to the Marianas (Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan).

The heavens (star is fūis)

1. Eagle	mailŏb	9. Three Kings (in Orion)	elŭel
2. Aldebaran	ŭl	10. Raven	serewŏl
3. Pleiades	măregĭr	11. Virgo	dŭmur
4. Procyon	măl	12. ?	medărŭ
5. Orion	ugelik	13. ?	dagalĭbu
6. ?	wŏlago	14. ?	madje - maidŏl
7. ?	mailŏb barăwăn	15. ?	wŏlewol - elĭbu
8. ?	wŏlewŏl		

The moon is măräm (new moon - lŭgulaŏli măräm, full moon woninäbäli măräm, waning moon - älioläŋ, waxing moon - jaurugili măräm).

Fig. 222 shows the Aurepik compass. Numbers 1-15 give the starting points of the stars in the preceding list, and with the same numbers; 16-28 show where they disappear below the horizon (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 89). [132]

The names of the points of the compass are:

north	jíwaṅ	northwest	lodoǎwäṅ
east	chodū	northeast	chodoǎwäṅ
south	jŏr	southwest	lodoǎr
west	ilodŏ	southeast	choduŏru

2; Damm et al. --133 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 · Aurupik

The courses [CS: omission of sailing voyages, pages 132-133] show how well informed the Aurepik Captains (damól Idit) are. They certainly sailed east as far as Kusae (native name Chatáu)and Ponape, which is called Wulebéi here; perhaps they went even farther; to the north they traveled to the Marianas and to the west to the Philippines (Dawogán). According to the native accounts, Dawogán lies south of Chatowei, * and it is supposed to be much larger and higher than Truk, Yap and Palau. We can not say definitely how far south they had travelled.

---

* This is certainly Tobi; the map of the Polowai Captain Igurăli proves it; (compare Damm and Sarfert 1935, drawing 205).

2; Damm et al. --133 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Aurupik

The natives had nothing to say about people, who had been blown off their course and drifted. But we can read about them. The missionary Snelling was adrift for 93 days in a native boat which he had taken from Piherar; he finally reached Aurepik and then went on to Oleai. Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 108, tell about a canoe from Aurepik, that was blown to Hok.

2: Damm et al. --133-135 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 501, 552 Aurupik

The canoe (uăĭ) is a wooden boat of the typical Central Carolinian form. The various types have particular names; for example, Sarfert went in a maiwŏle to Uău in the atoll. There is a very small number of them today; on the largest island there were three big sailing canoes, and seven small ones, on the second island there was one small craft. Lütke and his companion von Kittlitz noticed "many boats on the beach" formerly. [CS: Omission of the names for the various parts of the canoe, pages 134-135).

2: Damm et al. --136
116, 342

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

ʔim: the family dwelling. It usually stood on a stone foundation, and had plank walls with doors; the gable walls projected, and they were made of mats, while the roof was of palm fronds. Thanks to these eaves, the floor plan was hexagonal. Then there were also some smaller huts (imomûti) on the ground; they were just faced with mats, and did not have any gable eaves, so their plan was four-sided. Sarfert's interpreter said that girls stayed in these little houses. But Sarfert himself found one of them on Uâu, which was inhabited by an old man, with his family.

malúm: cookhouse; it is open on all sides, and the small gable roof rests on four poles.

fanúa: canoe-house; it is open on all sides; the poles support a heavy roof. The canoe-houses are the abode of the men, for there are no real men's houses. They also sleep here very frequently, when they do not want to be with their wives. However, there were also two little houses on poles on the lagoon side; these also served as sleeping huts, and they were set on poles as a protection against the mosquitoes.

iméribel: menstrual hut, where the women stay during menstruation. The place where the hut stands is called bál. A tabu forbids the ship Captains to approach the place, or to enter the house; apparently this does not apply to the other men.

Chief's house. These houses are conspicuous on account of the stone foundation, which was solid, frequently two meters high, and arranged in such a way that you could climb it just like a flight of stairs; it generally has a hexagonal plan like the house, but there are also four-sided and lower platforms. The most southern of the three chief's houses is erected on an unusually small base.

spirit house: the spirit-house of Ráigumen is apparently nothing more than a leaf roof, set on the ground. It rose on a somewhat remote spot, which was kept neat and clean. Ráigumen's tomb is in the immediate vicinity. [137]

there are no chicken coops, as the animals sleep in the open.

The parts of the house are:
post sūre (number 1 of Fig. 225).
central post ŋalāwer (no. 2); like the other two central pillars, it bears the ridge pole, and it is just like them.
diagonal beams of the length darielab (no. 3); they rest on the posts; cross beams of the gable walls kodom (no. 4);
The roof beams are thick, and are cut polygonally in a transverse section; they are lashed to the diagonal beams which run longitudinally; slender horizontal purlins (kabāŋ-ak) rest on these, then come thin vertical roof rafters (kāto), and on top of them lie the roof mats (jāso). The placing of the beams under the wall is called korādjo. [138]

The roof (bēigilīm) is supported by the ridge pole (ūŋ). The walls of the rectangular house interior (nīm) are vertical planks, which are framed. The gable walls are likewise made of boards; from the level of the roof they slope outward for a little way, and then they run horizontally forming a sort of roof for the veranda. This horizontal [139] piece makes a deep space for storage; for example, a boat lay under it in one house. Beneath this veranda roof of planks is a trellis (nibiŋ) to keep things.

2: Damm et al. --139 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 352 Aurupik

Among household pieces of equipment there was a hanging chair for children (Hellwig: xúr) and a child's cradle (Hellwig: aíloíle, öloíle) with a pandanus mat (xéage).

2; Damm et al, --139 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 361 Aurupik

There are settlements on the large island and on Uäu. The population on Aurepik is divided into two "farms" (Valiáureg [Krämer], or Waliáudry [Hellwig], and Roñali [Krämer]), but there are only a few huts in each. On Uäu, the colony consists of two larger houses, which stand on high stone platforms. In addition, Sarfert also found a little hut, faced with coconut mats, which was inhabited by an old man. The natives said that this small colony was only used occasionally.

2: Damm et al. --139 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411 Aurupik

The spear is unknown so the natives only have the fish spear. The stone sling (kaule) is also lacking although the islanders have learned about it from the Truk people. They commonly use the brass knuckles (raserás), which is made in the usual Carolinian manner.

2; Damm et al--140 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116. 621 Aurupik

Over the family group of Eauripik stood the clan. Its structure and organization were not different from the relationships on Polowat; for instance, the Wonēi clan was represented.

2: Damm et al. --140 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 601 Aurupik

Sarfert noted the following expressions to denote relationship:

father - domál
mother - sine (silēī - my mother)
brother - wisíl
sister - mianál (this denotes the relationship between brother and sister, and vice versa.)
husband, wife - saligenēī
son, daughter - lēī
father's brother - faduál.

2: Damm et al. --140 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 595 Aurupik

Most men have only one wife; but Sarfert found one old man on Uā̃u who had two.

2: Damm et al. --140 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Aurupik

Burial. The deceased is wrapped in a mat, and then either buried in the earth, or weighted with a stone and sunk in the ocean. There is no burial in a boat. There were special places for cemeteries.

2: Damm et al. --140 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173 Aurupik

The history of the Eauripik Island Group is closely related to that of Yap. Miklucho-Maclay heard that Aurepik owes a large number of its inhabitants to Jap Island. This is also preserved in the legend that the Yap native Choiss came to Aurepik, and then created men and women out of a spondylus shell....Accordingly we can perhaps regard Choiss (Chós) as the first chief (damol), and if so, his son Raigumen, who is revered as a deity today, was certainly his successor. Lütke named Rooua as the ruler over Aurepik and some islands lying to the east.

2; Damm et al. --141 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 167 Aurupik

The Hamburg South Sea Expedition obtained the following list of chiefs: Baluelap was the successor of Ligowûw, the husband of the first mother, then Solăn, Ellulué, Mŏdj, Ärüdäl(Eridal); but the natives were unable to give any more exact information about them. However the son of Ärüdäl, Jadŏa (Jädowuă) is remembered as a chief, because it was during his reign that a typhoon devastated the island. It did so much damage that the survivors went to Oleai to escape a famine, and they spent ten months there. When the Aurepik islanders returned home under Manelua, Jadŏa remained in Oleai, where he died. His son Fagil became chief of the people who went back home. He was succeeded by his son, Medăk, who was still ruling in 1909.

2: Damm et al. --142
116, 772

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The natives believe that the universe can be divided into three parts: the heavens (rän), the earth (selŏb), and the underworld (ilŏl or faliolŏl).

2; Damm et al. --142 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Aurupik

The gods. Solál is the creator of the universe. He erected a tree trunk, climbed half way up, and then made the earth in the form of a disk, with all of its islands and oceans. Then he climbed farther, and at the top of the trunk he formed the heavens, which are horizontal to the earth. When he was through, he told his younger brother, Álülób, who married Nimogéi, to go up to heaven and to rule there. He himself wanted to be king of the underworld. Many people dwell in this realm, and the sun shines at night. Solál is also the god of the sea.

Álülób finally gave the rule to his son Lugēlán, who is king of the heavens at the present time. His wife is Idämälúl. Lugēlán does not work, but he keeps a constant supervision over mankind. When he sees that an island chief is not making his people talk and act in the way that they should, he sends a typhoon to destroy the island. His son Olofád is the celestial messenger; he wanders around all the time, and watches over everything; then he gives an account to his father, Lugēlán, who never leaves the heavens.

2: Damm et al. --143 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Aurupik

The kingdom of the dead. The dead wander around as invisible spirits (ällüs); they can stay on earth or fly through the air like wind. There are no other conceptions, such as you find on Bur, Merir and Songosor. Lugēlān is king of the living and of the dead.

Aurepik has the cult of the great spirit Yăñelap, whose house is in Kadjebăr. * Most of the Micronesian islands pay tribute to him: for example, Mogomog, Feis, Sorol, Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal, Polowat, Hok, Truk, Pingelap, Kătāu (-Kusai?), Imāl, Meseliŏl, etc., because he populated the islands. He said to a woman: "Go to this place!" And to another: "Go to that island and beget children!" And so the women went with their husbands to those islands, and populated them. The first mother of Aurepik was Ligowurieliĕl, her husband was Ligowūw; the names of her children are not known. Hambruch on page 143, gives another version of the creation of man and the settling of Aurepik.

Yăñelap does not leave his house, but from time to time he goes up in the air, and looks at his islands. They all bring him tribute in the form of mats, bowls, etc. The natives of Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal and Aurepik all made the trip together, and they [143] started from Oleai. The canoes gathered here, and then travelled by way of Feis and Mogemog to Kadjebăr. The "king" of this pilgrimage then brings the tribute into Yăñelap's house where it remains untouched and goes to pieces. When the Hamburg South Sea Expedition was on Aurepik, a number of the islanders were away; they had gone to Kadjebăr, but the king had sent them to do some work on Nauru, and only one member of the group had remained on Yap.

" * It is Ašebăr on Yap (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 198).

Hambruch heard another legend on Aurepik; it refers to Yanelap, and describes the creation of mankind on our island, but it also throws an interesting light on the origin of deities. Yanelap told the Yap native Choiss to go to Aurepik and then to make some people out of a spondylus shell. Choiss himself had a son, whom he called Raigumen. He is the real god of the seafarers; and he is invoked at the beginning of a sea voyage, when a typhoon threatens, and before a fishing expedition. Various kinds of sacrificial gifts hang in his house (garlands for the hair, mats, coconuts); just a short distance from the hut was his tomb, which was fenced with stones and well kept.

2; Damm et al, --144
116, 524

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Toys and games.

a) bagisöfisöf: bow,
b) ganini: a whirler made of a strip of coconut leaf, which is bent together, and over which a coconut leaf nerve is stretched into a bow. The bull-roarer is unknown.
c) There were string games too, and a kind of hand clapping game.

2: Damm et al. --144-145 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 805 Aurupik

Division of time. The year has twelve months, which are divided between the two seasons: rák (also ledják) and niiwán. The names of the months are:

rák		niiwán	
1.	úl	7.	dúmul
2.	élúel	8.	máidjik
3.	mál	9.	máilób
4.	it	10.	sóda
5.	serewól	11.	náke
6.	eremális	12.	gúi

Each month has thirty days:

1.	sigorú	12.	wolawúl	23.	sabári meímúri
2.	ellín	13.	wolomáu	24.	killéi (like 17th)
3.	mádjálárie	14.	mádj	25.	somaló
4.	mádjále	15.	úre	26.	somálifál
5.	mádjafís	16.	nédu	27.	járofú
6.	mádjáuále	17.	killéi	28.	jóu
7.	mádjadfu	18.	kalaúa	29.	ifáin
8.	jamedále	19.	sábádj	30.	etáfi
9.	jabéi	20.	jáfalák		

10. djíawoṅ 21. koselắṅ
11. jărowugŭ 22. karodắli ắfắlắk [145]

The following expressions indicate times of the day:
nísoro or nimắliŏl about six o'clock.
suorŏ́l about seven o'clock
jắfắlắk about eleven o'clock
uŏle about twelve o'clock, noon
jabắl jắdolowắu about one p. m.
jắdeligŏdj about six p. m.
niwarắwe in the evening.

2; Damm et al. --151-152
116, 175

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-2
Faraulep

It is not known when this island group was discovered. Krämer says that the island which Francisco Lezcano sighted in 1686, and which he called Carolina, is probably Fároilap, or our Faraulip; the pilot Somera was the first to ascertain its position on his compass chart, 1710. Meinicke attributes the discovery to the Spaniard Rodriguez, 1696. Some Fais islanders, who were blown to Guam in 1696, brought some definite information about this island group, and Father Clain gave an account of them on the 10th of June, 1697. These natives called the large island Piraulop, and a second one, that lay to the northwest in the reef circle, was Pic.

In 1804 Luis de Torres * came from the Marianas to the group. Then the islands disappeared again from the horizon of the navigators, and Lütke had to make a real search for them. This explains why a good many people even today regard Lütke as the real discoverer. On the morning of the 28th of March 1828, Lütke found the atoll Farroilap, as the natives called it. But he also calls it Fattoilap. This spelling is

" * According to Krämer, 1917, Book I, page 132, Anm. 1. He was the second governor of the Marianas; Chamisso, in the third part of Kotzebue's work has translated into German his important ethnographic notes on the Carolines (compare v. Kotzebue, 1821 Book II, page 130).

probably due to Kadu, who was a native of Ulle (possibly Oleai); he wrote Fatoilep. On the 16th of December of the same year he visited the island group for the second time, but he was not able to [152] make any ethnographic observations, because his authority Alberto, whom he had met on his first visit, was not there.

Hambruch, one of the members of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, stayed on the island from the 4th to the 18th of November, 1909.

It is not known when the first merchants came; in 1909 some Japanese copra merchants had a station on Pik, and they were building a cutter.

2: Damm et al. --153 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 103 Faraulep

The island became known to Europeans under the native name: Piraulop. Von Chamisso attributes the spelling Farruelap and Faroilep to Luis de Torres, and Fatoilep to the native Kadu. Lütke also used the indigenous Farroïlap. Finsch made this into Faraulap. Meinicke has Faroilap, but he selects Faraulep for the key word of his record. This spelling became adopted rather generally, and it finally changed into Faraulip; this is the way most of the members of the South Seas Expedition heard it, although they noted the following pronunciations: Faráulop and Faróilap (Hellwig), Faraûilŏp, Faróilep, Fa-tja-ü-napo and Fatjaunapo (Hambruch), and Fadjáumaep (Krämer).

2: Damm et al. --154 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Faraulep

Lütke made the first drawing of this island group. This has served as a basis for all the subsequent island maps (Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, Japanese Government Chart 1925). Location and Size. The following table gives the various measurements:

	lat. N	long. E
v. Chamisso (in v. Kotzebue 1821 Book 3, page 94)	8° 3′	144° 30′
Lütke (according to the map)	8° 34′57″	215° 32′45″
Meinicke (1888 Book 2, page 358)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Gulick (1862 page 59)	8° 34′	144° 37′
Brigham (1900 page 64)	8° 36′	144° 36′
Sievers (1900 Book 2, page 364)	8° 40′	144° 35′
Kolonial Lexicon (Book I, page 600; most southern island)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Japanese Chart 1925	8° 35′45″	144° 33′16″

2; Damm et al. --155 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 133 Faraulep

Lütke said that structurally the Faraulep Island group was that of a typical coral atoll, containing three islets, and with a circumference not exceeding four miles. Hellwig describes it in his Journal in a very plastic manner, and with his own peculiar exactitude: "The atoll has three rather long, thickly wooded islands, which rise somewhat toward the interior; the lagoon is deep blue, with strips of light and dark green and sand banks which have a yellowish hue. Beyond this and the sand beaches you see the reef, which is clearly outlined on the outer side with the dazzling white chains of foam of the surf; this is especially high on the leeward side." His observation that the islands rise somewhat toward the interior is remarkable; on the main island, Faraulip, the rise is 23.8 meters!

2; Damm et al. --155 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Faraulep

The atoll consists of three islands: the large Faraulip, and the second Pfx (Piko [Hambruch], Pig [Reichsmarineant], Pigue [Pacific Islands Pilot]), both of these are inhabited; the smallest island and the one farthest south, Eäd (Eatto [Hambruch], Eat [Reichsmarineant], Eate [Meinicke, Pacific Islands Pilot, Japanese Chart]) was formerly inhabited also, according to Hambruch, but since the devastations of a typhoon it has never been resettled.

The lagoon is accessible on the southern side by three narrow channels, which are only large enough for canoes.

The natives gave Hambruch the following data: a) islands: 1. Faraulip, 2. Pfx, 3. Eâd; b) oceans: 4. lamm; 5. nuguluorro; c) reefs: 6. mädonneï-jefan; 7. fall lipig; 8. furoú; 9 and 10 pallepall; 11. thawuorrŏ; 12. madonneijôù; d) channels: 13. tâùaliăp; 14. tâùuleulea; 15. tâùegiddegidd.

The population has never been large, but we can not discover on what grounds Gulick and Meinicke state that the islands are uninhabited. As a matter of fact, only the smallest island Eäd is uninhabited, and it is [156] quite probable that this situation is fairly recent. The following figures are given:

Year	Total	Faraulip	Pix	Observations	Source
1828	about 60				Lütke, 1835 Vol. 2, p. 326
1903-4	121			1 native merchant	Sievers, 1910, Bk. 2, p. 347, 364. Finsch, 1914, page 64.
1909	155	96	59	14 of them on Yap	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1912	80				Kolonial-Lexicon Bk. 1, p. 600.
1930	145			10 Japanese are included	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 503.

2: Damm et al. --155-156
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-2
Faraulep

There is a decline of nearly 50% in the population between 1909 and 1912. This can scarcely be attributed to the islanders' fondness for travel. It seems to be due to the progressive decay which Sievers noted, and which Hambruch said was formerly traced to the constant civil wars.

2; Damm et al. --156-157- (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Faraulep

Hellwig has already given an enthusiastic description of the picturesque impression which the thickly wooded Faraulip makes on the traveler; and in truth [157] there are many species of flora. Sievers counts coconut palms, bread-fruit trees, bananas, Cystosperma edule, betel palms and pandanus trees. [CS: Omission of the names of the plants.]

2: Damm et al. --157 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 136 Faraulep

Just as on the other low coral islands, there are few land animals. Aside from the domestic ones, Hambruch only found a few species of birds. The mosquitoes are a great nuisance, especially after the rain. [CS: Omission of the vocabulary with the list of animals].

2: Damm et al. --158 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 144 Faraulep

No physical anthropological surveys were made. According to Sievers, the population is similar to that of Feis and Mogomog.

2: Damm et al. --158 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164 Faraulep

When Hambruch visited the island, the natives were suffering from a severe epidemic of coughing and catarrh. He also discovered the tropical diseases: elephantiasis (pererâup), ringworm (genišewâu), framboesia (rûf) and syphilis (huâu); there was a high percentage of the latter.

2: Damm et al. --160 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 302 Faraulep

The natives rub their bodies with rẽ́ri color and coconut oil. Then they are extremely fond of fragrant flowers and plants, and they like to adorn themselves with them; they use the greenish white blossoms (eắro) of banana trees (uŭ́d), geraniums (xerā́x), a species of lily (madagâu), pawpaws (bấibâi) and peppermint (uanroñú).
Coiffure. The natives believe that their god Lugulĕ́ń introduced this manner of dressing the hair. The men have a thick perruque, which is occasionally parted in front, and then tied in a lock at the back with a leaf strip; or the hair may be combed smoothly back and tied with a leaf strip. The women wear their hair in curls, which are short and frizzled, or it may hang down, and be cut smooth.

The men do not have a very large beard; in addition to moustaches, you often see an imperial or whiskers, especially among older men.

2: Damm et al. --160-161 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116. 304 Faraulep

Both sexes are tattooed, and both men and women practice the art. They use a tattoo comb (garĭd) and a hammer (merăm) of the usual Carolinian form; to tattoo is măk. The parts of the comb are: the handle - koă, a diagonal piece attached to it - xalemăn; this is fastened to the handle with a particular kind of little stick (tsrŭ). [161] The tattoo coloring (lăm) comes from the soot of burned coconut fibers.

2: Damm et al. --161
116, 301

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

For ear decoration (tsuŏru) the natives put coco-(tagăx), tortoise-shell (buŏxs) or shell (mátš) rings in the pierced lobes of their ears; they may be single or arranged together in various fashions, as on the other islands of Micronesia.

Fragrant plants are the only decoration inserted in the pierced nasal septum.

2: Damm et al. --161-162 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Faraulep

There are necklaces of a great many varieties:

a) of coconut rings or coconut disks (as on Ifaluk, for example)
b) like a, but with white shell disks between them (compare Ifaluk)
c) of red spondylus disks with white shell and black coconut disks between them (compare Ifaluk); they are often made with several strands. The Berlin Museum has a triple chain in the Finsch Collection.

Chain pendants are unusual. Hambruch got one that was carved out of a coconut; it has the same shape as the one from Hok, that is made of Tridacna.

The natives also have the wide necklace collars (tĕo), like the ones drawn by Krämer (Inseln um Truk, 1 Hlbbd, 1935, drawing 15).

They liked best the bracelets of grooved tortoise shell (buŏxs), like the ones on Polowat; these were purchased from Truk. There were also some of [162] coconut (tagăx; compare Ifaluk) and Trochus (lagalăx). Finger rings of coconut husk have only been made recently.

2; Damm et al. --162 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Faraulep

The clothing varies according to the age and the sex of the wearer. The natives believe that Eluelap introduced it in order to prevent incest. Accordingly, a man cannot appear without his loin apron. This does not apply to boys and girls until they are four; they go naked. Then the girls begin to wear a modesty skirt (liwísíf) of fragrant grasses, while the boys don the woven loin apron (xarĭŭr). The women's mat (bĕix) is also woven, but it is considerably wider. The men's loin cloth is in the T shape, but the women's is held on a string (šrím), that is plaited of hair; and over it they generally have a girdle of three to four strands of coconut beads; this girdle (mărămar) is divided into fields by shell fillets. While this is made on Faraulip, it does not apply to the rare girdle, (xídi) bought on Aurepik; it is very wide (up to eight strands) and it is also divided into fields by means of fillets.

Seafarers have clothing that affords better protection; they wear pointed caps, stitched together out of pandanus strips (părĭŋ), and when the weather is really inclement, they use rain caps (palŭŋ), sailing jackets (nikŏt) and coconut dress mats (ua lulíĕ).

The following edible plants and fruit trees are planted or cultivated: different kinds of taro: file e Ifaluk (very small) file e kŏl, uŏt, momŏiga, marĭn.
Colocasia: lăk, pulăk
sweet potatoes: kamŏti
sedum: anŭs, xŏp, eaugŭle.
pumpkins: ewŭrs
sugar-cane: uwău
bananas: uiĕ
Terminabia: fariŏp
Morinda citrifolia: nĕre.
pandanus: fă
figs: xoăn
a peach-like fruit, with a number of disk-like stones: xumŭr
bread-fruit: măj; this fruit begins to grow in the uarĭx month; in măirĭx it starts to ripen, and in măilŏp it is mature; the whole process takes six months. The fruit of the breadfruit provides the natives favorite dish, măra, which is prepared in the same way as the măr of the Polowat islanders.
coconut palm: nĭu
[CS: Omission of the various terms describing the coconut palm, page 163] There is no

systematic planting whatsoever. Bananas, sweet potatoes, coconut palms grow together, but the taro, on the other hand, is planted in fields that are specially prepared. The natives use large rectangular ditches [164] (poadé), which are surrounded by an earth wall (xatū) made of the soil that has been excavated. The men prepare the fields, but the women do the real cultivation; for the taro they use a wooden spade (xuotŏ; handle-erĕ, blade - xăroxăre). The men take care of the coconut palms, but the other fruit trees are left to the women. The chief superintends all the work in the fields; and he punishes anyone who is not doing his task properly. At certain times he also puts a tabu on the uninhabited island Eăd so that no one may go there. This is to protect the stands of coconut palms and tobacco plants; and it is also a means of safeguarding the turtles, which come on land to spawn.

[CS: Omission of the various kinds of fish, that are caught, page 164]
mănar the flying fish, appears four times each year.
1. Angling (angling rod - bâû, the wrapped handle is tigŏ̂u); it is equipped with the following kinds of fish hooks: [165]

a) bă is the hook, that is fastened together; its bait consists of Meleagrina or spondylus, and its hook is made of tortoise shell; the "fly" is made of clipped frigate bird feathers. Terms for the various parts: angling line of hibiscus fibre - eŏr or eŏl, bait - năm, point of the hook - matăl, base of the hook - ramŭm, fly - igŭd. These hooks are kept in wooden chests (sâûp).

b) tĭu is the plain wooden hook, used to catch sharks. Hambruch obtained a rare example; it was a double hook made of a piece of Pteroceras shell.

c) tarăn are the newer angling hooks, made of a piece of bent iron wire.

d) porăli măts is a simple fish hook of coconut husk, which is suspended on a coconut, that serves as a buoy (for its use see Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 49). This type of fishing is rarely used today.

2. The natives fish with etĭn nets on the reef. The terms for the various parts are xoloxŏl (number 1), tanŭapip (no. 2), eăn (no. 3), bugebŭx (no. 4), metăt (no. 5), net sinkers-fâû u lŭm, net floats - xuapĕs; the latter are often carved in the shape of fish. The large net does not belong to an individual, but to the men's house. [166]

3. For weir fishing they use the following weirs:
   a) a substantial one made of coconut strings (ulipám of the same form as those on Ifaluk. The terms are: floor - bŏxebox, back wall - xapít, side wall - péigil, roof - xuluxŭ́l, raised and pointed portion of the roof - uná́l.
   b) weirs (ule mŏurŏuĕ́d) with a barrel-shaped roof of strong coconut leaf nerves. The names for the various parts are: projecting part of the roof - xromắre, cover - unắre, side wall - xobắr, floor - írắ, door in the rear wall - iríŕ, handle - tanín.
   c) like b) but rectangular.
4. For kite fishing they use a kite (kapĕ́s) made of a bread-fruit leaf, which has been stiffened with a coconut leaf nerve. A tarán hook hangs on the string.
5. Snare fishing is done with a snare (nŏm) fastened to a wooden stick; the bait hangs from another short string.

Special Customs. The chief's permission is required before groups of men can fish together in the large canoes. The "first counsel" oversees the canoes and fishing, and then the chief divides the catch according to certain rules. Loud calling and trumpeting on the conch shells summon the population to come together. The fish are spread out on the beach, and they are tabu until the division is made. Hambruch watched the natives divide 45 large fish (faúfaú and takŭ́'u); a sick old woman received the largest takŭ́'u, Hambruch had two faúfaú, five takŭ́'u and two faúfaú were given to seven guests from

Ifaluk, two takŭ'u to the chief, one takŭ'u to the "first counsel," one takŭ'u to the "second counsel," one takŭ'u to the Oleai native Olapĭl eighteen takŭ'u to the nine houses, ten little cuttlefish (Tinte?) to the crews and the "first counsel," two takŭ'u and the small fish to the boys.

On the second expedition that Hambruch saw, eleven large and 390 small fish were taken (the latter were chiefly caught in the drift wood weirs). They were divided in the following manner: Hambruch got two large fish, the chief two, the "first counsel" one, the "second counsel" one, the Oleai native Olapĭl two large ones and ten little ones, the seven Ifaluk men had three large and sixteen small fish, the nine houses 270 little ones (thirty for each), the canoe superintendent fifteen little ones, eighteen small ones for the eight houses in Pix, fifteen little ones for a man, who had helped build the boat. If the catch is not so large as they had expected, the fisherman goes to the "big house" or to Ponijŏu's spirit house, lays down a sacrifice, and asks for a good haul.

2: Damm et al. --167 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 224 Faraulep

Hunting is not important, since there are few large land animals which can be eaten. Rats are captured in a trap (tăwiš), that is similar in form to the one on Polowat; drawing 242 gives the terms for the various parts. Dogs are eaten too.

2: Damm et al. --167 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252 Faraulep

All the women prepare the food in the house; the men just cook in the large house; in every case the children are the most eager helpers.

2: Damm et al. --167 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372 Faraulep

To make a fire (fire - ijăf) the natives use a fire plane (noirĭt; the flat stick - imŏu, the stick drawn through the groove, which this has made - noirĭt) and the fire drill (niauk or liauk; flat stick - ilă, drilling hole - medăd [eye], vertical drilling stick - noirĭt). Tinder (xabăd) is kept in a bamboo box. The woven fire fan (sĕipo) has a long rectangular form.

2: Damm et al.--167-168 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412 Faraulep

Household implements:

a) knife (sár) formerly of shell, but now a spike that has been pounded into a board and sharpened.

b) taro scraper of Meleagrina shell,

c) coconut grater (uélgan); a small shell (poritox) is fastened to a tripod.

d) spoons (idit) of shell

e) crushers (faierus) of coral stone [168] (fáux) in the same form that is used on Ifaluk (to crush - zus, to rub - egax, to strike - narúna.

2: Damm et al. --168 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 415 Faraulep

Household implements:

f) coconut utensils (tagax) - coconut shell, such as water bottles.

g) wooden boxes (saup) with covers like those on Polowat; they are used to hold small articles, especially fish hooks. Hambruch gives the following terms for the various parts: cover - garap, hole for the string to which it is suspended - piapi, in a notched piece (botil), lower part - xaloal, floor - peigil, wall - ni, groove for the cover - pora ni.

h) bowls (tabbi) with feet, of the same shape as the dobi lemabu of Ifaluk. Then there are also the tabbi bowls, brought from Truk, with the red stripe, which is peculiar to that island group. (floor - rang, feet - perele, noses - madal.)

i) baskets to hold food; the largest ones are used to transport fruits; the former are tux, the latter hix. Special forms are katovas (Ifaluk) and pautau, a basket for transportation.

k) a fish board (bap) to divide the bonito.

l) brooms (naux) of coconut nerves.

m) rat hooks (xor) to hang up food containers, similar to the one shown in Fig. 126, in Sarfert and Damm 1929, page 138.

2; Damm et al. --168 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 264 Faraulep

The natives have no regular meals as we understand them. Children and women eat almost all the time, and the men eat morning, noon and in the evening. The members of the family have repasts together, and so there is no division according to the sexes.

2: Damm et al. --168 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 262, 562 Faraulep

Certain food restrictions apply to the women, and they are never allowed to touch the following kinds of fish: bŭp, liwelŭ, faî, bă̆xo, nawŭt, mŏ̆ru, nŏ̆s, uăt.

2: Damm et al. --168 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 843 Faraulep

Pregnant women are not permitted to have any fish at all, and they have to observe other prohibitions about food. These last for five months after the child is born; if they are disregarded, the natives believe that the guilty woman will be very ill.

2; Damm et al. --168 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Faraulep

Aside from the foods, the natives have a few extras, and first on the list comes tobacco (tomáxo); it can not be strong enough to suit them. This plant was introduced from Guam, and now it is grown on the island, but the American twist tobacco is preferred.

2: Damm et al. --168 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 273 Faraulep

Then palm wine (xarí) is also very popular; it is prepared in the same way as on Polowat.

2: Damm et al. --169 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462, 322 Faraulep

The men did all the wood work. They made bowls, covers for boxes, coconut graters, combs, weapons, canoes and parts of the huts.

2: Damm et al. --169 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412, 177 Faraulep

Formerly the most important tool was the shell ax (ɣapăl); it had fallen into disuse in 1909, and only the "sacred axes" had preserved the old form. Shell blades of Tridacna or cassis - porugŭl or tară (the blade is kept sharp with a grindstone [uăre]), cutting edge -metăd, upper side - lugŭl, lower side - năn, handle for the hatchet - fm mĕ ŭm, wrapping - fŏrfŏr. Then finally, there were the tools for the finer work: files - (văim) of coral stone, awls (etâu), drills (purepŭr).

2: Damm et al.--169 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 283 Faraulep

Coconut strings (mŭtŝ) were made in the customary manner; they were soaked in salt water - ni pĕli gŏth, then in fresh water - thŭmu, dried - igapă̂l, beaten (thŭs) with a heavy wooden beater (pĕreix), and finally twisted - xŏloxŏ̂l. Coconut thread - tarikĭt, rope - tă̂t.

Hibiscus strings (gilifŏ̂i) for fish lines are made in the same way as on Polowat.

2: Damm et al. --169-170 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 286 Faraulep

As on all the Caroline Islands, there is little weaving being done today; this is very unfortunate, because the women had developed their skill to an astonishing level of craftsmanship. [170] According to the native legends, there were no woven mats in olden days; and people ran around naked. Then incest occurred at rather frequent intervals, because men could not tell their sisters, children and wives apart. So the god Lugulen told Aifath to bring men a loom, so that they might weave mats, and be able to tell themselves apart. *

Hibiscus bast and banana fibers are woven, but the latter are preferred on account of their superior quality.

"* It seems that the various clans also had certain weaving patterns."

2: Damm et al. --170
116, 286

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The weaving material is kept in a round basket (xápen), which is similar in form to the one on Aurepik. Plate 13 [VMM: See source] shows the structure of the loom, and Fig. 247 [VMM: See source] the form of the wooden frame. The various parts are called:

the front and back warp beam - pāp
the sword - xabŏp
the heald rod - nūri
the shuttle - thritŏp (it has the same form as the one used on Aurepik)
girdle of the bracing box - tādi.
box with warp beam - puijālf
decoration on the box in red and black - xāu iél iár
diagonal beam over the warp beam - nugūd
beam which serves as a support for the feet - fafá.

2: Damm et al. --171 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285, 386 Faraulep

The dyeing of mats is done according to the Polowat process. Meerpocken are also used for dye pots, and the dye bowls (tăbbi enăp) are the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk. Red coloring (tśageŏx) to paint the canoes is purchased from Yap. Any piece of wood can be used for a brush.

2: Damm et al. --170-171 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285 Faraulep

The "king's mat" is a real chart of the patterns, which are in use on Faraulip; in fact, it is really a masterpiece of native handicraft. The various designs (counting from the left) are: 1. sürübu, 2. foirimät, 3. puriifät, 4. boirüd, 5. uvethitaub, 6. pairimüru, 10. xolimäth, 11. pairönunü 13. möida, 16. sib, 17. xougouthip, 18. toirut. The mat design is called metarel; the terms for the different parts are:

lugurel - broad black strips
nigawös - broad light fields between the black strips [171]
narede - narrow black border strip.
thau u wöl - the two diagonal strips (narrower and wider).

The upper diagonal strip in the design of mat no. 307 (plate 12) [VMM: see source] is called taub, the two narrow strips above and below it are pirepit. The parts of the diagonal strip of mat no. 308 are tanabö - a dark hour-glass design, tauf - light rhomboid pattern.

2: Damm et al. --172 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 437 Faraulep

Commerce was arranged on a barter basis, with coconuts for change. A small canoe cost three woven dress mats, and one of these mats was worth a hundred coconuts.

2: Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaṅái, (Oleai), Auripík, Ifalúk, ʟoról (Sorol), Uejêĭ (Fais), Magemúx (Mogemog), Yap, Nólu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsêx (Lamutrik), Setóuan (Satowal), Sóux (Hok), Unúon, (Onon), Piserás, Tsúk (Truk), Magur, Moirála (Murillo), Ratak, Magíl (Mokil), Ebon, Nutáú, Gátsaùe (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxú, Solnís, Bahâú, Ánelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

2: Damm et al. --172 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 437 Faraulep

From Lamutrik they get kamŏs, reng color, tortoise shell, and from Truk clothing mats; from Aurepik kamŏs, spondylus necklaces, dance girdles, kid, from Satowal reng color and necklaces from Truk, from Ifaluk and Oleai ropes, nets, woven mats. In exchange the Faraulip people give the mats they have woven, ropes and sleeping mats.

2: Damm et al. --172 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Faraulep

There was naturally little material available about their nautical information. Among the stars (star - fōiɬ) they knew the

polar star -	olūol	Eagle	mailop
?	uolăgor	Three Kings	
?	ugelīga	(in Orion)	ŏliŏl
Procyon	mål	?	ɬarawūon
Pleiades	maraegiri	Virgo	tumur
Aldebaran	oūl	?	metarū
?	matjomáidan	?	tubulūp

2; Damm et al, --173 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 778 Faraulep

Krämer obtained an old string pouch with snail shells; it belonged to the head chief, and was considered to be holy. It hung from the ridge pole of the canoe house, and was supposed to have been used to teach navigation in former times; the snail shells represented islands (or stars?).

2: Damm et al, --173-174 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502 Faraulep

The compass rose (drawing 249) is on the same pattern as the one in Polowat. [CS: Omission of the native terms for the various points.] [174] The wind directions are:

etők e lap	wind from the west
xotőn e mái	wind from the east
eáùr u lăp	wind from the south
efáń e lăp	wind from the north
xotőu a fáń	wind from the northeast
nető a fáń	wind from the northwest
xotőu eáùr	wind from the southeast
nető eáùr	wind from the southwest

From the east and the west the sea is called la e lapalăp; from the south it is la e l'eáùr, from the north la el'efáń.

2: Damm et al. --175 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 484 Faraulep

Hambruch only heard about one boat, that drifted; it was an empty one, which came from Pur about five years before (about 1904). People were certainly blown off their course, although Hambruch did not hear of any instances of this. Kadu, Chamisso's authority, told about a Faraulip chief, who wanted to sail to Guam, but who was blown to Mogemog; he went home from there.

2; Dämm et al.--175-179 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 396 Faraulep

There were small canoes uă ju mĕn, and large ones uă ju lăp; in structure they did not show any appreciable differences from the canoes of the Central Carolines. [CS: Omission of the words for the parts of the canoe, and the boat tools; page 176 has drawings of the canoe, page 177 some expressions used in sailing.] [178]

Canoe Building. The large canoes for the high seas are built at the command of the high chief, and belong to the community. The following legend tells how men learned about canoe building: once upon a time Eluelap ordered Thelăn to build a canoe on Ponape, so that people might sail between the two islands. A man named Natsău helped him with this work, and so he learned a good deal about the construction of the boat. It was fashioned of bread-fruit wood, and built with shell axes, after fire had hollowed out almost all of the trunk. The keel length was measured (tĕti) as [179] 6 1/2 fathoms (oulăn năf ma kopŏe), in other words, the keel length of a large canoe. This measuring line is dedicated to Thelăn, and on both ends it has coconut pinnates (tjăts). Then as today the caulking material consisted of the heart of the breadfruit tree and young coconut leaves. The canoe was completed in three months, and Thelăn named it uă. Today the work takes between two and three months; the most important tasks are completed in six days. The whole village helps, and an architect (sĭnap) directs the work. Men not engaged in the building take care of the workers. But the process is frequently interrupted to let the wood dry out, and the free time is filled with feasts, which generally last for six days.

2; Damm et al. --179 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116. 505, 484 Faraulep

The five men on the crew were provided with two hundred coconuts and fifty coconut bottles of water; if they miss their goal, they must use fish, rain water, and if necessary, salt water. The cooking is done in a small sand box (fenán).

2: Damm et al. --180 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789, 177 Faraulep

As on all the Carolines, the natives practice weather magic with carved wooden figures (xós), equipped with ray stings (sting - pera, ray - fáix); occasionally they are hung with several coconut leaf knots (úwud) and with Seepocken to hold color to paint the statue. They are treated the same way as on Polowat. The much-traveled man Buimén brought this weather magic to Faraulip.

Before a long voyage the natives conjure Thelán in the following way: they blow a conch shell, and then hang it up in the big house where they return. Mats and coconuts are sacrificed to Alülue on the out-rigger. When they pull a sail boat on to the beach they sing a long song (báne), which really resembles a working song. [CS: Omission of the text of the song.]

2: Damm et al. --181-183 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 342 Faraulep

Types of houses. a) The dwellings (íim) are not alike on the gable sides, because a gable projection on poles appears here and there beside the smooth side of the gable. The huts stand on a fairly large rectangular platform of earth, which is edged with large headstones, and they have a place for the beams as well as board walls with four openings for doors. The roof (eáu er ím) has the typical western Carolinian form, with a ridge pole, that projects for quite a way. Roof mats - ás. The terms may be applied to the various sketches.

Fig. 261: floor plan of a dwelling.

1. fireplace enclosure üóóu e ferán
2. fire-place ferán, position of the hearth nan e ferán
3. ülüt
4. nen ni uróra
5. stone enclosure urór
6. place for the beams goráf, goráro
7. supporting beam for the projecting part of the ridge ɣamárumur.
8. door nerín (see Fig. 262), it turns on pivots (ɣatubetúp), and has a bolt pivot (áti), which fits into a special hole (uaríti). Door post - tsüm, threshold - urár, door moulding - pír i pín.

Fig. 263: interior view of the roof.

1. uŋarüɣ, uŋātšíg (upper ridge pole)
2. ridge pole uŋ́ŋ́
3. ilūtšíg
4. onobēl
5. gāp

Fig. 264 shows how the roof is fastened. It is upheld by supports (no. 2), which are attached to the purlins (no. 1).

Fig. 265 shows the outer side of the gable (píŋ́) of a house with the veranda roof (nugu e píŋ́).

1. lăre līpa píŋ́
2. uól le píŋ́
3. lăraɣi făŋ́ [183]
4. tărē lipa e făŋ́.
5. făŋ́.

The posts supporting the veranda roof are fátr'ím. Figure 266 [VMM: 2: Damm et al. 183] shows the construction of the inner side of the gable (tebâu); this is hung with coconut leaves and only the central post is decorated (see Fig. 267).

1. Central post šoár tebâu
2. íŋ́
3. tíŋ́ tebâu

a) The "large house" (fǎ́l) is the canoe-house, and it is also the real living and sleeping quarters for the men. The supporting pillars are trunks, which have been stripped of their bark and are rough hewn. The house is open on all sides, but the wind side may be hung with mats or palm fronds as they are needed. [184] The exterior seems very crude, and the interior does not look at all comfortable, with its heterogeneous collection of tools (nets, weirs, baskets, ropes, shells, etc.) on the posts and walls, and with its dirty mats on the floor, which are covered by mosquito nets spread on spears.

Parts of the roof framework (side view, Fig. 268) [VMM: See 2: Damm et al. 185).

1. uŋarŭ́x, 2. uŭ́n, 3. bxuŏ́t 4. xǎ́t 5. uó́i 6. gapaŋǎ́x, eǎ́xth is roof mat. The scaffolding of the roof rests on the corner posts, but it is not fastened to them in any way. Fig. 269 [VMM: See 2 Damm et al. 184] shows the frame work from below, with the following parts: 1. lali erŭ́ 2. goi i tjǎ́m 3. and 4. dari e lǎ́pe 5. tí́f 6. wǎ́i i ŭ́p.

b) Ponijŏ́u's spirit-house has a saddle roof and smooth gable sides; the hut is surrounded by a stone pavement.

c) cookhouse (malŭ́m). The leaf roof (eijŏ́l) rests on four crude posts (sura); the projecting portion is supported on both gable sides by four lighter pillars (uǎ́r etŭ́t). Mat walls (tire) are only placed on the wind side; the fire wood lies in this

part of the hut, while the earth oven (ŭ́m) is in the middle, and the other side is intended for scraps.

d) Houses for confinement and menstrual houses (ím malipár) are just dwellings, which are smaller and less well-finished. [185] In the inventory we can put weapons, the household implements that we have already mentioned, head supports (elüdü), cradles (ülóíila) made with a rectangular frame (ealó) which is strung with a string net (metád) and sleeping mats (ɣiági; sleeping place - nanie).

Experts (šínap) build the house, and make the canoes. On Faraulip there were three of these craftsmen in 1909. They are paid the price that they ask; usually they want food. All of the village inhabitants help with the work, and in two weeks or a month it is completed. Bread-fruit wood is the material used. The "big house" is constructed at the command of the high chief; like the large canoes, it is made by the community and belongs to the whole group.

2: Damm et al. --185-186 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 162, 361 Faraulep

There are villages on the main island Faraulip and on Pix; but Hambruch found that the third island Ead was uninhabited, and only stone pedestals overgrown with plants and abandoned taro fields gave evidence that it was formerly settled. The colonies belong to a chief and two sub-chiefs. On Faraulip there are eighteen dwellings, four blood houses and one spirit house. [CS: Omission of the table describing the residents of each one, page 185-186] [186] So in this colony there were 22 men, 28 women, 17 boys, 11 girls; a total of 78 persons, in addition to 14 who were at Yap at the moment. The total population was therefore 92.

2; Damm et al, --186-187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 162 Faraulep

On Pix Hambruch found 17 dwellings, 14 cookhuts and 2 spirit-houses; with 15 men, 24 women, 10 girls, 13 boys, or 62 persons all together. There was also the abandoned post of the Japanese merchant. Hambruch's survey resulted in the following table:

1. and 2.	oue e rūx	4 men, 5 women, 1 girl, 1 boy
3.	nanūefat	1 man, 2 women, 1 girl, 2 boys
4.	materemēijūr	3 men, 4 women, 2 girls, 3 boys (the house planks were "sewed" together with a rope)[187]
5.	fareiāń	1 man, 4 women, 2 boys
6.	orifāra	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 2 boys
7.	oripēi	1 man, 2 women, 1 boy
8.	xateubūr	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 1 boy
9.	ralūń	1 man, 3 women, 2 girls, 1 boy.

2; Damm et al, --187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411, 721, 177 Faraulep

In former times there were a good many wars (fitéx), and today the natives fight with spears, sticks and knuckle dusters of sharks teeth (rajarás). They hurl stones with their hands. No bows and arrows are used. The victor orders the battle to cease. Declaration of war - máud, armistice - elaméle máud.

Hambruch found that the following terms are used to denote relationships:
grandfather (on the father's side) puije tamai
grandmother (on the father's side) tjin i tamai
grandfather (on the mother's side) tematemax puijetjin
grandmother (on the mother's side) puije tjin temai tjine
father temai tamai
mother iin tjin
brother manieanai
younger brother puiji
older brother mar'npei
sister eietogovei
older sister manieai (this is probably identical with the Polowat term moneal; compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 143).
husband tsoginiane
wife eutay
son sari
daughter nigau
father's brother marinepai e tamai
mother's brother puijid

son's son lán in mán
son's daughter lán in rawút
daughter's son náuin
daughter's daughter náuin rawút
Certain terms are used to designate age:
man mán
woman rawút, faífín
old man itagíl e mán
old woman itagíl e medú e faí.
Hambruch does not list any terms designating children and young people.

2: Damm et al. --189 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 595 Faraulep

Generally the natives are monogamous, but a man can have several wives, and the chief had four.

2: Damm et al. --189 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 582 Faraulep

A man is permitted to marry when he can fish, sail, row, make palm wine; in short, when he can provide nourishment for a woman.

2: Damm et al. --189 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 584 Faraulep

A man asks a girl if she will be his; but the maiden does not reply at once, for she wants to get better acquainted with him. The lovers spend a great deal of time together; the man provides nuts, fish, decorations, etc., and the woman supplies him with mats, food, taro, etc. When she finally agrees to marry him, he goes to her father, and gets his consent; and he takes mats, fish, etc., as a present. If he is refused, it sometimes happens that the girl weds him in spite of her father.

2: Damm et al. --189 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 585 Faraulep

There is a big feast for the wedding; the relatives on both sides prepare it, and the whole village takes part in the celebration. The girl receives taro swamps, two or three bread-fruit trees and some coconut palms as a dowry; the man, on the other hand, pays his father-in-law 30 to 200 coconuts, 3-10 bread-fruit and some taro bowls.

2: Damm et al. --189 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Faraulep

The husband goes to his wife's house, and works there; but occasionally he visits his parents too. At first the bride pays little attention to the housekeeping, for the parents do everything for the young couple; later the married daughter helps too. The young wife does not bother about the house of her parents-in-law; she usually just goes there when they have something to eat.

2: Damm et al. --189 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 836, 864 Faraulep

As a rule, there is no sexual intercourse before the marriage, but this is not always true. The older people instruct the younger ones systematically about it (ria - vagina, ŏunum - clitoris).

2: Damm et al.--189 [7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 839 Faraulep

Fat people practice cunnilingus, and usually three or four times a month.

2: Damm et al. --189 [8] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 832 Faraulep

The lips of the vulva (fix) are artificially lengthened.

2: Damm et al. --189 [9] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 548 Faraulep

Prostitution exists, and the girls give their mothers the compensation which they receive; there is no special name for them.

2: Damm et al. --189 [10] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 843 Faraulep

A woman knows that she is pregnant when she stops menstruating. Just a little while before her confinement she goes to the menstrual house and stays there for two months. The islanders believe that the child will die if there is any sexual intercourse for five or six months after its birth.

2: Damm et al. --189 [11] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 845 Faraulep

There was no material available about twins.

2: Damm et al. --189 [12] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 846 Faraulep

When the first child is born, the husband's father gives the father-in-law a large quantity of fish, nuts and bread-fruit.

2: Damm et al. --189 [13] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684 Faraulep

If a man commits adultery, he is punished by having to pay a high fine.

2: Damm et al. --190 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 422, 562 Faraulep

Personal possessions are divided between the sexes;

the man has:	the woman has:
the dwelling	taro swamps
coconut palms	kitchen utensils
tools	occasionally a canoe
fishing utensils	

2; Damm et al. --190 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 562 Faraulep

Together they [KS: men and women] own bananas and bread-fruit trees, while the large canoes and the big canoe-house belong to the village. The chief has to look after the repairs, but the villagers are ready to assist him.

2: Damm et al. --190 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 428 Faraulep

If the husband dies, the wife inherits the taro fields, while the house goes to the next oldest brother of the deceased. Generally this man marries the widow, and also takes the children under his protection. If he dies, the oldest child looks after his mother and sisters.

2: Damm et al. --190 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462 Faraulep

The work is divided between the husband and wife;

the man:	the woman:
clears the land	cultivates the taro
lays out the bread-fruit plantations	cultivates the sweet potatoes
cooks in the canoe-house	prepares the food .
makes ropes	does the weaving.
builds canoes	
builds the house	

Death (emḗia) and Burial (iragegērī́gi). The parents, sisters and relatives all take care of the sick person; but if he dies, they rub his face carefully with yellow paint (rā́n), and put a little of it on the rest of his body. Finally, they wrap him in clothing mats. Men and women sing mourning songs, and then they carry the corpse to a large boat, which lies to the east; this is done at the behest of Eluelap, who said that the deceased should be taken in this direction. Then the body is carried outside the reef, laid in a net, that is weighted with stones (śrṓu), and sunk in the sea (gaterṓulâux). Burial occurs on the same day as the death. The dead are devoured by fish, and the bones fall to the bottom of the ocean.

2: Damm et al. --190 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 765 Faraulep

After four to five weeks, [KS: after burial] there is a big funeral feast (eáxi gíri méxa), and this is also a means of repaying the friends and relatives for their mats. For three months the widow and widower (nipith) are not allowed to cut their hair.

2: Damm et al. --190-191 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 764 Faraulep

Formerly the dead were buried, and stone pavements were laid over their graves (sětje). Then the Yap natives, who thus fulfilled the wish of the god Yŏnelaf, urged them [191] to bury the bodies in the sea. This applies to the inhabitants of Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik and Faraulip. This information of Hambruch is especially interesting because it connects the two types of burial in point of time, and it also shows that the sinking of the dead is tied up with the Yŏnelaf cult. If we consider that there were migrations to the Carolines from the east and the west on the basis of the spread of the aînan, Hambruch's statement shows the most important elements of the wave of culture that infiltrated from the west.

2: Damm et al. --191 . (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 565, 621 Faraulep

In addition to the family, there was the clan, as it was described on Polowat. There were the clans Wolēĭ, in which Ligilăk was the monainan in 1909, Ellanaidjau, Sauwōl, Saufalăsik and Monolifer.

The population was divided into the following class groups:

a) high chief (tamōl, e pi mōōn) and his family.
b) three lesser chiefs (poirim, auelig and mānu) and their families.
c) the rest of the population.

2: Damm et al. --191 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Faraulep

The rank of high chief is hereditary, and it is traced back to the first settlers. The first tamol was on Ead, and in olden days there was one on Faraulip and on Pix. The high chief takes charge of the "big" house, orders men to start the community enterprises, keeps an eye on the soil and the fishing, acts as a judge, and watches over the peace in his village. If anyone refuses obedience, he is deprived of his field. If the high chief dies, his brothers inherit the title according to age, and it is only then that the sons of the deceased become chief. Women can never rule, and if there are no direct male successors, the male children of the high chief's family take the office.

Should the high chief be a minor, the poirím acts as regent until the child is adolescent. In case of his death, the poirím no. 2 takes his place, in case there are no sons of the first poirím. In the event of the decease of the young chief, the first poirím becomes high chief.

The lesser chiefs are the spokesmen; they transmit the commands of the high chief, and see to it that they are executed.

The large fishing expeditions are arranged, work is discussed and justice promulgated in the assemblies (xopái), which take place in the "big" house.

2: Damm et al. --191-192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Faraulep

Real estate is divided between the two class groups: the high chief had 24 plots, in addition to Ead and Pix Islands [192] (at times he put tabus on these properties so that no one might go there), the poirim had 17 lots, the aûelig 20, and the mánu 13. They let the villagers till their possessions, and pay for the labor with coconuts.

2: Damm et al. --192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173 Faraulep

Reckoning backwards from 1909, the names of the chiefs are: Sâuerŭ, Gavŭs (about 1885), Parōa, Mareróiisâu, Nēipŏl (about 1804; he is the historic Alberto), Ragetéx, Thamolrăs. * At the time of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition, the two lesser chiefs were Šâuwul and Măroijam.

---

* Lütke (1835, Vol. II, page 344) adds that a certain Kafalu was chief of Ifaluk and Faraulip; this man does not belong to the succession on Ifaluk or on Faraulip; but it is not impossible that he was speaking about a moñaiñan.

2; Damm et al. --192 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692 Faraulep

The high chief is the supreme judge.

2: Damm et al. - 192 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685, 627 Faraulep

If any one steals nuts, the whole village is called to the "big" house; it is then blocked off with a rope, and the thief is not allowed to enter until he has made amends to the chief. If the thief cannot be caught, the natives go to his house and take anything that they want.

2: Damm et al. --192 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 578 Faraulep

Insults like manu butšo - confounded fellow, go tḗ pirá manemu eái-do not steal from me! or xo na fēe manemu monáianum - use your own sister! frequently lead to blows. But the contestants seldom fight until one of them dies. If this does occur, the brother of the slain man makes certain demands; otherwise these are not required.

2: Damm et al. --192 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684 Faraulep

Adultery is punished by fines.

2: Damm et al. --192 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685 Faraulep

Arson is a serious crime, and it is punished by death; then the house of the culprit is burned too. If anyone dares burn the "big" house, the whole village beats him to death.

2: Damm et al. --192 [7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 681 Faraulep

If fines cannot be collected, the creditor appropriates an equivalent sum from the debtor, but the chief must first be informed of this procedure.

2: Damm et al. --193-194
116, 173, 731

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-3
Faraulep

We know nothing about the history of the first settlement of this island group. We only know that the inhabitants were very warlike, that they destroyed each other in one battle after another, and that the island was resettled at a later time by natives from Ifaluk. This was during the reign of the high chief Thamolrâs, and so he is considered to be the first chief. This story gives some information about his epoch:

War between Faraulip and Pix

Nargetumâr, who was a native of Pix, had insulted the people of Faraulip, and they threatened him dreadfully when he left their island. So when he got home, he said to his men: "Get ready! Tomorrow the Faraulip islanders will come to fight us!" Accordingly, the Pix inhabitants made spears for themselves, and the Faraulip men also got ready, but neither side had the courage to start the battle. One night the Faraulip men went fishing, and only a small group remained with the women and children in the village. Then the Pix natives made a surprise attack on them, and killed a large number of people. At dawn the canoes returned and found the massacre. Then the Pix men suddenly overwhelmed the defenseless fishermen in their boats, and only a few managed to escape in the open sea or in the thicket. The Pix islanders remained for a time on Faraulip, and then departed.

At that time a Yap native was staying on Faraulip, so the few survivors went to him, and inquired if he would be willing to help them against Pix. He agreed, and performed

a magic spell; then a high sea (probably a typhoon) came and destroyed many houses on Pix; and many people perished too, so that only twenty were left. But the ocean wreaked havoc on Faraulip too, and all the inhabitants died save one, who had fled into the jungle. The Yap islander died shortly after his conjuration.

The one Faraulip survivor, whose name was Uērlipār, went to the reef, caught 20 oméi fish in baskets, laid them in a ūx basket, and took it to Pix. First he called for the chief. An old man crawled up to him, leaning on canes. "Here, do you want the fish? Come and get it!", said the Faraulip man. The old chief [194] came up, and then the fisherman took him into the canoe and cracked his skull open with the fish club. Then he summoned all of the people in turn, and killed them. Finally he was alone; he did not like that, and so he went to Unaneí (Oleai), and got married; then he returned home to Faraulip with his wife. But upon his arrival, he found a canoe from Ifaluk; the crew had taken possession of the island, and they forbade him to land. So he went to Pix, and settled there. For this reason many of the cultural advantages that are found on Faraulip did not originate there, but came from Ifaluk.

Under the reign of chief Ragetéx a great typhoon struck Faraulip, and it did an enormous amount of damage. It struck Oleai and Aurepik too, but did not do so much harm. This storm killed many people, and destroyed all the palm trees, so the natives did not have anything to eat. Fortunately a canoe appeared from Oleai, it took the survivors

back to that island, and saved them from the worst period of the famine. Then when the trees and plants had started to grow again, the people returned home. Shortly after this, a second typhoon blew across the island; it tore down some huts and a few palms, but did not do any greater damage.

Chief Nĕipŏ̆l is the historical Alberto, whom Lütke and v. Kittlitz met in 1828, and who impressed them with his European manners and his knowledge of Spanish; he had spent two years on the Marianas.

The natives told Hambruch that the first white men came about this time; they did not land, but just stayed in the lagoon. They must have been Spaniards, and Luis de Torres may have been in the group, for he visited the islands in 1804. The natives gave him coconuts and other things, and they received European products from the Spaniards in exchange. They already knew about iron (parăn) *, for they had seen it on Lamutrik, which got it from Guam; it is possible that some of the Faraulip men had gone to Guam themselves.

While Marerŏ̆ï isaŭ was chief, the natives undertook fishing expeditions to an extent that they have not equalled since. During this same period whalers appeared twice (whale - răs); they were American three-masted schooners. Then a German merchant came to Oleai for the first time; this is important because it is a means of determining the date of the chief's rule.

* This word throws a good deal of light on the origin of this new kind of material, for parăn is the Malay word for bush knife, or for a sword with a straight blade.

2; Damm et al. --194-195 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 175 Faraulep

During the reign of chief Gavŭs, a German ship "Karerein" (probably Kathrine) was shipwrecked one night in the channel; its Captain was named [195] Becker. He and his crew (two white men, some Sandwich islanders, and a Samoan)remained for a year and a half on the island. Becker had a weakness for rum; in fact, the disaster was due to his drunkenness; he was later taken to Ponape. One of the white men had a son, who was 25 years old in 1909; so the wreck must have occurred in 1885.

Sauerŭ was the chief in 1909; he had travelled extensively, and was very enterprising. It was under his regime that the merchant O'Keefe and the Japanese settled on the island; one of the latter died on Faraulip. While Hambruch was on the island, he lay at home with influenza. He hoped that a magician could cure him; the magician didn't help him but Hambruch's quinine did.

2: Damm et al.--196-197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Faraulep

The natives tell this story about the creation of the world. The original reef (olethapathăp, see Fig. 272, a) lies far below the earth; it brought forth Solăl (♂), Alüelăp (♂) and Eoitšăn (♀). Then Solăl planted a stick in the reef, and it grew very fast. Alüelăp took a little earth, and climbed up on this stick (Fig. 272, h). When he was half way up, he scattered some of the earth, and so he created the world (d), and he put his sister Eoitšăn, who is a being similar to man, over it. Then he went up to the heavens (lăn, f), and moved into the large house (fatšumal, g). He created the first inhabitants of the earth, a woman, whose name was Legobŭ, and the man Nigoburonial-üăl. Both of them lived in the east, perhaps on Ponape, but the natives are not sure about this. At the behest of the god Alüelăp, they begat a number of boys and [197] girls, then they traveled from island to island, and in each place they left a youth and a maiden, in order that they might populate the isles. Then they went farther west, where they encountered some other (!) people. Another version tells how every human being, Kanakas as well as white men come from this first couple.

2: Damm et al. --196-197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 821 Faraulep

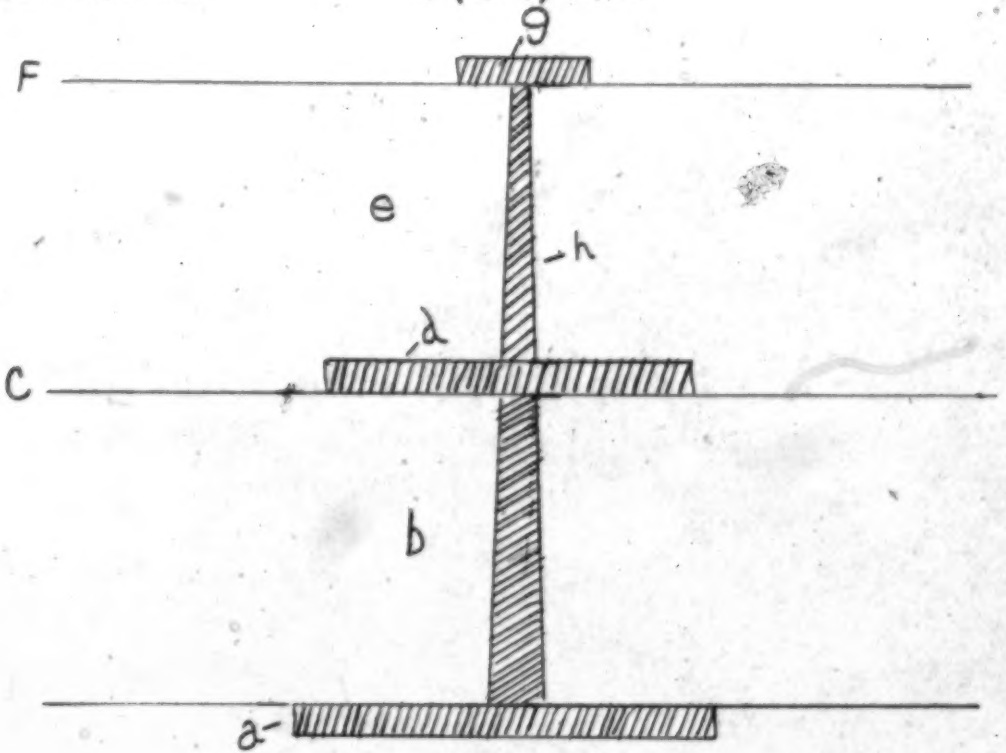


Fig. 272. Diagram of the Universe (after Hambruch's sketch).

2: Damm et al. --197 (1909) 1938 Wolcaians 1-3
11h, 77h Faraulep

Solál (Thâuulál, Thâulalŭ) rules the underworld (ilálo); he is a creature half man, and half fish. He created the animals in the sea, and then put an administrator over each island, in order to assure a fine catch for all the inhabitants. The sun shines in the underworld when it is night on earth. The islanders believe that this land is more luxuriant than the world, and they picture it as a kind of Utopia. The primeval reef is here too. Alŭelăp orders Solál to stir up the ocean; this produces typhoons, and people perish.

2: Damm et al. --197 [2] (1909) 1938 Yoleaians
116, 772 Faraulep

In the heavens (lán) there is a very large house (fatšumál), where Alüelăp (also Eluelăp), who is a creature half man and half fish, stays, and where all good people go. Alüelăp created the world, he made the sun which shines on the earth during the day, and then casts its light on the underworld at night. He also made the lightning (worowór) and the thunder (bátš), and he uses them both to get rid of wicked people. Alüelăp is careful to see that everything on earth, in the whole universe in fact, is done in order.

Alüelăp has a wife, but her name is not known; their children are Nimegĕï (♀), who gave men the coconut, and Lugĕĭleń (♂), but there is still another version about the origin of the latter. On Faraulip as on Polowat, Lugĕĭleń is considered to be the confidant of the celestial deity. He had two wives; one in heaven, whose name was Lāmelŭl (Ilamalŭl), and one on earth, Taiaurŏx; she was the mother of his son Olufăth, while the other marriage was childless. The section on legends tells about the deeds of this god, who is known everywhere on the Carolines.

According to legend, Alüelăp had some more adopted children; and among them Thelăń and Paluelăp are especially important for the islanders. The former is the inventor of canoe-building, and it is to him that the natives dedicate the measuring string with two coconut pinnates (tjătš) hanging at the ends, and the canoe ax. The latter made the first sail, and he knows all the paths on the sea. For that reason, when the Captains want to be sure of reaching their goal safely, and of having a calm sea, they sacrifice a coconut and a mat to Paluelăp in the canoe house. His son Elülŭe is his helper in everything.

2: Damm et al. --197-198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Then the good woman Marăn (moon) also lives in the heavens. She would like to have everyone live, and it is she who lets children be born. Her opposite is Nigesegĕs, who lives in the sky too. She is bad, and lets [198] people die. If anyone on earth has committed a crime, Alüelăp tells Nigesegĕs to have him die. But Marăm opposes this, and says: Sĕ mă! (do not die!). The men die, but they all become little children, and grow up again, so they do not really perish. (Here we seem to be pretty close to the belief in immortality). In olden days people did not die. But when Alüelăp saw how many things they had already accomplished since they were created, and how many things they had made which he did not even have in heaven, he told Nigesegĕs to let them die.

2: Damm et al. --198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians 1-2
116, 776, 241 Faraulep

The ruler of the air (oiutjăr; the blue of the heaven - li ma râuerâû) is Thâûûr, a brother of Solăl; he is the intermediary between the heavens and the underworld, and he communicates the wishes of Alüelăp and Solăl to mankind. He takes care of the ripening of the bread-fruit, taro, sweet potatoes, and any other foods.

2: Damm et al. --198 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776, 783 Faraulep

Yoṅelā́f

is regarded as a kind of demon. And since he brings the typhoon, he is greatly feared on the lower Caroline Islands. There is a story about how he became known on the islands:

Once upon a time the Yap men wanted to sail to Palau. But a strong wind rose, and blew them to Oleai. They told the inhabitants that a powerful king, Yoṅelā́f, ruled in Yap, and that all the islands as far as Tarō̃a (Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands) belonged to him. If they did not want to be destroyed by a typhoon, they should bring him some presents in the immediate future. The Oleai islanders were somewhat incredulous about this story, but they were rather frightened, and so they made regular sacrifices to Yoṅelā́f. This cult spread east from Oleai.

Hambruch also heard about a fabulous country, Matā́ṅ, which is supposed to lie in the east, and it is certainly the same thing as the Mēhā́ṅ of Polowat.

Hambruch said that mighty men like Ponijō̃u, who became famous on account of his fish magic, were made local deities, and that the natives sacrificed to them in little spirit huts.

2: Damm et al. --198-199 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Kingdom of the dead, and conception of the soul.
The souls of the dead (faga bŭobu) go up to Alüelăp in the heavens; those of good men enter the fatšumăl, while the bad souls are taken into the fire (iăf), which burns at a considerable distance from Alüelăp's house. After two months they are removed from the fire, and sent back to earth, where they roam around in the air as spirits, and trouble the reefs, the ocean and the thicket. [199] (good spirit - eakatjŭ, bad spirit - eanăne). Then they appear to various people in dreams, and bring them good or bad news. Generally they show themselves to a chief, who thereupon executes the orders of the deceased. Frequently the spirit also enters an ordinary man, who then utters a kind of prophecy (kifini). In 1909 there were no more of these people, because the proper magic charm had perished with the last one of them.

2: Damm et al. --199 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 791 Faraulep

Only a wise man (tâu bǎ́nebaṅ) can make magic. His equipment consists of

a) tšŏripŏ: young coconut pinnates bound around his right wrist.

b) xejapetǎ́x: young coconut pinnates fastened around the neck, and tied with the characteristic knot (buxebŭ́x).

c) ūwŭ́d tǎ́bi'ip: young coconut leaf strips, which are used to rub the patient, while the spells are uttered; then the strips are hung on the canoe mast for Alūlue.

d) xŭ́rup: "medicine", stirred in coconut water, which the patient drinks.

e) xuǎ́li ūwŭ́d: leaf pinnates (ilagĭ́t) of the coconut frond; they are used like c) and then laid in the canoe.

f) popŏ́u: a large palm frond, which is used to drive the demon of disease out of the house.

g) tšŏ́tš: the same kind of medicine bag that is used on Polowat; it is made of coconut fibre from the leaf covering (leaf strips for decoration - eǎ́m, fibre pouch - ūd, medicine - tǎ́fe.)

2: Damm et al. --199-200 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 755 Faraulep

Hambruch watched a disease conjuration; the chief had influenza, and so he called the tau banebau, who had this conversation with him:

"Why are you sick?"

"Alas, I am sick all over, in my head, arms, legs, stomach!"

"Are you a good man?"

"Yes, I am good!"

"I do not believe it!"

"No, I am good!"

"If you were good, Alüelap would not have made you ill. I believe that you have scolded people, or stolen some of their goods...."

[200] [CS: omission of the conjuration.]

2: Damm et al. --200-201 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789 Faraulep

Another important charm is the matśumáts, the weather magic. There are two types: a) when there has been no rain for a long time, the chief defecates in a sailbreadth (giri), and hangs the excrement up in the big house (fál). [201] The conch shell is also blown occasionally to produce rain. Children sail toy boats for one kind of field magic. This applies to the bread-fruit, which is the most important item of food for the islanders, because they use it to make a kind of preserve, which helps them over the famine. When the ripening season starts - growth and ripening require six months - each boy makes a toy boat (uárits) and sails it as a greeting for the bread-fruit. Alüelap ordered Thauur to tell men about these toy boats.

2: Damm et al. --201
116, 784

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

At certain times there are injunctions (etāb: Polynesian tabu); for example, the chief put tabu signs on his property, so that no one could set foot on it.

The deeds of Olufáth

Taíauóx was to have a child by Lugéileń. She lived on an island (the name is not known) where the woman's body was cut open at birth... Lugéileń said to her: "When the pains start, sigh deeply, pull in the upper portion of the stomach, and then the child will appear!" When she reached this point, Olufáth emerged from her head (bregma). Shortly after he was born, he ran to a palm tree. The mother said: "Wait; you are all covered with blood, let me wash you!" "Oh, I can wash myself!" And he washed the blood off on the palm trunks, which have been red ever since. He grew quickly. Taíauóx said: "Come, I will cut off your umbilical cord!" "Oh, I can do that." And he cut it off. He remained on the earth, and played with the other children. But one day there was a quarrel. Then the children said: "Go to your father!" "I do not have one; alas, he is in the heavens!" And Olufáth ran to his mother. When he began to ask questions about his father, she complained and did not tell him anything.

One night Olufáth was thirsty. The other boys had opened coconuts themselves, and drunk the milk from them, but Olufáth had not; his father had bidden Taíauóx to pour the contents of the nut into a vessel, and to have him drink from that. But now Olufáth cracked a nut himself, and raised it to his lips; then he saw his father. "I want to go to my father! How can I go to him, tell me!" "You shall go to him very soon", said the mother. And Lugeiléń said to Taíauóx: "If my son wants to come to me, light a fire,

and put wood on it until it smokes." Taiauǒx obeyed. Olufáth seated himself on the smoke, and was born up to the heavens. As he arrived, he saw a group of boys who were playing with little boats. "Come and lend me a canoe!" "Who does he think he is? Whence does this strange boy come? We are not going to give him our canoes." And they went on playing. Only one boy let Olufáth play with his boat. Olufáth amused himself with it, then gave it back to the boy and went on his way. But the boats that belonged to the other boys sailed away, and only the one remained.

Elsewhere some boys were playing with sharks, which were still tame at that time. "Let me play too, and lend me a fish!" "Who is he? Where does this boy come from?" And they paid no further attention to him; but one boy [203] loaned Olufáth a fish. After he had played with it, he returned it. Then when the other boys wanted to play with their fish again, they found that the sharks had big teeth; and all of the boys were bitten save only the one. This same episode occurred with the small nex fish (gar?).

When Olufáth climbed a mountain, he saw some men cutting palm leaves to make a new roof for Eluelap's house. "Let me have the knife; I want to cut leaves too!" "Nonsense! Who knows the Boy?" Only one man gave him the knife. Olufáth cut some palm fronds with it. Then night fell. When the men wanted to work the next morning, their hands stuck to the tools, while others, who grabbed hold of the palm trunks or the fronds could not let go of them. And so it was for all of them, save only the one.

A path led past the palm tree; Olufáth urinated on it, and then crouched in the thicket. Lugeilḗń appeared in a little while. He walked in the puddle, made a big fuss, but did not know who had caused it. Olufáth sat in the bushes, and made a sound like a bird: "Hi, hi!" Lugeilḗń went on his way, and he came to the place where the workmen were stuck fast to the trees. Then he knew that Olufáth had come, he was glad, and he set the men free. He entered the big house, and Olufāth came, but not as a man; he looked much more like the bird golṵ́ń. Lugeilḗń said: "Come"! But Olufāth ran away. Then Lugeilḗń cried: "Go away!" And then Olufāth approached. And now he did not look like a bird, but he lay in front of his father like a pile of mud. "Come out!" said Lugeilḗń, and then Olufáth appeared in human form.

The people in the large house said: "One beam has decayed; tomorrow we shall go to get another." Then they all went to sleep, and Olufāth also. When the sun rose, the men hastened into the thicket, cut a post, brought it into the house, and wanted to put it in the place of the soft one. But first they had to dig a hole. They told Olufáth about it. He took the nerve of a palm leaf and a small leaf, stuck them in his loin girdle, and then made the hole. He had scarcely finished it when the men took the post, and rammed it through his body into the hole. They thought that he must be dead now, but such was not the case. When it was night, he took the coconut nerve, hollowed out the post with it, and climbed up through it. He sat down on the ridge pole, and watched how the others ate coconuts and told each other about his death. Then he took the one little piece of

coconut leaf, which he had stuck into his belt on the previous day before he dug the hole; he enchanted it, and out of the little piece of leaf came a nut, which grew larger all the time. He took it and threw it in the midst of the assembly. "See, I am not dead at all!" Then they saw that Olufáth was sitting up on the ridge pole. Later the men in the big house made a fish weir. It was still not completed, for in the interior parts of it had to be drawn together; Olufáth was supposed to do this. He got some wood out of the thicket, put a plant in his mouth [204] and crawled into the weir. The men hastily pulled it up, put it on a canoe, and took it out beyond the reef. Here they threw the weir into deep water, and now they believed that Olufáth was finally dead. But the plant which he held in his mouth, kept him up on top; and he even succeeded in getting out of the weir; then he caught a number of fish, and stuck them inside the basket. He made himself look like a man suffering from ringworm, and then he reached land before the men who had wanted to kill him. And the weir lay full of fish on the beach. Then Lugeilén came, and so the two were together in the big house when the others arrived. When they entered, they said that the man was Lugeilén. "No, it does not look like him. Could it be Olufáth?" "But he lies in the deep water beyond the reef." When they came into the house, they found that it was indeed Olufáth. And he told them about the weir, which was full of fish on the shore. The men went to fetch it at once, and found that it was completely full. Olufáth took a fish and went to the Thunder's house; he took his wife,

gave her the fish, and slept with her. Then the Thunder came and saw what Olufáth had done. When he tried to catch the culprit, Olufáth ran into the big house. The same thing occurred with the wives of the Lightning and the man Poīs; the husbands always discovered that they had been deceived, but they never could catch the agile Olufáth. However, Olufáth almost came to grief with the last one. Poīs was a very strong man, and Olufáth was afraid. So he took a stone, and threw it into Poīs' eye before he fled to the big house. Then he got another fish, and ran with it to Fēla's house. It happened that Fēla was in the thicket, and so Olufáth treated his wife as he had the others. But the husband returned just as he was getting ready to leave. Olufáth ran immediately, because Fēla had a fish line. He caught Olufáth's ear with the hook, pulled him back, and whipped him until he was nearly dead. Fēla also stuck both of his eyes out, and buried them beside his house.

Then Lugeilēń came and looked for his son. He smelled the decay, and found that Olufáth was dead. He made a spell quickly, and Olufáth came back to life. Now he was supposed to go with Lugeilēń, but he did not want to leave until he had killed Fēla. So he entered the house, slew him, knocked his teeth out, and threw them into the sea. Then he joined his parents in the heavens; he loves dancing and singing, and directs them on the squares in the heavens and on the earth.

Lugeilĕn

Two women, Wavŭ and Pugelŭ, lived on the earth. Each one had a daughter, and each daughter had an orange tree (these were introduced by Europeans). But they were not alike, for one bore better fruit than the other. Then one maiden stole an orange from the other [205]. The sister noticed it, and whipped the culprit. Finally they both began to weave a clothing mat at dawn. But one of them stopped at noon, for the other, the weaker woman, had used magic charms, and had completed her task.

Then Nisarĕla came; he seized the one who had completed her mat and took her up to the heavens. A little king, Mesenienŏtu, lived in the eastern part of the heavens, and he married this woman. In a little while, she bore a son, but he did not have a name; he was a good and likeable child. Eluelăp was fond of him, took him, and called him Lugeilĕn. He made him a great king in the heavens.

How Nimĕgei Gave Men the Coconut

In olden days there were palms, but no nuts. Then Eluelăp had a daughter, Nimegĕi. She was pregnant, but she did not give birth to a child; a coconut appeared instead. She filled it with earth, and let it alone. After ten days it sprouted. Nimegĕi did not know what it was. The thing grew quickly, and became a palm tree which had many, many coconuts. Then Eluelăp said to four men: "See to it that nobody steals the nuts from the tree, or carries away the fallen ones!" But Lugeilĕn took one secretly, carried it to

Mogemog, and planted it there. It grew rapidly, and bore a fine crop of nuts. Then all the people sailed to Mogemog in their canoes, and got coconuts. And this is the way that the coconut came to the islands.

The Origin of Thelăn and His Brothers.

Eluelăp had three more sons, Thelăn and Alülemăth. They were carpenters. Thelăn went to the colored people, and Alülemăth to the whites, and taught them how to build canoes. Thelăn built a boat in Mălip on Ponape; and the art spread from there to the west; he also constructed houses, but his mind was always set on practical matters. Alülemăth went to the white men, taught them sciences, showed them how to make ships, and made them clever.

According to another version: two men, Thelăn and Themarüx, are the brothers of Alülemăth. The first two stay with the natives, and Alülemăth with the whites. The three are not the real children of Eluelăp; they really sprang from the woman Legobŭ and the man Nigoburonialüăl, and both of them came from the woman Eoĭtšăn. The couple had the three sons whom I have named; they were very clever, and Eluelăp loved them so much that he adopted them and gave them their names. Another son (of this couple?) is Palŭelap, who has a son Elülŭe. [206]

Eluelăp spoke to his sister Eoĭtšăn: "Create men!" Eoĭtšăn communicated this order to Legobŭ. She obeyed, but she had nothing to eat. When she woke up the next morning,

she found a great deal of food, because she had dreamed about it. But if she dreamed that she did not have anything, nothing was provided in the morning. Eluelăp always let her dream about what she needed to live. Themarŭx built the house, Thelăn the canoe. Palŭelap is the man who points the way on trips, and it is he who invented the sail. His son Elŭlŭe helps him.

The Women Nagē.

Two friends dwelt in Ifaluk: Nagēibiorŭ (1) and Nagēirifan (2). Once when they came to Ifaluk, they began to quarrel. Then Nagē 2 took a coconut husk, filled it with sand, and went out to sea. She scattered the sand in the water, and an island appeared; it was Faliĕu. There were no palms on it, just low underbrush, and so nobody could live on it. This woman had a son, Fagĕm e tau, and a daughter Lewauuŏt, but she died. When the son had grown up, he said to his mother: "Make me a canoe!" The mother made a toy boat for him. "If this canoe ever sails away from you, climb on to it!" Later the boat sailed off, so the lad swam after it, and got into the craft. It carried him to Ifaluk. He saw a number of boys there, and he taught them how to build toy boats. Nagē 1 had stayed in Ifaluk. One day a boy said: "Where does this boy come from, and why have we not seen him before?" Nagē 1 heard this. Since Fagĕm e tau looked very like his mother, she asked him whence he had come. He told her, and then spoke about his mother. Then Nagē 1 took him in her house, and he dwelt with her.

Ponijoū

Ponijoū was a man who died a short time ago. During his lifetime he was renowned on account of his fish magic, which was particularly effective for flying fish. Since he died nobody knows the charm, and so the natives built a small spirit house for him. When Sāuerū is asleep, Ponijoū appears to him occasionally, and tells him that it is a propitious moment for the men to go fishing. If the expedition is not successful, the fisherman goes to Ponijoū's house, and leaves a present. Ponijoū orders and prohibits the fishing expeditions, but the chief is always the intermediary.

How Fire Came to Men.

Eluelāp made fire, and gave it to Olufāth, who hid it in a bamboo, and then brought it to men on earth. He showed them how you can bore a fire with the help of pieces of wood. [207]

How Lugeīlēń Taught Men Coitus.

In olden days women did not have any genital organs, and men knew nothing about sexual intercourse; they could only eat and drink. Then Eluelāp sent Lugeīlēń down to earth, and he came to the man Niparāra, and to the woman Temoṅemōṅ; he said to the latter: "Do you not have a husband?" The woman replied: "Why yes!" "Well, where is he?" "He is fishing." "Is that all you know? Don't you know anything else?" As he spoke these words, Lugeīlēn removed the woman's clothing mat, and he saw that she

did not have any organs. So he stuck two fingers inside, and formed her genitals. Then he used her and finally he departed. Then the husband came home and said: "I have brought some fish, go and fasten the canoe!" "Oh, never mind the boat!" And the canoe remained lying half way up the beach. The woman continued: "I will show you something fine, that I have just learned. I did not know it, and nobody here knows about it. Come, get on top of me!" He obeyed, but his organ refused to stiffen, so she rubbed the penis and so they had intercourse. And all the people came and watched this process. Then the wife said: "Look after your canoe!" "Oh, never mind the canoe, this is nice!" And so they lay together the whole day.

The Bird Bath.

Once upon a time, there was a bird called Báth which always made a great deal of noise with his call "Bri-bri". When you looked at him in the air, he seemed sometimes to be white, but again he was red or black. All the people were very afraid of him, because many of the ones who saw him, died. Then the survivors complained to Olufáth. So he took a young báth bird, put him on the earth, and said that he should remain small, and not make such a noise. When the bird sang on earth, he only managed to make sounds like "kikeriki" and "gakgak". He is supposed to have been a very large bird. (Could they be talking about the hen?) On one occasion two Yap natives noticed

it while they were fishing. They made a charm to catch it, but the bird attacked one of them, and killed him; and he wounded the other. The bird is said to have traveled to Palau, and to have died there.

2: Damm et al. --208 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 534, 202, 524 Faraulep

The only musical instrument is the conch shell (táui; mouthpiece - eoál, sound hole - nán, to blow - xánum), and it is used for signalling and for religious invocations rather than for musical edification. Bull-roarers and leaf pipes are used for children's toys.

2: Damm et al. --208-210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 535 Faraulep

Dances: (ŭ̈ru). The natives know the stick dance (noi ŭ̈ra), which you find nearly everywhere in the Caroline Islands, and the hand dance (huafă̈rux). The women have a sitting dance (apitax); according to Hambruch, the various phases of it are:

1. a slow introduction, in the form of a choral, hand motions: closing, opening, and turning in measure according to the rhythm of the music, that is sung as an accompaniment to the song. It is in 3/4 time, but at the close it goes more rapidly, and there is a sudden pause.
2. a faster tempo and gestures which accompany a lively song.
3. like 1.
4. clapping the hands.
5. turning the head and twisting; toward the end there are gestures.
6. standing up, arranging the lines, striking the upper part of the thigh, raising the leg, shuffling the feet, turning around, then to the sides and back again, stomach dance (it is displayed in three different ways, very erotic).
7. dissolving into a dance, where there are rows, ballet style.
8. stomach dance, twisting the hips, then shuffling the feet, and toward the end there are movements of the hands, which become gradually slower.
9. coitus dance, imitation of the surrender.
10. like 6.

11. clapping the stomach with the hollow of the hand, then the breast, then a lively song, coitus dance, ballet.
12. like 11.
13. clapping, a woman chanter sings a solo, then it proceeds like 11.
14. walking forwards and backwards, then like 6, and they call: Hŏ́ka, fetắi ŭ́ra tipḗi.
15. coitus dance, provocation, clapping the upper thigh, spreading the upper thighs apart, striking the vulva.

The dancing costume (šrŭ́p) consists of an apron with long coconut pinnates, and the men also wear combs in their hair, which are decorated with feathers and [210] leaf bands around their tufts of hair. The men's dancing sticks are simply sticks or nerves of a coconut frond.

2: Damm et al. --210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 524 Faraulep

Hambruch noted the following toys:

a) boats (maravai) with sails made of taro leaves. We have already referred to their religious significance.
b) String figures (xatóte) which one or two can make; usually there are ten manipulations in one figure.
c) bull-roarer (xánum) of the same form as the ganíni of Aurepik.
d) spinners (nigaferéń) of palm leaf strips, made in the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk.
e) ball (garofá) of the common Carolinian form.
f) different kinds of woven toys: bird (gatáf) of woven leaf strips, married couple, pipe (atífetix), little pouch (?).

2: Damm et al. --211 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 757 Faraulep

There is some medical information. When a person has elephantiasis, the kowădewad plant is thrown in the flame, and then the patient warms himself in front of it. The natives use tsĕ́l as a healing plant for framboesia, and they prick the ulcers in syphilis. Splints of little sticks are used for broken arms.

2: Damm et al. --211-212 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 805 Faraulep

Division of time. The year is divided into two parts, like our seasons: thâu e fǎ́ń and thâu e rǎ́x. The months (marǎ́m) are named for the stars, and they are in two groups:

thâu e fǎ́ń		thâu e rǎ́x	
ūliūl	November	mâlirūx	May
malū	December	mâiilōp	June
ith	January	thadǎ	July
thǎrebol	February	nǎ́x	August
eremâui	March	xūe	September
tumūlū	April	uūl	October

Each month has 29 days (rǎl), or really nights (pǒńi), which are determined according to the different phases of the moon. The names, beginning with the new moon, are:

ŝegōrū	epêii	xerǎń
elīń	olabuĕ	keretieverǎ́x
mederīń	olomâl	thapǎs merioumūr
mejǎn	mǎxth	komǎla
mejafīth	ourǎ	komalafǎń
mexuǎn	natiouǎ	erofū
mejatūi	kirêi	ēeū

emetatī	kaneuă		efaín
šruobŏn	thapắs		ērăpf
arabogŭ	ewerā́x	[212]	

The day is divided into various parts:

morning, sunrise	nī thorŭ
noon	nuĕl
evening, sundown	nifigắfi
twilight	niga pŭn
midnight	nŭk i ni pŭn
dawn	pŭn e nilṓ

2: Damm et al. --212-216 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 212, 176, 802 Faraulep

The Faraulip natives use a peculiar script (see Figs. 279, 280) which is very similar [213] to the Polowat writing; they also have their own numerals, which the chief Saueeru invented. He teaches them to the young men, who put them to practical use in their copra dealings with the Japanese. The signs were derived from tattoo patterns and Japanese characters which the chief had taken from Japanese newspapers. [CS: Omission of illustrations of writing, and of the numerals, pages 212, 213, 214, 215, 216].

2: Damm et al. --217
116, 171, 191

(1909) 1938

Woleaians #3
Faraulep

The vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal.

2; Damm et al. --217 [2] (1909)- 1938 Woleaians
116, 193 Faraulep

There are no articles. Personal pronouns:

I ɣăn
you ɣĕl
he ɣĭ

we (inclusive I and you) ɣăn ema ɣĕl.
we (exclusive, I and he) ɣăn ema mĕ.
we (three) ɣăn mĕn ma jĕli me mĕn
we all (including the person addressed) ɣiligimĕn.
we all (excluding the person addressed) ɣămi
we ilĕgez
you ilegemĕn
they ilagĭda

Possessive pronouns (Hambruch did not obtain all of them).

my	im-mĕĭ	his	im-ameremătera
your	im-mŭm	our	im-mumĕm

Hambruch only gives one form of the demonstrative pronoun: mĕne - this.

2: Damm et al. --217 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 804 Faraulep

The measures of length are taken from the human body:
a span's width (length of the outstretched arms and the chest) ɬanăf.
a half span ɬeteroŭp
an arm ɬepŏi
half an arm (the forearm) ɬemărŭ
middle finger and thumb ɬeăn
middle finger to the knuckle ɬeɬelipotăŏ
index finger length ɬerăt
half an index finger length marŏilăp
one finger marŏi i rŭx

HAMBURGISCHE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE STIFTUNG
UND DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT

ERGEBNISSE
DER
SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION
1908-1910

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
DR. G. THILENIUS
PROFESSOR DER VÖLKERKUNDE

II. ETHNOGRAPHIE: B. MIKRONESIEN
BAND 10

DR. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER UND DR. HANS DAMM

ZENTRALKAROLINEN

HAMBURG
FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co.
1938

[p. ii blank]

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

ZENTRALKAROLINEN

II. HALBBAND

IFALUK — AUREPIK — FARAULIP — SOROL MOGEMOG

NACH DEN AUFZEICHNUNGEN VON
PROF. DR. HAMBRUCH † UND DR. E. SARFERT †
BEARBEITET VON

DR. HANS DAMM
LEITER DER OZEANISCHEN ABTEILUNG AM MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE IN LEIPZIG

MIT 465 ABBILDUNGEN
(EINSCHLIESSLICH 15 KARTEN UND 5 DORFPLÄNEN)
IM TEXT, 32 LICHTDRUCKTAFELN UND EINER FARBIGEN TAFEL

HAMBURG
FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co.
1938

ALLE RECHTE VORBEHALTEN

Nkd 51
+513h
II.B.10 12

DRUCK UND EINBAND VON J. J. AUGUSTIN IN GLÜCKSTADT - HAMBURG - NEW YORK
PRINTED IN GERMANY

Ernst Sarfert †

Als der vorliegende Band im Satz war und gerade die ersten Korrekturfahnen eintrafen, schloß Ernst Sarfert nach schwerer Krankheit am 19. November 1937 für immer die Augen. Noch bis zuletzt brachte er meiner Bearbeitung seines Südsee-Materiales regstes Interesse entgegen. Infolge beruflicher Überlastung und plötzlicher Erkrankung ist er dann garnicht mehr dazu gekommen, den von mir bearbeiteten Stoff einzusehen.

Ernst Gotthilf Sarfert wurde am 4. November 1882 in Schönau bei Wiesenburg in Sachsen geboren. Er besuchte das Realgymnasium in Zwickau und bezog nach Erlangung des Reifezeugnisses die Universitäten in Jena und Leipzig, um sich dem Studium der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, der Geschichte, Geographie und Völkerkunde zu widmen. 1907 erwarb er mit einer Arbeit über „Haus und Dorf bei den Eingeborenen Nordamerikas" die Doktorwürde und trat am 1. Mai 1907 im Städtischen Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig als Volontär ein. Am 1. Oktober 1907 übernahm er als wissenschaftlicher Hilfsarbeiter, später mit der Dienstbezeichnung Direktorialassistent, die Südsee-Abteilung dieses Museums. Er hatte dann das Glück in den Jahren 1909 und 1910 an der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition teilzunehmen. Nach seiner Rückkehr ins Museum begann er das von ihm zusammengetragene Material zu sichten und zu bearbeiten. Die erste Frucht war eine kleine, aber für die Geschichte der mikronesischen Kulturen um so wichtigere Arbeit unter dem Titel „Zur Kenntnis der Schiffahrtskunde der Karoliner" (Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte Jg. XLII, 1911). Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges unterband alle wissenschaftliche Arbeit. Sarfert trat sofort als Kriegsfreiwilliger ins Heer ein und kämpfte bis 1918 an der Westfront. Sein großes Werk über die Kultur, Geschichte und Archäologie der einst bedeutsamen Insel „Kusäe" konnte erst 1919 und 1921 in zwei Bänden erscheinen. Mit dieser Arbeit fand leider die wissenschaftliche Betätigung Sarferts, der auch in den Jahrbüchern des Städtischen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig eine Reihe kleinerer Arbeiten veröffentlicht hat, ein vorzeitiges Ende. Sarfert wechselte aus eigenem Entschluß den Beruf und trat am 1. Dezember 1919 in die Industrie über. Die Bearbeitung seiner übrigen, während der Südsee-Expedition gemachten Aufzeichnungen wurde mir auf seinen Vorschlag hin vom Herausgeber der „Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition" übertragen. Ich denke gern und dankbar an all die Stunden zurück, in denen ich mit Ernst Sarfert das Material durchsprechen konnte, er in persönlichen Erinnerungen schwelgte und mich in den Zauber der mikronesischen Inselwelt einführte. Die Sorgfalt, mit der Sarfert seine Forschungen in Feld und Heimat betrieben hat, sichern seinem Namen für alle Zeiten einen ehrenvollen Platz in der Wissenschaft der Völkerkunde.

Dr. Hans Damm.

P. V

[P. Vi Blank]

Vorwort.

Das in diesem Band verarbeitete Material wurde von Paul Hambruch und Ernst Sarfert zusammengetragen, die beide allzu früh durch den Tod aus ihrem Wirkungskreis abgerufen wurden. Auch Hellwig, dem für die Dauer der Expedition das Sammeln von ethnographischen Gegenständen oblag, und Augustin Krämer, dessen Gattin diesem Band neben anderen Skizzen ein Aquarell vom Geisterhaus auf Mogemog beisteuerte, haben das Material vor allem nach der sprachlichen Seite ergänzen können. Durch den Tod der oben genannten Expeditionsteilnehmer ist die Bearbeitung des Materiales insoweit beeinträchtigt worden, als in Zweifelsfällen keinerlei Rückfragen möglich waren. Zum Glück waren die Niederschriften und Skizzenbücher so geführt worden, daß derartige Fälle nur selten eintraten; auf die Wiedergabe unklarer Skizzen und Angaben wurde verzichtet, Widersprüche als solche gekennzeichnet.

Die Dauer des Aufenthaltes war für die einzelnen Forscher sehr verschieden. Konnte dies nicht ohne Wirkung auf die ethnographische Ausbeute bleiben, so war andererseits auch der Mangel an einwandfreien Gewährsmännern hin und wieder fühlbar. *Hambruch* weilte zunächst vom 2. bis 17. Oktober 1909, also zwei volle Wochen, auf der Inselgruppe **Mogemog**. Die hier angetroffenen völkerkundlichen Verhältnisse waren günstig, da die Inseln durch das tragische Schicksal der spanischen Mission in Verruf geraten waren und von Europäern gemieden wurden. Leider wurde die Forschungsarbeit dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß die meisten Männer damals gerade auf Yap weilten, um wegen einer Übersiedlung nach dort zu verhandeln. — Vom 4. bis 18. November besuchte Hambruch auf wiederum zwei Wochen **Faraulip**. Trotzdem eine volle Woche Sturm und Regenwetter herrschten, konnten die Arbeiten dank der Unterstützung von seiten des vielgereisten Inselhäuptlings erfolgreich beendet werden.

Sarfert widmete die meiste Zeit, nämlich 17 Tage, der Insel **Sorol**, die er am 4. Oktober anlief und am 21. wieder verließ. Leider mußte er schon nach wenigen Tagen aus dem Verhalten der Eingeborenen schließen, daß er nicht willkommen war. Ob die von den Eingeborenen zur Schau getragene Unwissenheit und Faulheit nur vorgetäuscht wurden, um den lästigen Weißen bald los zu werden, hat Sarfert nie recht erfahren. Eine unerwünschte Schwierigkeit in der Erforschung dieser Inselkultur ergab sich noch daraus, daß der als Dolmetscher mitgenommene

Yap-Mann, der fließend Mogemog sprach, sich nur schwer mit den Sorol-Leuten verständigen konnte. — Kurz und nicht ohne dramatischen Zwischenfall war der Aufenthalt auf **Aurepik** vom 31. Oktober bis 2. November. Sarfert hatte hier einen alten Mann gefunden, der über Geschichte und Sagen gut Bescheid wußte; auch die Sammeltätigkeit war befriedigend. Da will es das Mißgeschick, daß das Boot bei der Rückkehr von der Insel zum Dampfer in der Brandung kentert und dabei die photographischen Platten mit allen ethnographischen Gegenständen verloren gehen. Deshalb fehlen bei der Schilderung des materiellen Kulturbesitzes genauere Einzelangaben über die Geräte, sofern nicht gerade Hellwig, Hambruch oder Krämer das eine oder andere Stück von Eingeborenen, die den Dampfer aufgesucht hatten, erworben und ihrerseits dazu Erhebungen angestellt haben. — Vom 5. bis 17. November, also 12 Tage lang, weilte Sarfert dann auf **Ifaluk**. Bei aller Willigkeit der Eingeborenen entsprach ihre Kenntnis von der alten Religion und Geschichte keineswegs den gehegten Erwartungen. Die Insulaner gestanden selbst ein, daß sie früher viel mehr gewußt, jetzt aber viel vergessen hätten!

Beim Abschluß dieser mir lieb gewesenen Mitarbeit an den „Ergebnissen der Südsee-Expedition" danke ich der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft und der Hamburger Wissenschaftlichen Stiftung für die zur Drucklegung bereitgestellten Mittel. In diesen Dank möchte ich auch den Verlag, die Druckerei und all die unermüdlichen Helfer vom Hamburger Völkermuseum mit ihrem verstorbenen Direktor Thilenius einschließen, die meinen vielfachen Wünschen stets bereitwillig nachgekommen sind und für ihren Teil dazu beitrugen, daß das Werk vollendet werden konnte.

Leipzig, im Juli 1938. Dr. Hans Damm.

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Seite

Vorwort VII
Verzeichnis der Tafeln XIX
Verzeichnis der Abbildungen XXI
Abkürzungen XXV
Zur Aussprache XXV

Ifaluk 1

Allgemeiner Teil 1

I. Äußere Geschichte 1
Entdeckung und Erschließung 1

II. Geographie 3
Name 3
Kartographie 3
Lage und Größe 5
Horizontalgliederung 5
Riff 6
Passage 6
Taifune 6
Klima und Temperatur 7
Wörterliste 7
Flora 8
Fauna 8
Wörterliste 8
Siedlungsverhältnisse und Bevölkerungsstatistik 11

III. Demographie 12
1. Anthropologisches 12
Krankheiten 12
Wörterverzeichnis 12
2. Psychologisches 14

Materielle Kultur 15

I. Körperpflege und Tracht. Schmuck und Kleidung 15
Körperpflege 15
Körpertracht 15
Geschlechtsteile 15
Tatauierung 15
Schmuckgegenstände 17
Kleidung 23

Seite

II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung ... 27
1. Landbau ... 27
2. Fischfang ... 27
3. Jagd ... 32
4. Nahrungszubereitung und Geräte ... 32
III. Technik ... 39
1. Verarbeitung von Holz, Kokosnüssen, Muscheln, Schildpatt und Stein .. 39
2. Seilerei ... 40
3. Färberei ... 41
4. Flechterei ... 42
5. Weberei ... 43
IV. Handel und Schiffahrt ... 45
1. Handel ... 45
2. Nautische Kenntnisse ... 45
3. Kanu ... 49
Kenntnis des Bootbaues ... 52
Wetterzauber ... 55
V. Haus und Dorf ... 56
1. Die Hausanlage ... 56
2. Die Dorfanlage ... 60
VI. Waffen und Krieg ... 72

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur ... 74
VII. Soziologie ... 74
Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen ... 74
Arbeitsteilung ... 74
Ehe ... 74
Coitus ... 75
Erotische Auswüchse ... 75
Heiratsverbote ... 75
Freies Liebesleben ... 75
Ehebruch ... 76
Ehescheidung ... 76
Fruchtbarkeit der Frauen ... 76
Geburt und Krankheit ... 76
Altersbezeichnungen ... 76
Tod und Begräbnis ... 77
Die Sippe ... 77
Der Staat ... 78
Stellung und Aufgaben der Häuptlinge ... 78
Nachfolger eines Häuptlings ... 78
Die gute Sitte ... 79
VIII. Rechtsverhältnisse ... 80
Eigentum ... 81
Erbrecht ... 81
Strafrecht ... 81

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Seite

IX. Zur inneren Geschichte ... 83
X. Religion ... 86
1. Das Weltbild ... 86
2. Naturreligion ... 86
3. Das *bdaewan* für die einzelnen Gottheiten ... 91
4. Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung ... 92
5. Tapu ... 93
XI. Musik, Tanz und Spiel ... 94
Musikinstrumente ... 94
Tanzlieder ... 94
Tänze ... 94
Spiele ... 95
XII. Verschiedenes ... 97
Kunst ... 97
Zeiteinteilung ... 97
Schrift ... 99
XIII. Zur Sprache ... 100

Aurepik ... 107
Allgemeiner Teil ... 109
I. Äußere Geschichte ... 109
Entdeckung und Erschließung ... 109
II. Geographie ... 111
Name ... 111
Kartographie ... 111
Lage und Größe ... 111
Inseln ... 113
Riff ... 114
Wörterverzeichnis ... 114
Flora ... 115
Fauna ... 115
Bevölkerungszahlen ... 116
III. Demographie ... 117
Anthropologisches ... 117
Wörterverzeichnis ... 117
Psychologisches ... 118

Spezieller Teil ... 119
I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung ... 119
Körperpflege ... 119
Körpertracht ... 119
Tatauierung ... 119
Schmuckgegenstände ... 119
Kleidung ... 123
II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung ... 124
III. Technik ... 128

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Seite
IV. Handel und Schiffahrt 131
V. Haus und Dorf 136
VI. Waffen 139
Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur 140
VII. Soziologie 140
Familie und Sippe 140
Bestattung 140
Geschichte 140
VIII. Religion 142
Weltgebäude 142
Götterwelt 142
Totenreich 142
IX. Verschiedenes 144
Spielzeug und Spiele 144
Zeiteinteilung 144
X. Zur Sprache 146
Faraulip 149
Allgemeiner Teil 151
I. Äußere Geschichte 151
II. Geographie 153
Name 153
Kartenbild 153
Lage und Größe 153
Gliederung der Inselgruppe 155
Bevölkerungszahl 155
Wörterliste 156
Flora 156
Fauna 157
Wörterliste 157
III. Demographie 158
Wörterliste 158
Spezieller Teil 160
I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung 160
Körperpflege 160
Haartracht 160
Bartwuchs 160
Tatauierung 160
Haarschmuck 161
Ohrschmuck 161
Nasenschmuck 161
Halsbänder 161
Armringe 161
Fingerringe 162
Kleidung 162

Seite
II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung ... 163
Nährpflanzen und Fruchtbäume ... 163
Anpflanzung ... 163
Fischfang ... 164
Besondere Sitten ... 166
Jagd ... 167
Zubereitung der Speisen ... 167
Feuererzeugung ... 167
Haushaltgeräte ... 167
Mahlzeiten ... 168
III. Technik ... 169
Holzbearbeitung ... 169
Herstellung von Kokosschnüren ... 169
Hibiskus-Schnüre ... 169
Weberei ... 169
Färberei ... 171
IV. Handel und Schiffahrt ... 172
Handel ... 172
Nautische Kenntnisse ... 172
Kanu-Arten ... 173
Kanubau ... 178
Reiseproviant ... 179
Religiöse Gebräuche ... 180
V. Haus und Dorf ... 181
Hausarten ... 181
Siedlungen ... 185
VI. Krieg und Waffen ... 187
Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur ... 188
VII. Zur Soziologie ... 188
Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen ... 188
Altersbezeichnungen ... 188
Ehe ... 189
Geschlechtsverkehr ... 189
Prostitution ... 189
Geburt ... 189
Ehebruch ... 189
Besitz ... 190
Arbeit ... 190
Tod und Bestattung ... 190
Sippe ... 191
Standesgruppen ... 191
Recht ... 192
VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte ... 193
IX. Zur Religion ... 196
Entstehung der Welt ... 196

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Seite
Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung ... 198
Zauber ... 199
Verbotsvorschriften ... 201
X. Sagen und Märchen ... 202
XI. Musik, Tanz und Spiel ... 208
XII. Verschiedenes ... 211
Medizinische Kenntnisse ... 211
Zeiteinteilung ... 211
Schrift ... 212
XIII. Zur Sprache ... 217
Sorol ... 221
Allgemeiner Teil ... 223
I. Äußere Geschichte ... 223
Entdeckungsgeschichte ... 223
II. Geographie ... 224
Name ... 224
Kartenbild ... 224
Lage und Größe ... 224
Gliederung der Insel ... 226
Geographische Einzelheiten ... 227
Taifune ... 227
Wörterliste ... 227
Flora ... 227
Fauna ... 228
Wörterliste ... 228
Bevölkerung ... 229
III. Demographie ... 230
Anthropologisches ... 230
Krankheiten ... 230
Wörterliste ... 230
Psychologisches ... 231
Spezieller Teil ... 232
I. Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung ... 232
Körpertracht ... 232
Tatauierung ... 232
Schmuckgegenstände ... 234
Lendenschürze ... 236
II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung ... 237
Landbau ... 237
Fischfang ... 237
Vogelfang ... 241
Ratten ... 241
Haustiere ... 241

Feuererzeugung ... 241
Küchengeräte ... 241

III. Technik ... 245
Holztechnik ... 245
Schildpattechnik ... 245
Anfertigung von Kokosperlen ... 245
Schnurherstellung ... 246
Flechterei ... 246
Strickarbeiten ... 246
Näharbeiten ... 247
Weberei ... 247
Färberei ... 248

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt ... 249
Handel ... 249
Nautik ... 250
Boot ... 250

V. Haus und Dorf ... 254
Hausarten ... 255
Inventar ... 260
Dorf ... 263

VI. Waffen und Krieg ... 265

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur ... 266

VII. Zur Soziologie ... 266
Familie ... 266
Ehe ... 267
Geschlechtsverkehr ... 267
Schwangerschaft und Geburt ... 267
Menstruation ... 268
Altersbezeichnungen ... 268
Tod und Begräbnis ... 268
Sippengliederung ... 268
Häuptling ... 269
Recht ... 270

VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte ... 272

IX. Zur Religion ... 273

X. Musik, Tanz und Spiel ... 275

XI. Verschiedenes ... 277
Medizinische Kenntnisse ... 277
Namen ... 277
Grußformen ... 277
Zeiteinteilung ... 277

XII. Zur Sprache ... 278

2: Damm et al. ORZI Wöleai

Seite
Mogamog ... 283
Allgemeiner Teil ... 283
I. Äußere Geschichte ... 285
II. Geographie ... 287
Name ... 287
Kartographie ... 290
Lage und Größe ... 291
Gliederung ... 291
Passagen ... 291
Taifune ... 293
Wörterverzeichnis ... 293
Flora ... 293
Fauna ... 294
Bevölkerung ... 295
III. Demographie ... 297
Anthropologisches ... 297
Krankheiten ... 297
Wörterverzeichnis ... 297
Psychologisches ... 298
Spezieller Teil ... 302
I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung ... 302
Körperpflege ... 302
Tatauierung ... 302
Schmuckgegenstände ... 305
Kleidung ... 306
II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung ... 308
Landbau ... 308
Landbesitz ... 309
Fischfang ... 311
Zeremonielle Handlungen ... 312
Herdstellen ... 313
Küchengeräte ... 313
Die Speisen und ihre Zubereitung ... 317
III. Technik ... 319
Holzarbeiten ... 319
Herstellung von Muschelgürteln ... 319
Schildpattarbeiten ... 319
Kokosschnurherstellung ... 320
Flechtarbeiten ... 321
Webearbeiten ... 321
Färben ... 322
IV. Handel und Schiffahrt ... 323
Handel ... 323
Nautische Kenntnisse ... 324
Verschlagungen ... 326

Antreibungen 328
Kanu 328
Religiöse Zeremonien 330
V. Haus und Dorf 331
Hausarten 331
Hausrat 336
Dorfanlagen 336
VI. Waffen 339
Soziale Verhältnisse und Geistenkultur 341
VII. Soziologie 341
Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen 341
Familie 341
Tod und Begräbnis 342
Staat 344
Der gute Ton 345
Rechtsverhältnisse 345
VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte 347
IX. Zur Religion 349
Himmelsbewohner 349
Dämonenglauben 351
Yoßelap 352
Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung 356
Zauber 357
X. Sagen 359
XI. Spielzeug, Musik und Tanz 363
XII. Lieder 365
XIII. Verschiedenes 370
XIV. Zur Sprache 372
Literaturverzeichnis 378

(xviii is blank)

Verzeichnis der Tafeln.

zwischen Seite

Farbige Tafel ..... v. d. Titel
Mogemog: Geisterhaus.
Nach Aquarell von Frau E. Krämer.

Tafel 1 ..... 48 u. 49
Ifaluk: Körbe und Taschen (oben: Hamburg 1843II, 1833II, Länge 31 bzw. 31,5 cm, Höhe 14 bzw. 18 cm; — Mitte: Hamburg 1834II, 1831II, Länge 28 bzw. 46 cm, Breite 18,5 bzw. 34 cm, Höhe 13,5 bzw. 15 cm; — unten: Hamburg 1829II, 1828II, Breite 50 bzw. 48 cm, Höhe 27 bzw. 37 cm).

Tafel 2 ..... 48 u. 49
Ifaluk: 1. Tasche (Hamburg 1841II, Breite 26 ½, Höhe 19 ½ cm). — 2. Zweiteilige Tasche (Hamburg 1836II, Breite 5 ½, Höhe 13 ½ cm). — 3. Tasche (Hamburg 3186II, Breite 28, Höhe 22 cm). — 4. Tasche (Hamburg 1833II, Breite 39, Höhe 23 cm). — 5. Gewebter Lendenschurz (Hamburg 3810II, Länge ohne Fransen 193 cm, Breite 94 cm). — 6. Matte (Hamburg 1869II, Länge 56, Breite 48 cm).

Tafel 3 ..... 48 u. 49
Ifaluk: 1. Vogelnetz (Hamburg 1790II, Länge 141 cm). — 2. Reuse (Hamburg 1794II, Länge 84 cm). — 3. Korb aus Kokosfaserschnur (Hamburg 1961II, Länge 57, Höhe 23 cm). — 4. Netztasche (Hamburg 3812II, Breite 65, Höhe 42 cm). — 5. Netztasche (Hamburg 1809II, Breite 83 cm, Höhe 39 cm).

Tafel 4 ..... 112 u. 113
Aurepik: Männergruppe in Seiten- (oben) und Vorderansicht (unten).

Tafel 5 ..... 112 u. 113
Aurepik. Oben: Frau Etangutang und die Frauen Lagaugeit und Langotang. — Unten: Die Männer Sagalefei, Medach (Häuptling) und Ranelimar. (Alles Krämer phot.)

Tafel 6 ..... 144 u. 145
Aurepik. Oben: Die nördlichste der drei Häuptlingshütten auf hohem Steinsockel. — Mitte: Die mittelste der drei Häuptlingshütten. In der kleineren Hütte wurden Garne zum Weben hergestellt. — Unten: Die südlichste der drei Häuptlingshütten. (Alles Krämer phot.).

Tafel 7 ..... 144 u. 145
1. Aurepik: Segelboot am Strand.
2. Aurepik: Pfahlhütten am Lagunen-Strand.

Tafel 8 ..... 144 u. 145
Aurepik: Links: Gewebte Lendenschurze (Hamburg 3031II, 3029II, 3030II, Länge 143, 164, 172 cm, Breite 52 ½, 56 ½, 55 ½ cm). — Rechts oben: Korb mit Webmaterial (Hamburg 3334II, Durchmesser 40 cm, Höhe 15 cm). — Rechts unten: Faserschurz (Hamburg 3015II, Weite 86 cm, Länge 60 cm).

Tafel 9 ..... 144 u. 145
Aurepik: 1, 2 und 3. Feuerfächer (Hamburg 3021II, 3020II, 3019II, Länge 33 ½, 47, 40 cm, Breite 19, 20, 21 cm). — 4, 5 und 6. Körbe (Hamburg 3014II, 3013II, 3017II, Höhe 42, 24, 19 cm, Breite von 4 – 27 cm, Durchmesser von 5 – 15 cm, Länge von 6 – 38 cm).

Tafel 10 ..... 160 u. 161
Faraulip: Männer in Vorder- und Seitenansicht.

Tafel 11 ..... 176 u. 177
Faraulip: 1. Modell eines Reisebootes (Hamburg 262II). — 2. Tragkorb (Hamburg 280II; Höhe 32 cm). — 3. Krankheitszauber (Hamburg 264II; Länge 75 cm). — 4. und 5. Fischreusen (Hamburg 296II und 297II; Länge 33 und 50 cm).

Tafel 12 ..... 176 u. 177
Faraulip: Gewebte Lendenschurze; obere Reihe: 244II, Länge 146, Breite 45 cm; 308II, Länge 183, Breite 54 cm; 307II, Länge 193, Breite 51 cm; — untere Reihe: 313II, Länge 202, Breite 52 cm; 238II, Länge 198, Breite 58 cm; 257II, Länge 194, Breite 50 cm. (Alles Museum Hamburg).

zwischen Seite
Tafel 13 ..... 176 u. 177
Faraulip. Oben: Königsmatte (Hambruch phot.). — Unten: Am Webstuhl (Hambruch phot.).
Tafel 14 ..... 176 u. 177
1. und 2. Faraulip: Boot beim Segelmanöver.
3. Faraulip: Zusammengebrochenes Bootshaus mit Reusen und kleinem Boot.
Tafel 15 ..... 192 u. 193
Faraulip. Oben: Häuptlingshaus mit Geisterhütte auf Pik. — Mitte: Buthäuser unter einem Banyan-Baum. — Unten: Dorfansicht bei Regenwetter. (Alles Hambruch phot.)
Tafel 16 ..... 208 u. 209
Faraulip: Männer zum Tanz angetreten.
Tafel 17 ..... 240 u. 241
Sorol: Männergruppe; in der Mitte mit Korb) der Oberhäuptling.
Tafel 18 ..... 256 u. 257
1. Sorol: Wohnhaus, davor Pfahl mit Muscheltöpfen und Tasche.
2. Sorol: Bootshaus.
3. Sorol: Inneres vom Männerhaus.
4. Sorol: Inneres vom Männerhaus.
Tafel 19 ..... 256 u. 257
1. Sorol: Kanu am Strand.
2. Sorol: Tarofelder im Busch.
Tafel 20 ..... 272 u. 273
Sorol: Netz (Hamburg 1754[II]; Rahmen 74 zu 40 cm) und Reuse (Hamburg 1695[II], Länge 184 cm, größte Breite 82 cm, Höhe 45—74 cm).
Tafel 21 ..... 272 u. 273
Sorol: 1. Korb (Hamburg 1718[II]; größte Breite 62 cm, Höhe 22 cm). — 2. Tragtasche (Hamburg 1713[II]; größte Breite 31 cm, Höhe 16 cm). — 3. Geflochtener Behälter (Hamburg 1709[II], Höhe 12 ½ cm). — 4. Geflochtener Behälter (Hamburg 1711[II]; Höhe 13 cm). — 5. Korbtasche (Hamburg 1715[II]; größte Breite 68 cm, Höhe 29 cm). — 6. Korbtasche (Hamburg 1716[II]; größte Breite 62 cm, Höhe 22 cm).
Tafel 22 ..... 272 u. 273
Sorol: Gewebte Lendenschurze; obere Reihe: 1697[II], Länge 145, Breite 58 cm; 1700[II], Länge 143, Breite 53 cm; 5307[II], Länge 147, Breite 35 cm; — untere Reihe: 1701[II], Länge 148, Breite 58 cm; 1699[II], Länge 130, Breite 34 cm. (Alles Museum Hamburg.)
Tafel 23 ..... 304 u. 305
1. Mogemog-Mann.
2. Mogemog-Frau Lolitheg.
3. Mogemog-Mann Maralu.
Tafel 24 ..... 304 u. 305
Mogemog. Oben: Frauen in alter Tracht. — Unten: Männer (Oliefang, Toling, Ngulu, Taradj) in alter Tracht. (Hambruch phot.).
Tafel 25 ..... 336 u. 337
1. Mogemog: Wohnhaus.
2. Mogemog: Vorbau eines Wohnhauses.
Tafel 26 ..... 336 u. 337
1. Watoyai: Haus auf Steinsockel mit hochgestütztem Giebel.
2. Watoyai: Haus zu ebener Erde mit hochgestütztem Giebel.
Tafel 27 ..... 336 u. 337
Mogemog. Oben: Dachkonstruktion des Bootshauses Faeiwan auf Watoyai (Hellwig phot.). — Unten: Blick im Männerhaus (Hambruch phot.).
Tafel 28 ..... 336 u. 337
Mogemog: Geisterhaus mit bemalter Vorder- (oben) und Rückseite (unten).
Tafel 29 ..... 336 u. 337
Mogemog: Segel- und Ruderboote (Hambruch phot.).
Tafel 30 ..... 336 u. 337
Mogemog: Begräbnisplatz auf der Hauptinsel (oben) und auf Falalap (unten).
Tafel 31 ..... 352 u. 353
Mogemog: Körbe und Taschen (obere Reihe: Hamburg 5089[II], Länge 43, Höhe 11 cm; 5132[II], Länge 32, Höhe 12 cm. — Mitte: 5113[II], Länge 38, Höhe 23 cm. — Untere Reihe: 5139[II], Breite 43, Höhe 39 cm; 3853[II], Länge 46,5 m, Höhe 23 cm.
Tafel 32 ..... 352 u. 353
Mogemog: 1., 2. und 3. Gewebte Lendenschurze (Hamburg 3863[II], 23-14-1, 1564[II], Länge 128, 150 bzw. 143 cm, Breite 45, 48 bzw. 36 cm). — 4. Mädchenschurz (Hamburg 150[II], Länge 46, obere Weite 63 cm). — 5. Kinderschurz (Hamburg 205[II], Länge 36, Breite der einzelnen Teile 10 cm).

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen.

Seite

Ifaluk:

Abb. 1. Plan von Ifaluk nach Lütke (1828) 3
Abb. 2. Plan von Ifaluk nach der japanischen Regierungskarte (1925) 4
Abb. 3 und 4. Tatauierhammer in Vogelgestalt (Hamburg 1821II und 1820II) 15
Abb. 5. Handtatauierung einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert) 16
Abb. 6. Armtatauierung eines Mannes (nach Skizze Sarfert) 16
Abb. 7. Beintatauierung eines Mannes (nach Skizze Sarfert) 16
Abb. 8. Unterleibtatauierung einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert) 16
Abb. 9. Oberschenkeltatauierung einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert) 16
Abb. 10—12. Kämme (Hamburg 1886II, 1881II, 3770II) 17
Abb. 13—18. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 3741II, 3183II, 3180II, 3742II, 3745II, 3181II) 17
Abb. 19—27. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 3743II, 1921II, 3185II, 3184II, 3755II, 1925II, 3633II, 1931II, 3179II) 18
Abb. 28—40. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 1918II, 1919II, 3178II, 1920II, 1944II, 1923II, 1932II, 1917II, 3152II, 1927II, 3751II, 3754II, 3750II, 3753II, 1929II, 1930II) 19
Abb. 41—49. Halsschmuck (Hamburg 1894II, 1901II, 1892II, 1891II, 1883II, 1887II, 3813II, 3176II, 3814II) 20
Abb. 50—54. Halsschmuck (Hamburg 1902II, 1888II, 1906II, 1905II, 1904II) 21
Abb. 55. Schildpattring (Hamburg 1933II) .. 22
Abb. 56—58. Schildpattarmringe (Hamburg 1910II, 3794II, 1912II) 22
Abb. 59. Armring aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 1916II) 22
Abb. 60. Tanzschmuck (Hamburg 1907II) .. 22
Abb. 61—65. Hüftschmuck (Hamburg 1897II, 1898II, 3174II, 1896II, 1957II) 22
Abb. 66—85. Muster der Kleidmatten (nach Skizze Sarfert) .....23—25
Abb. 86. Hut (Hamburg 1832II) 26
Abb. 87. Grabstock (Hamburg 1786II) 27
Abb. 88—90. Angelhaken aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 1938II, 1939II, 5834II).. 28
Abb. 91—96. Zusammengesetzte Angelhaken (Hamburg 5818II, 5833II, 1951II 1953II, 5828II, 5827II) 28
Abb. 97, 98. Angel für fliegende Fische (nach Skizze Sarfert; Hamburg 1945II).. 28

Seite

Abb. 99. Netzknoten (nach Skizze Sarfert) . 29
Abb. 100. 101. Ug-Neta, auseinander und zusammengelegt (nach Sarfert) 30
Abb. 102. Schlinge für den Haifang (nach Skizze Sarfert) 31
Abb. 103. Löffel aus Kokosnußschale (Hamburg 5800II) 34
Abb. 104, 105. Stampfer (Hamburg 1833II, 1977II) 34
Abb. 106—108. Büchsen aus Kokosnußschale (Hamburg 3766II, 1876II, 1873II).. 34
Abb. 109. Kokosnuß für Palmwein (Hamburg 1851II) 35
Abb. 110—118. Holzkästen (Hamburg 1795II, 1799II, 1803II, 1804II, 3172II, 1812II, 3173II, 1807II, 3773II) 35
Abb. 119—120. Holzschlösser (Hamburg 1837II, 1817II) 35
Abb. 121—124. Holzschlösser (Hamburg 1818II, 3811II, 1814II, 3762II) 36
Abb. 123, 126. Farbschlösser (Hamburg 1838II, 1819II) 36
Abb. 127. Transporttasche (nach Sarfert) ... 37
Abb. 128—131. Bambusbüchsen (Hamburg 3767II, 3768II, 1874II, 1872II) 37
Abb. 132. Muschelaxt (Hamburg 1846II) 39
Abb. 133, 134. Bohrer (Hamburg 3769II, 1848II) 39
Abb. 135. Kette mit Kokosscheibchen in Arbeit (Hamburg 5802II) 40
Abb. 136. Geschliffener Boden der Conus-Schnecke (Hamburg 3187II) 40
Abb. 137. Werdegang eines Fischhakens aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 1935II bis 1937II) 40
Abb. 138. Holzschlägel (Hamburg 1822II) .. 41
Abb. 139. Schnurtasche für Farbe (Hamburg 1878II) 41
Abb. 140. Farbtopf aus einer Meerpocke (Hamburg 5816II) 42
Abb. 141. Nadel (Hamburg 1863II)..... 43
Abb. 142. Webstuhl (Hamburg 1861II) 43
Abb. 143. Strichrose (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 46
Abb. 144. Sternhimmel, wenn Altair im Zenith steht (nach Skizze Sarfert) 48
Abb. 145. Sternhimmel, wenn Altair untergeht (nach Skizze Sarfert) 48
Abb. 146. Bootmodell (Hamburg 5761II) ... 51
Abb. 147. Skizze eines Bootes (nach Sarfert) 51
Abb. 148, 149. Ösfässer (Hamburg 1873II, 1839II) 52
Abb. 150. Skizze der Takelage (nach Sarfert) 53

Seite
Abb. 131. Skizze vom Rost für Kochvorrichtung (Längsschnitt u. Querschnitt; nach Sarfert) 53
Abb. 132. Plankenteile eines Bootes (nach Skizze Sarfert) 54
Abb. 133, 134. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 1858II, 1859II) 55
Abb. 135. Wohnhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 57
Abb. 136. Dachkonstruktion (nach Skizze Sarfert) 57
Abb. 137. Bootshaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 57
Abb. 138. Grundriß des Männerhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 59
Abb. 139. Dorfanlage auf Feladjik (nach Skizze Sarfert) 60
Abb. 160. Dorfanlage auf Falalap (nach Skizze Sarfert) 63
Abb. 161—163. Speere (Hamburg 1778II, 5801II, 1773II) 73
Abb. 164—168. Keulen (Hamburg 1775II, 1777II, 1976II, 1774II, 1776II) 73
Abb. 169—171. Schlagringe (Hamburg 1938II, 1960II 1959II) 73
Abb. 172. Gesichtsbemalung bei Toten ... 77
Abb. 173. Kokosblattknoten für baŋewaŋ (nach Skizze Sarfert) 92
Abb. 174. Muscheltrompete als baŋewaŋ (Hamburg 1837II) 92
Abb. 175. Windrädchen (nach Skizze Sarfert) 96
Abb. 176. ralôm-Muster (nach Skizze Sarfert) 97
Abb. 177. wôwo-Muster (nach Skizze Sarfert) 97
Abb. 178. karebâli wuluglûs (nach Skizze Sarfert) 97
Abb. 179. Holzfisch (Hamburg 3189II) 97
Abb. 180. Schriftprobe eines Ifaluk-Mannes .. 99

Aurepik:

Abb. 181. Karte von Aurepik nach Angabe von Lütke (1828) 110
Abb. 182. Japanische Regierungskarte von Aurepik (1925) 111
Abb. 183. Aurepik, Kartenaufnahme des I. Offiziers Lorenzen vom Expeditionschiff „Peiho" (1909) 112
Abb 184—187. Tatauiermuster (nach Skizzen E. Krämer) 120
Abb. 188—191. Tatauiermuster (nach Skizzen E. Krämer) 121
Abb. 192—196. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 5366II, 5367II, 5339II, 5364II, 5360II) 122
Abb. 197 und 198. Halsketten (Hamburg 220II, 5347II) 122
Abb. 199 und 200. Fingerringe aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5340II, 5329II) 123
Abb. 201. Frauengürtel aus Kokosscheiben (Hamburg 5336II) 123
Abb. 202. Hut (Hamburg 5333II) 123
Abb. 203—206. Fischhaken (Hamburg 5322II, 5321II, 5319II) 124
Abb. 207. Fischköder (Hamburg 5344II) 124
Abb. 208. Bambusbüchse (Hamburg 5330II) 125
Abb. 209. Schaber aus Muschelschale (Hamburg 3027II) 127
Abb. 210. Gefäß aus Kokosnuß mit Holzdeckel (Hamburg 5365II) 127
Abb. 211. Stampfer aus Korallenkalk (Hamburg 5341II) 127
Abb. 212—215. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 217II, 5348II, 5377II, 5343II) 127
Abb. 216. Kokosnußschaber (Hamburg 218II) 127
Abb. 217. Stabbohrer (Hamburg 5345II) ... 128
Abb. 218. Drillbohrer (Hamburg 5346II) 128
Abb. 219. Halbfertige Kette aus Kokosscheiben (Hamburg 5337II) 128
Abb. 220. Schabestock für Webläser (Hamburg 3023II) 129
Abb. 221. Webestuhl (Hamburg 219II) 129
Abb. 222. Strichrose von Aurepik (nach Skizze Sarfert) 131
Abb. 223. Äußeres Querholz wâlaneiche (nach Skizze Sarfert) 134
Abb. 224. Anbringung der Kanu-Plattform (nach Skizze Sarfert) 134
Abb. 225. Grundriß eines Wohnhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 137
Abb. 226. Querschnitt durch einen Giebel (nach Skizze Sarfert) 137
Abb. 227. Kinderhängestuhl(Hamburg 3376II) 138
Abb. 228. Kinderwiege (Hamburg 3322II) ... 138
Abb. 229. Siedlung auf Aurepik (nach Skizze Krämer) 138
Abb. 230. Schwirrer (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 144

Faraulip:

Abb. 231. Karte von Faraulip (nach Lütke 1909) 134
Abb. 232. Karte von Faraulip (Japan. Regierungskarte 1925) 134
Abb. 233. Skizze des Atolls mit den von den Eingeborenen näher bezeichneten Teilen 135
Abb. 234 und 235. Männerhaartracht (nach Skizze Hambruch) 160
Abb. 236. Brusthänger aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 298II) 161
Abb. 237. Querschnitt durch eine Tarogrube (nach Skizze Hambruch) 164
Abb. 238. Holzspaten (Hamburg 274II) 164
Abb. 239. Haihaken (Hamburg 270II) 165
Abb. 240. Schwimmer aus Kokosnuß mit Angelhaken (Hamburg 250II) 165
Abb. 241. Teil eines Netzes (nach Skizze Hambruch) 165

Seite

Abb. 242. Rattenfalle (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 167
Abb. 243. Kokoskratzer (Hamburg 277II) ... 167
Abb. 244. Fischbrett (Hamburg 223II) ... 168
Abb. 245. Heilige Axt mit Muschelklinge (Hamburg 271II) ... 169
Abb. 246. Bastklopfer (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 169
Abb. 247. Teile des Kastens vom Webapparat (Hamburg 263II) ... 170
Abb. 248. Farbbehälter (Hamburg 245II) ... 171
Abb. 249. Strichrose (nach Skizze Hambruch) 173
Abb. 250. Schiffskurs Faraulip-Oleai (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 174
Abb. 251. Steuer (nach Skizze Hambruch) .. 175
Abb. 252. Ruder (nach Skizze Hambruch) .. 175
Abb. 253. Bootskörper (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 176
Abb. 254. Bemalte Flächen des Bootskörpers (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 176
Abb. 255. Ausleger (nach Skizze Hambruch) 176
Abb. 256. Bug- u. Heckseite (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 176
Abb. 257. Brücke der auslegerfreien Seite (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 176
Abb. 258. Mast und Segel (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 176
Abb. 259. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 3170II) .. 179
Abb. 260. Doppelköpfiger Griff eines solchen Wetterzauberrs (Hamburg 226II) .. 179
Abb. 261. Grundriß eines Wohnhauses (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 182
Abb. 262. Tür (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 182
Abb. 263. Innenansicht des Daches (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 182
Abb. 264. Sicherung des Daches (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 182
Abb. 265. Äußere Giebelseite (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 183
Abb. 266. Konstruktion der inneren Giebelseite (nach Skizze Hambruch) 183
Abb. 267. Verzierung des Tragpfostens (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 183
Abb. 268. Dachgerüst; Seitenansicht (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 183
Abb. 269. Ansicht des Dachstuhls von unten (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 184
Abb. 270. Kochhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 184
Abb. 271. Verzierung der Stützpfeiler im Geisterhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 186
Abb. 272. Schematische Darstellung des Weltbildes (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 196
Abb. 273. Spielboot (Hamburg 273II) ... 209
Abb. 274. Schwirrer (Hamburg 266II) ... 209
Abb. 275. Vogel (Hamburg 268II) ... 209
Abb. 276. Ehepaar (Hamburg 318II) ... 209
Abb. 277. Täschchen (Hamburg 269II) ... 209
Abb. 278. Stäbchenverband (nach Skizze Krämer) ... 211
Abb. 279. Bilderschrift auf einem Stab (Hamburg 260II) ... 212
Abb. 280. Zeichnungen an den Balken im Männerhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 212

Sorol:

Abb. 281. Plan von Sorol (Aufnahme des ersten Offiziers Lorenzen) ... 224
Abb. 282. Plan von Sorol (japan. Regierungskarte 1925) ... 225
Abb. 283. Tatauierkamm und verschiedene Kammformen (Hamburg, zu 1741II gehörig) ... 232
Abb. 284. Tatauierung des Mannes Deidjôk (nach Skizze Sarfert) ... 233
Abb. 285. Tatauierung des Mannes Dölimân (nach Skizze Sarfert) ... 233
Abb. 286—290. Tatauiermuster bei Frauen (nach Skizze Sarfert) ... 234
Abb. 291—294. Holzkämme (Hamburg 1689II, 1685II, 1690II, 1688II) ... 234
Abb. 295—297. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 1682II, 5300II, 18.94:2) ... 234
Abb. 298—300. Halsketten (Hamburg 1673II, 1671II, 1662II) ... 235
Abb. 301—302. Hüftketten (Hamburg 1669II, 1670II) ... 235
Abb. 303. Hut (Hamburg 1725II) ... 236
Abb. 304—309. Angelhaken (Hamburg 1748II, 1749II, 1750II, 1751II, 1743II, 1744II) 239
Abb. 310—311. Messer aus Schildkrot (Hamburg 1731II, 1732II) ... 242
Abb. 312. Fruchtöffner (Hamburg 1733II) .. 242
Abb. 313—314. Stampfer aus Korallenkalk (Hamburg 1706II, 1707II) ... 242
Abb. 315. Muschelschaber (Hamburg 1691II) 242
Abb. 316—318. Löffel (Hamburg 1740II, 1736II, 1738II) ... 242
Abb. 319. Kokosnußkratzer (Hamburg 1734II) 242
Abb. 320 und 321. Deckelkästen (Hamburg 1741II, 1658II) ... 242
Abb. 322—332. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 5071II, 1643II, 5311II, 5068II 1644II, 5309II, 1633II, 5075II, 1645II, 1640II, 5306II) ... 243
Abb. 333—342. Henkelformen von den Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 1634II, 5312II, 1631II, 5074II, 5313II, 5073II, 5072II, 1635II, 1630II, 1632II) ... 244
Abb. 343. Drillbohrer (Hamburg 1767II) ... 244

Seite

Abb. 344. Webstuhl (nach Skizze Sarfert) ... 247
Abb. 345. Stellung der Sternbilder zueinander (nach Skizze Sarfert) 250
Abb. 346. Segelboot (nach Skizze Sarfert)... 251
Abb. 347. Steuer (nach Skizze Sarfert) 251
Abb. 348. Ruder (nach Skizze Sarfert) 251
Abb. 349. Wohnhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 254
Abb. 350. Grundriß vom Wohnhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) 254
Abb. 351. Querschnitt durch die Längsbalken (nach Skizze Sarfert) 255
Abb. 352. Dach mit Vorbau (nach Skizze Sarfert) 255
Abb. 353. Querschnitt durch Türverschluß (nach Skizze Sarfert) 255
Abb. 354. Grundriß eines Bootshauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 256
Abb. 355. Grundriß des Männerhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 257
Abb. 356. Längsschnitt durch das Männerhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) 257
Abb. 357—360. Muster von den einzelnen Seiten der Stützpfeiler des Männerhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 258
Abb. 361—362. Muster von den einzelnen Seiten der Firststützpfosten (nach Skizze Sarfert) 259
Abb. 363. Verzierte Dachträger (nach Skizze Sarfert) 260
Abb. 364. Kochhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) .. 261
Abb. 365. Grundriß eines Kochhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert) 261
Abb. 366. Hängegestell im Kochhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) 261
Abb. 367. Vorratshaus (nach Skizze Sarfert) 262
Abb. 368. Bettartige Lagerstatt (nach Skizze Sarfert) 262
Abb. 369. Plan des Dorfes auf Sorol (nach einer Aufnahme von Sarfert) 263
Abb. 370. Die Lage der Grundstücke auf der Insel Sorol (nach Skizze Sarfert).. 271
Abb. 371. Fregattvogel aus Holz (Hamburg 2396II 273
Abb. 372. Bindestadien des Zauberknotens (nach Skizze Sarfert) 274
Abb. 373. Brett zur Heilung kranker Männer (Hamburg 1742II) 274

– Mogemog:

Abb. 374. Japanische Regierungskarte des Mogemog-Archipels 190
Abb. 375. Nördlicher Teil des Mogemog-Archipels (nach Aufnahme der Offiziere des Expeditionsschiffes „Peiho") .. 192
Abb. 376. Karte eines Mogemog-Kapitäns von seinem Inselarchipel 193

Seite

Abb. 377. Frauen-Tatauierung (nach Krämer) 303
Abb. 378 und 379. Tatauierkämme (Hamburg 6II und 5275II) 303
Abb. 380. Tatauierhammer (Hamburg 5273II) 303
Abb. 381. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 5235II)... 304
Abb. 382. Halskette aus Kokosperlen (Hamburg 5294II) 304
Abb. 383. Halskette aus Schildpatt-, Kokos- und Spondylusscheiben (Hamburg 5169II) 304
Abb. 384, 385. Halsschmuck mit Flossenknochen des Tümmlers (Hamburg 5130II, 5156II) 304
Abb. 386. Halskette mit Fischhaken (Hamburg 5166II)..... 304
Abb. 387. Armring aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5180II)..... 304
Abb. 388. Armring aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 5090II)..... 304
Abb. 389—391. Verschiedene Herstellungsstadien eines Schurzes (Hamburg 5270a, 5270, 5279)..... 304
Abb. 392. Gürtel aus Kokos- und Conus-Scheiben (Hamburg 5236II) 304
Abb. 393. Brustschmuck (Hamburg 5106II).. 305
Abb. 394. Beinring aus einem Kokosblattstreifen (Hamburg 5248II) 306
Abb. 395. Schildkrot-Hake (Hamburg 5234II) 309
Abb. 396. Holzspaten (Hamburg 5151II) 309
Abb. 397. Grabstock (Hamburg 159II) 309
Abb. 398. Angelhaken aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5205II)..... 311
Abb. 399. Haihaken (nach Skizze Hambruch) 312
Abb. 400 und 401. Kokosnußkratzer mit Muschel brw. mit Eisenband (Hamburg 175II brw. 174II) 314
Abb. 402. Kokosnußkratzer aus einem Wrackteil (Hamburg 167II)..... 314
Abb. 403 und 404. Messer aus Schildkrot (Hamburg 5199II brw. 160II) 314
Abb. 405. Muschellöffel (Hamburg 168II) 314
Abb. 406. Sieblöffel aus Kokosschale (Hamburg 5144II)..... 314
Abb. 407 und 408. Stampfer aus Holz (Hamburg 5261II brw. 196II) 314
Abb. 409 und 410. Aufhängehaken aus Holz (Hamburg 5093II brw. 184II) 314
Abb. 411. Hänger für Flaschen (Hamburg 5218II)..... 314
Abb. 412. Deckelkasten (Hamburg 172II) 316
Abb. 413 und 414. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 5202II brw. 156II) 316
Abb. 415. Holzschüssel (Hamburg 5139II) ... 316
Abb. 416 und 417. Tellerartige Schüsseln (Hamburg 5141II brw. 182II) 316
Abb. 418. Muschel-Gefäß (Hamburg 158II).. 316

Seite

Abb. 419 und 420. Bambusbüchsen (Hamburg 5256II bzw. 206II) 316
Abb. 421. Nußbehälter (Hamburg 5172II) ... 316
Abb. 422. Betelmörser (Hamburg 5150II) 316
Abb. 423 und 424. Beilklingen aus Tridacna-Muschel (Hamburg 5227II bzw. 5178II) 320
Abb. 425. Beilklinge aus Terebra-Schnecke (Hamburg 5226II) 320
Abb. 426 und 427. Beilklingen aus Cassis-Schnecke (Hamburg 5321II bzw. 5228II) 320
Abb. 428. Beil mit Tridacna-Klinge (Hamburg 5203II) 320
Abb. 429. Stiel zu einem Beil (Hamburg 3865II) 320
Abb. 430 und 431. Bohrer (Hamburg 203II bzw. 161II) 320
Abb. 432. Bastklopfer (Hamburg 3080II) 320
Abb. 433. Flechtnadel (Hamburg 5098II) 320
Abb. 434. Strichrose von Mogemog (nach Skizze Hambruch) 324
Abb. 435. Ruder (Hamburg 5128II) 329
Abb. 436. Schiffsmast (nach Skizze Hambruch) 329
Abb. 437. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 2993II) . 330
Abb. 438. Gittertür (Hamburg 5224II) 332
Abb. 439. Geisterhaus (nach Zeichnung von E. Krämer) 333
Abb. 440. Beschnitzter Balkenkopf (nach Skizze Hambruch) 333

Seite

Abb. 441. Balkenverzierung im großen Haus (nach Skizze Hambruch) 333
Abb. 442. Längsschnitt durch das „Große Haus" (nach Skizze Hambruch) ... 335
Abb. 443. Grundriß des „Großen Hauses" (nach Skizze Hambruch) 335
Abb. 444. Siedlung auf Falalap (nach Aufnahme W. Lorenzen) 338
Abb. 445—448. Speere (Hamburg 5139II, 5126II, 5127II, 216II) 340
Abb. 449—451. Keulen (Hamburg 189II, 147II, 148II 340
Abb. 452. Keule in Samoa-Art (Hamburg 5174II) 340
Abb. 453. Fingerdolch aus Rochenstachel (Hamburg 5157II) 340
Abb. 454. Schleuder (Hamburg 153II) 340
Abb. 455. Totenbemalung (nach Skizze Hambruch) 344
Abb. 456. Tapu-Zeichen an Kokospalmen (nach Foto Hambruch umgezeichnet) 351
Abb. 457. Amulett aus Stein mit Seetang (Hamburg 183II) 358
Abb. 458 und 459. Amulette aus Blattstreifen (Hamburg 186II, 4764) 358
Abb. 460—462. Blattflechtereien (nach Skizze Hambruch) 363
Abb. 463. Brettspiel (Hamburg 204II) 363
Abb. 464. Spielmaske (Hamburg 5272II) 363
Abb. 465. Spielscheibe (Hamburg 5266II) ... 363

Abkürzungen.

He. = Hellwig, Ha. = Hambruch, Sa. = Sarfert, A. K. = Augustin Krämer, E. K. = Elisabeth Krämer.

Zur Aussprache.

Die Teilnehmer der Südsee-Expedition bezeichneten die Aussprache einzelner Vokale und Konsonanten ganz verschieden. Mit Rücksicht darauf, daß leider keiner der Forscher mehr am Leben war, habe ich an der Schreibung der Eingeborenenworte nichts geändert. So mag es vorkommen, daß vor allem die Aussprache einzelner Konsonanten gleich ist, aber verschieden wiedergegeben wurde.

a, e, i, o, u kurze, unbetonte Vokale
ā, ē, ī, ō, ū lange, unbetonte Vokale
á, é, í, ó, ú lange, betonte Vokale
ă, ĕ, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ kurze, betonte Vokale
a͡u, o͡i, a͡ū gebundene Vokale
ŋ nasales n (z. B. Engel)
ʃ stimmloser Reibelaut wie sch (z. B. Schall)
χ und ch stimmloser, velarer Reibelaut wie z. B. ach
ʒ und th stimmhafter, dentaler Reibelaut wie engl. th z. B. then
ʒ stimmhafter Reibelaut wie j im franz. journal
γ stimmhafter velarer Reibelaut wie das g in sagen bei norddeutscher Aussprache.

Ifaluk.

Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. E. Sarfert bearbeitet
von Dr. Hans Damm.

XXVI

Ifaluk.

Allgemeiner Teil.

I. Äußere Geschichte.

Entdeckung und Erschließung. Eine große Anzahl karolinischer Inseln wurde dem Abendland bereits bekannt, noch bevor sie von Europäern entdeckt worden waren, nämlich durch verschlagene Insulaner[1]. So wurden dem Jesuitenpater Paul Clain von verschiedenen im Jahre 1678 bzw. 1696 angetriebenen Leuten 32 Inseln genannt, unter denen auch »Yfaluc« nicht fehlte. Dagegen findet sich dieses nicht auf der von Clain entworfenen Karte, zu der ihm die Eingeborenen die Lage der Inseln im Sand mit Steinchen aufzeichneten[2]. Auf der Karte des Somera von 1710, die nach Angaben von Sonserol-Leuten gezeichnet wurde, findet sich der Archipel »Faloc« wieder[3]. Der Vollständigkeit halber sei noch auf einen Hinweis von Krämer aufmerksam gemacht, wonach die Insel »*dan*« auf der Pilotenkarte des Somera (1710) wahrscheinlich auf Lezcano zurückgeht und vielleicht Ifaluk bezeichnet[4]. Auf der Eingeborenenkarte des Cantova (1721) findet sich »Ifeluc« wieder[5]. Sicher ist die Entdeckung durch James Wilson am 27. Oktober 1797[6]. Wilson sichtete zunächst eine einzige Insel, die dann beim Nähersegeln zwei eng aneinanderliegende Eilande ergab; er hatte sicher Feladjik und Moai vor sich. Mit den Bewohnern wurden Waren getauscht, ohne daß bei dieser Gelegenheit ethnographische Beobachtungen gemacht worden wären.

Am 3. April 1828 fand Lütke die »Wilson-Inseln« wieder, die er als Ifaluk identifizierte[7].

---

[1] Vgl. dazu die von Krämer gegebene Entdeckungsgeschichte von Mikronesien (1917, Bd. I, S. 1—173).
[2] Krämer 1917, Bd. I Abb. 2 und S. 32.
[3] Krämer 1917, Bd. I Abb. 4, Verzeichnis S. 180.
[4] Krämer 1917, Bd. I Abb. 3 und S. 70.
[5] Krämer 1917, Bd. I Abb. 7 und S. 180.
[6] Wilson 1799, S. 301; ders. 1800, S. 412. — Brigham (1900 S. 79) und Kolonial-Lexikon (II. Bd. S. 88) geben das Entdeckerjahr Wilson's irrtümlich mit 1793 bzw. 1795 an.
[7] Lutké 1835, Vol. II S. 133; v. Kittlitz 1858 II. Bd. S. 152.

1844 besuchte Cheyne die Insel und stellte auf den Riffen »erstklassige« Holothurien fest[1], worin sich sein Interesse zur ozeanischen Inselwelt erschöpfte.

Am 31. März 1875 lief der Handels- und Fischerschoner »Rupak« unter B. E. Gall die Inselgruppe an, ohne sich jedoch länger aufzuhalten[2].

Die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition setzte am 5. November 1909 Sarfert auf der Hauptinsel an Land und holte ihn am 17. November wieder ab[3].

---

[1] Cheyne 1852, S. 137.
[2] Robertson 1876/77, S. 50.
[3] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 248, 259.

3

II. Geographie.

Name. Die Inselgruppe war durch die Eingeborenenkarten (S. 1) dem Abendland als Faloc, Yfaluc bzw. Ifeluc bekannt geworden. Als Wilson 1797 dieses Atoll entdeckt hatte, führte es eine Zeitlang den Namen seines Entdeckers[1]. Nach Meinicke wird sie »bei anderen« Two Sisters genannt[2]. Doch diese Namen bürgerten sich nicht ein. Chamisso erhielt von seinen Gewährsleuten, den Insulanern Kadu und Edak, für diese Gruppe Iviligk bzw. Ibiliek. Lütke[3] schreibt Ifalouk, der berüchtigte Händler Cheyne nennt die Gruppe ebenfalls mit ihrem Eingeborenennamen Evalook[4], sein Landsmann Russel Robertson[5] schreibt Evalouk, was alles der deutschen Schreibung Ifaluk gleich kommt. Seit dieser Zeit bürgerte sich immermehr der Eingeborenenname für diese Inseln ein[6]. Daneben findet sich aber auch die Schreibung Ifalik[7], die vielleicht in den oben genannten Angaben Chamisso's ihren Ursprung hat; diese Schreibung wenden sowohl die Japanese Governments Chart 1925 (Nr. 772) und auch der Pacific Islands Pilot von 1933 (6. Ausg.) an.

Die **Kartographie** dieses Atolls erfuhr erst durch Lütke (1828) die notwendige Beachtung. Die von ihm angelegte Karte (s. Abb. 1) entspricht in großen Umrissen dem tatsächlichen Bild. Der nördliche Teil des Atolls ist dagegen nicht richtig erfaßt worden, da Lütke seinen Kurs südlich wählte (vgl. Abb. 1). So kommt es, daß auf seiner Karte der nordwestliche Teil der eigentlichen Hauptinsel als kleines Eiland Fararyk auftritt, an das sich eine große Insel Ifalouk anschließt; in Wirklichkeit bilden beide zusammen die große Insel Feladjik. Dagegen entspricht die Lage der beiden übrigen von ihm genannten Inseln

Abb. 1. Plan von Ifaluk nach Lütke (1828).

[1] Cheyne 1852, S. 144; Meinicke 1888, II. S. 358; Brigham 1900, S. 79; auch von Sievers (1910 II. S. 364) und dem Kolonial-Lexikon (1920 Bd. II, S. 88) angegeben.

[2] Meinicke 1888, II. S. 358; leider gibt M. nicht die Quellen dazu an, so daß seine Angabe nicht nachgeprüft werden konnte. Auch von Sievers (1910, II. S. 364) und dem Kolonial-Lexikon (1920 Bd. II, S. 88) übernommen.

[3] Lutké 1835, II. S. 133. [4] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144. [5] Robertson 1876/77, S. 50.

[6] Meinicke 1888, II. S. 358; Sievers 1910, II. S. 364.

[7] Meinicke 1888, II. 358; Finsch 1914 S. 64; Brigham 1900, S. 79.

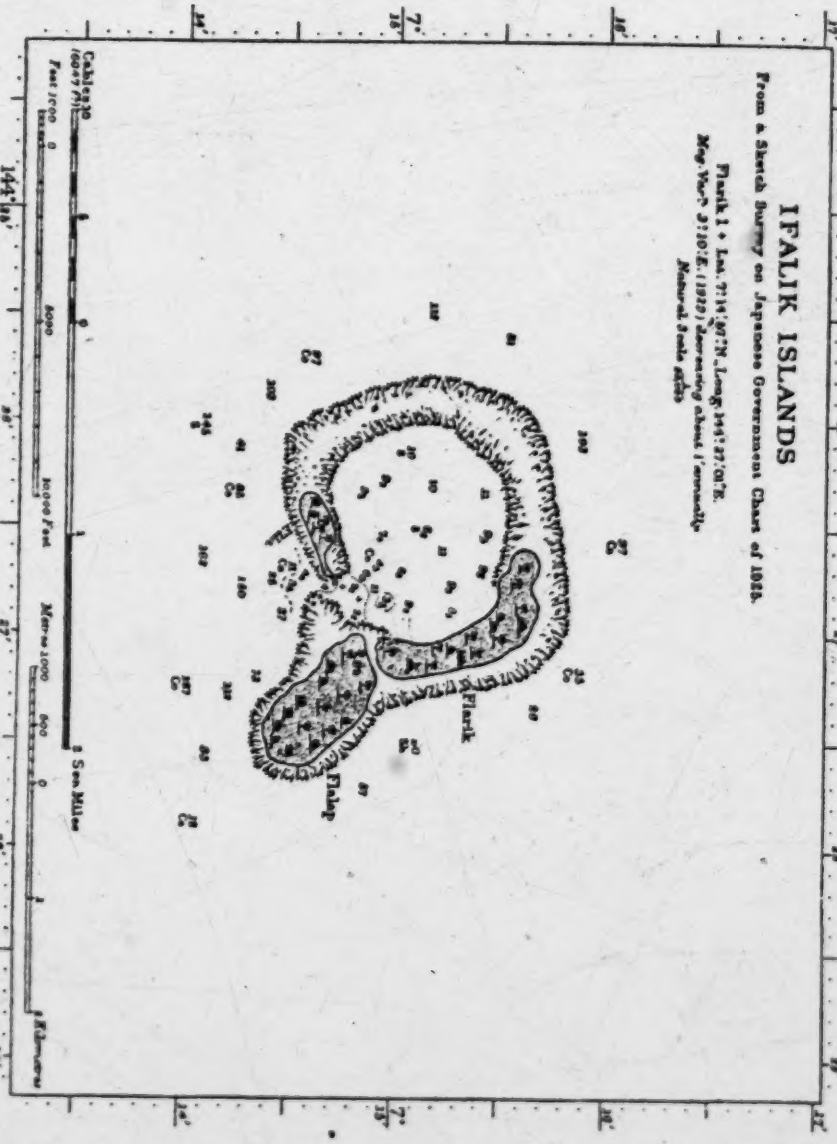


Abb. 2. Plan von Ifaluk nach der japanischen Regierungskarte (1925).

Moay und Ella den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen[1]. Das neueste Kartenbild des Atolls zeigt die Japanese Government's Chart of 1925 Nr. 772 (s. Abb. 2).

Lage und Größe. Nach Cheyne[2] ist der Durchmesser des Riffes, das die Lagune umschließt, etwa zwei Meilen. Den Umfang der Gruppe schätzt er auf 5—6 Meilen einschließlich der Riffe[3]. Er ist damit wesentlich genauer als Meinicke[4], der den Umfang ganz allgemein mit »über 1 Meile« angibt.

Die Längen- und Breitenangaben einzelner Quellen zeigt die folgende Aufstellung:

Jahr	Entdecker und Reisende	nördl. Breite	östl. Länge
1797	Wilson[5]	7° 14′	144° 50′
1828	Lütke[6]	7° 15′ 17″	215° 29′ 8″
	Raper[7]	7° 14′	144° 30′
1844	Cheyne[7]	7° 11′	145° 8′
	Gulick[8]	7° 15′	144° 31′
1888	Meinicke[9]	7° 15′	144° 31′
	Sievers[10]	7° 15′	144° 31′
1920	Kolonial-Lexikon[11]	7° 15′	144° 31′
1925	Japanische Regierungskarte	7° 14′ 19″	144° 25′ 20″ bis 144° 27′ 13″

Die **Horizontalgliederung** von Ifaluk ist die eines niedrigen Korallen-Atolles mit einer Lagune von etwa fünf Meilen Umfang[12] und kreisrunder[13], nach Sievers fast quadratischer Form[14].

Die Zahl der Inseln wurde von Lütke mit vier angegeben, während es tatsächlich nur drei sind: die Hauptinsel Feläd͡jſk, die nach Süden sich anschließende nächstgrößere Falaläp und die kleine Insel Elå. Eine Insel Ifalouk im Inselkranz des Atolls gibt es nicht (s. S. 3) und die von Lütke mit Moay bezeichnete

[1] Lutké 1835, II. S. 133. [2] Cheyne 1852, S. 137. [3] Cheyne 1852, S. 144.
[4] Meinicke 1888, II. S. 358. — Meinicke's Zahlenangaben weichen von den übrigen Quellen stark ab; so gibt er die Entfernung von Oleai mit fünf Meilen an, die neueste Ausgabe des Pacific Islands Pilot (1933, I. S. 502) dagegen mit 30 Meilen! Der Unterschied erklärt sich vielleicht daraus, daß M. mit geographischen Meilen rechnet, die übrigen Quellen dagegen Seemeilen zugrunde gelegt haben.
[5] Wilson 1799, S. 302, ders. 1800, S. 412.
[6] Nach der Karte von Lütke.
[7] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 145.
[8] Gulick (Ms. S. 59).
[9] Meinicke 1888 II, S. 358.
[10] Sievers 1910, II. S. 364, seine Angaben gehen zweifellos auf Meinicke zurück.
[11] Kolonial-Lexikon 1920, Bd. II, S. 88; auch diese Angabe ist wohl Meinicke entnommen.
[12] Lutké 1835, II. S. 133; Robertson 1876/77, S. 50.
[13] Cheyne 1852, S. 137.
[14] Sievers 1910 II. S. 364.

Insel ist, wie ein Vergleich der Karten Abb. 1 und 2 zeigt, mit Falâláp identisch. Lütke's irrige Auffassung erklärt sich daraus, daß er von der Hauptinsel den nordwestlichen Teil als kleines Eiland abtrennte, was jedoch nicht den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen entspricht (s. S. 3). Trotzdem Cheyne[1] bereits von nur drei Inseln spricht, hat sich Lütke's Angabe über Meinicke bis in die neueste Zeit halten können[2]. Meinicke hat mit Imoai und Flalap nicht zwei, sondern ein und dieselbe Insel bezeichnet.

Die kleine Sandinsel Elâñelap wurde erst durch die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition bekannt; möglicherweise handelt es sich um eine Neubildung in jüngerer Zeit, wie wir sie auch von anderen Atollen kennen[3]. Derartige Sandinseln verschwinden aber auch leicht durch irgendwelche Naturereignisse wieder. So wurde durch den Taifun von 1907 eine kleine Sandinsel Mâje mit der Hauptinsel Feläd͡jſk verschmolzen und bildet jetzt den neuen Dorfteil Sâgo.

Lütke (1828)	Meinicke (1888)	Sarfert (1909)	Pac. Islds. Pilot (1933) Jap. Gov. Chart (1925)
Fararyk	Flarik	Feläd͡jſk	Flarik
Ifalouk	—	—	—
Moay	Imoai	—	—
Ella	Ella	Elâ	Ella
—	Flalap	Falâláp	Flalap
—	—	Elâñelap	—

Das **Riff** ist ein typisches Atollriff[4]; es ladet stark nach Südosten aus (vgl. die Karten 1 u. 2) und soll einen Umfang von fünf Meilen haben[5]. — Im Süden ist eine enge, seichte **Passage**[6] zwischen den Inseln Elâ und Falâláp, eine weitere Passage zwischen Falâláp und Feläd͡jſk ist nach Sarfert 60 Meter breit. An der Südwest-Spitze der Insel Feläd͡jſk sind zwei leicht erreichbare Anlegestellen[7].

Die Inselgruppe ist von **Taifunen** nicht verschont geblieben, im ganzen wurde sie von fünf Taifunen heimgesucht. Früher sollen nur heftiger Wind und Regen das Unwetter ausgemacht haben. Es wurden wohl Bäume ausgerissen, aber es kam kein Mensch dabei ums Leben, es sei denn, daß eine Hungersnot als Folgeerscheinung ausbrach. Schlimm waren die Verwüstungen des Taifuns vom

[1] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144; so auch im Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, I. S. 302.
[2] Meinicke 1888, II. S. 358; Sievers 1910, II. S. 364.
[3] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929, I. S. 261.
[4] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144.
[5] Brigham 1900, S. 79.
[6] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144; Meinicke 1888, Bd. II. S. 358; Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, I. S. 302.
[7] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, I. S. 302.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

27./28. März 1907[1], bei dem 35 Eingeborene verunglückten (24 von Jôr, 10 von Jiwâñ auf Falâlâp und ein Knabe von Felâdjſk). Nach Aussage der Eingeborenen kam der Wind erst aus NO. und faßte die Inselgruppe an der Breitseite; er brachte noch keine Flutwelle. Als er sich jedoch nach SO. drehte, brauste die Flutwelle über Falâlâp und Felâdjſk einher und riß alles vor sich nieder. Die Verwüstungen waren noch 1909 sichtbar. »Massenhaft starrten die weißen, trockenen Stämme entästeter, starker Bäume aus dem niedrigen Busch in die Höhe und selbst von weitem konnten wir die Palmstämme reihenweise am Boden liegen sehen«, schreibt Hellwig im Expeditionstagebuch[2].

Der Taifun leistete andererseits auch eine Aufbauarbeit; er verschmolz die Sandinsel Mâje mit der Hauptinsel und vergrößerte damit das Siedlungsland (s. S. 6).

Allgemeines über **Klima** und **Temperatur** auf den Karolinen vgl. bei Singer 1899 Globus Bd. 76, S. 41.

Wörterliste.

Himmel	*lâñ*	Mondfinsternis	*âlimät ärörâ*
Luft, Wind	*jâñ*	Nacht	*wôñ*
Sturm	*mogadjâñ*	Norden	*jlwañ*
Wolke	*manilâñ*	Süden	*jôr*
Regen	*gorôu*	Westen	*ilodôu*
Blitz	*wôlâwôlâ*	Osten	*chôdou*
Donner	*nâñu*	(weitere Himmelsrichtungen unter Schiffahrt)	
Regenbogen	*tâultar*		
Meer, Welle	*lâ*	Stern	*fâš*
Flut	*dâur*	Erde	*selôb*
Niedrigwasser	*jâwdt*	Berg	*djiwarlb*
Sonne	*jâl*	Gipfel	*djiwolôñ*
Schatten	*nâru*	Tal	*mâñeman*
Sonnenaufgang	*jâl jawldach*	Insel	*fâlü*
Sonnenuntergang	*jâdub jâl*	Strand, Sand	*bl*
Tag	*rdu* oder *dâuat*	Stein	*fâu*
Mond	*mälâm*	Felsen	*fâujolôb*
Vollmond	*mälâm mälâbe*	Riff	*jaulâñ*
Abnehmender Mond	*bonigldo mêilodo*	Seichtwasser	*mâšalâk*
Zunehmender Mond	*bonigldo mogâdu*	(zwischen Strand und Riff)	

[1] Sievers 1910, II. S. 364; der Taifun ist 1907 nicht 1908, wie auf S. 344 zu lesen ist, über die Insel gegangen.
[2] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 248.

Meerwasser	*dât*		*chodomôlu*
Süßwasser	*djâli*		*djâtwöl*
Baum	*waliwöl*		*gôb*
Stamm	*gâgal*		*waiwâï*
Blatt	*âne*		*gawâdj*
Ast	*râle*	Zuckerrohr	*wôu*
Rinde	*gîn*	Kürbis (von Weißen eingeführt)	*galawâï*
Wurzel	*wogâl*	(ein Baum)	*gîli*
Harz (von der Brotfrucht)	*wilts*		*môgumog*
Gras	*bugôri*		*gâle*
Busch	*niwuâlu*	(ein Baum)	*lâle*
Pandanus	*jâr* und *jâdj*		*jâliôb*
Kokospalme	*lâ*		*jalomâ*
(Stamm der K.	*gagalâ)*	Baum mit wohlriechenden Blüten	*warôn*
Brotfrucht	*mâï*	Hibiscus	*giliſôu*
(Stamm der B.	*gagalimâï)*	Baum, aus dessen Harz die Tatauierfarbe gewonnen wird.	*lâgidj*
Banane	*wîdj*		
Taroarten	*wûlach, bûlach* *wôd, wôt* *flla, flle*		

Flora. Ein reicher Bestand an Kokospalmen und Brotfruchtbäumen erhöht den landschaftlichen Reiz der Gruppe[1]. Nach Angabe des Pacific Islands Pilot 1933 (S. 502) war der Bestand an Kokospalmen nur auf Felâdjfk und Falâlâp bedeutend; auf Elâ gab es dagegen nur wenige.

Fauna. Zunächst schien es, als ob die Insel nichts anderes als Moskiten beherberge. Diese Plage setzte gegen Abend ein und hielt Nacht für Nacht an. Sarferts Junge und Dolmetscher mußten nachtsüber ein qualmendes Feuer unterhalten, um ein Bleiben überhaupt zu ermöglichen. Früher soll es nur wenig Moskiten gegeben haben. Die folgende Wörterliste nennt nur eine kleine Zahl von Landbewohnern, die Tierwelt des Meeres überwiegt naturgemäß.

Wörterliste.

Hund	*gelâgu*	Hahn	*mâluch mâl*
Schwein	*sllo*	Henne	*mâluch djâbud*
Katze	*gadâ*	Kücken	*lisiob li mâluch*

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II. S. 364; der jährliche Ertrag an Kopra betrug 30 Tonnen; ebenso erwähnt von Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144.

Ratte	*gāš*
ganz kleine Eidechsenart	*ūsel*
kleine Eidechsenart	*gumarāl*
größere Eidechsenart	*dagalipāi*
noch größere Eidechsenart	*dawulu mulu mād*
sehr große Eidechsenart	*gudli*
Schildkröte	*wōṅ*
Schmetterling	*libarlbuak*
Fliege	*lāṅ*
Moskito	*lāmu*
Laus	*gāš*
Spinne	*lŋgašub ļāļa*
(Spinnweb	*jāṅigašub ļāļa)*
Tausendfuß	*maniwōṅ*
Krebs	*lāgum*
Vogel	
Schnabel	*āwuāl*
Kopf	*djimāl*
Bein	*bārāl*
Flügel	*baāl*
Schwanz	*ugāl*
Feder	*ulāl*
Ei	*sugunā*
	gedāf
	gemā
	waāwuāl
	gōlō
weiße Möve	*gulugāg*
schwarze Möve	*glagi*
	mull
	lāddje
	gālagar
	lidg
	gūliṅ
	djōlōb
	māniſōu
	ligirōru

	wubālāṅ
	lišerdwul
	lifāloch
	liabālik
	märigōu
	šigāw
	gālaſaš
	llāali
Fisch	*lk*
Schuppen	*ulāl*
Gräte	*djāle*
Kopf	*djimāl*
Kieme	*djebāl*
Schwanz	*bārāl*
Rückenflosse	*inīle*
Bauchflosse	*rärdle*
Seitenflosse	*baūl*
Hai	*bāro*
Walfisch	*lāājo*
junger Walfisch	*gūe*
	daūlāl
	mareläro
	ṅāli
	jāule
	selāu
	debāl
	galaṅāb
	jāſa
	dāṅili
	āšinaū
	lāṅo
	āāām
	jābu
	dajāu
	gāli
	dāāe
	libuāich
	djalāāl
	dagulaār
	ōmāl

sóu
gemaśúgil
mõš
olowull
igenõu
jāūjõu
chadīk
geldſe
wūw
gāmādjõlo
bolā
olalām
liwašōlā
meldño
lgeſaleſāl
gūme
wulugāleī
ldli
jelā
mākⁱ
dāgo
mañdle
dāūš
sāleſāñ, auch
sāluſāñ
bolōš
mõdj
liōmā
ńūalu
djālau
lūalu
jāri
ſašilimdd
gāūsgāūe
jalōño
melōwch
dlli
nāgi
chaliolīu
mdā

(bissig)

(kleinere Art)
(größere Art)

mūle
madodjā
ledediwōre
lilolaſār
lidjāgo
chabōlab
garēlo
mādōu
dalawudī
gordli
lōdj
wōńi
mēlabāli
djōno
wuarīgi
djōb
dawudōbu
ligalōu
djogēdl
dilibā
dilibāli
mālu
sābogdń
selā
chūdj
dā
māu
lalūela
limoldńi
mēimēī
dagundl
gaīuwēdul
dāru
dāńir
djueliwēd
dodāl
jaūāń
bāleāl
lādjebāro
wāwua

jâlda		*meddwudih*
mdm		*utdb*
chalugôl		*mdbuñ*
bddi		*melaûldu*
meldwo	(giftig)	*lôdj*
maûdjllâ	Rochen	*jañ*

Siedlungsverhältnisse und Bevölkerungsstatistik. Von den Inseln des Atolls waren lediglich die beiden größeren Felâdjfk und Falâláp bewohnt, dagegen war Elâ seit alters unbesiedelt gewesen[1]. Zahlenmäßig verteilte sich die Bevölkerung folgendermaßen:

Jahr	Quelle	Felâdjfk	Falâláp	Gesamt
1797	Wilson[2]	—	—	etwa 200
1828	Lütke[3]	—	—	etwa 150
1852	Cheyne[4]	—	—	etwa 140
1903/4	Sievers[5]	—	—	281
1909	Hamburger Südsee-Expedition[6]	109	99 (davon 62 im Süd-, 37 im Norddistrikt.)	208
1914	Finsch[7]	—	—	etwa 300
1930	Pacific Islands Pilot[8]	—	—	305

[1] Cheyne 1852, S. 137, 144; Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 358; Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 259.
[2] Wilson, ebenso bei Gulick (Ms. S. 59).
[3] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 326; er glaubte, daß diese Zahl den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen nahe kommt (S. 328). Sein Begleiter von Kittlitz (1858 II. Bd. S. 152) spricht von einer sehr starken Bevölkerung.
[4] Cheyne 1852, S. 137.
[5] Sievers 1919, Bd. II, S. 364, 347.
[6] Vgl. auch Thilenius usw. 1927 S. 260.
[7] Finsch 1914, S. 64.
[8] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, Bd. I, S. 502.

III. Demographie.

1. Anthropologisches.

Die Insulaner sind hochgewachsen und von gutem Körperbau[1]. Die Hautfarbe ist hellbraun[2], das Haar schwarz. Bei Kindern sieht man oft sehr braunes, ja fast blondes Haar. Das Kopfhaar wird halblang getragen, jedenfalls sah Sarfert langgewachsenes Haar niemals.

Der Bartwuchs ist spärlich: Backenbart wird nicht getragen, dagegen Kinnbart. Der Schnurrbart wird kurz gehalten und ist ebenfalls nicht häufig.

Krankheiten. Ringwurm ist selten. Dagegen sah Sarfert häufig große vernarbte Wunden, angefaulte Beine u. ä. Es handelt sich um Fälle von Syphilis, die hier im Gegensatz zu anderen Karolineninseln (z. B. Polowat, Satowal) vorkommt[3]. — Nach Eingeborenenaussage wurden früher die Leute sehr alt, jetzt sterben sie bereits in den besten Jahren. Dafür wird unmöglich der Gesundheitszustand allein verantwortlich gemacht werden können, es ist vielmehr anzunehmen, daß der Kulturverfall nicht weniger Schuld an dem frühen Hinsterben der Insulaner hat.

Wörterverzeichnis.

Zunge	*lúuwe*	Pupille	*gordbalimád*
Mund	*ewudr*	Augenweiß	*bórewbórelimád*
	(ewudi = mein M.)	Augnlid	*wdliwonimád*
Lippe	*dilidi*	Ohr	*dallinó*
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Septum	*sürdl*	Kopf	*djfai*
Nasenloch	*chddimeliwddi*		*(djfmei* = mein K.)
Nasenflügel	*djdfs*	Augenbrauen	*fádd*
Auge	*moddr*	Augenwimpern	*mddiserimád*
Iris	*djodjdn ni mdd*	Kopfhaar	*djfm*

[1] So bereits von Robertson geschildert (1876/77, S. 30).
[2] Vgl. auch Robertson 1876/77, S. 30.
[3] Damm und Sarfert 1933, S. 10.

Zahn	*ńi*
Schneidezahn	*ńlimedâliwôdar*
Eckzahn	*ńliôlu*
Backenzahn	*ńli niwâgigir*
Schnurrbart	*djilenôdo*
Backenbart	*âllûs*
Kinnbart	*âllûjêi*
Wange	*debâi*
Kinn	*jât*
Schulter	*ewâl*
	(*ewâlâ* = meine Sch.
	ewalâm = deine Sch.)
Arm	*bên*
	(*bêi* = mein Arm)
Oberarm	*sâbilibêi*
Unterarm	*merâlibêi*
Ellbogen	*chabiribi*
Hand	*gumâri*
Handrücken	*lugulibêi*
Handfläche	*lânibêi*
Knöchel	*guluwillibêi*
Finger	*châtû*
Daumen, große Zehe	*chatûlôb*
Zeigefinger, zweite Zehe	*chatûwêiwêi*
Mittelfinger, dritte Zehe	*chatûlâch*
Ringfinger, vierte Zehe	*chatûliwâch*
Kleinfinger, kleine Zehe	*chatûrig*
Fingernagel	*gûre*
Bein	*berâ*
Knie	*buguêi*
Fuß	*bâre bâr*
Ferse	*gabiribli*

Zehen	*chatûri berêi*
(Die Zehen führen dieselben Bezeichnungen wie die Finger.)	
Hals	*âe*
Nacken	*gabiligûr*
Kehle	*orôño*
Achselhöhle	*fâlibêi*
Achselhaare	*gôro*
(auch Brust-, Bein-, Schamhaare)	
Brust	*uwuêi*
Brustwarze	*medadûd*
weibliche Brust	*dûd*
Bauch	*sêrêi*
Nabel	*bâs*
Rücken	*dagôlu*
Gesäß	*wulâe*
Penis	*rêi*
Eichel	*fâlibôluń*
Hodensack	*mâlâ*
Hoden	*fâulimâle*
Samen	*wuâde*
Vagina	*dîni*, auch *dôle*
Labiae	*ffli*
After	*ewâliwûlu*
Haut	*gîn*
Knochen	*djâ*
Blut	*djâ*
Menstruationsblut	*djâliwadôle*, auch *djâ*
Nachgeburt	*bâi*
Ader	*uâge*
Speichel	*gât*
Urin	*chalôlo*
Schweiß	*mlami*
Träne	*djâni weâr*, auch *djân*
Fäces	*bâch*
Atem	*ugâ*

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

2. Psychologisches.

Die Eingeborenen zeigten sich Sarfert gegenüber freundlich und entgegenkommend. Belustigend wirkte das Verhalten der Frauen, je nachdem ob die Männer zugegen waren oder nicht. Die Frauen waren von Natur sehr lebhaft, doch verhielten sie sich in Gegenwart der Männer stumm, sprachen so gut wie gar nichts. Bei Kaufabschlüssen verständigten sie sich lediglich mit den Augen. Mußten sie lachen, so wendeten sie ihr Gesicht ab. Doch konnten die Augen der Frauen, wenn auch nur verstohlen, ganz herausfordernd glänzen.

Als Sarfert mit den Frauen allein war, erklärten sie ihm unverhohlen, daß sie ihn alle übermäßig liebten. Sie gaben es ihm ganz offen durch Liebkosungen und obszöne Tanzbewegungen zu verstehen; daran beteiligte sich sogar eine weißhaarige alte Frau, die wegen ihres Eifers schallende Heiterkeit erregte. Die Frauen erwarteten, wie sie sagten, nichts weiter als recht viel Tabak[1]; sie versprachen, es auch allen anderen weißen Männern, die späterhin noch Ifaluk besuchen würden, zu sagen, wie viel besser er als alle anderen sei.

Beim Tauschhandel beobachtete Sarfert, daß sie es meist auf einen bestimmten Gegenstand abgesehen hatten, wenn sie ihn nicht bekamen, zogen sie meist ihre Tauschgabe zurück. Dabei forderten sie oft beim kleinsten Gegenstand unverschämte Preise mit der ruhigsten und selbstverständlichsten Miene. Als Sarfert darüber ärgerlich wurde, ließen sie ihm sagen, der weiße Mann hätte doch von den Dingen genug, er könnte sie sich doch alle selbst herstellen, sie dagegen nicht! Dieser Eigennutz fiel auch Lütke und v. Kittlitz auf, die durch Walfänger von dem üblen Ruf dieser Insulaner Kenntnis hatten[2].

Über den Phono-Apparat waren sie sehr erstaunt, lachten darüber, hielten sich aber doch in einiger Entfernung und suchten in den Trichter zu sehen. Sie meinten, es stecke ein Mensch darin!

[1] Tabak war seit jeher eine begehrte Ware (Robertson 1876/77, S. 30).
[2] v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 152; Lutké 1835, II. Bd. S. 133/134.

15

Materielle Kultur.

I. Körperpflege und Tracht. Schmuck und Kleidung.

Körperpflege. Zum Epilieren von Körperhaaren benutzt man ein Paar der weißen *bällich*-Muscheln, die an einer Haarschnur befestigt sind (vgl. Abb. 6 bei Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 29); dieses »Rasierzeug« wird *gâm* genannt. — Einreiben mit roter Farbe *(lân)* bei Toten s. S. 77.

Körpertracht. Das Kopfhaar wird halblang getragen, naturlanges Haar sah Sarfert nicht! Der Bartwuchs ist spärlich. Backenbart wurde nicht beobachtet, dagegen ist Kinnbart und Schnurrbart üblich, ersterer ist kurz und letzterer wächst nur sehr dünn.

Geschlechtsteile. Beschneidung wird nicht geübt. Künstliche Verlängerung der Schamlippen ist üblich; der Mann zieht die Labia mit der Hand lang. Bei den Frauen werden außerdem die Schamhaare ausgerupft, »weil sie der Mann nicht liebt«.

Tatauierung. Schon die ältere Reiseliteratur bringt mehrfache Hinweise auf die starke Tatauierung der Ifaluk-Leute[1]. Sie war auch noch zu Zeiten der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition durchaus üblich. — Der größte Teil der Insulaner war tatauiert (tatauieren = *mâk)*, jedoch nicht alle! Wer die Tatauierung nicht liebt, läßt sie sich nicht anbringen, ein Zwang dazu besteht also nicht! Die Eingeborenen wußten auch nicht den Grund anzugeben, warum sie diesen Schmuck anlegen; es war für sie eine alte Sitte.

1910 verstanden sich noch zwei Männer auf diese Kunst, ein dritter lebte zur Zeit auf Faraulip; er hatte sich nämlich Faraulip-Leuten, die damals auf Ifaluk

Abb. 3 und 4. Tatauierhammer in Vogelgestalt (Hamburg 18211 und 18201), Länge 38 und 49 cm.

weilten, angeschlossen. — Die Tatauierinstrumente sind der Tatauierkamm *(ralîd)*, ein Holzstab mit einem mehrzackigen Kämmchen aus Vogelknochen,

[1] Robertson 1876/77, S. 50.

und der Tatauierhammer *(wâu)* aus Holz (s. Abb. 3 und 4). Die Tatauierfarbe wird aus dem Harz vom *lâgidj*-Baum gewonnen. Man verbrennt es im Feuer und läßt den Ruß an einen Tontopf, wie man solche von Yap erhandelt, niederschlagen.

Abb. 5a u. b.

Abb. 6.

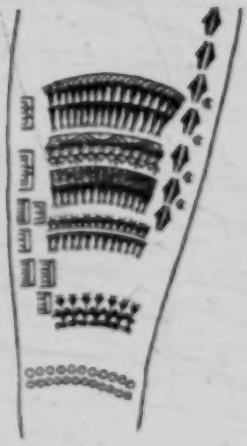


Abb. 7.

Abb. 8.

Abb. 9.

Abb. 5a und b. Handtatauierung (djôulibôu) einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 6. Armtatauierung eines Mannes (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 7. Beintatauierung eines Mannes (nach Skizze Sarfert); 1. = gûe, eine Fischart, 2. = halûelaû, Mondsichel, 3. = galimât, Fischhaken. — Abb. 8. Unterleibtatauierung (wuâle) einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 9. Oberschenkeltatauierung (gadjâb) einer Frau (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Dieser Ruß wird dann mit einem Kokosblatt zusammengekratzt. Während der Operationszeit benutzt der Patient eine besondere Sitzmatte *(djôub)*, um die Tatauierung nicht zu zerstören (s. Taf. 2). — Die Muster zeigen die Abb. 5—9. Viele Männer hatten keine vollständige Tatauierung, sondern trugen nur an den Armen und Beinseiten Muster.

Die Tatauierung soll von Mogemog übernommen worden sein. Die Menschheit lernte sie nach Ansicht der Eingeborenen jedoch durch den Himmelsbewohner Lugeiläñ kennen, der selbst tatauiert ist. Von wem dieser die Körperzier erhalten hat, weiß man nicht, man denkt an Äluelöb, den höchsten Himmelsgott. Als sich Lugeiläñ eine Frau suchte, ging er zur Erde herab, bei dieser Gelegenheit sahen die Menschen den fremdartigen Schmuck und lernten die einzelnen Muster kennen.

Schmuckgegenstände. Als Haarschmuck sind Holzkämme *(löuwd)* beliebt;

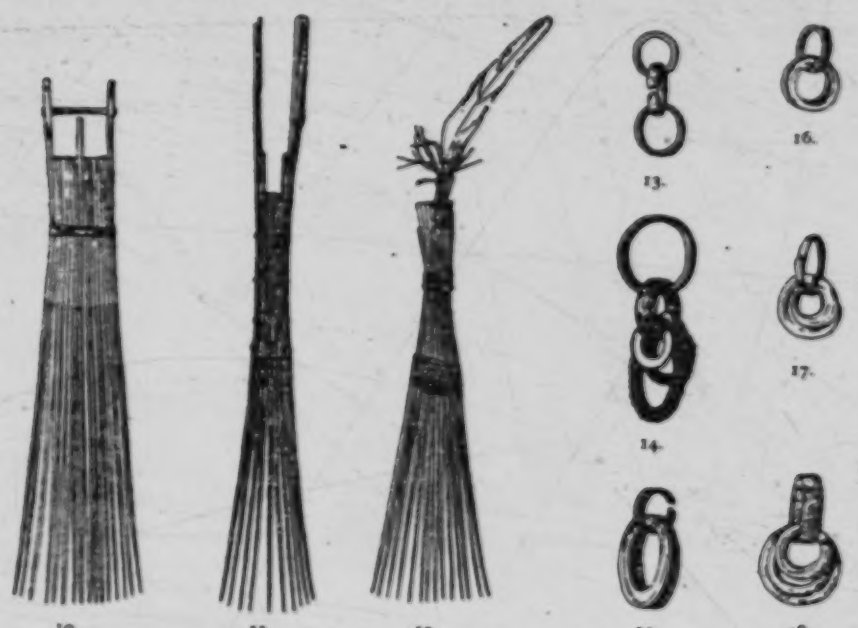


Abb. 10—18.

Abb. 10—12. Kämme (Hamburg 1886II, 1881II, 5770II), Länge 27, 40 ½, 21 cm. — Abb. 13—18. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg: 13 = 5741II, Länge 4 ½ cm, 14 = 3183II, Länge 7 cm, 15 = 3180II, Länge 4 cm, 16 = 5742II, Länge 3 cm, 17 = 5745II, Länge 2,5 cm, 18 = 3181II, Länge 4,3 cm.

sie bestehen aus einzelnen Stäbchen und sind zusammengepflockt oder zusammengebunden (s. Abb. 10—12). Zu Tänzen werden sie noch mit Federn geschmückt.

Der gewöhnliche Ohrschmuck *(djüerâ)* besteht aus kleinen Kokosringen *(darak)* und aus Conus-Muschelringen *(madj;* He.: *mârče)*. Die Mannigfaltigkeit der Formen und die Anordnung der Ringe zeigen die Abb. 13—18, 25—27. Ein Stück (Abb. 20) zeigt eine Kombination mit dem wertvollen *fdubôbo*-Schmuck (s. S. 20). Die Geschlechter tragen den Ohrschmuck verschieden. Die Männer

haben viele kleine Kokosringe im herunterhängenden Ohrläppchen wie Perlen nebeneinander aufgereiht, die Frauen dagegen größere Kokosringe und weiße Muschelringe kettenartig zusammengehängt, teilweise mit Schildpattringen *(uŏdj)* vermischt, doch kommen diese auch einzeln vor (s. unten). Außerdem gibt es noch seltenere Formen:

1. *maregis* (auch *unuldni)*-Schmuck (s. Abb. 35), der früher an einem Schild-

Abb. 19—27.

Abb. 19—27. Ohrschmuck. 19 = 3743[II], Länge 5.7 cm, 20 = 1921[II], Länge 6.7 cm, 21 = 3183[II], Länge 5 cm, 22 = 3184[II], Länge 3 cm, 23 = 3755[II], Länge 4 und 3.5 cm, 24 = 1928[II], Länge 10 cm, 25 = 3633[II], Länge 8.5 cm, 26 = 1931[II], Länge 14.3 cm, 27 = 3179[II], Länge 6.5 cm.

pattbügel zwei Tridacna-Perlen trug, an deren Stelle man jetzt europäische Glasperlen sieht (Abb. 36).

2. *sardn:* spindelförmiger Schmuck aus abwechselnd angeordneten Kokos- und Muschelringen für Männer (s. Abb. 28—30). Sie haben zumeist noch kleine Kettchen, an denen Spondylus-Scheiben befestigt sind.

3. *legasird* besteht aus weißen Muschel- und schwarzen Kokosnußstäbchen, die auf eine Kokosschnur aufgereiht sind (Abb. 32).

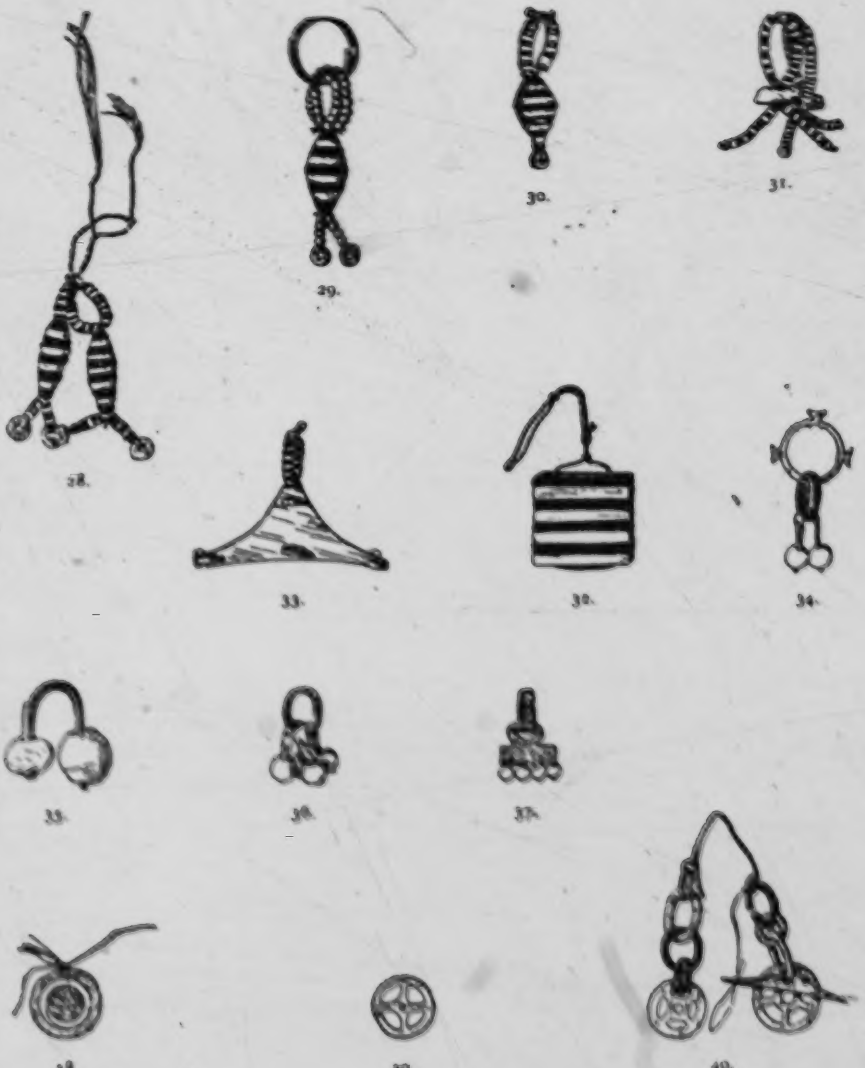


Abb. 28—40.

Abb. 28—40. Ohrschmuck. 28 = 1918II, 1919II, Länge 6,5 cm, 29 = 3178II, Länge 8,5 cm, 30 = 1920II, Länge 5,5 cm, 31 = 1924II, 1925II, Länge 4,5 cm, 32 = 1932II, Länge 3 cm, 33 = 1917II, Länge 4,5 cm, 34 = 5152II, Länge 6 cm, 35 = 1927II, Länge 3,2 cm, 36 = 5751II, Länge 3,5 cm, 37 = 5754II, Länge 2,6 cm, 38 = 5750II, Durchmesser 2,5 cm, 39 = 5753II, Durchmesser 2 cm, 40 = 1929II, 1930II, Länge 6 cm.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

4. *wódj* ist ein alter, jetzt seltener Männerschmuck aus Schildpatt in Dreieckform (Abb. 33).

5. Der von Polowat bekannte uhrrädchenartige Schildpattschmuck wird von Männern getragen, zeigt aber keineswegs den dort vorkommenden Formenreichtum (Abb. 38—40).

6. *fâu bôbo* (auch *fâu djuerâ)* ist ein dreieckiges Spondylus-Stückchen *(fâu* = Spondylus), das zumeist an einem Kettchen von Muschel- und Kokosscheibchen

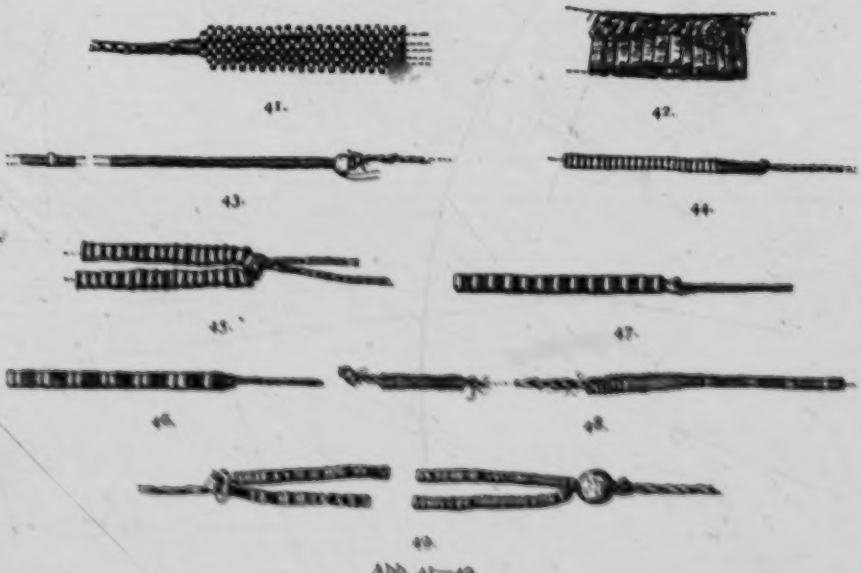


Abb. 41—49.

Abb. 41—49. Halsschmuck (Hamburg: 41 = 1894[II], Länge 75 cm, 42 = 1901[II], Länge 116 cm, 43 = 1892[II], Länge 93 cm, 44 = 1891[II], Länge 110 cm, 45 = 1885[II], Länge 73 cm, 46 = 1887[II], Länge 100 cm, 47 = 3813[II], Länge 93 cm, 48 = 3176[II], Länge 78 cm, 49 = 3814[II], Länge 60 cm).

in einem Schildpattring hängt, der ins Ohrläppchen faßt (s. Abb. 19—23). Abb. 21 hat bereits Glasperlen.

7. Abb. 31 ist ein Männerschmuck ohne besonderen Namen; er besteht aus einem kleinen Kettchen von Muschel- und Kokosringen, dessen beide Enden durch eine starke Spondylus-Scheibe zusammengehalten werden.

8. Eine einzigartige Form von Ohrhänger zeigt Abb. 37: an einem Kokosring hängt ein Schildpattstück mit weißen Glasperlen.

Nasenschmuck *(djûeru-wôt)*. Die Nasenscheidewand wird mit einer Fischgräte durchbohrt. In der Öffnung trägt man wohlriechende Blumen, vor allem die Blüte des *warôn*.

Der Halsschmuck ist sehr vielseitig. Die Halsketten, selten zweireihig *(mdlamar*, auch *mdremar)* bestehen aus Hibiscus-Schnüren:

1. mit Kokosringen in abwechselnder Anordnung = *biligôu* (Abb. 41); ähnliche Stücke sind im Museum zu Berlin (VI 27142a, 27140).
2. mit großen sorgfältig nebeneinander gereihten Kokosringen = *dajebâ* (Abb. 42).
3. aus kleineren Kokosringen = *dârak* (Abb. 43)
4. aus Muschelringen = *bâl*, in der Regel aber mit Kokosringen vermischt (Abb. 44—49); vielfach sind die Ränder der kleinen Ringe oder Scheibchen nicht glatt, sondern zugeschärft (Abb. 48). Diese Ketten werden auch als Hüftschnur getragen. Diese geschmackvollen Ketten werden auf Aurepik, Sorol und Fais hergestellt und sind sehr kostbar. So hatte ein Ifaluk-Mann eine solche Kette auf Aurepik gegen eine Holzkeule eingekauft.
5. aus Fischzähnen = *niligâ* (Abb. 50)
6. aus Schildpattscheibchen (Abb. 51)
7. aus Kokosperlen mit daran hängenden Schildpatt-Fischhaken =

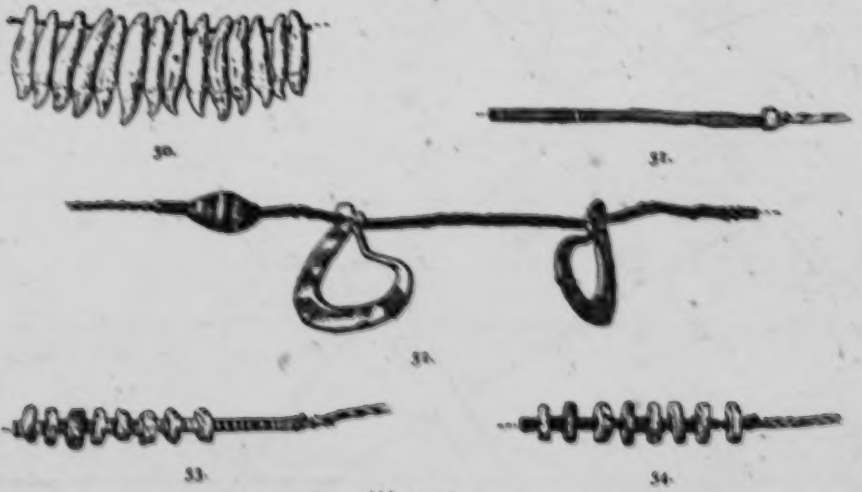


Abb. 50—54.

Abb. 50—54. Halsschmuck (Hamburg 1902[II], 1888[II], 1906[II], 1903[II], 1904[II]; Länge 60, 67, 90 74, 68 cm).

kabiligâ: die Abb. 52 zeigt an beiden Enden eine spindelartige Verzierung aus Muschel- und Kokosnußscheibchen

8. aus kleinen weißen Muschel- und schwarzen Kokosnußscheibchen mit dazwischen gereihten roten Spondylus-Scheiben = *fâu mdlamar*

(Abb. 53.54). Dieser Schmuck war äußerst wertvoll, das Material dazu mußte erst von Aurepik gekauft werden (s. Handel), die weitere Verarbeitung erfolgte auf Ifaluk (s. Technik). Als Sarfert auf der Insel

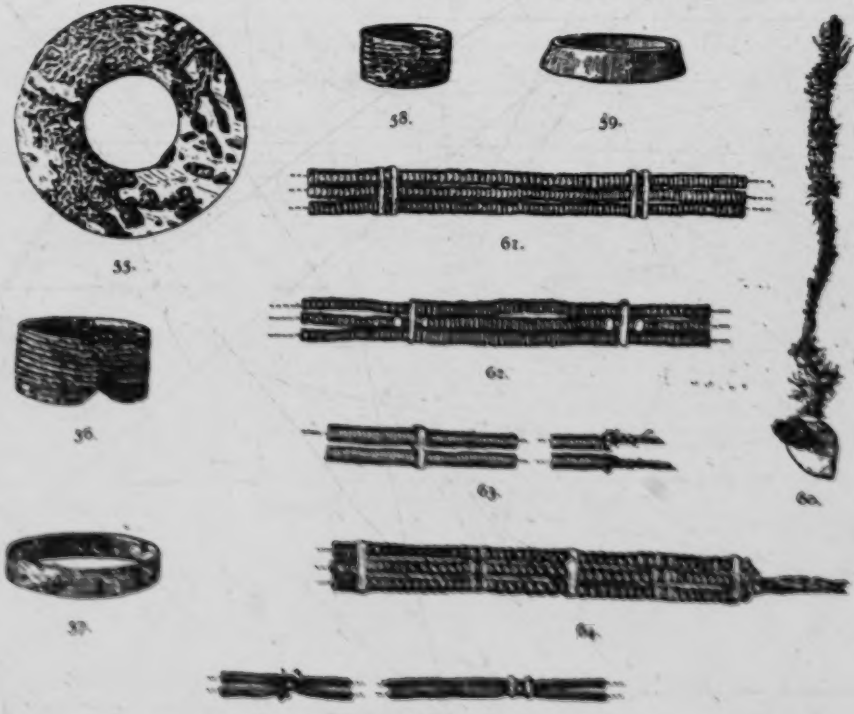


Abb. 55—65.

Abb. 55. Schildpattring (Hamburg 1933[II], Durchmesser 12 cm). — Abb. 56—58. Schildpattarmringe (Hamburg 1910[II], 3794[II], 1912[II], Breite 3,3 1, 2, 4 cm). — Abb. 59. Armring aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 1916[II], Breite 1 cm). — Abb. 60. Tanzschmuck (Hamburg 1907[II], Länge 33 ½ cm). — Abb. 61—65. Hüftschmuck (Hamburg 1897[II], 1898[II], 3174[II], 1896[II], 1937[II]; Länge 100, 110, 125, 115, 67 cm).

weilte, hatte der König verboten, solchen Schmuck zu verkaufen. Als Grund erfuhr Sarfert von ihm, daß dieser Schmuck dem Gott Yanelap gehöre. Er ist eigentlich Staatseigentum und muß für die Tributfahrten nach Yap hergegeben werden. Diese Ketten erhält der »König von Yap« ausgehändigt.

Als Anhänger sieht man nicht selten breite Schildpattringe (Abb. 55), *bordâ* genannt. Sie sollen nach Sarfert aber auch als Armschmuck getragen und dann *lârelâk* genannt worden sein.

Der gebräuchlichste Armschmuck sind die gerillten, hohen Schildpattringe (Abb. 56—58), seltener dagegen sind solche aus Kokosnuß (Abb. 59). Beide werden nach dem verarbeiteten Material *wódj* bzw. *dárak* genannt. Die Verwendung als Ohrring ist üblich. Einen besonderen Tanzschmuck aus Haarschnur mit weißen *sále*-Muscheln (Abb. 60), beim *wódau*-Tanz getragen, nennen sie *garálibóu*.

Als Hüftschmuck gibt es:

1. *gídi:* Gürtel aus weißen Muschel- und schwarzen Kokosscheiben, die auch als Halsketten getragen werden (s. oben)
2. *dáredar:* mehrreihige Gürtel aus kleinen Muschelringen *(bál)* und Kokosscheibchen *(dárak)*, deren besonderes Merkmal sog. »Stege« aus *mádl*-Muschel sind (Abb. 61—64). Es ist ein Frauenschmuck. Eine Sonderform zeigt Abb. 65 insofern, als sich statt der genannten Stege zwei Spondylusperlen und eine Glasperle finden
3. *dedár:* Hüftschnur aus Frauenhaar[1] wie auf Polowat.

Kleidung. Beide Geschlechter tragen gewebte Lendenmatten *(bálebal)* aus Bananen- und Hibiscusfaser[2]. Sie sind größtenteils mit schwarzen Längsstreifen *(garíl)* gemustert, zwischen denen mitunter noch rote Streifen *(garíl ligodjál)* laufen. Alle Matten tragen Fransen *(maderál)*. Besonders geschätzt sind die Lendenmatten mit kunstvoll gemusterten schwarzen Querstreifen *(dáb)*[3], die eine Fülle verschiedenster Einzelmuster *(gaidgi dawól)* zeigen (vgl. Abb. 66—85 und die Taf. 2).

Abb. 66 = *gadjúch* oder *nilibáro* (= Haizähne)

Abb. 67 = *dále*

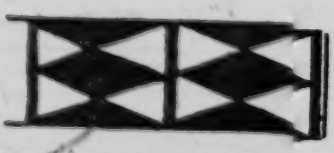


Abb. 68 = *uds* (vgl. das Tatauiermuster auf dem Rücken!)

[1] Sammlung Hamburg He. 2031, Sar. 640.
[2] Nach Robertson (1876/77, S. 30) ähnelt die Kleidung der von Oleai und besteht aus feinen Pandanusmatten.
[3] Sammlung Leipzig Mi. 3862.

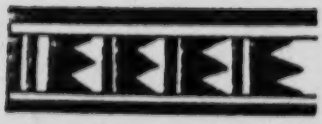


Abb. 69 = *djulâb*

Abb. 70 = *bulumelâu*

Abb. 71 oberer Teil = *rarôb*
unterer Teil = *wadjûk*

Abb. 72 oberer Teil = *ńilibâro*
mittlerer Teil = *bulumelâu*
unterer Teil = *wadjûk*

Abb. 73 = *mâri*

Abb. 74 oberer Teil = *ńilibâro*
unterer Teil = *wadjûk*

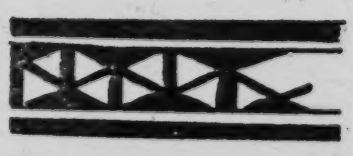


Abb. 75 oberer Teil = *wadâwo*
unterer Teil = *mâri*

Abb. 76 oberer Teil = *wadâwo*
unterer Teil = *gelâge*

Abb. 77 oberer Teil = *ńilibâro*
unterer Teil = *bâgē*

Abb. 78 oberer Teil = *wddawo*
unterer Teil = *wagłba*

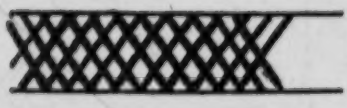


Abb. 79 *ńłłům* (= Zähne der Tridacna)

Abb. 80 oberer Teil = *bāūlimd*

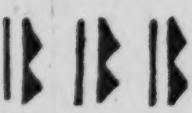


Abb. 81 mittlerer Teil = *djłba djēliwuδł*

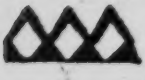


Abb. 82 unterer Teil = *wddjik*

Abb. 83 = *faulimdl*

Abb. 84 oberer Teil = *wődawo*
unterer Teil = *dōludli*

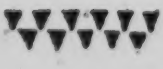


Abb. 85 = *wddjik*

Die Mädchen tragen in ihrer Jugendzeit (s. S. 77) einen Schurz *(siwisł)* aus Blattstreifen — sie können von verschiedenen Bäumen stammen — der aus einem Vorder- und einem Hinterschurz besteht und unter den *gldi*-Gürtel geklemmt wird.

Hut *(bâlân)* aus zusammengenähten Pandanus-Blattstreifen s. Abb. 86.

Abb. 86. Hut (Hamburg 1832[II], Höhe 28 cm).

97

II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung.

1. Landbau.

Die Auswahl an Nährpflanzen und Fruchtbäumen ist nur klein; es gibt Taro in drei Arten *(wûlak, wôd, flle)*, Bananen *(wîdj)*, Kokospalmen *(lû)*, Brotfruchtbäume *(mâi)*. Zuckerrohr *(wôu)* und Kürbis *(galawâš)* wurden von Weißen eingeführt. Bemerkenswert sind die Angaben bei v. Kittlitz, daß die Insulaner, mit denen die Expedition im Frühjahr und Herbst zusammenkam, stets unter großem Nahrungsmangel litten; das fanden sie auf Ifaluk ebenso wie auf Aurepik und Faraulip. Es handelt sich dabei um regelmäßig wiederkehrende Verknappung von Nahrung (auch Fischen), die man dann durch Brotfruchtkonserven auszugleichen versucht[1].

Der Anbau des Taro ist Sache der Frauen, die Männer helfen nur selten und ungern dabei. Die Frauen pflanzen diese Knollenfrucht in den schon in alter Zeit angelegten Gruben *(bôalû)* an und bedienen sich dazu eines Grabstockes *(gôt)*[2], der nicht selten beiderseitig zugeschärft ist (Abb. 87); vermutlich werden auch die als Stichwaffen angegebenen Stücke (Abb. 165—168) als Grabstöcke verwendet worden sein. Zur Düngung *(wâli)* dienen Blätter. — In und außerhalb der Gruben pflanzen die Frauen auch Bananen an.

Die Pflege der Kokospalmen und Brotfruchtbäume obliegt den Männern. — Die Oberaufsicht über alle Landarbeiten hat der Oberhäuptling.

Abb. 87. Grabstock (Hamburg 1786 II, Länge 99 1/2 cm).

2. Fischfang.

Es werden folgende Fischarten gefangen: *môs, jalôñ, debâr, baligâli, ëtâm, igeliwôdj, mâl, mogutîm, gamâdjûgid, râli, balijalañâb, mâñar* (fliegender Fisch), ferner Hai und Schildkröte.

[1] v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 149.
[2] Vgl. dazu Krämer, Der Taro und die Naßkultur (Petermanns Mitteilungen 1928, Bd. 74, S. 165ff.).

Abb. 88—98.

Abb. 88—90. Angelhaken aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 1938II, 1939II, 5834II, Länge 6, 4, 3 cm). — Abb. 91 bis 96. Zusammengesetzte Angelhaken (Hamburg 5818II, 5833II, 1951II, 1953II, 5828II, 5827II; Länge 7, 8 ½, 6, 5, 4, 2 cm). — Abb. 97. Angelvorrichtung für fliegende Fische (nach Skizze Sarfert); Abb. 98. Angelhaken dazu (Hamburg 1945II, Größe 3 cm).

Es gibt folgende Fangarten:

I. Angelfang:

a) *gawódj:* Fischhaken aus Schildpatt (Abb. 88—90), sie werden zum Fang des *mós, jalón, debdr* außerhalb des Riffes benutzt.

b) *bd:* zusammengesetzte Fischhaken, sie bestehen aus einem Muschelblänker verschiedener Art (aus weißer *tawdl* (Abb. 92), violetter *bajók* (Abb. 95), schwarzer Meleagrina (Abb. 93), gelblicher *mädl* (Abb. 94), perlmutterglänzender *jdrr* (Abb. 91), schwarzer *wdl* (Abb. 96), dazu kommen noch Schildpatthaken, Fregattvogelfederstutz und die notwendigen Bindungen. Von diesen *bd*-Haken gibt es zwei Arten:

1. solche mit der Perlmutterseite nach innen, zum Fang des *balijalandb*,

2. solche mit der Perlmutterseite nach außen zum Fang des *baligdli* und *üdm*.

c) *gölimdi* oder *djd:* Haken aus Kokosnußschale zum Fang des fliegenden Fisches *(mdñar);* er wird an einer leeren, verstöpselten Kokosnuß festgebunden (Abb. 97—98)[1]. Diese Angelvorrichtung wird zu mehreren ins Wasser geworfen, am Zucken und zeitweiligen Verschwinden der Nüsse erkennt der Fischer, daß ein Fisch angebissen hat. Das Boot fährt den Angeln nach und holt sie samt Schwimmer ein, sobald ein Fisch angebissen hat.

d) *gordñi:* großer Holzhaken zum Fang des Haies, außerdem wird der Hai noch mit der Schlinge gefangen (s. S. 32).

Die Angelhaken werden in Büchsen aus Kokosnuß (Abb. 107, 108) oder Bambus (Abb. 128—130) aufbewahrt; Deckel und Boden sind aus Holz.

II. Zur Netzfischerei benutzt man verschiedene Netzarten, die alle aus *kalekdl*, einer Art Kokosschnur gearbeitet und mit *wugawdg*-Knoten (Abb. 99) verknüpft sind.

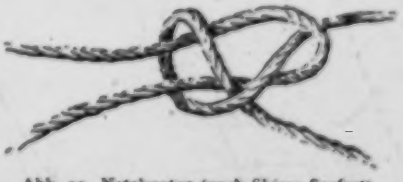


Abb. 99. Netzknoten (nach Skizze Sarfert).

a) *djöu*-Netze mit zusammengesetztem Bügel; die beiden Teile führen folgende Namen: unterer Bügelteil mit Griff = *ddb*, oberer Bügelteil = *kadúl*[2]. Von diesem Netz kommen zweierlei Formen vor:

1. mit gebro[illegible]nem Rahmen (wie auf Sorol) zum Fang des fliegenden Fisches außerhalb des Riffes nachts bei Fackelschein. Wie es zu dieser nächtlichen Fangart kam, berichtet folgende Erzählung: Früher war der Fang des fliegenden Fisches zur Nachtzeit unbekannt. Eines Tages weilte nun Módj in Oleai und fuhr bei Sonnenuntergang nach Fanalur. Da er dort zwei Tage bleiben wollte, nahm er seine Schlafmatte mit. Die Rückreise trat er bei Sonnenuntergang an, es war sehr heftige See und seine Schlafmatte wurde über Bord gespült. Dieses

[1] Sammlung Leipzig Mi. 3870—72. [2] Museum Hamburg 1791. II. 1792 II.

Unglück bemerkte er jedoch erst, als er in Oleai ankam. Er bestimmte einige Männer, sich mit Kokosfackeln auszurüsten und nach seiner Matte zu suchen. Als das Boot auf hoher See war, kamen auf einmal die fliegenden Fische und sprangen ins Boot. Schließlich fand man die Matte und fuhr mit den vielen Fischen nach Hause. So kam der nächtliche Fang mit den Fackeln auf.

2. mit geradem Rahmen zum Fang des *igeliwddj*, *mdl* u. a. (s. Taf. 3 Abb. 1).

b) */du* ist ein großes Rahmennetz mit rundem Holzrahmen und ohne Stiel[1]. Darin fängt man den *mogudim* und *gamädjägid* innerhalb und außerhalb des Riffes.

c) *ädln* ist das übliche Netz mit Schwimmern *(uabds)* und Senkern *(fdllm)*. Mit ihm werden bei Niedrigwasser innerhalb des Riffes verschiedene Fischarten gefangen.

d) *äg* ist ein großes, fast quadratisches Netz, das nach einer Seite zusammengelegt und an einer der damit entstandenen Schmalseiten geschlossen wird. Es

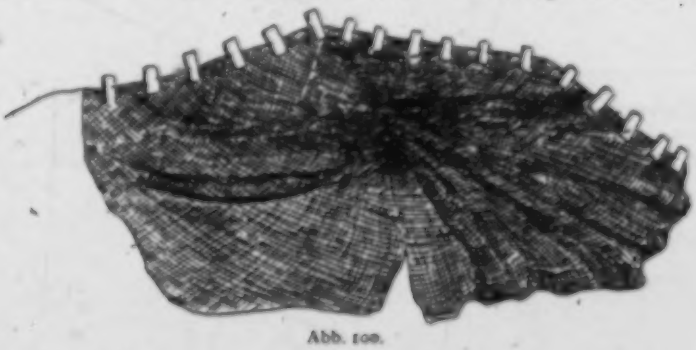


Abb. 100.

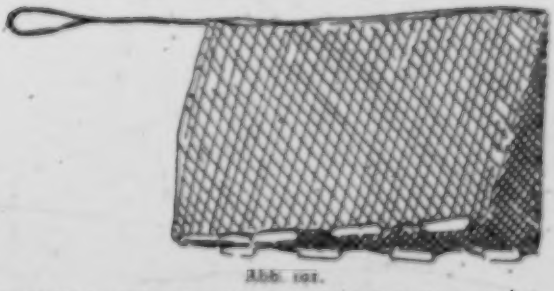


Abb. 101.

Abb. 100. Ug-Netz, auseinandergelegt (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 101. Ug-Netz zusammengelegt (nach Skizze Sarfert).

wird mit einem Strick an einem Stein festgemacht und die Öffnung wird durch zwei *ädln*-Netze verlängert, die an den beiden Vertikalkanten des *äg* befestigt und so ausgelegt werden, daß sie sich nach See zu trichterartig verbreitern (Abb. 100-101).

[1] Museum Hamburg 1793 II.

III. Zum Fischen mit Speeren wird der glatte *mesafár-* oder *gobâ* genannte Speer benutzt, der bis drei Meter lang ist. Diese Fangart wird in Verbindung mit *ädlä*-Netzen angewendet. Mehrere Boote bilden mit diesen Netzen einen Kreis; die zusammengetriebenen Fische werden dann von den Booten aus gespeert.

IV. Fischfang mit Reusen heißt *é*.

a) *ulubdm:* Reuse wie Abb. 2 auf Taf. 3[1]. Die Bezeichnungen für die enzelne Teile sind:

Eingang = *mdd*	Seitenwand = *bîtg*
Boden = *badjebddj*	Dach über dem Eingang = *rdgu*
Hinterwand = *gdbä*	erhöhter spitzer Dachteil = *dé*.

Diese Reusen werden auf den sandigen Meeresboden gelegt und um sie herum Sand gehäuft, so daß sie nicht fortschwimmen können. Als Köder wird *ldgum* (= Krebs) hineingetan.

b) *dlimarowudli* ist die gleiche Reuse wie auf Sorol; sie dient zum Fang des *rdli*. Die Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Reusenteile sind dieselben wie bei a). —

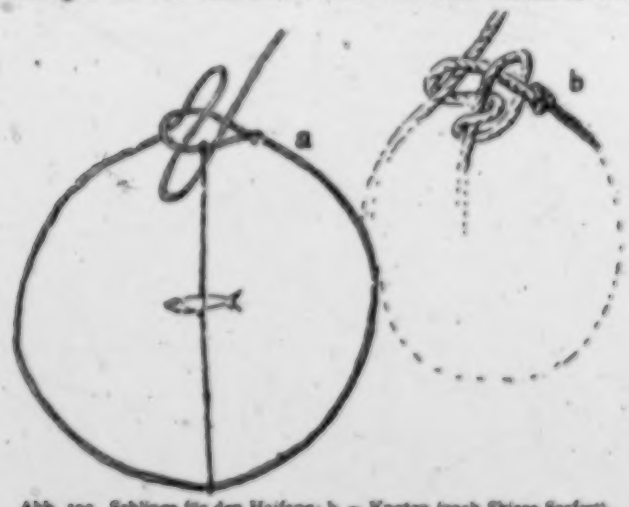


Abb. 102. Schlinge für den Haifang; b = Knoten (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Diese Reuse wird seitlich an ein Schwimmholz gebunden und durch eine Leine an das Boot, das nur langsame Fahrt machen darf, geknüpft.

V. Drachenfischerei[2] ist bekannt. Der Drachen *(djöligodjduk)* ist aus Brotfruchtblättern verfertigt, an der Schnur hängt ein Köder *(kaüldlu)*[3] aus

[1] Ebenso im Museum Leipzig: Mi 3874.
[2] Vgl. darüber Plischke, Der Fischdrachen. Leipzig 1922 (Veröff. des Städt. Museums für Völkerkunde Leipzig Heft 6). [3] Museum Leipzig Mi 3873.

Spinnweben, an anderer Stelle bezeichnet ihn Sarfert als Hautgewebe des Haifisches.

VI. Den Fang mit der Schlinge *(nfw)* wendet man verschiedentlich an und bedient sich dabei auch verschiedener Schlingenformen.

a) Den *ldwud*, den Köderfisch für den Hai, fängt man mit einer Schlinge wie auf Polowat (vgl. Abb. 98 bei Sarfert und Damm 1929, Bd. I).

b) Den Hai fängt man mit einer Vorrichtung, wie sie Abb. 102 zeigt. Der mittlere senkrechte Strick *(karigdu)* hat den Köder, einen Fisch verschiedener Art; Fig. a zeigt den Verlauf des Zuges, Fig. b genau die Schlinge, in der er verläuft.

c) Zum Fang der Schildkröten nimmt man ein einfaches Seil, bildet eine Schlinge und schiebt sie dem Tier über Kopf und Vorderfüße. So kann man die Beute leichter ins Boot ziehen; an Land wird sie einfach auf den Rücken gelegt.

VII. Fischfang mit Gift war ursprünglich unbekannt, später erhielt man jedoch Kenntnis davon durch Yap-Leute. Ein Name für die Art des Fanges fehlt.

3. Jagd.

Die Jagd spielt nur eine untergeordnete Rolle, da größeres Wild fehlt. Gefangen werden Vögel und zwar

a) mit dem *djöu*-Netz (s. Fischfang)

b) mit Schlingen *(nfw)* wie sie beim Fischfang verwendet werden, nur sind sie hier größer.

Ratten stellt man mit röhrenförmigen Fallen *(uligdu* oder *ddwis)* nach, die geflochten und nicht aus Bambus sind, wie dies zumeist für die Karolinen üblich ist.

Als Haustiere fand Sarfert lediglich Hühner *(mällâk)* vor; Schweine *(sflo)* fehlten. Von Hunden *(geldgu)* sah er nur zwei und von den wenigen Katzen *(gadâ)* waren alle bis auf eine beim letzten Taifun umgekommen.

4. Nahrungszubereitung und Geräte.

Das Essen wird von den Frauen zubereitet und im Erdofen *(fellâu)* — von der in Mikronesien und Polynesien allgemein üblichen Form — gedünstet; seltener ist das Rösten von Speisen über dem offenen Feuer.

Nach Angabe der Eingeborenen brachte Mödj die Kenntnis der Feuererzeugung aus Yap mit. In alter Zeit verstand man kein Feuer *(jâf; bulchâf* =

die Flamme) herzustellen; man aß alles, auch das Fleisch, roh. Heute kennt man zwei Arten der Feuererzeugung:

a) den Feuerbohrer *(lidk)*, *sfwe lidk* = liegender Stab, *lafe lidk* = stehender und rotierender Stab.

b) den Feuerhobel oder Feuerpflug *(lafilt)*, *sfwe lafilt* = liegender Stab, *lafimafilt* = pflügender Stab.

Die Feuersäge ist unbekannt.

Zum Anfachen des Feuers bedient man sich der in den Karolinen allgemein üblichen, geflochtenen Fächer *(sdbo)*.

feldä = Heim, Feuerplatz, *wurah* = Rauch, *marodj* = Asche, *fafi* = Brennholz.

Fleischspeisen liefert den Eingeborenen das Meer; von den auf S. 9 genannten Fischen werden lediglich nicht gegessen der Hai, weil er Menschen frißt, *lödj*, weil er giftig ist, *fä*, *schusfä*, *mafädjlid*, weil es so Sitte ist.

Das Pflanzenreich liefert auf den Tisch verschiedene Taroarten, *kodomälu*, *djdwä*, *gö*, *waiwäi*, *gawäddj*, *gli*, *mägumog*, *gäle*, *läle*, *fäliob*, *jalomä*, Zuckerrohr und Kürbis, ferner die Früchte von Kokospalmen, Brotfruchtbäumen, Pandanus und Bananen. Die Früchte der Kokospalme werden je nach ihrem Reifestadium verschieden bezeichnet:

lä mesö = Nuß mit ganz harter Schale und noch weichem, leicht lösbarem Fleisch; die Bruchfläche der Schale ist schwarz.

sdu = *lä mesö* mit weißer Bruchfläche der Schale, also eine noch sehr junge Nuß,

löu = *lä mesö* mit bereits hartem Fleisch,

lö = *lä mesö* ohne Fleisch.

Die grüne Hülle der Nuß nennt man *bäjenne lä*, die braune Hülle dagegen *bäjenne löu*. Beim Zerschlagen der Nüsse rufen die Eingeborenen *soslöue*, auf Faraulip *soslöue*, auf Yap und Sorol *soroäe*.

Ein wichtiges Genußmittel ist der Palmwein *(hdri)*. Er wird in der gleichen Weise wie auf Polowat gewonnen[1]. Und zwar wird er früh, mittags und am späten Nachmittag zubereitet. Gekochter Palmwein *(lili)* wird mit Wasser vermischt getrunken.

Dem Genuß von Tabak *(dämäko)* wird gern gefröhnt.

An Haushaltungsgeräten kennt man:

a) Schaber, Kratzer und Reiber.

1. *falöuefä*[2]: ein Stück Koralle als Reiber für Taro usw.

2. *wägan*: Kokosnußkratzer von zentral-karolinischer Form.

3. Schildkrotaxt *(jäüfli)* wie auf den Mortlock-Inseln (Taun)[3] zum Schälen des Taro; schon seit langer Zeit nicht mehr im Gebrauch.

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 69 f.
[2] Sarfert und Damm 1929 Abb. 162.
[3] Desgleichen im Museum Leipzig Mi 3860.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

b) Stampfer *(ſâûlîðõu)*[1] aus Korallenkalk zum Zerstampfen des Taro (Abb. 104, 105).

c) Eßlöffel *(idlt)* aus Kokosnußschale (Abb. 103).

d) Muschelmesser *(sâr)*.

e) Kokosnußgefäße.

1. *giwudri*: kleine Kokosnüsse mit Holzdeckel, teilweise auch mit Holzboden

103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108.

Abb. 103—108.

Abb. 103. Löffel aus Kokosnußschale (Hamburg 5800[II], Länge 12 cm). — Abb. 104, 105. Stampfer (Hamburg 1853[II], 1977[II], Länge 10 ½, 20 cm). — Abb. 106—108. Büchsen aus Kokosnußschale (Hamburg 3760[II], 1876[II], 1875[II], Höhe 7 ½, 10 ½ 11 cm).

(Abb. 106—108); sie dienen zur Aufbewahrung kleiner Gegenstände und werden in die *wddâû*-Tasche (s. unten) gesteckt.

2. *bâle:* große Kokosnüsse für Palmwein (Abb. 109).

f) Holzgefäße aus Brotfrucht- und *lâgidj*-Holz.

1. *kabânebau*[2]: große Holzschachteln mit Deckel (Abb. 110) und kurzen Griffen; sie dienen zur Aufbewahrung von Webearbeiten.

2. *wâru:* große, viereckige Holzkästen für Lendenschurze usw.; diese gibt es jetzt nicht mehr.

3. *sâb*[3]: Holzschachteln mit Deckel, aber ohne Henkel von verschiedener Form und Größe (Abb. 111—118). Eigenartig ist die Form (Abb. 118) mit Schiebedeckel. In diesen Behältern werden die Fischhaken aufbewahrt.

4. *döbi lemâlâ:* runde Holzschüsseln ohne Füße.

5. *döbi lemâbu:* Holzschüsseln mit Nasen und ohne Füße. (Abb. 119, 120); bei dieser Art ist die Breite größer als die Länge.

6. *döbi lemâulu:* schwere, längliche Holzschüssel (Abb. 121).

7. *döbi lemowallel:* runde Holzschüsseln mit oder ohne Füße, aber mit Henkel *(lenlligâgal*; s. Abb. 123, 124).

---

[1] Desgleichen im Museum Leipzig Mi 666, gesammelt von Senfft mit der Bezeichnung *ofaiu*.
[2] Desgleichen im Museum Leipzig Mi 3864.
[3] Desgleichen im Museum Leipzig Mi 3863, 3865.

109.

110.

111.

112.

113.

114.

115.

116.

117.

118.

119.

120.

Abb. 109—120.

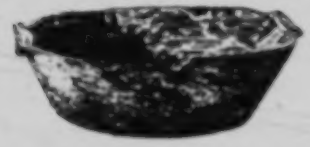
Abb. 109. Kokosnuß für Palmwein (Hamburg 1851[II], Höhe 14 ½ cm). — Abb. 110—118. Holzkästen (Hamburg: 110 = 1795[II], Breite 58, Höhe 10 cm; 111 = 1799[II], Höhe 8, Breite 26 cm; 112 = 1803[II], Breite 14 ½, Höhe 6 ½ cm; 113 = 1804[II], Breite 22, Höhe 6 cm; 114 = 3172[II], Breite 22, Höhe 8 ½ cm; 115 = 1812, Breite 18 ½, Höhe 9 cm; 116 = 3173[II], Breite 24, Höhe 8 ½ cm; 117 = 1807[II], Höhe 20, Breite 9 ½ cm; 118 = 5773[II], Breite 6, Höhe 3 cm). — Abb. 119—120. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg: 119 = 1837[II], Durchmesser 31 bezw. 36 ½, Höhe 8 ½—9 cm; 120 = 1817[II], Durchmesser 17 ½, Höhe 5 ½ cm).

8. *döbi ülu:* Es sind die bekannten Truk-Schüsseln, von denen es aber auf Ifaluk keine mehr gibt. Hellwig sammelte als *stepie* (identisch mit *döbi*) eine längliche Schüssel mit »Nasen« und vier Füßen (Abb. 122).

Über die Farbschüsseln s. S. 42.

g) Körbe.

1. *gdto:* Körbchen aus Kokosblattfiedern mit geflochtenem Henkel (Taf. 1 obere Reihe); sie dienen zum Tragen von Essen.



121.

122.

123.

124.

125.

126.

Abb. 121—126.

Abb. 121—124. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg: 121 = 1818[II], Durchmesser 41 bzw. 34, Höhe 16—17 cm; 122 = 5811[II], Länge 50, Breite 32 ½, Höhe 11 cm; 123 = 1814[II], obere Weite 23 ½, Höhe 8 cm; 124 = 5762[II], obere Weite 26, Höhe 7 ½ cm). — Abb. 125, 126. Farbschüsseln (Hamburg 1838[II], 1819[II], Länge 36 bzw. 40 cm).

2. *dägu:* hoher Korb aus zwei Kokosblattfiedern (Taf. 1 unten rechts) zum Essenholen.

3. *gabädi:* großer, runder Korb (Taf. 1 mittlere Reihe rechts) aus Kokosblattfiedern mit Schnurhenkel zum Aufbewahren von Bananen-, Pandanusfäden und anderem zur Weberei benötigtem Material.

4. *wŏddū:* längliche Tragtasche aus zwei Kokosblattfiedern, es ist die eigentliche Handtasche der Männer und Frauen (Taf. 1 unten links).

5. *djâk:* Transporttasche für Holz, Kokoshüllen und dergleichen aus zwei halben zusammengeflochtenen Kokoswedeln. Sie gleicht einer aufgeklappten *gllidaūdaū*-Matte; die Enden des Zopfes sind zu einem Henkel vereinigt (s. Abb. 127).

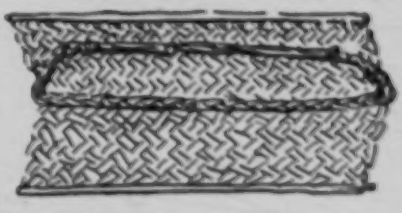


Abb. 127. Transporttasche (nach Skizze Sarfert).

6. *wŏddū mdū:* viereckige Tragtasche aus Pandanusblattstreifen. Sarfert konnte nur ein Belegstück erlangen (Taf. 1 mittlere Reihe links).

7. *gdgadj:* eine seltene Form von Tragtaschen (Taf. 2 Abb. 1, 3, 4) aus Pandanusblattstreifen. Kleinere Exemplare wurden in der *wŏddū*-Tasche getragen. Das Stück (Abb. 3) fällt durch seinen Zopf auf, der quer über die Mitte der Tasche geht.

8. *sigildla:* hohes, schmales Täschchen mit aufgesetztem Deckel aus Pandanus-

128. 128a. 129. 130. 131.

Abb. 128—131.

Abb. 128—131. Bambusbüchsen mit Holzdeckel; 128a Deckelverschluß zu 128 (Hamburg 370711, 370811, 187411, 187211, Höhe 11 ½, 10 ½, 19 ½, 21 ½ cm).

blattstreifen. Sarfert konnte nur dieses Belegstück ausfindig machen (Taf. 2 Abb. 2).

h) Netztaschen aus Kokosfaserstricken.

1. *djôudjodle:* große netzartige Taschen zum Zubinden, eng- oder weitmaschig (Taf. 3 Abb. 4.5) für Lendenschurze u. a.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

2. *djóulimar:* bootförmige Netztaschen zum Holen der Brotfrüchte, die in diesen Taschen auch gewässert werden.

3. *wóddáu:* Tragtasche aus engem Schnurgeflecht (Taf. 3 Abb. 3).

i) Bambusbüchsen[1] *(giwudri)* für kleinere Dinge (Tabak u. a.) haben hölzernen Boden und Deckel, vielfach sind sie mit Ritzmustern verziert (Abb. 128—130). Ein Kuriosum ist die Doppelbüchse, deren mittleres Verbindungsstück aus Holz ist (Abb. 131).

[1] Desgleichen im Museum Leipzig Mi 3867.

37

III. Technik.

1. Verarbeitung von Holz, Kokosnüssen, Muscheln, Schildpatt und Stein.

a) **Holztechnik.** Ihre Erzeugnisse sind Holzschüsseln verschiedenster Art, Deckelkästen mannigfacher Form, Kokosnußkratzer, Kanu- und Hausmaterial. Werkzeuge dazu waren:

1. Muscheläxte *(delakl)* verschiedener Größe (Abb. 132). Andere Äxte waren unbekannt. Die einzelnen Teile heißen ***mimuflm*** = Stiel, *fófo* = Kokosschnürung, *dfla* = Tridacna-Klinge.

2. Bohrer; es gab zwei Arten: den einfachen Stabbohrer *(wálewul*, He.: *wura-*

132.

133.

134.

Abb. 132—134.

Abb. 132. Muschelaxt (Hamburg 184/11, Länge 40 cm, Länge der Klinge 22 cm). — Abb. 133, 134. Bohrer (Hamburg 576/11, 184/11, Länge 29 und 70 cm).

wura) mit Haizahnspitze, jetzt mit Eisenspitze (Abb. 133) und den Drillbohrer *(malubóub)* mit Schwungstab und einer Spitze aus Pteroceras-Muschel (Abb. 134).

3. Zirkel sind unbekannt gewesen.

b) Kokostechnik. Ihre Erzeugnisse sind Schalen, Büchsen, Löffel, vor allem aber Schmuckperlen. Die Herstellung dieser Perlen ist der auf Luangiua ähnlich.[1] Rohe Stücke, die auf eine Blattrippe aufgezogen sind und nun geschliffen werden sollen, zeigt Abb. 135.

c) Muscheltechnik. Ihre Erzeugnisse sind Axtklingen aus Tridacna, Angelhaken aus Perlmuttermuschel, Muschelperlen, Schmuckplatten aus Conus-

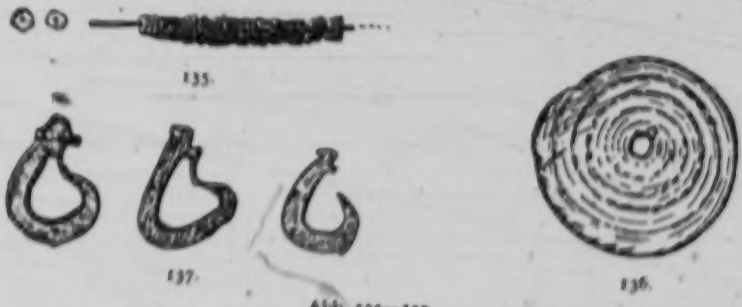


Abb. 135–137.

Abb. 135. Kette mit Kokosscheibchen in Arbeit (Hamburg 5802[II], Länge 90 cm). — Abb. 136. Geschliffener Boden der Conus-Schnecke (Hamburg 3187[II], Durchmesser 7 cm). — Abb. 137. Werdegang eines Fischhakens aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 1935[II]–1937[II]; ⅓ natürl. Größe).

Muscheln (ein ungeschliffener Conus-Boden s. Abb. 136), Farbfläschchen aus Seepocken. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist die Anfertigung der roten Spondylus-Perlen; es ist Männerarbeit. Diese kostbare Muschel wird von Aurepik gegen Lendenschurze, Messer und dergleichen gekauft, wo sie innerhalb des Riffes gefischt wird. Die Männer zerschlagen die Muscheln in kleine Stücke, reiben sie auf einem Stein ab und durchbohren sie mit dem *wälewul* (s. oben). Auch die große Perlmuttermuschel *(sälo)* wurde in dieser Weise bearbeitet.

d) Schildpattechnik. Ihre Erzeugnisse sind Schmuckringe und Angelhaken. — Das Rückenschild der Schildkröte wird mit einem brennenden Stock losgelöst. Aus dem Schildpatt wird dann mit dem einfachen Bohrer der Haken ausgeschnitten und mit der rauhen Rückenhaut des Rochens geglättet und zurechtgefeilt. Verschiedene Entstehungsstadien zeigt Abb. 137.

e) Steintechnik. Ihre Erzeugnisse sind Stampfer.

2. Seilerei.

a) Kokosschnüre. Die Kokosnußhülle *(bējēnne)* wird drei Monate lang in Wasserlöcher *(liwēligor)* gelegt und gewässert. Falls die Faser noch nicht gut ist,

[1] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929 S. 134.

wird sie mit einem Holzschlägel *(gemân*, Abb. 138) geschlagen und dann in der Sonne ausgebreitet und getrocknet. Es gibt drei Arten von Schnüren:

1. *kâlekal:* die Fasern werden auf dem Knie zu einer einfachen Schnur zusammengedreht. Sie findet beim Kanu- und Hausbau Verwendung.

2. *balteddl:* dicke Schnüre zum Einwickeln der Toten und zum Binden der Kanus. Sie werden mit einem Stock *(maûl)* gedreht.

3. *dâli:* starke Seile für Segel, Anker und dergleichen; sie werden von drei Männern mit einem besonderen Apparat in der auf Polowat üblich gewesenen Art[1] angefertigt.

Abb. 138. Holzschlägel (Hamburg 1871II, Lge. 25½ cm).

b) Hibiscus-Schnüre werden zu Fischleinen *(jâu)* verwendet. — Die Hibiscus *(gilifôu)*-Stämmchen werden vier Tage lang gewässert, um dann genau wie auf Luangiua[2] weiter behandelt zu werden. Aus der Bastfaser werden die Schnüre *(bllebil)* mit dem *wâli*-Stock[3] oder mit der Hand auf dem Knie gedreht.

c) Jalomâ-Schnur wird aus dem gleichnamigen Baum gewonnen. Sie dient zum Anbinden des Fischhakens an den Blänker; das betreffende Schnurstück heißt *dalâligô.*

3. Färberei.

An Farben werden verwendet:

1. schwarze Farbe. a) Zum Färben der Webfäden gewinnt man sie aus schwarzen Steinen, die im Schwemmholz antreiben. Von ihnen schabt man mit einem Messer etwas in eine mit Wasser gefüllte Holzschüssel, dann gibt man den Saft einer Kokoshülle durch Auswringen derselben hinzu und in der gleichen Weise den Saft eines Blattes vom *glli*-Baum. — b) Die zum Bemalen der Boote notwendige große Menge schwarzer Farbe gewinnt man dadurch, daß man Kokoshüllen *(bêjênne)* anbrennt, dann ins Wasser taucht und damit wie mit einem Pinsel über das Holz streicht. — c) Die Tatauierfarbe gewinnt man aus dem Harz des *lâgidj*-Baumes.

2. rote Farbe; auch hiervon benutzt man zwei Sorten: a) Zum Färben von Webfäden; man schabt die Rinde des *lâle*-Baumes, vermengt sie mit fein zerkleinertem und gebranntem Korallenkalk

Abb. 139. Schnurtasche für Farbe (Hamburg 1878II, Höhe 14 cm).

139.

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 75 und Abb. 182.
[2] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929 S. 158 unter III.
[3] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929 Abb. 174.

Abb. 140. Farbtopf aus einer Meerpocke (Hamburg 58:611, Höhe 8 cm).

und drückt alles in eine Holzschüssel mit Wasser (roter Faden = *ligodjd)*. — b) Zum Bemalen der Boote; man rührt rote Yap-Erde, die in kleinen Schnurtaschen (Abb. 139) oder Töpfen aus Meerpocken (Abb. 140) aufbewahrt wird, in Wasser an und gibt den Saft eines angeschnittenen Brotfruchtbaumes hinzu. Als Farbtopf benutzt man eine *döbimdb*-Holzschale (Abb. 125, 126) in Vogelform. — c) Zur Körperbemalung s. S. 77.

4. Flechterei.

Das Flechten ist Frauenarbeit. Angefertigt werden:

1. Pandanusmatten *(gfagi)*, es gibt vier verschiedene Arten:

a) *fdüldbtik* ist die Schlafmatte aus einfachem Geflecht[1] von etwa ein Zentimeter breiten Streifen, die aber auch schmäler ausfallen können.

b) *fölu* ist eine seltene Form der Schlafmatte; sie liegt doppelt und hat in der Mitte einen etwa 5 Zentimeter breiten Streifen, durch den anscheinend die zwei Seiten der Matte zusammengeflochten sind. Eine derartige Matte konnte Sarfert nicht erlangen.

c) *fdb* ist eine einfache Matte für kleine Kinder.

d) *djöub* ist eine Sitzmatte der Männer, die diese für die Zeit der Tatauierung benutzen (Taf. 2 Abb. 6). Diese Matten gibt es gegenwärtig nicht mehr.

Das Material für die Matten liefert der Pandanusbaum *(fdr)*. Die grünen Blätter werden von den Frauen über dem Feuer etwas getrocknet und dann ins Freie gelegt. Man will sie damit dem Regen aussetzen, doch vermeidet man es, daß die Blätter mehr als dreimal vom Regen durchweicht werden. Sie werden von nun ab nur der Sonne ausgesetzt und sind nach vier bis fünf Tagen für die weitere Bearbeitung fertig. Die Blätter werden darauf mit einem Stück Kokosschale geglättet, indem man sie einfach durch die Hand zieht, und dann in schmale Streifen zerrissen.

2. Kokosmatten *(gfli)* sind alles Liegematten; es gibt folgende Arten:

a) *dädrau* ist eine Matte aus zwei Kokoswedeln, in deren Mitte die Rippe läuft. Das erklärt sich daraus, daß die Wedel bei der Verarbeitung so aufeinander gelegt wurden, daß die Spitze des einen mit dem Stil des andern zusammen zu liegen kam.

b) *dädölo* wie a), jedoch sind die Fiederblätter an den zur Rippe parallel verlaufenden Längsseiten zu einem »Zopf« verflochten.

[1] Vgl. Abb. 226 bei Sarfert und Damm 1929.

c) *gli dâdâ* ist eine Matte aus zwei halben Kokoswedeln, die so zusammengeflochten sind, daß die Rippen den einen Mattenrand und der »Zopf« den andern bildet.

d) *gli ebâba* ist eine Matte wie c), nur daß sie aus einem ganzen Wedel geflochten ist.

Die Kokosmatten sind alle im sogenannten Kreuzgeflecht[1] gearbeitet.

3. Korbflechterei ist Frauenarbeit. Das Material dazu liefern Kokos- und Pandanusblätter.

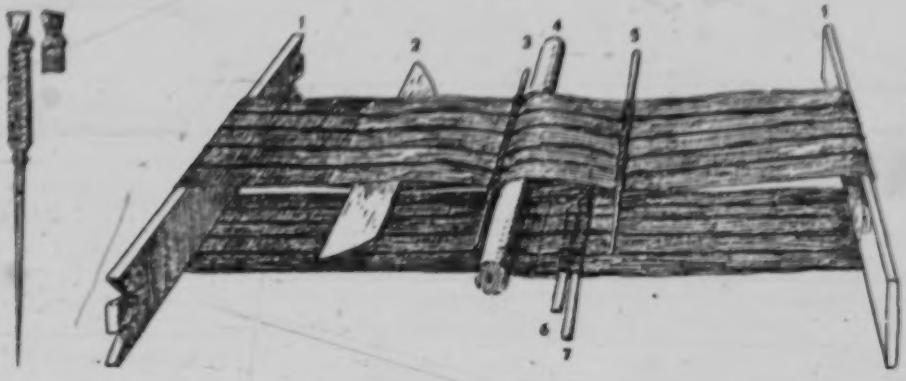
a) Körbe aus Kokosblättern sind *gâto, dûgu, gabâdâ, wôdâu, djâk* (s. S. 36).

b) Körbe aus Pandanusstreifen sind *gâgadj, sigilâla, wôdâu mân* (s. S. 37).

5. Weberei.

Die Gewebe werden aus feiner Bananenfaser *(wâis)* oder derberer Hibiscusfaser *(gulifâo)* gearbeitet; teilweise sind sie schwarz oder rot gefärbt (s. Färberei). In die Schmalseiten werden mit einer Nadel *(djudâb* s. Abb. 141) aus Holz kunstvolle schwarze Borten eingeflochten (Muster davon s. unter Kleidung).

Der Webstuhl *(dâl)* wird an zwei Stangen *(wisâl)*, die unten etwas in die Erde gerammt und oben an der Hauswand bzw. dem Dach festgebunden sind, befestigt ähnlich wie z. B. auf Kusae.[2] An dem eingekerbten Brett wird der Gürtel für die Weberin befestigt. Unten liegt ein Brett *(fâwa)*, das als Unterlage dient. Die einzelnen Teile des Webstuhles heißen (vgl. die Abb. 142).



141. 142.

Abb. 141. Nadel (Hamburg 1863[II], Länge 26 cm). — Abb. 142. Webstuhl (Hamburg 1861[II], Länge 107 cm).

[1] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929, Abb. 228. [2] Vgl. Sarfert, Kusae 1919 Bd. 1, Abb. 73.

Nr. in der Abb.	deutsche Bezeichnung	Ifaluk
1	Spannbretter	*báb*
2	Schwert	*gabôb*
3	Litzenstab	*ṅûṅ*
4	Trennstab	*dêba*
5	Kreuzstab	*olúd*
6, 7	—	*dîb*
—	Kettfaden	*ännudôlu*

45

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt.

1. Handel.

In alter Zeit waren die Handelsbeziehungen lebhafter als 1909; an die Handelstüchtigkeit der Polowatleute kamen die Ifaluk-Eingeborenen jedoch nicht heran. Zur Zeit der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition kauften sie nur noch die begehrten Spondylusmuscheln auf Aurepik und Truk ein und bezahlten dafür Lendenschurze und Messer[1]. Auch die Tributfahrten für Yaṅelap haben nicht mehr die Bedeutung wie ehedem.

2. Nautische Kenntnisse.

Die Seefahrtskenntnisse wurden bereits 1909 nicht mehr gepflegt. So verstand von allen auf der Insel anwesenden Männern keiner mehr, nach Sternbildern zu segeln. Ein einziger hatte noch eine schwache Vorstellung von den Kursen nach Oleai, Faraulip und Lamutrik, damit war aber sein Wissen erschöpft.
Nach Angabe der Insulaner weilten damals noch zwei erfahrene Ifaluk-Kapitäne auf Yap und Ngulu (s. S. 78). Die Aufnahme einer Segelkarte war unter diesen Umständen unmöglich.

Die Grundlage alles nautischen Wissens bildet die Kenntnis des Sternhimmels. An Sternen *(fâš)* bzw. Sternbildern kannte man:

môl = Leier
ugeltk = Orion
mâriger = Plejaden
âl = Aldebaran
mâlöb = Adler
erüôl = drei Könige (im Orion)
dumâl = Jungfrau
djerewôl = Rabe
lûp
wolewôle

gûi = Fisch, ein riesiges Sternbild, das über den ganzen Himmel geht, zu ihm gehören *ugeltk* und *erüôl*

[1] Ob die »großen, weißen Muscheln", die der Expedition Lütke von den Eingeborenen zum Kauf angeboten wurden, für diese Inseln ein typischer Handelsartikel waren, ist aus den Quellen nicht zu ersehen (v. Kittlitz 1858, II. Bd. S. 152).

lâke *dagalíp*
dôbi *mölârü*
ídj *mâdjîk*
mâlu *âlakimêi* = Milchstraße

mâlâm = Mond, man kannte den »Mann im Monde« = Liganôs; über ihn ist nichts Näheres bekannt. — Die Sonne hatte keinerlei Bedeutung, eine Eingeborenenbezeichnung hat Sarfert nicht angegeben. Über die Mondphasen s. S. 7.

Eine Vorstellung über die Sterne hatte man nicht; von den Yap-Leuten hatte man gehört, daß es Steine seien! Sternschnuppen = *jajâle fâš*.

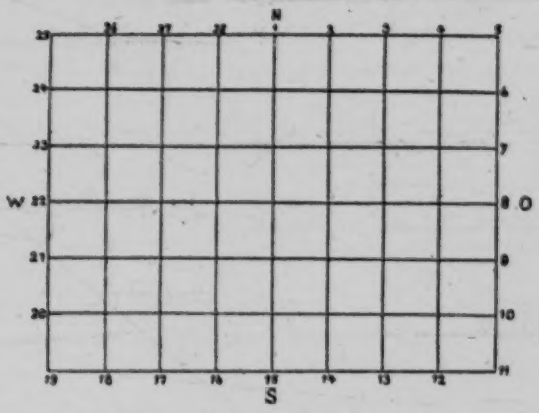


Abb. 143. Strichrose (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Das Bild der Strichrose zeigt Abb. 143, der Horizont wurde rechteckig aufgefaßt: Punkt 1 ist der Aufgangspunkt eines Sternes in der Nähe des Polarsternes, sein Untergangspunkt liegt in Nr. 15, die Linie 1—15 stellt also die Bahn dieses Sternbildes dar. Das Gleiche gilt auch für die übrigen, oben genannten Sterne bzw. Sternbilder, wie es im Band Polowat ausführlich dargelegt wurde[1].

Nr. der Strichrose		
1	*wolewôle*	
2	*dagâli mâlôb balewân*	
3	*dagâli olâgo*	Norden
4	*dagâli ugeltk*	
5	*dagâli möl*	

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 89.

Nr. der Strichrose		
6	*dagâli mâriger*	Osten
7	*dagalûl*	
8	*dagâli mâlöb*	
9	*dagâli erüôl*	
10	*dagâli âjerewôl*	
11	*dâgâli dumûl*	
12	*ddli mâddlü*	Süden
13	*dagallpu*	
14	*madjemaijdd*	
15	*wolewôlelülüp*	
16	*mâdje mâddl*	
17	*dubulûp*	
18	*dubûli mâddlü*	
19	*dubûli dumûl*	
20	*dubûli djerewôl*	Westen
21	*dubûli erüôl*	
22	*dubûli mâlöb*	
23	*dubûlewul*	
24	*dubûli mâriger*	
25	*dubûli môl*	
26	*dubûli ugellk*	Norden
27	*dubûli olâgo*	
28	*dubûli mâlöb balewân*	

Die Abbildungen 144, 145 zeigen die Stellung von Sternbildern am nächtlichen Himmel zu verschiedenen Zeiten: beim Untergang des Altair und wenn Altair im Zenith steht.

An Himmelsrichtungen kennt man nicht:

Norden = *jlſan*	Nordwesten = *ilodolſſan*
Süden = *jôr*	Nordosten = *kodolſſan*
Westen = *ilodôu*	Südwesten = *ilodolijôr*
Osten = *jôdou*	Südosten = *kodolijôr*.

Die Windrichtungen sind:

Wind aus	Sternpunkt der Strichrose	
N	1,2 und 28	*janlſan* oder *iſanelôb*
NNO	3 und 4	*iſâneläds*
NO	5 und 6	*jodoiſân*

48

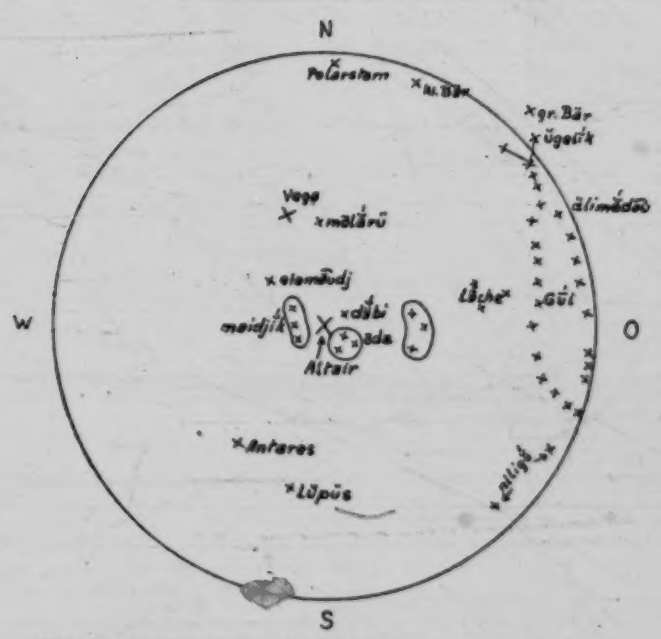


Abb. 144. Sternhimmel, wenn Altair im Zenith steht (nach Skizze Sarfert).

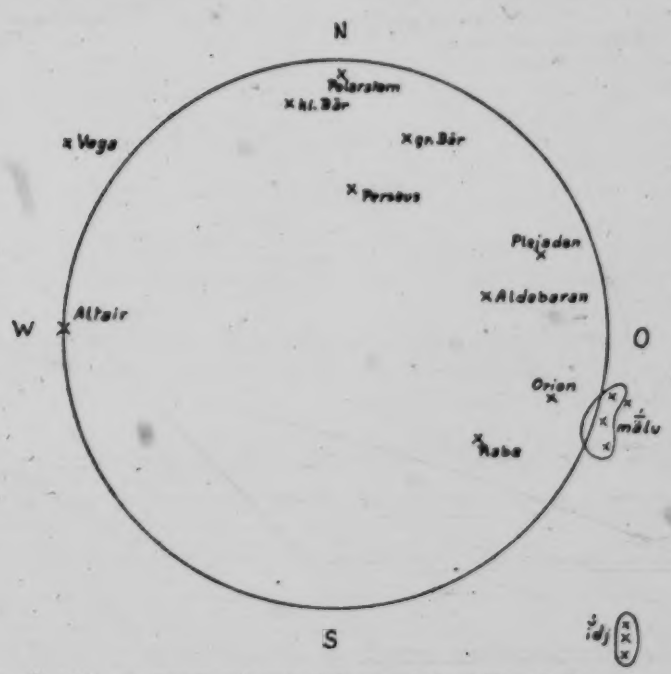


Abb. 145. Sternhimmel, wenn Altair untergeht (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Wind aus	Sternpunkt der Strichrose	
O	7 bis 9	*jagódu* oder *jodunuwél*
SO	10 und 11	*koduár*
SSO	12 und 13	*joruläds*
S	14 bis 16	*jañejór*
SSW	17 und 18	*jorüläd jál*
SW	19 und 20	*lodoár*
W	21 bis 23	*janilódo* oder *lodoilób*
NW	24 und 25	*lodoi∫añ*
NNW	26 und 27	*i∫añeläd jál*

Die oben erwähnten, heute noch bekannten Segelkurse sind:

Ifaluk—Oleai = 9—23 der Strichrose
Ifaluk—Faraulip = 1—15 der Strichrose
Ifaluk—Elato—Lamutrik = 21—7 der Strichrose (Lamutrik ist von Elato aus sichtbar!).

In alter Zeit hatte man nach Sarfert auch Verbindung mit Satoan, das durch Ifaluk-Leute, die über Lamutrik kamen, besiedelt wurde.

Von Verschlagungen ist nur eine bekannt geworden; so beobachtete die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition auf Elato die Ankunft eines Ifaluk-Bootes, das von Faraulip auf der Rückfahrt in die Heimat nach Olimarau verschlagen wurde[1]. — Antreibungen von Yap s. S. 59, 83.

3. Kanu

Die Zahl der Boote muß in alter Zeit sehr groß gewesen sein, denn Lütke wurde seinerzeit von 25 Eingeborenen-Booten mit etwa hundert Mann Besatzung begrüßt[2]. — Die Ifaluk-Boote sind wie die von Polowat und anderen zentralkarolinischen Inseln Plankenboote *(ud)* aus Brotfruchtholz und tragen außer dem Ausleger den bekannten Gabelschwanzaufsatz. An Kanu-Arten hatte man:

a) *wäliwuél:* großes Segelboot für Fernfahrten. Sie führten Eigennamen und zwar wurden sie nach dem Namen des Platzes benannt, auf dem der Brotfruchtbaum stand, aus dem das Boot gezimmert war. Die Verteilung der großen Boote auf die einzelnen Sippen ist folgende gewesen:

[1] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 261.
[2] Lütké 1835, II. Bd. S. 133.

Die Sippe	besaß vor dem Taifun	1909
Lawuâû	8	3 (Ein Boot fuhr gerade nach Faraulip.)
Sawôlôb	1	1
Ledjôurôu	5	1
Gajudôlîn	3	0
Sâgo	4	0
Jiwân	6	3 (Davon eins in Faraulip und eins in Lamutrik.)
Jôr	14	1

b) *manuwîi:* kleineres Segelboot zum Fischfang,
c) *kafadûlé:* Ruderboot für höchstens 4—5 Mann,
d) *djaŧemâti:* Ruderboot für 1—2 Mann,
e) *foſât:* Floß.

Außerdem hatten die Eingeborenen noch Spielboote verschiedener Größe, kleinere hießen *galâl*, größere *ligêli*. — Eine für Ifaluk seltene Bootsform zeigt das Modell Abb. 146. Derartige Boote, *gâuat* genannt, mit halbmondförmigem Aufsatz[1] sind auf Satoan häufig, ein solches gab es vor dem letzten Taifun (1907) auch auf Ifaluk.

Die Bootsteile und Bootsgeräte führen folgende Namen (vgl. dazu die Abb. 147):

Boot *ud*
Bootinneres (Nr. 12 der Abb.) *ni wud*
Kiel (Nr. 15) *djuligâb*
aufsteigender Kiel an den beiden Enden (Nr. 16) *ſaddâwu*
Bug- und Heckaufsatz (Nr. 17) *mâd*
Brücke (Nr. 19) *ebâb*
? (Nr. 20) *jôlak*
Geländer an der Brücke (Nr. 21) *laŋolûwe*
Brückenträger *djuŧa*
Querholz (in Abb. unsichtbar), unter das die *djuŧa* laufen, ist an den zwei mittleren Bänken fest gebunden *waliwôl*
Bootsrand (Nr. 18) *mešâb*
Auslegerseite *balle dâm*
auslegerfreie Bootseite *igedâ*

[1] Vgl. daru Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 220 Anm. 2.

Außenseite des Bootes:
rote vertiefte Seitenstücke (Nr. 14) *lanî fâri*
erhabene schwarze Fläche und ebensolches Band (Nr. 13) *fâri*
Auslegerbalken (Nr. 1) *dâm*
Auslegerstöcke (Nr. 10) *gîo*
Auslegergabeln *dm*

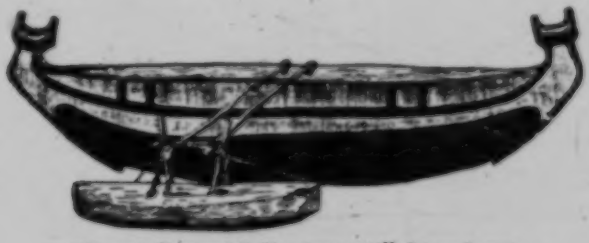


Abb. 146. Bootmodell (Hamburg 5761[II], Länge 80 cm).

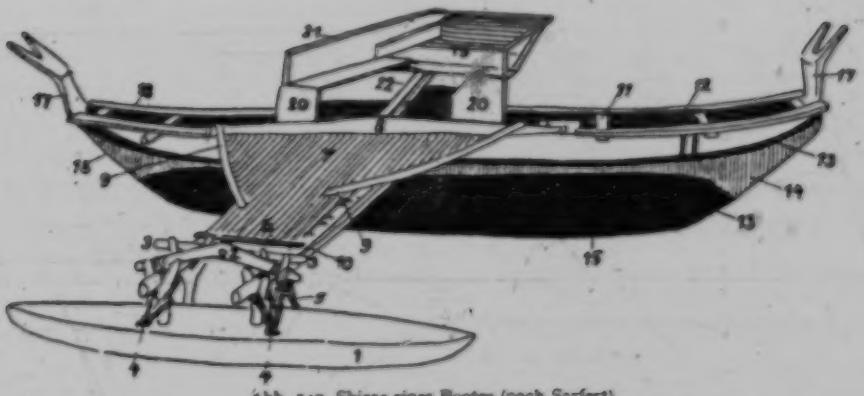


Abb. 147. Skizze eines Bootes (nach Sarfert).

die inneren *umâldlo*
die äußeren *umâlâgu*
äußeres Querholz (Nr. 2) *uâli jâuelap*
inneres Querholz (Nr. 3) *uadjôjo*
Löcher im Auslegerbalken für die Gabeln (Nr. 4) *bulje dâm*
Bindung des Auslegers (Nr. 5) *sôdjo*
äußere Auslegerplattform (Nr. 6) *djoro rêola*
innere Auslegerplattform (Nr. 7) *fâui*
Leiste an der inneren Plattform (Nr. 8) *beldf*

beschnitzte und bemalte Leisten an Auslegerplattform (Nr. 9) *meddlawan*
Sitzbänke (Nr. 11) *dā*
Ostaß (Abb. 148,149) *gömād*

Über die Art der Takelage, die Befestigung des Mastes *(hakā)* und Segels *(āe)* unterrichtet die Abb. 150.

Die Kochvorrichtung *(felaw galigdh)* für Fernfahrten besteht in einem viereckigen (50 cm im Geviert), erhöhten Rahmen mit dünnen Stäbchen als Rost. Die Vorrichtung (Abb. 151) steht auf Beinen über dem *beldf* (Nr. 8 der Abb. 147).

148.

149.

Abb. 148, 149. Ostäxer (Hamburg 1873[II], 1935[II], Länge 33 und 37 cm).

In dem oben genannten viereckigen Rahmen wird eine kleine Kokosblattmatte *(ilafe)* gelegt und darauf Sand geschüttet. Hier werden die Fische geröstet.

Als Wassergefäße dienen Kokosnüsse. Das Regenwasser fängt man auf hoher See in einem umgestülpten Hut auf, dessen Spitze in einer Kokosflasche steckt.

Die **Kenntnis des Bootbaues** führen die Eingeborenen auf mythischen Ursprung zurück. Sēlān baute das erste Boot; er brachte diese Kunst den Menschen auf der Insel Mōdj, die vier Tagereisen südlich von Truk liegt[1], bei. Wer den Ifaluk-Leuten den Kanubau lehrte, ist nicht bekannt. Die ersten Besiedler von Ifaluk, es war ein Mann namens Mōdj[2] mit seiner Frau (s. Kapitel Innere Geschichte), kamen auf einem Floß (!) in ihre neue Heimat. Doch sollen bereits kurz darauf und zwar noch unter Mōdj Boote gebaut worden sein.

Die Boote werden aus dem Holz des Brotfruchtbaumes angefertigt. Zunächst werden Bäume mit Muschelbeilen gefällt, dabei helfen dem Handwerker Brüder und Söhne mit. Handelt es sich um den Bau eines großen Reisebootes, so muß erst der König seine Erlaubnis dazu geben. An diese Arbeit sind keine besonderen Tapus geknüpft. Die Stämme werden dann mit Hilfe anderer Männer ins Kanuhaus geschleift. Das Ziehen geschieht unter Gesang taktmäßig, um ein plötzliches und kräftiges Anziehen zu erreichen. Der Vorsänger ruft:

Nēbāla sā hā!
Alle: *Sā hā!*
Vorsänger: *Ālāba!*
Alle: *Lāa lāba!*

[1] Es wird damit die Insel Mōdj im Atoll Satoan gemeint sein.
[2] Die Namensgleichheit mit der Insel ist auffällig.

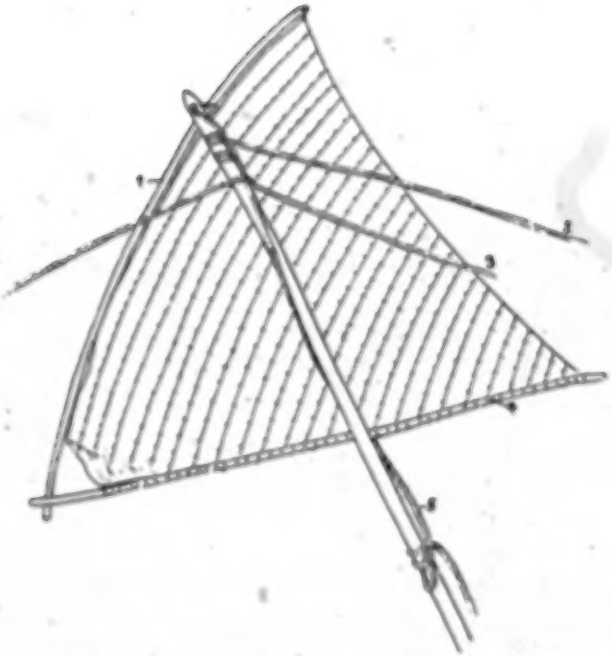


Abb. 150. Skizze der Takelage (nach Sarfert). 1 = djéru, 2 = janaläf, 3 = danigär, 4 = ill, 5 = ulöl.

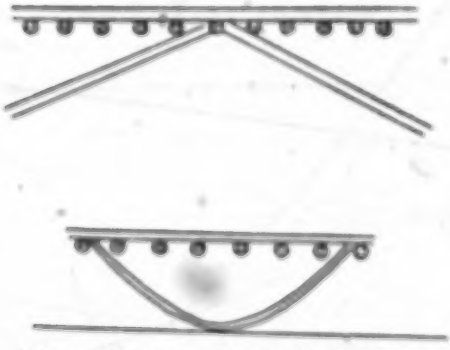


Abb. 151. Skizze vom Rost für Kochvorrichtung (Längsschnitt und Querschnitt; nach Sarfert).

Vorsänger:	*Momâ sâ!*
Alle:	*Dôa lâ!*
Vorsänger:	*Sfurâ sâdo!*
Alle:	*Lâmò!*
Einer:	*Mddâelawâ!*
Alle:	*Uâ ŧwa!*
Vorsänger:	*Dâ wâa!*
	Môga â!
	Ádilôu!
	Bigirla!
	Mâlâlau!
	Úwudâ!
	Djâ ŧjo — mâ dâla!
	Ído jêwo — lâlâlo!
	Lilli wêrâ — rêba lâe!
	Rêŧwa — usw.!

Die einzelnen Bootplanken — ihre Bezeichnungen sind in der Abb. 152 angegeben — werden sauber aneinander gefügt und durch eine straffe Bindung aneinander gehalten. Die Fugen der Planken werden durch Schnitten *(bâle)* der

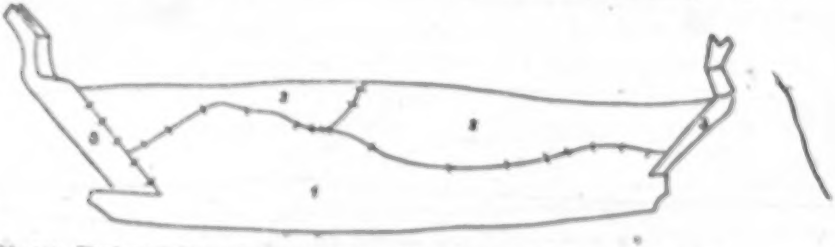


Abb. 152. Plankenteile eines Bootes (nach Skizze Sarfert): 1 = bôn, 2 = bâbe, 3 = bâdj.

Kokosfaserhülle *(bêjêwwe)*, die mit dem Harz der Brotfrucht *(wllis)* vermischt werden, abgedichtet und die Bohrlöcher für die Bindung durch ein Gemisch von verbrannter Kokosfaser und gebranntem, zerstoßenem Korallenstein *(fâu)* verschmiert. Die Bootplanken werden in der auf Abb. 147 angegebenen Weise mit roter Yap-Erde und schwarzer Farbe, die man aus gebrannter und in Salzwasser eingerührter Kokoshülle gewinnt, bemalt.

Während des Kanubaues wird viermal *bâiewâi*-Zauber gemacht und zwar stets, wenn die bekannten Linien gezogen werden. An diesen Tagen sind dann alle Arbeiter *tapu*. Auch bei Fertigstellung des Bootes wird nochmals ein Zauber vorgenommen und eine Probefahrt veranstaltet, dazu wird ein bestimmtes Lied

angestimmt. — Bei diesen eben erwähnten Zauberhandlungen werden Kokosnüsse neben das Boot gelegt und zwar sind es stets zwei oder ein vielfaches davon, jedoch nie drei oder fünf oder sieben. Die Größe dieses Opfers richtet sich ganz nach der Anzahl der vorhandenen Nüsse.

Die Werkzeuge sind die für die Holzbearbeitung üblichen (s. S. 39). — Über Kanuhäuser s. S. 58.

Zum **Wetterzauber** benutzte man die gleichen mit Rochenstacheln bewehrten Figurendolche wie auf Polowat[1]; sie wurden hier *udliwol* genannt und galten als sog. *udiwudu* des Gottes *Ālālubi* (Abb. 153, 154).

153. 154.

Abb. 153, 154. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 18381, 18391; Länge 51 und 50 cm).

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 114.

56

V. Haus und Dorf.

Der Sage nach stammt der Hausbau von Módj (s. S. 52), der ihn von Yap mitbrachte. Wer ihn den dortigen Einwohnern lehrte, ist unbekannt.

I. Die Hausanlage.

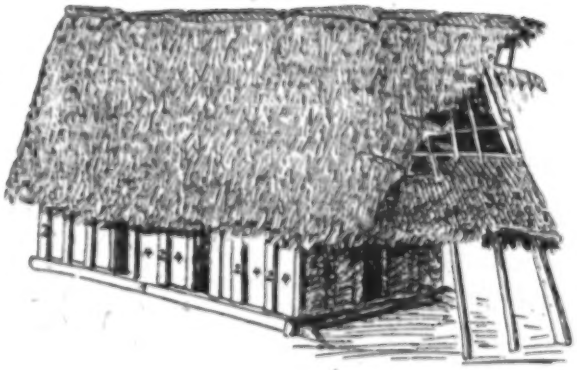
Die häufigen Taifune haben sehr oft die Häuser zerstört; bei dem letzten stürzten alle außer vier Wohnhäusern (3 in Feladjik, 1 in Falalap) ein. Doch wurden diese nicht wieder mit derselben Sorgfalt wie ehedem errichtet. Es gab früher nicht nur mehr Häuser als heute, sondern sie waren auch größer, von sechseckigem Grundriß und bestanden aus Holzplanken. Dagegen verstand man es noch nicht, die Häuser ohne Stützpfeiler an den vier Ecken zu bauen. Der verstorbene Bruder eines noch 1909 lebenden, alten Mannes sah dies zum erstenmal in Aurepik am Haus eines Yap-Mannes namens Gamelái, der auch auf dieser fremden Insel starb. Seit dieser Zeit baut man auf Ifaluk die Häuser ohne *fúle*. Steinunterbauten, wie sie z. B. auf Aurepik üblich sind, haben die Eingeborenen angeblich nie errichtet, wenn sie auch dafür den gleichen Namen wie auf dieser Insel, nämlich *bái*, gebrauchen.

Hausarten. a) *fm* = Wohnhaus der Familie. Es ist das gewöhnliche Viereckhaus mit vorgeneigtem Giebeldach und ohne besonderen Steinunterbau. Die alte Form zeigt Abb. 155. — In dem von vier Balken gebildeten Fußbodenrahmen (*gaeái*, Nr. 1 der Abb. 155) sind Seitenpfosten (*djáne*, Nr. 2) eingelassen, zwischen denen die Wände (*dibáb*, Nr. 4) stehen. Auf den 4 Eck-*djáne* ruhen die Deckenbalken[1] (*gabilibín*, Nr. 6), die ihrerseits die Fußpfetten (*falidibáb*, Nr. 1 der Abb. 156) tragen, in denen die *djáne* eingelassen sind. Binder und Leer-Gespärre (Nr. 2), beide *wóu* genannt, sind etwas in den Fußpfetten eingelassen. Die Firstpfette heißt wie auf Polowat und Satowal *fún*[2]. Die übrigen Pfetten (Nr. 3) führen verschiedene Bezeichnungen, je nachdem sie am Leer-Gespärre

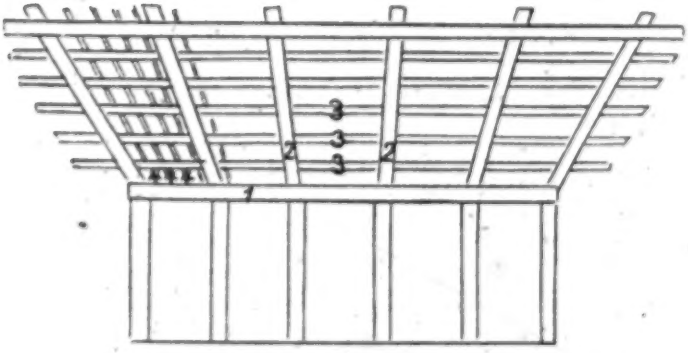
[1] Vgl. dazu die schematischen Zeichnungen der Dachkonstruktion bei Sommer, Baukonstruktive Betrachtungen über Hausbauten in NW-Central-Celebes (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1918 Bd. 60) S. 374/75.

[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 120.

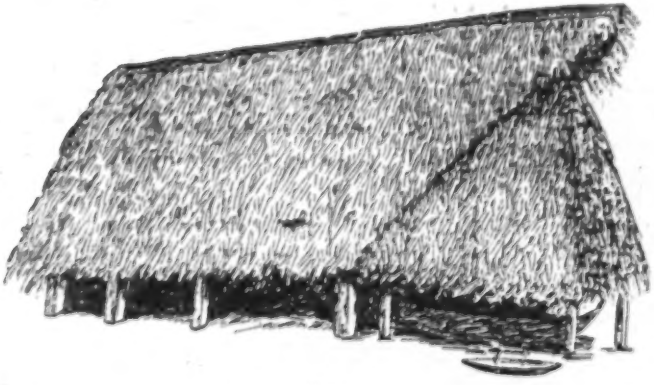
57



155.



156.



157.

Abb. 155. Wohnhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 156. Dachkonstruktion (nach Skizze Sarfert); die Ziffern sind im Text erläutert. — Abb. 157. Bootshaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

oder an den Sparren festgebunden sind; im erstgenannten Fall heißen sie *kabandk*, im andern *kabllal*, beide wechseln miteinander ab. Die Sparren (Nr. 4) heißen *gato*.

Die Giebelwände sind besonders gestaltet. Auf dem *gabilibin*, unter den ein *aūdānilālo*-Balken zwischen die Seitenpfosten gespannt ist, steht ein Mittelpfosten *(wadābdo*[1]). Einer Giebelwand ist ein vorspringendes Dach *(dābdu)* angebaut (Abb. 155 Nr. 3); sein Leer-Gesparre heißt *kabandk di bin*, seine Sparren *gato di bin*. Dieses *dābdu* überschattet eine Veranda *(bin)*, die in Höhe der Fußpfetten liegt und vorn ein Topfbrett *(fane di bin)* hat. Nicht immer ist dafür ein besonderer Tragbau vorhanden wie etwa auf Hok[2]; die Eckpfosten heißen *sūle*, die beiden darauf liegenden Längsbalken *daltelōb*, der Querbalken dagegen *aūdānilālo*. Angeblich ist dieser Vorbau entstanden, um die vor der Tür hockenden Hausbewohner vor Regen zu schützen. Die Matten zur Dachdeckung heißen *jāso*.

b) *malūm* = Kochhaus. Auf jedes Wohnhaus bzw. auf jede Familiengruppe kommt ein Kochhaus. Nach dem Grund gefragt, warum besondere Küchen benutzt werden, erklärten die Eingeborenen, »weil das große Haus zum Schlafen und Arbeiten (Weben usw.) bestimmt ist«. Der wahre Grund ist wohl der, weil das Zubereiten der Speisen und das Kochen Licht und Raum verlangt.

c) *fanūud* = Kanuhaus. Es hat die gleiche äußere Form wie das Wohnhaus, doch ist es an allen Seiten offen und hat größere Ausmaße (s. Abb. 157). Die Kanuhäuser werden von den einzelnen Dorfteilen errichtet und gehören ihnen auch als eigen. Vor dem letzten großen Taifun war die Zahl die Kanuhäuser wesentlich größer als 1909. Die Verteilung der Kanuhäuser war folgende:

der Dorfteil:	hatte Kanuhäuser 1909	hatte Kanuhäuser vor dem Taifun
Gajudōllin	1	1
Ledjōurōu	1	1
Lawuaū	1	1
Jiwān	1	3
Jōr.....	1	3
Sāgo	0	1
Sawōlōb	0	1

Sāgo und Sawōlōb besitzen jetzt keine Kanuhäuser mehr, der erstere bringt seine Boote bei Gajudōllin und Ledjōurōu unter, der letztere bei Lawuaū. — Über die Zahl der großen Seeboote s. unter Schiffahrt.

[1] Vgl. Damm u. Sarfert 1935 in Abb. 216 Nr. 5.
[2] Vgl. Abb. 223 in Damm und Sarfert 1935.

d) *fendɔ́p* = Haus für die erwachsenen, unverheirateten Männer; es wurde von den Eingeborenen als »house belong king« bezeichnet. Diese Häuser sind öffentliche Gebäude gewesen. Für gewöhnlich war den Frauen der Zutritt verboten. Nur wenn der König alle Inselbewohner zu sprechen wünschte, um Anordnungen zu treffen oder um Recht zu sprechen, kamen auch Frauen und Kinder mit ihren männlichen Angehörigen hier zusammen.

Vor alter Zeit gab es keine derartigen Häuser. Das erste *fendɔ́p* baute ein nach Ifaluk verschlagener Yap-Mann namens Fágil, der unter der Regierung Dibódân ankam. Nach diesem Muster baute man noch drei weitere *fendɔ́p*. Diese waren nach Yap-Art auf einem Steinunterbau im Wasser errichtet und mit dem Ufer durch einen Steinsteg verbunden. Zwei von ihnen waren auf der Hauptinsel (eins in Ledjóuróu und eins in Lawuaû) und zwei auf Falalap (eins im Süd- und eins im Norddistrikt); die übrigen Dorfteile hatten kein *fendɔ́p*, sie mußten sich mit Kanuhäusern begnügen. Der Taifun zerstörte sie bis auf eins in Lawuaû, das den Namen Kadalû führt und Sarfert während seines Besuches als Unterkunft diente. Es war 21 m lang, 5½ m breit und 5 m hoch.

Diese Häuser wurden von allen Männern des betreffenden Dorfteiles errichtet. Die Beendigung der Arbeit wurde immer durch einen Tanz festlich begangen. —

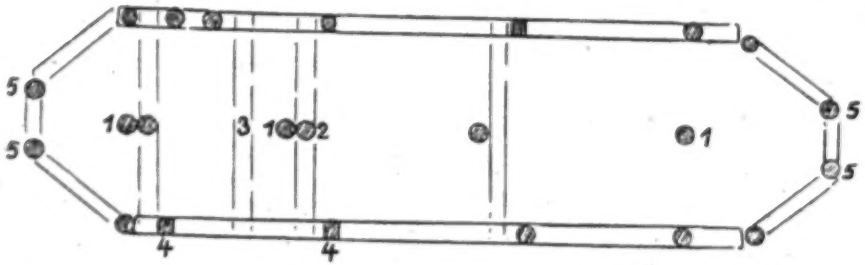


Abb. 158. Grundriß des Männerhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert); 1 = djulón, 2 = šûle lifâ ligóurôm, 3 = góurôm, 4 = šûle fan, 5 = šûle liwâlibfâ.

Den Grundriß des einzigen noch vorhandenen Männerhauses zeigt Abb. 158. Charakteristisch für diese Bauten waren einmal die großen seitlichen Stützpfeiler *(šûlefan)* aus großen Steinen und die an einem Mittelpfeiler angebrachte Plattform, von der der König zum Volk sprach. Die Namen für die übrigen Pfeiler sind in der Abbildung angegeben.

e) *imelibêlu* = Bluthütte für schwangere und menstruierende Frauen. Seit dem letzten Taifun gibt es deren keine mehr. Die Frauen bleiben in einem kleinen Haus, wie es deren als Nebenwohnhäuser noch manche gibt (vgl. Dorfplan).

f) *imostlo* = Schweinestall. Derartige Ställe sind nur dem Namen nach bekannt.

g) *imelimâluk* = Hühnerstall gibt es nicht, die Tiere laufen frei umher.

Zum **Inventar** eines Wohnhauses gehören außer den üblichen Wirtschaftsgeräten (S. 33) und Waffen (S. 72) noch

a) *gogódj:* Kopfunterlage aus einer ungemusterten Lendenmatte,

b) *ulâl:* Kopfstütze aus Holz,

c) *ujelijâb:* Kopfstütze aus ganz weichem Schwemmholz.

2. Die Dorfanlage.

Dorf und Insel sind für die Eingeborenen sprachlich das gleiche, sie nennen beide *fdlü*. Bewohnt sind nur Feläd͡jſk und Falâlâp und zwar beide an der Nordseite. Die Gehöfte liegen verstreut längs der Küste. Jedes Haus hat ein Wasserloch *(ganfralu)*.

Alles Land ist in Grundstücke *(bugoddl)* aufgeteilt, die besondere Namen führen, der auch auf das gegebenenfalls darauf errichtete Haus übergeht.

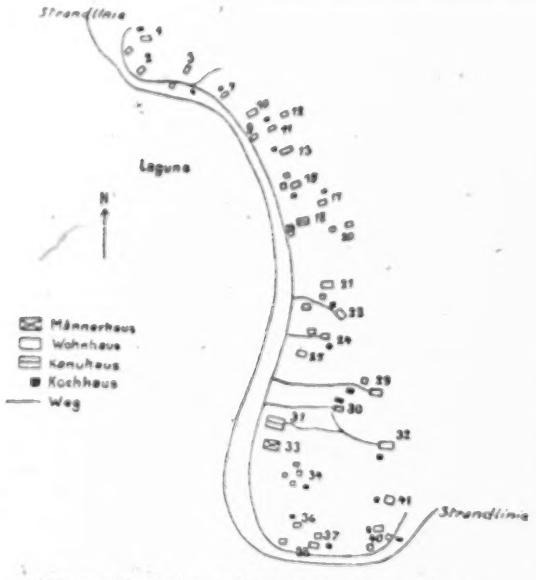


Abb. 159. Dorfanlage auf Feladjſk (nach Skizze Sarfert).

a) Das Dorf auf der Hauptinsel Feläd͡jſk gliedert sich in folgende Distrikte: (s. Abb. 159)

1. Ságo mit den Hütten 1—4
2. Gajudôllin 5—13
3. Ledjóurôu 14—21
4. Sawôlöb 22—27
5. Lawuâû 28—43.

Die Distrikte 1—3 werden unter dem Namen Feläd͡jſk zusammengefaßt, die beiden übrigen 4 und 5 als Lawuâû.— Der älteste Teil dieser Siedlung ist Lawuâû, von wo aus die übrigen begründet wurden. Dieser älteste Teil diente auch dem König der Inselgruppe, namens Daore-

2: Damm et al. 0821 Woleai

ligâr und seinem Unterhäuptling Sairû als Wohnsitz (vgl. dazu S. 65 und Abschnitt Häuptling). Vor »langer, langer Zeit« soll auch Sâgo einen Häuptling gehabt haben, doch starb dessen Familie aus.

Die Namen der Grundstücke mit ihren Häusern und Bewohnern gibt die folgende Aufstellung:

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Bewohner sind:
1.	Gadeuâli	Gadeuâli	1. das Ehepaar Walidjû und Ilolumâu (♀) mit ihrem dreijährigen Sohn Galigêilâu; 2. das Ehepaar Wolimâle und Lâdarfejâû (♀) mit ihrem Töchterchen.
2.	Wolipfe	Wolipfe	unbewohnt.
3.	Kadofalû	Kadofalû	das Ehepaar Wolobâliwô und Damelâlk (♀) mit ihrem Sohn Ålofaliməl.
	Malegulôb	—	—
	Bêifo	—	—
	Djawulôr	—	—
7.	Felâiâd	Felâiâd	unbewohnt.
	Adêmâlâk	—	—
9.	Gajudôlfn	Gajudôlfn	kleines Kanuhaus.
10.	Gaduejô	Gaduejô	großes Kanuhaus.
11.	Ludôiidôi	Ludôiidôi	1. das Ehepaar Jâlomâlâ und Lisâulidjim (♀) mit ihrer achtjährigen Tochter Ledâuolôn; 2. das Ehepaar Baloelimâr und Limaledfb (♀) mit ihrem sechsjährigen Sohn Garigelimân.
12.	Bagolimâ	Bagolimâ	1. das Ehepaar Daloêlâu und Ligâuwumâli (♀) mit ihrem einjährigen Darewoleâlo und ihrem dreijährigen Madjaleâlo; 2. der Witwer Dâiwês mit seiner erwachsenen Tochter Lisarôdâi, derem Mann Mûl und ihrem dreijährigen Knaben Ilogimâl.

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Bewohner sind:
13.	Ludōiidōli	Ludōiidōli	unbewohnt.
	Nimāko	—	—
15.	Mājfwān	Mājfwān	1. das Ehepaar Arowōl und Ledāūjfli (♀).
			2. das Ehepaar Roñolimār und Lefañomāle mit ihrem fünfjährigen Sohn Sagojroñ und ihrer dreijährigen Ledāūlibēs;
			3. das Ehepaar Biemāle und Ledāūlibā (♀);
			4. das Ehepaar Sagoilfs und Lebadibā (♀) und ihrem siebenjährigen Jalowāliwul;
			5. die Frau Ledaluejōlu.
16.	Fanūña	Fanūña	großes Kanuhaus.
17.	Gamējōl	Gamējōl	das Ehepaar Sagoliāl und Lefagoráte (♀) mit ihrem vierjährigen Āneidfli und der zweijährigen Ledāūlidfli.
18.	Falūgumēi	Falūgumēi	1. der Witwer Fagolodfu mit seinem vierjährigen Sohn Dāūmāk;
			2. das Ehepaar Ailfdj und Ilemāūlo (♀);
			3. die Frau Ledaigomār.
	Falūmēigor	—	—
	Läbagō	—	—
21.	Gabidjāñ	Gabidjāñ	unbewohnt.
22.	Madōl	Madōl	1. das Ehepaar Jalowūr und Lāūgimedāū (♀) mit ihren beiden Töchtern Ladoligār (5 Jahre) und Lāūudjiālo (2 Jahre);
			2. Das Ehepaar Ā'inuā und Legāūdjemāl (♀) mit ihrem vierjährigen Sohn Darofelimōli u. der zweijährigen Tochter Lāūnimāle;

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Bewohner sind:
			3. die Witwe Läšagowå mit ihrem zehnjährigen Säugalimåle und der achtjährigen Lägäisojålo.
	Gabelådj	—	—
24.	Jaŭliwåń	Jaŭliwåń	das Ehepaar Ädjäimåle und Lädaluwälůk (♀) mit ihrem Säugling.
25.	Olifål	Olifål	1. das Ehepaar Djälóń und Lägaŭämål (♀) mit ihren Söhnen Fagolfal (10 Jahre) und Malåiwůk (5 Jahre); 2. das Ehepaar Lfriligák und Läfarabůcho (♀) mit ihrem dreijährigen Sohn Garigéidjå.
26.	Imogidigft	Imogidigft	unbewohnt.
	Galinelő	—	—
	Falebańák	—	—
29.	Falánik	Falánik	das Ehepaar Rólimåle und Ilimälifägi (♀).
30.	Lenó	Lenó	das Ehepaar Duwäliól und Iläbuńumåle (♀) mit ihrem sechsjährigen Sohn Garigeliólu und ihrer zweijährigen Tochter Gareśäi.
31.	Gadalů	Gadalů	Kanuhaus, in dem Sarfert wohnte
32.	Ueïdjóu	Ueïdjóu	1. das Ehepaar Maloiló und Lägamadjfk (♀) mit ihren Söhnen Maloligár (5 Jahre) und Dolowå (2 Jahre); 2. das Ehepaar Gebaguimåle und Lemadjfe (♀) mit dem dreijährigen Jålig; 3. die Frau Djäuodfu.
	Fádalu	Fádalu	Männerhaus.
33.	Rolóń	Rolóń	Kanuhaus.
34.	Falifolů	Falifolů	1. das Ehepaar Sairů und Ledalumåle (♀) mit ihren Söhnen

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück	befindet sich das Haus	seine Einwohner sind:
			Fagōlōb (5 Jahre) und Jedjemāu (3 Jahre); 2. das Ehepaar Jalulimāle und Lägädiwolōñ (♀) mit ihrem siebenjährigen Sohn Jāufāgo; 3. das Ehepaar Wädjägänibā und Lemāumale (♀).
	Falipē	—	—
36.	Wolipfe	Wolipfe	das Ehepaar Mäludjā und Lebiliwōle (♀) mit ihren Töchtern Arigēllaū (7 Jahre), Lawāuwule (5 Jahre) und Lāūdjimāli (3 Jahre).
37.	Bāurōli	Bāurōli	1. Garemāiōli mit seiner Frau und seinem erwachsenen Sohn Fagojēi. 2. die Witwe Sagōlo, ihr Mann wurde im Boot verschlagen.
38.	Warigfl	Warigfl	unbewohntes Haus am Ende der Insel.
	Waligōli	—	—
40.	Medadjáli	Medadjáli	1. das Ehepaar Mälujudjōu (♀) und Daoreligār, der König der Insel; 2. das Ehepaar Jalolidāl und Lawāūdje (♀) mit ihrem dreijährigen Sohn Mälalial; 3. das Ehepaar Dolomāl und Lāūdaūliāk (♀) mit ihrer sechsjährigen Tochter Dawebūg und ihrem dreijährigen Sohn Sāire.
41.	Gabaligōl	Gabaligōl	das Ehepaar Marōliwā und Lisagogāl (♀) mit ihrer fünfjährigen Tochter Ledaūliwūg.
	Faligūl	—	—
	Lugulinōr	—	—
	Abidjóli	—	—

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Einwohner sind:
	Uluâs	—	—
	Luguliwalifôu	—	—
	Lugusibôk	—	—
	Luguligabidjâñ	—	—
	Ilôut	—	—
	Oliäfâle	—	—
	Faliäligorôu	—	—
	Luguludôidôii	—	—
	Lugulifelâiâd	—	—
	Mäanâs		—
	Luguliwâñ	—	—
	Lugulumalagulôb	—	—
	Wolifôul	—	—
	Lugulilêimak	—	—
	Dawoât	—	—
	Gerimâl	—	—
	Dawogâb	—	am Ende der Insel
	Läsâgo	—	—
	Lañôli Galañâb	—	—
	Bigelimâli	—	—

b) Das Dorf auf der Insel Falâlâp zerfällt in die beiden Distrikte Jôr und Jiwâñ, d. h. also in einen Süd- und Nordteil. Diese Siedlung untersteht dem Daoreligâr, der ursprünglich im Dorfteil Jiwâñ wohnte und erst später ins Haus seiner Frau übersiedelte. Läßt man die Sage gelten, so siedelte sich der erste Häuptling dieser Inselgruppe, der Yap-Mann Mödj, in Jiwâñ an.

Die Namen der Grundstücke mit ihren Häusern und Bewohnern gibt die nachfolgende Liste:

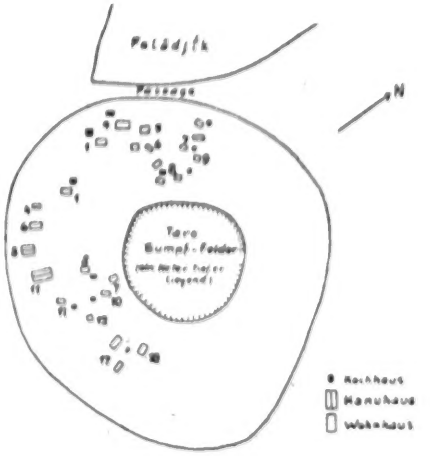


Abb. 160. Dorfanlage auf Falalap (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Abb. 160.

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Bewohner sind:
	a) im Süd-Distrikt (Jór)		
1.	Galiŋáũál	Galiŋáũál	a) die Frau Aŋédjók b) die Frau Lewarodjáŋ [ihr Mann ist in Lamutrik] mit ihrer dreijährigen Tochter Lädfumár.
	Gaũáŋ	—	—
	Falapí	—	—
4.	Falipó	Falipó	der Mann war in Faraulip, seine Frau Lawuáidjou, ihre Kinder: Dilibuá, ein Knabe von 3 Jahren, Mawuáilídj, ein solcher von 5 Jahren.
	Gadéolán	Gadéolán	unbewohnt.
6.	Gauluilá	Gauluilá	unbewohnt.
7.	Faligiligáu	Faligiligáu	die Witwe Laraŋuwuá und ihr zehnjähriger Sohn Idawuéór.
8.	Walegajúru	Walegajúru	a) die Frau Jáũuwél mit ihren zwei Söhnen Fagir von 10 und Débal von 1 Jahr und ihrer Tochter Lewallfer von 3 Jahren. b) die Frau Darabuá.
	Urolám	—	—
10.	Falidjóli	Falidjóli	der Mann Farelimál und die Frau Laraliwuól mit ihren beiden Knaben Álúdáu von 4 und Maleffl von 2 Jahren und einem kleinen Mädchen.
11.	Walidjádj	Walidjádj	die Witwe Lerarámár mit einer erwachsenen Tochter Lefaráide, deren Mann in Lamutrik ist; zu diesem Ehepaar gehört ein fünfjähriger Knabe Olobaidík und Säugling.
12.	Galiŋawís	Galinawís	die Frau Daolimár mit ihrem Sohn Gawuól von 4 Jahren und ihrer Tochter Lisaũeliálo von 2 Jahren.
	Gomadomáu	—	—
	Fáliworád	—	—
	Galodjáŋ	—	[ehemals ein Haus].
	Dawolibéi	—	—

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus	seine Einwohner sind
17.	Gabelâm	Gabelâm	der Mann Dâilîm mit seiner Frau Lajebô und ihren Töchtern Jalolôn und Lawâudjôn von 10 bzw. 5 Jahren und ihrem Sohn Lâûwelîm mit 3 Jahren.
18.	Hûk	Hûk	a) der Mann Medâjâr, seine Frau Ledamilalûk und ihre vierjährige Tochter Lemäliowuâ; b) die Witwe Wuâlimâd mit ihrer sechsjährigen Tochter Ledaručâl, ihrem vierjährigen Sohn Janelîd und ihrer erwachsenen Tochter Lefaroâ, die mit Lugulimâl verheiratet ist; beider Kind ist verstorben.
	Jâûuâl	—	—
	Gošêî		—
	Faliâlo	—	—
	Mawûnu	—	[früher mit Haus].
	Luguliwuól	—	—
	Sädûlu	—	—
	Mimalôk	—	—
	Falimâlâd	—	—
	Gelawû	—	—
	Djiwolôn	—	—
	Mälûâ	—	—
	Lugulialâm	—	—
	Kabiliwôli	—	—
	Kabilifâlû	—	—
	Lamoliôr	—	—
Die folgenden liegen im Busch:			
	Mešalûk	—	—
	Djolôn	—	—
	Medâiifôu	—	—
	Weliwôn	—	—
	Lâwuô	—	—
	Sodjûb	—	—
	Läkâûo	—	—

Nummer im Plan	Auf dem Grundstück	befindet sich das Haus	seine Einwohner sind:
	Maruólu	—	—
	Dawoluwódá	—	—
	Faliméĩ	—	—
	Faliméĩ imar	—	—
	Gadeliwól	—	—
	Imanâk	—	—
	b) im Nord-Distrikt (Jiwâñ)		
1.	Woluwuár	Woluwuár	liegt dem Haus Galiñâual im Süd-Distrikt gegenüber; seine Bewohner sind: a) Láru mit seiner Frau Laralaglár und ihrem zehnjährigen Sohn Malâuak; b) das Ehepaar Wirú und Mäduwulór (♀); c) das Ehepaar Saimá und Lachâuämák (♀). d) die Frau Djouwuél, deren Mann gerade in Lamutrik weilte, und ihre erwachsene Tochter Lararigêĩm, ihr zehnjähriger Sohn Gadjewâulódj und ihre achtjährige Tochter Lamalirúrál; e) die Frau Laráuäwuá; f) die Frau Daugalíba.
2.	Wóli	Wóli	die Frau Ledjaŭolimár [ihr Mann weilte gerade auf Lamutrik] mit ihrer fünfjährigen Tochter Saróligár.
3.	Fanugú	—	—
4.	Lämóu	Lämóu	ein Männerhaus.
5.	Fälúl	Fälúl	das Ehepaar Salaliár und Lâñimál(♀) mit einem einjährigen Säugling namens Dawíl, einer dreijährigen Tochter Mäár, einem sechsjährigen Sohn Malíe und einer erwachsenen

Nummer im Plan	auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Einwohner sind:
			Tochter Ledâûrilûk mit ihrem Mann Diliwuâ und ihrem kleinen Kind.
6.	Mâdâligôb	Mâdâligôb	die unverheiratete Frau Lâmoromâl mit ihrem achtjährigen Sohn Mowidjél.
7.	Kabilimâd	Kabilimâd	ein älteres Ehepaar: Rañiêdjôk und Lâḍarâdjâñ (♀) mit ihren Kindern: 1. dem zwölfjährigen Sohn Rañiêligâl, 2. der erwachsenen Tochter Laralurimâñ [ihr Mann war gerade in Faraulip] und ihrer vierjährigen Tochter Dâîfâku, 3. der erwachsenen, bereits verwitweten Tochter Gadjugulôñ mit ihren zwei erwachsenen Töchtern Lädâûorigâl und Läduwidjai, von denen die letztere mit Darûelîm verheiratet ist, beider Kind ist verstorben, 4. der erwachsenen Tochter Dâûloñ und ihrem Mann Djimâl, ihren beiden Kindern: dem vierjährigen Mädchen Ledamilidjâñ und einjährigen Knaben Giibâ, 5. der erwachsenen, bereits verwitweten Tochter Laraûlulûk mit ihrem vierjährigen Knaben Faraûmâl.
8.	Ilidjâlu		a) die Witwe Larâñidjâl mit ihren Kindern: 1. ihrer Tochter Laralerimâk, deren Gatten Dârurelibâ und ihren Kindern, einem vierjährigen Knaben Darieligâr und einem zweijährigen Sarôudjik, 2. ihrer erwachsenen Tochter Lâûeligûd, 3. ihrer achtjährigen Tochter Lâwuaûwôdil, 4. ihrem vierjährigen Sohn Âllaûidîl;
			b) der Frau Larâlerumâd, deren Mann

Nummer im Plan	auf dem Grundstück	befindet sich das Haus:	seine Eigentümer sind:
			geradè in Faraulip weilte, ihrem zweijährigen Sohn Igomarâ, ihrem zehnjährigen Sohn Nulimâr und ihrer erwachsenen und bereits verheirateten Tochter Dâuolûk;
			c) dem Ehepaar Darâbimar und Larâdiu (♀) nebst ihren Kindern: der achtjährigen Ledarlerâle, der vierjährigen Dâulimâdj und dem zweijährigen Daruelibûn.
9.	Faliwuâwuâ	Faliwuâwuâ	das Ehepaar Olobaligâl und Laglemedâu (♀) mit ihren Kindern, dem fünfjährigen Udjeliôb und dem dreijährigen Arofaliôk.
	Banân	—	—
	Fedanôn	—	—
	Woliôrîk	—	—
	Idawôl	—	—
	Gemâlôdju	—	—
	Bonilûk	—	—
	Dalimôu	—	—
	Gadewâli	—	—
	Nimâd	—	—
	Bonibâde	—	—
	Bedâlfs	—	—
	Ibâdejaûlûb	—	grenzt an Lamoliôr im Süd-Distrikt.
Im Busch liegen:			
	Lugulôb	—	—
	Bonuân	—	—
	Mârolegulôk	—	—
	Mâronanâli	—	—
	Fidaligolô	—	—
	Nifâdfli	—	—
	Mâlôdâlimôu	—	—
	Gafalugôk	—	—
	Fa[illegible]uwôl	—	
	Moloaûdjîk	—	

Nummer im Plan	auf dem Grundstück:	befindet sich das Haus;	seine Eigentümer sind:
	Weliwuól	—	—
	Limarodjal	—	—
	Lugulabelâb	—	—
	Niwošuwošû	—	—
	Wanišon	—	—
	Nimarfli	—	—
	Bonidolâu	—	—
	Malugâl	—	—
	Bonimâlid	—	—
	Gefâigo	—	—
	Sâibél	—	—
	Gabiliwuédâû	—	—
	Wanibéli	—	—
	Gedanimerâl	—	—
	Wanigilifó	—	—
	Gadienâk	—	—
	Niwuogidób	—	—
	Faligól	—	—
	Dawodjár	—	—
	Ledjâng	—	—
	Maûudín	—	—

c) Die Insel Elă ist unbewohnt. Das Land ist unter die verschiedenen Häuser aufgeteilt; die einzelnen Grundstücke heißen:

Daboât
Gâujân
Wolifâl
Ledjôurôu
Unugelâu
Walûl
Kâleâl
Daworâb
Luguligaleâl
Woneâlo
Lugudjâdiu
Falidjûk
Lugunôli
Nimâko
Fadjólo.

97

VI. Waffen und Krieg.

Die Ifaluk-Leute waren, wie die erbitterten Kämpfe gegen Oleai und Lamutrik beweisen, ein kampflustiges Völkchen. Die Auswahl an Waffen war jedoch nicht groß. Man kannte:

1. den Speer *(dilêk)* von 1½—2 m Länge, mitunter mit Widerhaken ausgestattet und dann *rumu dilêk* genannt (s. Abb. 161—163). Haizähne an den Speeren will man nicht gekannt haben. Über Fischspeere s. S. 31.

2. die Keule *(lâweljêt)* als Hieb- und Stichwaffe in einfacher grabstockähnlicher Form (Abb. 165—168) oder als doppelseitige Waffe von ähnlicher Art wie auf Truk (Abb. 164). Von einer früher üblich gewesenen Besetzung mit Haizähnen wußte man nichts.

3. mit Hornhechtstacheln besetzte Schlagringe *(rasirâs)*, s. Abb. 170, 171. Eine interessante Form zeigt die Abb. 169 die eine Verschmelzung des einfachen Schlagringes mit einem *anipunipâ* ist.

4. die Steinschleuder *(gâul)* hatte man von Truk kennen gelernt.

5. Bogen *(daulr)* und Pfeil war lediglich Kinderspielzeug.

23.

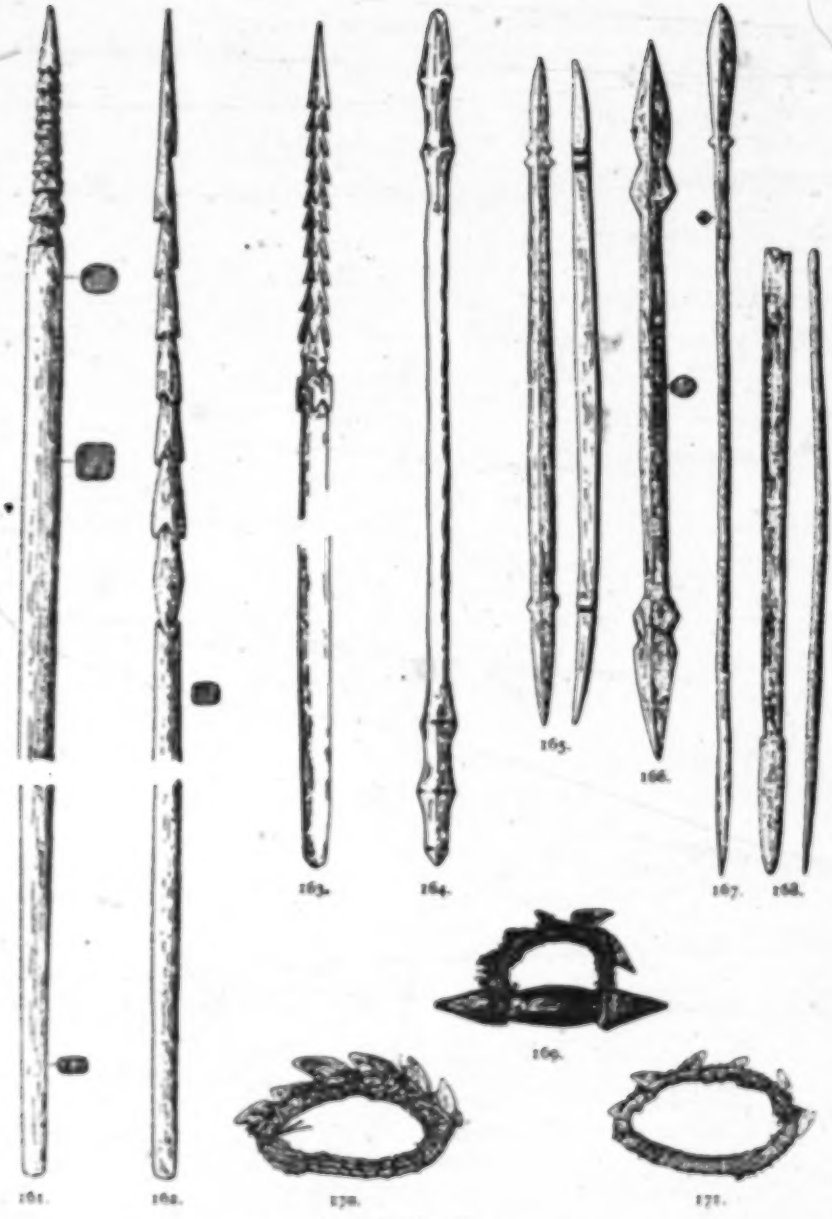


Abb. 161—171.

Abb. 161—163. Speere (Hamburg 1778[II], 5801[II], 1773[II]; Länge 157, 180 und 203 cm). — Abb. 164—168. Keulen (Hamburg 1775[II], 1777[II], 1976[II], 1774[II], 1776[II]; Länge 187, 145, 156, 190, 136 cm). — Abb. 169—171. Schlagringe (Hamburg 1958[II], 1960[II], 1959[II]; Breite 17 ½, 12, 11 cm).

74

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur.

VII. Soziologie.

Aus den **Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen** wird ersichtlich, wie weit der Kreis der Familie *(lewugodâ sẽudõb* oder *sẽukaidûn)* im engeren und weiteren Sinn gezogen war; man gebrauchte für

Großvater (väterlicherseits) *demâl dämâ.*
Großmutter (väterlicherseits) *sine dämâ.*
Großvater (mütterlicherseits) *demâl sine, demâl silẽi.*
Großmutter (mütterlicherseits) *sine jine, sine silẽi.*
Vater, Gatte der Schwester des Vaters, Gatte der Schwester der Mutter *dämâ.*
Mutter, Frau des Bruders des Vaters, Frau des Bruders der Mutter *silẽi.*
Bruder, Sohn des Vaterbruders, Sohn der Vaterschwester, Sohn des Mutterbruders, Sohn der Mutterschwester *bisll,* auch *wisll.*
Schwester, Tochter des Vaterbruders, Tochter der Vaterschwester, Tochter des Mutterbruders, Tochter der Mutterschwester *mäanâl,* auch *midnâ* (vgl. dazu Damm und Sarfert, 1935 S. 143).
Gatte, Gattin *jãudâg.*
Sohn *lâluli* oder *djirimâle.*
Tochter *lâlul* oder *djiridjawûd.*
Vaterbruder *wisll dämâ.*
Vaterschwester *mäanâl dämâ.*
Mutterbruder *mäanâl silẽi* oder *manenebẽi.*
Mutterschwester *wisll djin.*
Sohn des Sohnes, Tochter des Sohnes, Sohn der Tochter, Tochter der Tochter *lãundi.*
Vater der Ehefrau *demâl djâliganlai.*
Mutter der Ehefrau *sine râli ganlai.*
Bruder der Ehefrau *mäanâl âli ganlai.*
Schwester der Ehefrau *wisll âli ganlai.*

Arbeitsteilung in der Familie. Dem Mann fallen folgende Arbeiten zu: Haus- und Bootbau, Fischfang, Pflege der Brotfruchtbäume und Kokospalmen, Herstellung von Fischnetzen, Schüsseln, Webstühlen, Netztaschen und die Bereitung

von Palmwein *(gdri)*. Die Frau hat neben der Küche und den körperlich leichteren Arbeiten wie Flechten und Weben auch Feldarbeiten zu verrichten, nämlich die verschiedenen Taroarten anzupflanzen und die Bananen zu pflegen, aus deren feinen Blattstreifen Lendenschurze gefertigt werden.

Die **Ehe** ist eine Liebesheirat. »Hat ein Mann sein Herz an eine Frau verloren, so macht er ihr eines Tages etwa beim Zusammentreffen im Busch eine regelrechte Liebeserklärung. Wird die Zuneigung von Seiten des Mädchens erwidert, so spricht der Mann zu ihr: »Geh und frage Deinen Vater!« Ist dieser einverstanden, so sagt er zu seiner Tochter: »Ja, hole ihn!« Das Mädchen holt ihren Bräutigam herbei und dieser schläft von jetzt ab bei ihr im Haus seiner Schwiegereltern. Mit diesem Tag, der durch keine besondere Zeremonie oder Feier gekrönt wird, lediglich das Essen fällt reichlicher als sonst aus, ist die Ehe geschlossen.

Ist das Mädchen dem Manne nicht zugetan und will sie dieser aber trotzdem haben, so muß der Schwiegersohn eine Zahlung leisten. Sonst ist die Entrichtung eines Kaufpreises nicht üblich.

Der Mann zieht, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, stets in das Haus seiner Frau und schläft dort. Damit fällt ihm auch ein Mitnutzungsrecht am Eigentum der Familie seiner Frau zu. Stellen sich mit der Zeit mehrere Kinder ein, so holt seine Schwester einige davon in ihr Haus, also in das seines Vaters. Wird das Haus zu klein, etwa weil es von mehreren verheirateten Schwestern bewohnt wird, so errichtet man daneben noch ein zweites Wohnhaus.

Über die Formen des **Coitus** wurde mit größter Lebhaftigkeit gesprochen, was durchaus zu dem Sittenbild der Eingeborenen paßt (vgl. dazu S. 80). Die auf Ifaluk gebräuchliche Form besteht darin, daß die Frau auf dem Rücken liegt und der Mann zwischen ihren Knieen hockt und ihre Beine über seine Schenkel zieht. Andere Coitusformen waren nur wenigen bekannt, sie haben diese auf Yap und Mogemog gelernt. Nach dem Verkehr säubert der Mann die Vagina mit seinem Lavalap.

Erotische Auswüchse. Onanie *(silisili)* ist bekannt und wurde von einigen geübt. Coitus in anum ist unbekannt; nach Angaben von Sarfert's Faraulip-Mann kommt er auf Mogemog vor. Cunnilingus, den Sarfert's Dolmetscher von Mogemog bezeugte, wird von Männern auch auf Ifaluk geübt und *monodlai* genannt. Umgekehrt tun die Frauen gleiches nur dem verstorbenen Gatten an und nennen dies *mônordi*. Vermutlich handelt es sich um die gleiche Sitte wie auf Luangiua[1]. — Über die Verlängerung der Schamlippen und Entfernung der Schamhaare s. S. 15.

Heiratsverbote. Verboten *(tdâb)* ist die Heirat mit allen Frauen, die in demselben Hause mit einem Mann wohnen, d. h. also mit Schwestern usw. Diese Heiratsverbote erstrecken sich auf zwei Generationen, für die dritte gilt sie bereits nicht mehr, das

[1] Sarfert und Damm 1931, 2. Bd., S. 274.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

bedeutet also, daß die Enkelkinder von Brüdern bzw. Schwestern, einander heiraten können. In alter Zeit, als die Bevölkerung noch nicht so zahlreich war, sollen bereits Vater und Base haben einander heiraten können. — Dem **freien Liebesleben** wird von unverheirateten und jungen Leuten nach Belieben gehuldigt.

Ehebruch kommt vor. Erfährt der betrogene Ehemann davon, so schimpft er wohl tüchtig, schlägt aber seine Frau nicht. Der Ehebrecher muß eine Sühnezahlung in Form von Lendenschurzen, Holzkisten und kleinen oder großen Booten leisten (s. Strafrecht S. 82).

Ehescheidung ist nicht selten. Diese geht sehr einfach vor sich; entweder verläßt der Mann seine Frau oder die Frau sagt ihrem Mann, er solle wieder sein eigenes Haus aufsuchen. Die Kinder werden in einem solchen Fall auch getrennt: die Knaben gehören dem Manne, die Mädchen der Frau. Säuglinge bleiben bei der Mutter, falls nicht die Schwester des Mannes sie haben will. — Verheiratet sich ein Partner wieder, so muß er den anderen durch eine Zahlung in Form von Schurzen, Kisten, Booten u. a. entschädigen. Das gilt auch für die Frau, nur übernimmt für sie die Familie die Zahlung. Es besteht nun die eigentümliche Sitte, daß diese Zahlung wegfällt, wenn beide Partner sich an demselben Tag wiederverheiraten. Im andern Fall bezahlt nur derjenige, der zuerst heiratet, selbst wenn der andere schon am Tage darauf ebenfalls heiratet.

Die **Fruchtbarkeit** der Frauen ist verhältnismäßig gut. So hatten z. B. drei (verstorbene) Frauen zehn Kinder, jetzt beträgt der Durchschnitt für die gleiche Frauenzahl etwa 3—5. Der Grund für diesen Geburtenrückgang ist nicht bekannt.

Geburt und Krankheit. Die Geburt erfolgt in einer besonderen Hütte *(imelibllu*, s. S. 59); die Nachgeburt *(bdi)* wird am Strand im Sand vergraben. In der Hütte bleibt die Frau elf Tage, sie verläßt diese erst, wenn der »kleine Mond« fünf Tage im Westen stand. Dann läßt der Oberhäuptling die Mutter durch eine andere Frau holen. Sarfert's Frage, ob dieses glückliche Ereignis mit Gesang und Tanz verbunden sei, wurde allgemein und kräftig belacht. Zwei Monate arbeitet die Frau nichts, sondern pflegt sich und widmet sich ganz dem Kinde, das in einer Wiege *(gulôul)*[1] untergebracht wird. — Beischlaf dürfen die Ehegatten solange nicht üben, bis das Kind selbst laufen kann. Wird das nicht beachtet, so stirbt das Kind.

Die Kinder verleben eine schöne ungebundene Jugend: sie helfen wohl ihren Eltern, zumeist aber tummeln sie sich im Freien, singen, spielen und tanzen bei Mondenschein. Sarfert wurde auf seinen Gängen immer von einer Kinderschar begleitet, die seine Aufmerksamkeit durch allerlei Kunststückchen (auf den Händen stehen und laufen) zu finden hofften. Ungezogene Kinder bekommen mit dem Stock Schläge. — Die kleinsten Knaben dürfen bereits ins Männerhaus gehen und nehmen so schon frühzeitig an dem Leben der Männer teil. Wenn sie eine bestimmte

[1] Museum Leipzig Mi 3868; Form ähnlich wie auf Aurepik.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Größe erreicht haben, etwa 4—7 Jahre alt sind, erhalten die Knaben einen Lendenschurz, »denn«, so behaupten die Eingeborenen, »jetzt wollen die Mütter und Schwestern ihre Jungen nicht mehr nackend sehen«. Zu dieser Zeit wird auch die Nasenscheidewand mit einer Fischgräte durchbohrt und eine wohlriechende Blüte *(warôn)* hineingesteckt. Die kleinen Mädchen erhalten schon früher als es z. B. auf Sorol üblich ist, den Schurz *siwisîf* (S. 26). Die Namengebung erfolgt nach etwa fünf Monaten.

An **Altersbezeichnungen** gebraucht man für
Säugling *sâlidali*.
kleiner Junge, kleines Mädchen *sâlidali mâl* bzw. *sâlidali djâwud*
großer Junge *dâli mâl*
großes Mädchen *dalâwid*
Mann *mâl*
Frau *djâwud* oder *jâfil*
alter Junggeselle, auch Witwer ?
alte Jungfer, auch Witwe *libîdj*
Greis *dufêi*
Greisin *djâwud dufêi*.

Über den **Familienbesitz** s. Rechtsverhältnisse.

Tod und Begräbnis. Beim Tode eines Inselbewohners kommen alle Ifaluk-Leute zusammen, weinen, schreien und singen Trauerlieder *(dâṅ)*. Der Tote erhält eine neue Lendenmatte umgelegt; Hals-, Ober- und Unterarme sowie Beine werden mit weißen Perlschnüren verziert, der Körper wird schließlich ganz mit roter Farbe *(lâṅ)* beschmiert, das Gesicht erhält nur eine Umrahmung aufgemalt (s. Abb. 172). Dann werden die Arme zwischen den Oberschenkeln zusammengeschnürt, die Unterschenkel nach hinten geschlagen und an die Oberschenkel gebunden. Ist der Verstorbene ein verheirateter Mann, so nimmt die Witwe von ihm durch *môṅorai* (s. S. 75) Abschied. Der Tote wird dann in eine etwa 2 Faden lange Pandanusmatte *(glagi)* gehüllt und mit dem Kopf nach Westen(!) aufgebahrt; der Grund hierzu war den Eingeborenen nicht bekannt.

Abb. 172. Gesichtsbemalung bei Toten (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Ist der Tod vormittags eingetreten, so erfolgt die Beisetzung etwa 16 Uhr, im andern Fall erst am nächsten Morgen bei Sonnenaufgang. Die Leiche wird in einen ein Meter langen kistenartigen Sarg *(imelimâs)* gelegt, der von allen angefertigt wird, sobald man den Tod voraussieht. Der Sarg besteht aus dicht aneinander befestigten Stöcken. Da die Beisetzung im Meer und zwar innerhalb des Riffes erfolgt, beschwert man ihn durch Steine, die man entweder anbindet oder in den Sarg legt. Über die Totenbeigaben s. Erbrecht. — Die Leichenträger sind nach getaner Arbeit nicht *etâb* (s. Abschnitt Tapu).

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Die Wartezeit bis zur nächsten Heirat kann 2—3 Monate, aber auch nur ½—1 Monat betragen; sie richtet sich für den Witwer wie für die Witwe ganz nach der Zuneigung, die dem verstorbenen Ehegatten entgegengebracht wurde.

Die Sippe. Was über die Sippenverhältnisse von Polowat gesagt worden ist[1], gilt auch für Ifaluk. Man kennt hier die Sippen Saûpólowat, die sich, wie schon der Name sagt, von Polowat herleitet. Desgleichen stammt die Sippe Wisúsu von Polowat[2]. Von Yap nahmen ihren Ausgang die Monaûlifer, die Fäniméï, die Gadamân und die Wolêï. Die letztgenannte Sippe untersteht der gleichnamigen von Polowat[3]. Die Sippe Böl stammt von Pulap; ihr Sippenoberhaupt *(monâinaṅ)* hieß Marêšû und wohnte auf Falalap. Aus Oleai kam die Sippe Saûwôl.[4] Auch die Sippen Wufdo unter dem Namen Djâk und Saûwâlêi unter dem Namen Saufalâšik bestehen hier.

Der Staat. Ifaluk spielte in der Geschichte des Karolinen-Archipels eine besondere Rolle, einmal durch seine Kriege gegen Oleai, Lamutrik und Elato, dann aber auch dadurch, daß es die von ihm entvölkerten Inseln wie auch Sorol[5] und Faraulip neu besiedelte (s. S. 83f.). — Das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Yap wird durch folgende Tatsache beleuchtet. Zur Zeit der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition waren zwei Ifaluk-Leute, die einzigen noch vorhandenen Hochsee-Kapitäne in eigenen Booten, ferner 85 Männer und 6 Frauen mit dem Dampfer nach Yap und Ngulu gefahren. Wann sie zurückkommen würden, wußte niemand zu sagen, da der König von Gatšapar auf Yap die Tributfahrer — denn um solche handelt es sich hierbei — sehr lange zurückhielt: sie mußten für ihn Arbeiten verrichten! Es ist also die Oberhoheit von Yap noch außerordentlich groß gewesen.

Innenpolitisch steht neben der Sippengliederung die Trennung in Häuptlingsstände und Volk.

Stellung und Aufgaben der Häuptlinge. Die Häuptlinge genießen allgemeine Achtung: wenn sie kommen, macht man ihnen ehrerbietig Platz, die Kinder verschwinden in den Ecken der Hütte und lassen sich nicht sehen.

Der Oberhäuptling hat die Oberaufsicht über die Inseln des Atolls; er befiehlt gemeinsame Arbeiten z. B. den Bau der Männerhäuser, größere Fischzüge, ferner verteilt er die Tagesarbeiten, so überträgt er diesen die Aufsicht über die Kokospalmen, jene heißt er auf die Tarofelder achten usw. Alle diese Anordnungen gab er im Männerhaus bekannt (s. S. 59). Vom Oberhäuptling mußte man auch die Erlaubnis zum Bau von großen Booten einholen, für kleinere Boote oder für den Bau einer Hütte war dies nicht nötig.

Der Unterhäuptling kann als eine Art Stellvertreter des Oberhäuptlings angesehen werden. Er hat auf alles aufzupassen und den Oberhäuptling von allem zu unterrichten.

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 155ff. [2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 158.
[3] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 160.
[4] Damm und Sarfert 1935 Tabelle bei S. 160 und S. 157 unter Wonirâ.
[5] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 241.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Die beiden niederen Häuptlinge sind die ausführenden Kräfte des Oberhäuptlings. Sie rufen die Bevölkerung zur Versammlung ins Männerhaus, sie organisieren die gemeinsamen Fischzüge und führen die Aufsicht beim Bau des Männerhauses.

Die Häuptlinge erhalten gewisse »Abgaben«. Der Oberhäuptling kann einen Teil der Erträgnisse der Felder und Fruchtbäume für sich beanspruchen. Von dem Fang eines jeden Fischzuges, den einer seiner Untertanen unternommen hat, erhält er $^1/_5$, während der Unterhäuptling $^1/_2$—$^3/_4$ dessen fordert, was dem Oberhäuptling ausgehändigt wurde. Die niederen Häuptlinge erhalten noch weniger oder gehen gar leer aus, wenn der Fischer nicht viel gefangen hat; er gibt dann nur dem *tamôl igidigll*, den er gerade im Männerhaus antrifft, seinen Anteil. — Die Ausbeute an gemeinsamen Fischzügen verteilt der Oberhäuptling an alle Häuser des Atolls (und nicht an die Männer!), er selbst und die übrigen Häuptlinge verzichten entweder ganz oder nehmen sich, wenn auf ein Haus ein Fisch kommt, einen Fisch, bei geringem Fang nimmt er nur die Hälfte oder weniger von dem, was auf ein Haus entfällt.

Nachfolger eines Häuptlings wird der älteste Sohn, gegebenenfalls auch der Bruder oder Schwestersohn des Verstorbenen. In der Nachfolge geht stets der Schwestersohn vor dem Brudersohn. Steht die Familie des Oberhäuptlings vor dem Aussterben, so bestimmt der Oberhäuptling vor seinem Tod seinen Nachfolger, desgleichen bestimmt er für einen noch unerwachsenen Nachfolger einen Vormund als Regenten.

Als erster Häuptling wird der Yap-Mann Môdj genannt, der sich in sagenhafter Zeit auf Falalap ansiedelte (s. S. 83). Von seinen Kindern sind dann einige nach Feladjik gegangen. Das Haus des 1909 regierenden Oberhäuptlings stand noch auf der ersten Siedlerstelle in Jiwân, wenngleich er der Sitte folgend im Haus seiner Frau, in Lawuâû, nächtigte. — Môdj hatte zwei Söhne, von denen der ältere Oberhäuptling und der jüngere Unterhäuptling wurde. So erklären die Insulaner das Bestehen eines »großen« und eines »kleinen« Häuptlings. Außer diesen beiden Großhäuptlingen *(tamôl solôb)* gibt es noch zwei Häuptlinge niederen Grades *(tamôl igidigll)*, die auch der Häuptlingsfamilie entstammen und in Lawuâû wohnen; sie sind, wie bereits oben gesagt wurde, die ausführenden Organe des Oberhäuptlings und geben seine Anordnungen an das Volk weiter. In ihrer Stellung erinnern sie an die *pûlepûle* und *kôkô'a* von Luangiua und Nukumanu, die ebenfalls der Regentenfamilie angehörten[1].

Die Namen der Oberhäuptlinge[2] waren:

1. Môdj
2. Ällofâs

[1] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1931 S. 289/291.

[2] Wie sich »Kafalu«, der Häuptling von Ifaluk und Faraulip, in diese Reihe eingliedert, kann nach den wenigen Angaben bei Lütke nicht gesagt werden (Lütke 1835 Vol. II, S. 344).

3. Dâdar
4. Ăuâp
5. Mâiliâs
6. Mōūirâ̄
7. Sorâl
8. Gŏrigar; er soll zur Zeit des ersten großen Taifuns gelebt haben.
9. Modurók
10. Jalorâk
11. Gawurók
12. Malüdjŏm
13. Idälūb; er lebte zur Zeit des dritten Taifuns.
14. Ărülümâ̄
15. Dibâdäu; er lebte zur Zeit des vierten Taifuns.
16. Soligŏu
17. Gilâlobâk
18. Olâ̄diū, er lebte zur Zeit des fünften Taifuns (1907) und blieb verschollen auf der Fahrt nach Lamutrik.
19. Daoreligâr war zur Zeit der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition (1909) Oberhäuptling der Inselgruppe, Unterhäuptling war Sairū, Häuptlinge niederen Grades waren Duwäliŏr und Älewūdj.

Die gute Sitte. In Gegenwart des anderen Geschlechts wird stets streng auf »gute Sitte« geachtet. Es darf dann kein unanständiges Wort, was sich etwa auf den Geschlechtsverkehr bezieht, gesagt werden, selbst die Worte *bâlebal* und *siwisîf* für Schurz sind verpönt. Sind die Geschlechter dagegen unter sich, so werden die derbsten und anzüglichsten Reden geführt. Selbst in Gegenwart der kleinsten Knaben äußerten sich die Männer über geschlechtliche Dinge, die Kinder lachten dazu und freuten sich. Ebenso scherzten die Frauen direkt zotig in Gegenwart der kleinsten Mädchen. Als Sarfert mit den Frauen allein war, sprachen sie in Umschreibungen von Begatten. Als Sarfert ihnen einen *waliwot* mit Penis zeigte, ahmten sie damit Coitusbewegungen nach oder deuteten dies mit den Fingern an. Sie äußerten ohne jede Scham den Wunsch, mit Sarfert zu schlafen, doch hatten sie Angst vor ihren Männern und dem Oberhäuptling. Dieses freche, herausfordernde Verhalten steht in starkem Gegensatz zur Sitte, die verlangt, daß die Frauen in Gegenwart der Männer vor Fremden zurückhaltend, ja scheu und ängstlich sein sollen. Das konnte Sarfert sonst auch immer feststellen. Die Frauen wagten dann nur von fern durch verstohlene Zeichen Sarfert ihr Wohlwollen auszudrücken.

Der gewöhnliche Gruß *(gawŏn)* lautet beim Abschied für den Gehenden »*ošamîla*« und für den Bleibenden »*gosâlok*«. Diese Formen werden immer gebraucht, auch beim Abschied auf längere Zeit. Den Sterbenden gegenüber gibt es keinen Gruß.

91

VIII. Rechtsverhältnisse.

Eigentum. Dorfeigentum sind Männerhaus und große Fischnetze *(ädḥ, ág)* für gemeinsame Fischzüge. Die Kanuhäuser sind Eigentum der einzelnen Dorfdistrikte Jór und Jiwâḥ.

Familieneigentum. Grund und Boden haften nicht an der Einzelperson, sondern an der Familie; das gilt auch für den Bestand der Fruchtbäume. Selbst die fünf bugodâl, die der König besitzt, sind nicht sein persönliches Eigentum, sondern zugleich auch das seiner Brüder und Schwestern. Die Tarofelder gehören den weiblichen, die Kokospalmenbestände den männlichen Familienmitgliedern.

So bringt der Mann seiner Frau die Nutznießung des Grundbesitzes seiner Familie mit in die Ehe. Nach gegenseitiger Besprechung holen sie die Nahrung von der Scholle seiner oder ihrer Familie. Bekommt die Frau Kinder, so übergibt der Mann je nach dem Besitz seiner Familie ein bis zwei Plätze der Familie seiner Frau und zwar nicht etwa ganze Grundstücke, sondern ein Tarofeld für Mädchen und einige Palmen für Knaben. Es werden dabei stets Palmen überwiesen, die am Rande des Grundstückes stehen; sie werden durch eine ringförmige Schlagmarke mit dem Messer besonders gezeichnet. Dieser überwiesene Besitz ist nicht persönliches Eigentum der Kinder, sondern wird Eigentum der mütterlichen Familie. Ganz deutlich sieht man darin noch, wie sehr die Frau einst im Mittelpunkt der Familie stand. — Die Zahl der Grundstücke einer Familie schwankt zwischen eins bis sieben. Die Grenze der Grundstücke *(nibiddli bâgod)* wird durch Baumstämme gekennzeichnet.

Was für den Grund und Boden gilt, trifft auch für den Hausbesitz zu: die Hütten gehören ebenfalls der Familie und zwar der Großfamilie.

Familieneigentum sind ferner Schmuck und Hausgerät: Halsketten, Schildpattringe (nur für Frauen), Messer, Boote, Schüsseln, Speere, Fischhaken, Fischleine, Fischreusen verschiedener Größe, Kisten, Netztaschen, Webstühle.

Persönliches Eigentum sind Kämme, Ohrringe, Lendenschurze, Körbe und *giági*-Matten.

Erbrecht. Das Erbrecht ist in der Hauptsache Familienerbrecht. Persönlicher Besitz wird dem Toten mitgegeben, sogar Familienschmuckstücke. Matte und Lendenschurz erhält er mit, sein Korb wird verbrannt.

Strafrecht. Richter ist in allen Dingen der Oberhäuptling; das Gerichtsgebäude ist das Männerhaus.

Wenn ein Mann schlechte Reden führt, böse und leichtfertig handelt, nachlässig in seinen Arbeiten ist, so erhält er durch den Oberhäuptling eine Verwarnung. Muß das mehrfach geschehen, so erfolgt eine strengere Bestrafung: z. B. wird dem Schuldigen auf Befehl des Oberhäuptlings das Boot weggenommen, das dann diesem zufällt.

Ein Mörder wird auf Befehl des Oberhäuptlings von den übrigen Männern gebunden ins Männerhaus gebracht. Dort versammeln sich alle Dorfbewohner, Männer, Frauen und Kinder. Der Oberhäuptling hält dem Totschläger eine lange und sehr eindringliche Strafpredigt und läßt ihn dann frei; als Sühne werden dem Schuldigen Feldstücke, Boote und Lendenschurze weggenommen und der Familie des Erschlagenen gegeben. Der Grundsatz »Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn« findet keine Anwendung, d. h. der Mörder verfällt nicht dem Tode!

Bei einfachen Raufereien wird der Angreifer, falls er Grund dazu hatte, vom Oberhäuptling vor versammelten Dorfbewohnern ermahnt. Ist der Händel nicht ohne Körperverletzung abgegangen, so sind folgende Sühnezahlungen zu leisten:
für Zerschmettern
eines Auges, eines Armes oder Beines ein Boot und zwei Lendenschurze;
beider Augen, beider Arme oder Beine zwei Boote und soviele Lendenschurze, als da sind;
eines (beliebigen) Fingers ein Lendenschurz;
zweier oder dreier Finger zwei Lendenschurze;
von vier Fingern zwei bis drei Lendenschurze;
einer Hand drei bis vier Lendenschurze.

Bei Diebstahl nimmt der Bestohlene auf Befehl des Oberhäuptlings dem Dieb den gleichen Gegenstand weg. Mitunter wird der Dieb noch vor versammelter Bevölkerung vom Oberhäuptling ermahnt.

Bei Ehebruch schreitet der Oberhäuptling nicht ein. Der Ehemann überläßt entweder dem Ehebrecher seine Frau, falls dieser sie nach vorhergegangener Besprechung haben will, und dann muß dieser kräftig zahlen (große Boote, Lendenschurze, Kisten usw.). Will der Ehebrecher die Frau nicht, so bezahlt er weniger z. B. ein kleines Boot oder eine große Kiste. Der Mann verläßt in jedem Fall seine Frau. Hat die Frau bereits Kinder, so erhöht sich in dem letztgenannten Fall die Zahlung noch. Die Kinder gehen ins Haus des Mannes, doch dürfen sie die Mutter besuchen.

83

IX. Zur inneren Geschichte.

Ehemals war Ifaluk unbewohnt. Die ersten Menschen kamen von Yap und zwar war es der Mann Mṓdj mit seiner Frau Filidamṓl. Sie kamen von Kârebar[1]. Die Eltern dieser beiden ersten Einwanderer sind auf Ifaluk unbekannt.

Mṓdj und Filidamṓl kamen nicht im Boot, sondern im Floß *(fṓfát)*; ihre Fahrt führte über die bereits bewohnten Inseln Mogemog, Fais, Oleai nach Ifaluk. Die Eingeborenen glauben, daß sie sich auf dieser Fahrt nach den Sternen gerichtet haben. Nach der Landung baute sich Mṓdj ein Haus Ilamâï auf Falalap im Norddistrikt Jiwâṅ (vgl. S. 65), das nicht mehr vorhanden ist. Er grub nach Trinkwasser, pflanzte Kokosnüsse, Brotfrucht usw. an, die er aus Yap mitgebracht hatte.

Bisweilen kamen auch von Oleai und Faraulip Männer und Frauen an und blieben hier, ebenso gingen aber auch Ifaluk-Leute nach jenen Inseln und blieben dort. Besonders aufregend war die Ankunft »großer, großer Teufel«, aber von Menschengestalt. Diese Riesen waren am ganzen Körper so stachelig, daß sich an ihnen große Fische anspießten. Diese Unwesen kamen angeschwommen und schwammen, da sie hier kein Essen fanden, friedlich wieder weg.

Unter Mṓdj entwickelten die Ifaluk-Leute eine heftige, kriegerische Tätigkeit.

Kampf mit Oleai.

Mṓdj fuhr nach Oleai, wo es ihm so gefiel, daß er hier eine Frau heiratete. Doch die Oleai-Leute mochten ihn nicht. Es kam zum Streit und Mṓdj wurde dabei verwundet. Er flüchtete in sein Boot und suchte wieder Ifaluk auf. Hier rief er seine Gefolgsmannen zusammen, fuhr mit ihnen nach Oleai und richtete sich auf der Hauptinsel zu längerem Bleiben ein. Allmählich hatten die Oleai-Leute nichts mehr zu essen, sie siedelten deshalb auf die Insel Râur über. Sofort folgten ihnen die Ifaluk-Leute und aßen auch dort alles auf. So gingen die Oleai-Leute nach Bäliaṷ, um auch hier von ihren Feinden behelligt zu werden. Dasselbe wiederholte sich in Otârau und schließlich in Falâlûs. Schließlich starb ein Teil der Oleai-Leute vor Hunger, die andern waren vollkommen entkräftet. Das war für Mṓdj der ersehnte Augenblick, mit seinen Leuten über den Gegner herzufallen und alle Oleai-Leute (mit Ausnahme seiner Frau und seines Sohnes) niederzumachen. Dieser Sohn wurde dann Häuptling von Oleai.

[1] Ist wohl mit Gatlapar, der Kultstätte des Gottes Yoṅalâv (vgl. Müller-Wismar 1917, Bd. I S. 324) identisch.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Eine andere Fassung von einem Kampf zwischen Ifaluk und Oleai gibt Hambruch in seinen Aufzeichnungen von Faraulip. Móls[1] war König von Ifaluk und in Oleai zu Gast. Während ein Oleai-Mann beim Fischen war, vergewaltigte er dessen Frau. Er tat dies des öfteren, bis der Mann ihn einmal überraschte, ihn verprügelte und für tot aus dem Haus warf. Gegen Sonnenaufgang kam Regen und weckte Móls auf. Dieser holte sich jetzt ein Stück Holz aus dem Busch und schwamm damit nach Ifaluk, denn ein Boot hatte er nicht. Hier wurde er von einigen Leuten nach langer Zeit wieder gesund gepflegt. Er ging darauf ins Männerhaus, rief alle Leute zusammen, band seinen Schurz los und sagte: »Wohin mein Glied zeigt, dort wollen wir hinfahren und die Leute bekriegen!« Sein Penis zeigte nach Oleai. Da machten die Leute viele Speere, segelten in zahllosen Booten nach Oleai und erschlugen alle, bis auf die Mädchen.

Später kam es noch zum

Krieg mit Lamutrik.

Da Ifaluk nur wenig zu essen hatte, hieß Módj seine Leute nach Lamutrik aufbrechen, um diese Insel zu befehden. Da Módj selbst schon sehr alt war, bestimmte er Ällofás, seinen späteren Nachfolger, zum Anführer der Krieger. Zuerst fuhr man nach Elato, blieb hier lange Zeit, bis es nichts mehr zu essen gab. Schon starben einige Elato-Leute an Hunger, da fuhren die übrigen nach Lamutrik. Ällofás folgte ihnen und begann sogleich den Kampf; er wurde dabei verwundet und auf beiden Seiten gab es Tote. So zog sich Ällofás wieder nach Elato zurück und blieb hier.

Inzwischen waren zwei Monate ins Land gegangen und die Expedition war noch nicht wieder in Ifaluk eingetroffen. Módj, der in Sorge um das Schicksal seiner Leute war, fuhr deshalb selbst mit einigen Männern nach Elato. Als er sie dort antraf, frug er erstaunt, warum man denn nicht alle Lamutrik-Leute getötet hätte. Ällofás erwiderte, sie seien zu stark gewesen. Da ließ Módj viele Fackeln aus Kokosblättern anfertigen und alle Ifaluk-Leute segelten mit dem Südwest-Wind nochmals nach Lamutrik. Sie landeten unbemerkt auf der unbewohnten Inselseite und gingen auf die ahnungslosen Lamutrik-Leute los. Es kam noch hinzu, daß der Wind diesen den beißenden Qualm der Fackeln in die Augen wehte und ihnen die Sicht unmöglich machte. So wurden alle Lamutrik-Leute ausgerottet. — Später schickte dann Módj einen Mann mit zwei Frauen nach Lamutrik, um die Insel wieder zu besiedeln.

Auch unter dem späteren Oberhäuptling Mäliás wurden von Ifaluk aus zwei ehemals bewohnte Inseln des Faraulip-Atolls neu besiedelt. Sie hatten sich einst in gegenseitigen Fehden buchstäblich entvölkert, bis nur noch ein Mann namens

[1] Wohl identisch mit Módj.

Ueliwá übrig war. Als Mâliâs davon erfuhr, schickte er ihm eine Frau Nîmañ hin, die dann Faraulip neu bevölkerte. — Derartige Bruderkriege kannte man auf Ifaluk nicht, die beiden oben geschilderten Kämpfe mit Oleai und Lamutrik sollen die einzigen größeren kriegerischen Verwicklungen gewesen sein.

Die Namen der übrigen Oberhäuptlinge s. S. 79f.

Zur Zeit des großen Taifuns von 1907 lebte der Oberhäuptling Olâdiû, der auf einer Fahrt nach Lamutrik verschollen blieb. Unter ihm verließ der weiße Händler »Sáu« die Insel und zwar war dies vor dem Taifun, während drei in Lawuâñ auf Feladjik ansässige Japaner sogleich nach dem Unheil wegfuhren.

1909 herrschte der Oberhäuptling Daoreligâr, der nach Versicherung von Sarfert's Faraulip-Dolmetscher als ein »sehr großer König« galt. Nach dem letzten Taifun, der unter seinem Vorgänger die Insel heimsuchte, wurden viele Ifaluk-Leute nach Lamutrik, Yap und Palau gebracht, um einer Hungersnot vorzubeugen. Als die Ernährung der Inselbevölkerung gesichert war, bat der Oberhäuptling Sarfert dafür einzutreten, daß keine Leute mehr abgeholt würden. Das Gleiche erlebte Sarfert auf Aurepik; die Eingeborenen, die von hier nach Yap kamen, wurden nämlich nach Nauru gebracht.

X. Religion.

1. Das Weltbild.

Das Weltgebäude besteht für die Insulaner aus dem Himmel *(rân)*, der Erde *(selôb)* und der Unterwelt *(farioudl* oder *ilôl)*. Eine Weltachse wie auf Aurepik kannte man nicht. — Der Himmel wird als ein großer Platz wie Palau oder Yap gedacht, der von denselben Wesen wie die Erde bevölkert ist. Diese handeln ebenso wie ihre irdischen Vertreter, ob sie auch sterben müssen wie diese, wußten die Insulaner nicht anzugeben.

2. Naturreligion.

Die Unterwelt ist wie die Erde eingerichtet, d. h. es gibt auch hier Inseln und Meere, ebenso scheinen hier Sonne, Mond und Sterne und zwar dann, wenn sie bei uns untergegangen sind. Die Unterwelt ist auch von Menschen bewohnt. Solâl ist hier König, von Gestalt ist er halb Mensch, halb *lâwud* (Fisch, Schlange oder Aal?); er hat weder Eltern, noch irgendwelche Verwandte. Das große Haus, das er bewohnt, heißt Falisât; näheres wußten die Eingeborenen nicht.

Solâl schuf Himmel und Erde, indem er ein Sandkorn in seine Hand nahm und es unter Hersagen eines Zaubers von einer Hand in die andere kugelte. Er schuf auch den Beherrscher des Himmels namens Âluelôb (s. unten) und ebenso dessen Schwester Âudjâl, die eigentliche Beherrscherin der Erde (s. S. 90).

Der Sternhimmel ist das Reich des Âluelôb. Er wohnt als König des Himmels im Hause Fadjemâl, das im Zenith *(wôliwâ)* steht und wie ein stattliches Gebäude der Menschen aussieht. Er ist nicht nur von übermenschlicher Größe, sondern auch allwissend, er ißt nicht und trinkt nicht und hält die Augen immer geschlossen. Er ruht auf einer Plattform in der Mitte des Hauses, während die übrigen Bewohner auf dem Fußboden schlafen. Seine Frau ist Lamagêl. — Wenn ein Himmelsbewohner in irgendeiner Sache (Kanubau, Weberei) nicht Bescheid weiß, so fragt er wohl bei diesem und jenem, wendet sich an Lugêilân (s. unten) und wenn dieser es nicht weiß, auch an Olofâd (s. unten). Erhält er dann noch keine Auskunft, so bittet er Lugêilân, doch bei Âluelôb selbst anzufragen.

Dieser geht dann zum König des Himmels, öffnet ihm mit der Hand die Augen und holt sich Rat; Äluelôb schläft dann wieder weiter.

Lugeilâñ gilt als Sohn des Äluelôb und wird als die »rechte Hand« des Himmelskönigs bezeichnet. Er wohnt für sich in einem Haus, das nahe bei dem des Äluelôb steht, dessen Name aber nicht mehr bekannt ist. Seine Frau heißt Lämälûl, sie ist kein Himmelsbewohner, sondern stammt von der Erde. Als Lugeilâñ einst die Erde besuchte, nahm er sie sich zum Weib und wohnte bei ihr. Schließlich schickte Äluelôb einen Boten zu ihm, er solle zurückkommen und alle Himmelsbewohner zusammenrufen und mit ihnen das Fadjemal ausbessern, weil es hereinregne. In seiner Abwesenheit gebar seine Frau Olofâd (s. unten). Durch den Erdenbesuch des Lugeilâñ lernten die Menschen die Tatauierung kennen.

Lugeilâñ hat Ausschau nach der Erde zu halten und zu sehen, was auf den einzelnen Inseln an Arbeit (Kanu- und Hausbau, Fischfang usw.) geleistet wird. Er berichtet jeden Tag Äluelôb und falls die Bewohner einer Insel nicht fleißig sind, sondern nur essen und schlafen, heißt ihn der Himmelskönig Sturm und Regen schicken, während er Solâl bestimmt, das Meer in Aufruhr zu versetzen. Dann wird die Insel von einem Taifun heimgesucht, der um so stärker wütet, je größer die Verfehlungen der Insulaner sind. So ist Oleai heimgesucht worden und viele seiner Bewohner sind umgekommen, weil es nach Eingeborenenansicht nicht gut gehandelt hat; nicht anders, wenn auch unter geringeren Menschenverlusten, ist es Aurepik und Ifaluk ergangen. Die Missetaten und Verfehlungen einzelner Menschen — es gibt nach Eingeborenenansicht keinen Menschen, der immer nur Gutes und keinen, der immer nur Schlechtes tut — straft jedoch Lugeilâñ selbst ab; er schickt dann Krankheit *(mâs)* und in schweren Fällen Tod.

In solchen Fällen wenden dann die Menschen einen Zauber an (S. 91). Wenn diese Gottheit jedoch den Tod bestimmt hat und das tut sie, indem sie einfach sagt: »Der und der stirbt!«, so nützt auch das nichts mehr.

Olofâd wurde bereits nach fünf Monaten von Lämälûl (s. oben) geboren und zwar entstieg Olofâd dem Kopf seiner Mutter, da wo die Kopfnähte sind. Er konnte sofort gehen und hörte nicht auf seine Mutter, die ihn von dem Blut säubern wollte. Er sagte, er könne das selbst und rieb sich an einer Kokospalme. Daher haben viele Palmenstämme eine rötliche Färbung. Als ihn seine Mutter rief, sie wolle ihm die Nabelschnur abschneiden, sagte er auch, das mache er selbst, nahm ein Messer und schnitt sie sich ab.

Olofâd sah bei seinem Erdenleben, wie alle andern Burschen Kokosnüsse austranken. So lief er zu seiner Mutter und fragte: »Warum gibst Du mir keine Nuß, alle andern trinken die Früchte aus!« Da erschrak Lämälûl, denn Lugeilâñ hatte ihr gesagt, daß sie einen Sohn zur Welt bringen würde, der aber keine Kokosnuß trinken dürfe, weil er sie sonst verlassen und zu ihm in den Himmel kommen würde. Sie sagte also zu ihm: »Du darfst keine trinken, sonst mußt Du sterben!«

So lebte Olofád dahin. — Eines Tages, als er wieder alle Kameraden im großen Haus Trinknüsse genießen sah, lief er wieder zu seiner Mutter und sagte: »Mutter, alle trinken Nüsse, warum soll ich keine trinken? Ich will auch Nüsse trinken!« Die Mutter erwiderte ihm kurz: »Dann mußt Du sterben!« Olofád sagte darauf: »Gut! Ich will auch Kokosnuß trinken und wenn ich sterben muß, so ist es auch weiter nichts!« Seine Mutter wollte ihm jedoch keine Nuß geben und so fing Olofád zu schreien an und hörte gar nicht wieder auf. Schließlich gab seine Mutter nach und brachte ihm eine Nuß. Olofád nahm sie und trank sie aus. Wie er so trank, sah er zum Himmel empor und erblickte seinen Vater Lugeilân. Da rief Olofád: »Ich bleibe nicht mehr länger auf der Erde! Ich gehe in den Himmel zu meinem Vater!« Seine Mutter aber sagte: »Du bleibst hier, was willst Du denn dort?« Doch Olofád schrie und schrie immerfort. Da richtete seine Mutter ein Essen aus Kokosnuß her, legte es ins Feuer und als der Rauch emporstieg, sagte sie zu ihrem Sohn: »Komm ins Feuer!« Als er hineintrat, stieg er mit dem Rauch zum Himmel empor. Unterwegs traf er Knaben, die mit kleinen *nók*-Fischen spielten. Olofád sagte zu ihnen: »Ach gebt mir einen *nók*, ich will auch mitspielen!« Aber alle sagten: »Was sollen wir Dir einen Fisch geben, sie gehören doch uns!« Nur ein Knabe gab Olofád seinen *nók* zum Spielen. Olofád tat so, als ob er mit ihm spiele, gab ihn dann zurück und ging weiter. Zu den Fischen aber sprach er: »Wenn ich gehe, so fangt die Knaben und stecht sie!« Und so stachen die Fische mit dem Stachel ihrer Rückenflosse die Knaben, nur der eine wurde verschont.

Als Olofád nun weiter ging, sah er Knaben mit kleinen Haifischen spielen. Er bat sie, ihm auch einen Fisch zum Spielen zu geben. Doch die Knaben sagten: »Wo kommst denn Du her, was willst Du hier?« Nur einer gab ihm einen Haifisch und Olofád spielte damit. Als er weiter ging, sagte er allen Haien, sie sollten die Knaben beißen und so geschah es, nur der eine Knabe wurde verschont. Und Olofád ging weiter und traf auf Knaben, die sich mit Spielbooten unterhielten. Als er mitspielen wollte, lehnten sie es ab, nur ein Knabe borgte ihm sein Boot. Als Olofád die Knaben verließ, sagte er zu den Spielkanus: »Ihr Boote geht schnell weg, daß Euch die Knaben nicht mehr fangen können, geht schnell weg!« Da segelten die Kanus rasch weg, daß sie von den Knaben gar nicht mehr eingeholt werden konnten. Nur das Boot des einen Knaben blieb zurück.

Als Olofád nun zum Fadjemál kam, besserten die Männer des Himmels gerade das Haus aus. Sie gingen in den Wald, um Stützpfeiler aus den *járo*-Bäumen zu machen. Als sie Olofád sahen, merkten sie, daß er ein Erdenbewohner war und beschlossen, ihn zu töten. Als sie einen großen Stützpfeiler auf der einen Schulter zum Hausplatz trugen, gingen alle Männer auf einer Seite, Olofád mußte auf der anderen gehen. Als sie ins Haus kamen, warfen alle schnell den Balken weg, damit er Olofád zerschmettern solle. Doch dieser sprang rasch zur Seite und blieb unversehrt. Als die Männer dann den Stützpfosten in die Höhlung versenken

wollten, schickten sie Olofád in das Loch, damit er es noch größer machen und mit Kokoswedeln auslegen solle, wie das auch sonst beim Pfostensetzen geschieht. Olofád nahm das Blatt der *walimáko*-Pflanze und steckte rote Erde *(láb)*[1] in den Mund. Als er nun in der Grube war, ließen die Männer rasch den Balken fallen, doch Olofád bohrte schnell mit einer Kokosblattrippe einen Kanal durch das weiche Mark des Stammes, durch den er die rote Erde und das gekaute Blatt ausspuckte, so daß der Brei am Balken außen herunter lief. Da hielten die Männer Olofád für tot und glaubten, der rote Saft sei Blut und die Blätterreste Galle. Als nun das Haus fertig war, richtete Lugeilán für alle Arbeiter ein Essen im Hause her. Olofád aber kroch durch die Höhlung im Mark des Pfostens empor und setzte sich ungesehen auf einen Querbalken. Während die anderen aßen, befahl er einer Ameise, ihm ein kleines Stück Kokosnuß zu holen. Sie tat es. Olofád rollte es von einer Hand in die andere und sagte, es solle zu einer ganzen Nuß werden. So geschah es auch. Dann ließ er sich ein Sandkorn holen und machte es auf die gleiche Weise zu einem Stein[2], mit dem er die Nuß aufschlug. Da blickten alle nach oben und waren sehr erstaunt, Olofád wieder unter den Lebenden zu sehen. Daran erkannten aber alle, daß Olofád kein gewöhnlicher Erdenmensch, sondern der Sohn des Lugeilán war. Dieser forderte Olofád auf herabzukommen und mitzuessen. Nun trachtete ihm niemand mehr nach dem Leben. Im Fadjemál wurde Olofád auch tatauiert. So lebt er ungestört im Himmel, hin und wieder geht er nach Süden, Westen, Osten oder Norden und sieht zu, wie die Erdenmenschen tanzen und singen, denn das liebt er. Aber immer wieder kehrt er ins Fadjemál zurück.

Ein anderer Gewährsmann Sarferts erzählte noch folgende Episode zu dieser Geschichte. Olofád sah die Leute Kokoswedel von den Palmen zum Flechten der Dachmatten abschlagen und erbat sich von ihnen ein Messer, um mitzuhelfen. Die Männer schlugen ihm aber seine Bitte ab bis auf einen, der ihm sein Messer lieh. Olofád stieg auf eine Palme und schlug Wedel ab. Als er keine Lust mehr zur Arbeit hatte, gab er dem Mann sein Messer zurück und sagte beim Fortgehen: »Alle Männer sollen plötzlich erstarren, wo sie gerade sind, und sollen sich nicht mehr bewegen können!« So geschah es auch. Die Männer blieben steif und starr, wie sie gerade standen, der eine beim Emporklettern, der andere beim Hinabsteigen, der dritte beim Abschlagen, wieder ein anderer, wie er gerade die Wedel zum Haus trägt. Nur der hilfsbereite Mann, der Olofád das Messer borgte, konnte sich frei bewegen.

Auch Baluelób[3] ist ein Himmelsbewohner, über seine verwandtschaftliche Stellung zu Aluelób war nichts Sicheres zu erfahren, manche halten ihn für dessen

[1] Dume gibt es nach Sarfert nur auf den »hohen Inseln«.

[2] Die gleiche Zaubermethode wie auf S. 86.

[3] Über ihn sollen die Mogemog- und Polap-Leute sehr viel wissen; von ihnen erfuhren es die übrigen Inselbewohner.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Sohn. Er lebt mit seiner Frau Jiawók und seinen Söhnen Älülüél, Selân, Farawâl und Allülümâdj im Fadjemâl und besuchte in alter Zeit gleich den übrigen Himmelsbewohnern auch die Erde, wie ja damals auch die Menschen zum Himmel Zutritt hatten. Balüelôb ist ein Segelkundiger, der sich auch darauf versteht, zerbrochene Boote wieder herzurichten.

Auch seine oben genannten Söhne verstehen sich auf Schiffahrt. So sorgt Älülüél dafür, daß die Eingeborenen in ihren Booten den richtigen Kurs segeln und auch die Inseln finden, die sie besuchen wollen. Er hält schlechtes Wetter fern und sorgt für gute Brise. Dafür müssen die Kapitäne *bdnewan* machen und ihm einen Lendenschurz und zwei Kokosnüsse als Opfer auf dem Boot auslegen. Wenn eine schwere See kommt, so holt sich Älülüél diese Gabe, d. h. er spült sie ins Meer. — Älülüél lebt auf der Insel Btemâl, die im Süden von Ifaluk liegt und in einer Bootreise von drei Monaten erreichbar sein soll. Sie ist unbewohnt und ist nur mit einem Pandanus-Baum bestanden. Hier steht auch das Bootshaus des Älülüél, Gâmêîm mit Namen, in dem der Geist dünne Kokosschnur *(galogâl)* für Netze, Häuser und dergl. herstellt.

Selân ist der eigentliche Kanubauer; er fertigte auch das erste Boot in Môdj an, einer kleinen bewohnten Insel im Osten, die von Truk aus vier Tagereisen im Boot südwärts liegt, und lehrte diese Kunst den Menschen. Über sein *bdnewan* s. S. 92.

Farawâl ist für das Wetter zuständig. Er sieht bereits bei Sonnenaufgang, ob es Regen geben wird oder nicht und meldet es Älülüél. Für ihn gibt es kein *bdnewan*.

Älülümâdj weiß wie sein Vater, durch Sturm und Flut zerbrochene Boote und Häuser wieder herzustellen. Wie er seine Kunst den Menschen mitteilte, ist nicht mehr bekannt.

Das Luftreich und seine Bewohner. Der Regenbogen ist ein männlicher Geist namens Lâûliâr, der im Dienste des Himmelskönigs steht. Über seine Abstammung wußten die Eingeborenen nichts. Er kam einst in einem großen Treibholzbalken nach Ifaluk geschwommen. Eine Frau namens Illegferi wusch gerade ihr Kind Illebanigf im Wasser und hatte ihren Lendenschurz weggelegt. Lâûliâr ergriff ihn und gab ihn der Frau nicht eher wieder, als bis sie einwilligte, seine Frau zu werden. So gingen sie zusammen in ihr Haus und Lâûliâr verblieb hier solange, bis Illebanigf groß war. Da lehrte er ihm das *bdnewan* (S. 91) und von diesem erfuhren es dann die Ifaluk-Leute. Lâûliâr ging nun wieder zum Himmel.

Die Erde wird nach Eingeborenen-Auffassung von Âudjâl, der Schwester des Himmelskönigs beherrscht (s. S. 86). Sie hat die normale Gestalt einer Frau und keinen Tierrumpf. Trotzdem sie unverheiratet war, bekam sie viele Kinder, die alle Inseln bevölkerten. Sie ist für die Insulaner die Urmutter der Menschheit. —

Ʌudjál verlangte von ihren Kindern Tribut und diesem Befehl wurde getreulich bis in die Jetztzeit nachgekommen. Da ihr Haus Lamolû oder Lamorû in Kârebar[1] auf Yap steht, bestimmt der jeweilige König von Kârebar für die einzelnen Inseln den Zeitpunkt der Tributlieferung. Die Höhe des Tributes ist verschieden, je nachdem, was zusammenkommt. So bringen die Ifaluk-Leute Lendenschurze, einheimische Kästen, Harz von Brotfruchtbäumen zum Dichten der Boote. In dem Bootshaus, das Sarfert bewohnte, stand eine Kiste mit etwa zwanzig Lendenschurzen für Ʌudjál.

Baumgeister. Auch auf den Bäumen leben Geister, sie heißen Ällüsiliwôli. Ihr König ist Jalûlefâlu, der seine Weisungen von Lugeilân erhält und sie dann an seine Untertanen weitergibt. Sie verfolgen vor allem die Menschen, die dem irdischen Häuptling nicht gehorchen.

Das Meer ist ebenfalls mit Geistern (Ällüsidâd) bevölkert, die Solâl unterstehen. Durch ein *bânewan*, das man im Boot vornimmt, kann man sie sich günstig stimmen. Solâl befiehlt dann den Geistern, dem Fischer reiche Beute zu bescheren.

3. Das *bânewan* für die einzelnen Gottheiten.

Bânewan bedeutet Anrufung einer Gottheit; einzelne Himmelsbewohner haben eine Art Sinnbild *(wâlewôli)*[2], das bei dem *bânewan* eine gewisse Rolle spielt. Wie die Menschen davon erfuhren, ist nicht in allen Fällen bekannt. Bemerkenswert ist dazu der Hinweis der Insulaner, daß die Mogemog- und Polap-Leute zuerst weite Strecken zu durchsegeln verstanden und Sarfert sich deshalb in dieser Frage besser an sie wenden solle. Jedenfalls verstehen sich nur ganz bestimmte Männer auf *bânewan*.

1. Das *bânewan* für Lugeilân wird bei Krankheiten angewendet, da dieser Gott ja die Menschen krank werden läßt. Um Erfolg zu haben, müssen vier verschiedene *bânewan* nacheinander in einem Zwischenraum von etwa 4—5 Tagen vorgenommen werden. Am besten dazu ist die Zeit, wenn der Mond im Westen oder Osten steht, d. h. klein ist. Ist die Krankheit auch dann noch nicht gewichen, so gibt es keinerlei weitere Mittel, um eine Heilung herbeizuführen. — Diese *bânewan* wurden von Solâl dem Aluelôb vermittelt, der sie einerseits an Lugeilân, andererseits aber auch an seine Schwester Ʌudjál weitergab, von dieser erfuhren es die Menschen. 1909 waren diese *bânewan* noch zwei Männern bekannt. — Das Sinnbild *(wâlewôli)* ist ein Paddel, an dessen Stiel zwei Kokosblattknoten befestigt sind.

2. Für Lâuliâr gibt es zwei *bânewan*, um nämlich den Regenbogen zu vertreiben mit dem Lâuliâr die Boote auf See zerstören will. Die *bânewan* haben aller-

[1] Ist Gatschepar auf Yap (s. S. 83 Anm. 1).

[2] Nach anderer Version von Sarfert heißt das *bânewan*-Machen *walewôli*.

dings nur dann Erfolg, wenn die Bootsinsassen Äluelöb nicht zu sehr erzürnt haben und dieser sie nicht etwa vernichten will. Diese *bânewan*, die *farueläs* genannt wurden, waren nur zwei Männern, jedoch nicht dem König, bekannt. — Als Sinnbild diente eine Axt *(dâlâ bâlâl)*, die vom letzten Taifun mit fortgeschwemmt wurde; jetzt gibt es kein solches *waliwol* mehr.

3. Das *bânewan* des Ällülümädj heißt *bôuwân*. Man wendet es bei Hausreparaturen an. Mit dem *waliwâl*, einem Tanzstab mit einem Kokosblattknoten *(uwâd)* an dem einen Ende (Abb. 173), stößt man unter Hersagen des Spruches nach dem zusammengestürzten Haus und umgeht es dabei.

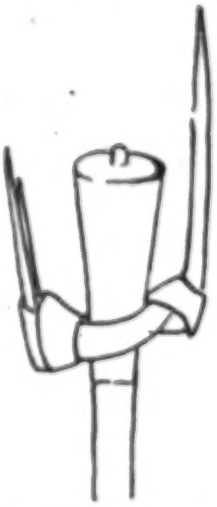


Abb. 173. Kokosblattknoten für bânewan (nach Skizze Sarfert).

4. Das *bânewan* für Älülüél heißt *liolâl*; es war eine mit Rochenstacheln versehene Holzfigur (S. 35), doch fand Sarfert noch ein weiteres *waliwâl* des Älülüél in Gestalt einer Muscheltrompete *(dâlâ)* im Männerhaus hängend (Abb. 174); es gehörte einem Kapitän. Beide dienen dazu, den Regen zu vertreiben. Unter Hersagen eines Spruches schwenkt man das erstgenannte *waliwâl* hin und her und sticht mit seiner Spitze auf das Unwetter zu, die Muscheltrompete wird dagegen hin und wieder geblasen.

Abb. 174. Muscheltrompete als bânewan (Hamburg 1857II, Länge 30 cm).

5. Das *bânewan* für Leläñ heißt *lümâliwalewal*. Es wird beim Kanubau gesprochen und zwar dann, wenn Bug- und Heckaufsatz angebracht werden. Dabei wird jedem Arbeiter ein Kokosblattknoten umgehangen.

6. Baluelöb hat kein besonderes *bânewan*, auf ihn werden die des Leläñ und Älülüei mit angewendet.

7. *Bânewan* mit Kokosblattknoten für Meergeister s. S. 91.

4. Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung.

Die »Totenseelen« *(nôli)*[1] halten sich in den Lüften auf; eine Totenwelt wie die Bur-Leute kennt man nicht.[2] Die *nôli* können unsichtbar auf der Erde umher-

[1] Zur Abgrenzung dieses Begriffes seien noch folgende Eingeborenenworte angegeben: Schatten = *nôw*, Name = *idâl*.

[2] Nach Sarfert ist auch Lugeläd unbekannt; man kennt ihn jedoch als Geist der Mogemog-Insulaner.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

wandeln oder sie gehen durch die Luft gleich einem Wind. Herrscher über die Totenseelen ist Lugeilān bzw. Āluelōb.

5. Tapu.

Āluelōb setzte das Tapu *(etāb;* Gegenteil davon ist *dātāb)* ein. Liegt das Tapu auf einem Menschen, so darf man von diesem weder zu essen noch zu trinken annehmen oder ihm etwas geben. Auch Beischlaf ist dann verboten. — Das Tapu tritt bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten in Kraft und dauert gewöhnlich vier Tage.

a) Macht jemand *bdnewan*, so ist er vier Tage lang tapu, und falls damit eine Krankenheilung bezweckt wurde, gilt dies auch für den Patienten.

b) Frauen im Bluthaus sind tapu und zwar bei Menses vier Tage bzw. bis Ende des Monatsflusses, bei Geburten zehn Tage lang.

c) Macht ein Mann ein Orakel *(bud)* für einen andern, der etwa nach einer entfernt liegenden Insel fahren will, so ist er vier Tage lang tapu.

d) Beim Bootbau sind alle Arbeiter tapu und zwar nur an den Tagen, an dem das *bdnewan* gemacht wird (S. 54).

Auch sind einzelnen Personen bestimmte Dinge tapu; so dürfen die Kapitäne oder Leute, die das *bdnewan* für Āllūlēt wissen oder solche, die aus geknoteten Kokosblattstreifen wahrsagen *(bud)*, nicht zum Bluthaus gehen. Ebenso liegt ein allgemeines tapu auf den Brotfruchtbäumen, d. h. es dürfen keine gefällt werden.

Ob die Sitte, daß die Frauen nicht das Kanuhaus betreten dürfen, auf ein einstiges tapu zurückgeht, wußten die Eingeborenen nicht; sie behaupteten nur, es sei eine alte Sitte. Ebenso unklar ist der Ursprung der Sitte, bestimmte Meerestiere nicht zu essen: so wird ganz allgemein weder der Hai verzehrt, denn er frißt Menschen und deshalb fürchten ihn die Leute, noch der *bdro*, *ldwud*, *lōdj* (giftiger Fisch) und *fāfi* (Rochen).

Vgl. auch Tod, Geburt, Heiratsverbote.

74

XI. Musik, Tanz und Spiel.

Musikinstrumente im eigentlichen Sinn fand Sarfert nicht vor, wenn man nicht die allgemein bekannte Trompete aus Tritonsmuschel[1] dazu rechnen will, die letztlich mehr ein Signalinstrument ist. Trommeln sind nicht bekannt. — Dafür sind die Eingeborenen umso sangesfreudiger. Neben **Tanzliedern** (s. unten) gibt es noch selbständige Lieder *(gâli*, auch *walugulumâle* oder *gâlumâle)*, die von den Frauen gedichtet sind. Es handelt sich um Liebeslieder, in denen die Vorzüge der Liebhaber gepriesen werden. Männer verstehen sich nicht aufs Dichten. Hai- und Schildkrötengesänge wie auf Sorol fehlen.

Von **Tänzen** *(wâluk)* kennt man Männer- und Frauentänze. Sie sollen alle mitsamt den Texten von Yap und Mogemog eingeführt sein. Über die Erfindung des Tanzes haben sich die Eingeborenen keine Gedanken gemacht. — Die Ifaluk-Leute verstehen keine Texte *(ewadâlu)* zu ersinnen; lediglich von einem 1909 bereits verstorbenen Mann wußten die Insulaner, daß er den Text zu einem *walugisâb* gedichtet hatte.

A. Männertänze *(jalomâle)*: 1. Lâhlâ (Stabtanz). Es wird in zwei Reihen getanzt, wobei die Tänzer mit den Gesichtern einander zugekehrt sind. Der Stab *(gâlugâlu*[2] wird mit beiden Händen in der Mitte gehalten. Der begleitende Gesang ist verhältnismäßig leise und schwillt erst am Schluß stark an[3]. — Der Tanz besteht in Einzeltouren, die sich durch verschiedene Bewegungen und Geschwindigkeiten auszeichnen, kennzeichnend für diesen Tanz ist das Aneinanderschlagen der Stabenden mit Neben- und Gegentänzern. Dabei werden häufig untereinander die Plätze gewechselt, so daß jeder Tänzer am Schluß des Tanzes nie an seinem ersten Platz steht, doch ist die Stellung der Neben- und Gegentänzer zu jedem einzelnen immer die gleiche. Das Schlagen ist gar nicht einfach und erfordert große Gewandtheit. Nicht selten wird in Gruppen zu vieren getanzt.

2. Kabanâk ist ein Stehtanz, der eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit dem *walugisâb* hat.

3. Walugisâb ist teils Steh-, teils Sitztanz.

4. Wuliâl; diesen Tanz sah Sarfert nicht.

---

[1] Museum Leipzig Mi 3482.

[2] Im Museum Leipzig Mi 3875; formengleich mit Abb. 208 bei Krämer, Truk, Hamburg 1932.

[3] Im Archiv des Hamburger Museums Walze (Org. Nr. 4) mit einem vollständigen und zwei unvollendeten Tänzen.

B. An Frauentänzen *(jalordu:d)* gibt es nur den *dâgar*, der ein gemischter Sitz- und Stehtanz ist[1].

C) Gemischte Tänze *(gabalûdelue)*, bei denen Frauen und Männer zusammen tanzen; sie haben keinen besonderen Namen[2].

D) Kindertänze und zwar Mädchentänze sind bekannt; die Bewegungen sind besonders zierlich und fein. Als Sarfert auf der Insel weilte, hatte ein Junge Mädchentänze von Lamutrik mitgebracht, die jeden Abend getanzt wurden, selbst Frauen nahmen daran teil. — Knaben sah Sarfert nie allein tanzen.

Alle **Spiele** *(ûlu*, Mogemog: *rôgam)* wurden den Kindern abgelauscht; Männer und Frauen sah Sarfert nicht beim Spiel.

a) *gôrefa:* Ballspiel. Der würfelförmige Ball *(gôrefa)* ist aus Kokosblättern geflochten und wird von zwei sich gegenüberstehenden Parteien mit der Hand hin- und hergeschlagen.

b) *gedddal:* Ringkampf, dabei sind Ober- und Untergriff bekannt.

c) *limêl:* gleichzeitiges Springen auf beiden Beinen.

d) *ligefât:* auf den Händen stehen und gehen.

e) *djûerâ:* Es ist ein Fangspiel zwischen zwei Parteien. Jede errichtet einen Sandhaufen als sog. »Ruhe«. Die Parteien suchen sich dann einander zu haschen und nach der »Ruhe« der anderen Partei zu gelangen.

f) *Huas:* Ein Sandspiel, bei dem die Spieler unter Hersagen eines Verses mit dem Zeigefinger Löcher in den Sand bohren und sie dann wieder unter Zitieren eines Verses einreißen.

g) *dilidlli:* ein Laufspiel, zwei Parteien halten sich an den Händen, die eine Partei kreuzt rasch die andere, wobei sich der letzte der einen an einem Burschen der andern Reihe festhalten muß.

h) *sawôfâ:* es ist ein Ziehkampf zwischen zwei Parteien. Diese fassen sich nach Hersagen eines Verses an und ziehen nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen.

i) *lifolûr:* Ein Spiel, das unserem »Fuchs im Loche« ähnelt. Es wird ein Kreis gebildet, in seiner Mitte kniet ein »schlafender Geist«. Die Spieler im Kreis singen, dadurch erwacht der Geist und sucht den Kreis zu durchbrechen, indem er sich auf die gefaßten Arme wirft. Wo er den Kreis durchbricht, muß einer der beiden Schuldigen dann den »Geist« spielen.

k) *fisildla:* es wird ein Kreis gebildet, wobei die Spieler ihr rechtes Bein über das ihres Nachbarn legen. Nun wird ein Lied gesungen und dann machen alle eine Vierteldrehung nach links und hüpfen im Kreis herum. Bei der schwierigen Stellung fallen natürlich einige unter großer Heiterkeit hin.

l) *nôwdâlulugubâl:* vier Spieler stehen in den Ecken eines gedachten Vierecks,

[1] Im Archiv des Hamburger Museums Walze Org. Nr. 3.

[2] Desgleichen Walze Org.-Nr. 1 (von dem Mann Gebagolimâr gesungen); Org. Nr. 2 und 3 (gesungen von dem Mann Molêlê); Org. Nr. 6 von Frauen und Mädchen gesungen.

zwischen ihnen sitzt je ein weiterer Spieler. Diese letzteren stemmen ihre Füße gegeneinander und reichen ihre Hände ihren stehenden Nachbarn zur Rechten und Linken. Die vier stehenden laufen nun in einer Richtung im Kreise herum und bringen dadurch die andern zum Schweben.

m) *imädirdu:* es ist unser »Blindekuhe-Spiel. Die Augen werden mit einem Kokosblatt verbunden.

n) *gafiböl:* Es wird eine Kette gebildet, dann kriecht der erste zwischen dem 2. und 3. durch, wobei die Arme verschränkt bleiben. Dann plötzliches Umdrehen

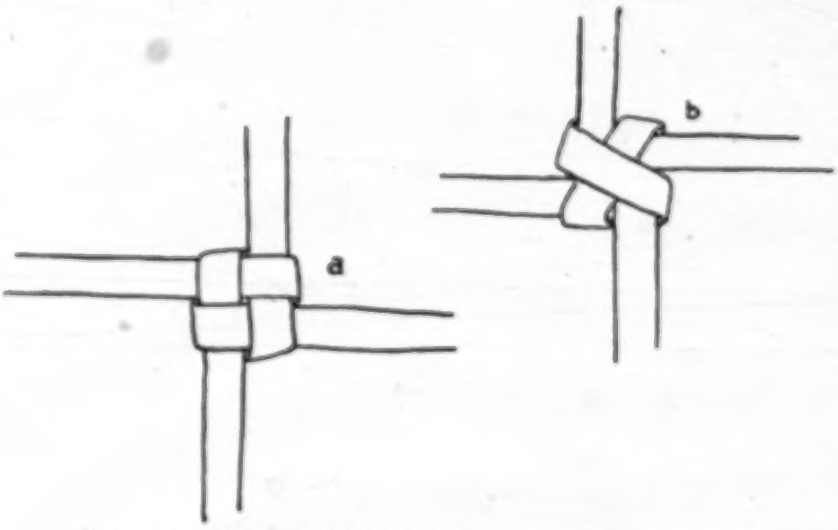


Abb. 173. Windrädchen (nach Skizze Sarfert); a — Oberseite, b — Unterseite.

mit Schwenken der Arme über den Kopf, so daß man wieder mit richtig gefaßten Händen dasteht.

o) *igalimäd:* die Kinder hocken in einer Reihe hintereinander. Dann wird das letzte von zwei größeren an den Armen gefaßt und mit einem Schwung über die ganze Reihe geschnellt.

An Spielgeräten kannte man außer dem oben genannten Ball, Spielbogen (S. 72), Spielboote (S. 50), Schwirrholz *(legawdliwuli)* aus Kokosblatt, Windrädchen[1] *(legafildu)* aus Blattstreifen mit Achse aus einer Kokosrippe (Abb. 175), Pfeife *(gädigedik, gädik)* aus Kokosblatt (vgl. Faraulip).

[1] Kommt nach Sarfert auch auf Buka vor.

97

XII. Verschiedenes.

Kunst.

Lediglich die Männerhäuser zeigen eine gewisse kunstvolle Ausschmückung durch farbige Ornamente *(kawoludl)*. So waren in früheren Jahren die mittleren Stützpfeiler und ebenso die Dachträger *(wdu)* reich verziert. Sarfert fand im damaligen Männerhaus unter dem Dach noch einen alten Träger, an dem zwei Seiten das *rafdm*-Muster[1] (Abb. 176), dessen Vorlage nicht mehr bekannt war, zierten, während die dritte ein doppel-

176

177.

178.

179.

Abb. 176—179.

Abb. 176. *rafdm*-Muster (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 177. *wdwo*-Muster (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 178. *karebäli wulugdlö*-Muster (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 179. Holzfisch (Hamburg 31849, Länge 43 ½ cm).

zeiliges Rautenmuster, *wdwo* genannt, zeigte, das ein Fisch gleichen Namens sein sollte (Abb. 177).

An dem Pfosten eines kleinen Wohnhauses sah Sarfert noch das senkrechte *karebäli wulugdlö*-Muster, das den Schwanz des *wulugdlö*-Fisches vorstellen sollte (Abb. 178).

Schnitzereien gab es so gut wie keine: lediglich Krämer fand im Häuptlingshaus einen Holzfisch (Abb. 179); ferner wären unter künstlerischen Erzeugnissen noch die *walwdl* für Allülöl zu nennen.

Zeiteinteilung.

Das Jahr hat keinen besonderen Namen; es zerfällt in zwei Abschnitte: *edjdk* oder *rdk* ist die Jahreszeit, in der Westwind vorherrscht, während *dawdl*, auch *nfwdn*, die Zeit des Ostwindes ist.

Das Jahr hat 12 Monate, deren Namen Sternbilder *(fdl)* bezeichnen; sie verteilen sich auf die Jahreszeiten folgendermaßen:

[1] Ist nach Sarfert auch auf Sorol bekannt.

7 [illegible]

čwän	*edjâk*
elüôl	*mâdjîk*
mâlu	*mâlôb*
îdj	*sôdâ*
djelewôl	*lâke*
elemâudj	*gû*[1]
dumûl	*ûl*

Sarfert bestimmte z. B. den 7. November 1909 als 26. Tag des Monats *mâlu*. — Jeder Monat hat 30 Tage *(râu, dâuat)*, die nach Mondphasen bezeichnet werden; ihre Namen sind:

1. *sugôru*
2. *jelîn*
3. *mâdjälîn*
4. *mâdjâl*
5. *mâdjafâs*
6. *mâdjoâl*
7. *mâdjâlo*
8. *lamâdjâl*
9. *djuawôn*
10. *âbôi*
11. *jalowugû*
12. *olawâe*
13. *olomâu*
14. *mâdj* (Vollmond)
15. *ûlu*
16. *nâdâ*
17. *gilâi*
18. *galaûâr*
19. *sabâdj*
20. *jafelâk*
21. *wosolân*
22. *garoddli jafalâk*
23. *sabâr mäimûli*
24. *ilâi*
25. *gomâlô*
26. *djumalifâl*
27. *jarofû*
28. *jôu*
29. *ifaîn*
30. *erâfi.*

Die einzelnen Tagesabschnitte heißen

etwa 6 Uhr (d. i. vor Sonnenaufgang) *nijôro*
„ 6½—7 Uhr *sirodl*
„ 8 „ *sirowôl*
„ 9 „ *niñalafâd*
„ 10 „ *jawelâke mâlûk*
„ 11 „ *jawelâke luwôl*
„ 12 „ *jôuwôl*
„ 13 „ *ebêke dâne uwôl*
„ 14 „ *jâbâl*
„ 15 „ *jadolûwau lâjâd*
„ 16 „ *jadolûwau îdâl*
„ 17 „ *jadôlu niwwôl*
„ 18 „ *jadôlu gôdj*
„ 18½ „ (Sonnenuntergang) *jadôlu wollm*
„ 19 „ (nach Sonnenuntergang) *jadûo*
„ 20 „ *mûlidûlijâl*
„ 21—23 „ (= nachts) *niwerâwe*

[1] Ein Fisch, dieses Sternbild erstreckt sich über den ganzen Himmel.

etwa	24	Uhr	*luwŏliwŏṅ*
,,	1	,,	*luwŏliwŏṅ dâ*
,,	2	,,	*uŏlimo doṅt*
,,	3	,,	*uŏlimo djâli*
,,	4	,,	*jamâu ŏu*
,,	5	,,	*jamâu ilâp*
,,	5½	,,	*erîk.*

Schrift.

Wie die Ifaluk-Leute zur Schrift (s.Abb 180.) kamen, berichtet folgende Geschichte. Ein Truk-Missionar wurde auf der Fahrt von Olol nach Truk im Segelboot mit mehreren Truk-Leuten nach Aurepik verschlagen. Dort blieb er längere Zeit, bis ein Oleai-Boot mit dem Häuptling kam. Dieser forderte den Missionar

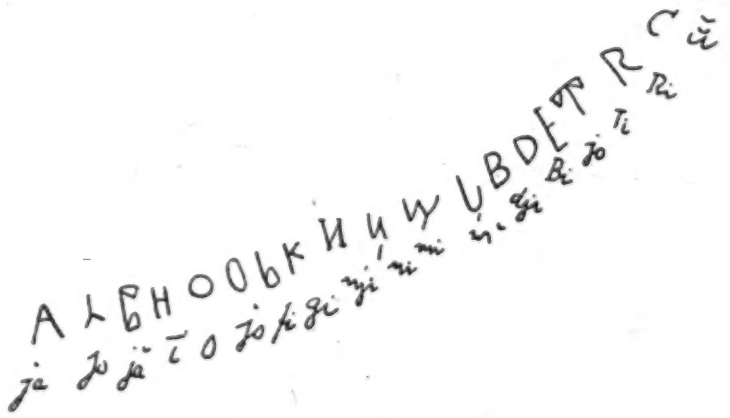


Abb. 180. Schriftprobe eines Ifaluk-Mannes.

auf, mit zu seiner Heimatinsel zu segeln. Das geschah auch. Der Missionar fuhr mit seinen Truk-Leuten in Begleitung des gastfreundlichen Häuptlings nach Oleai und blieb auch für immer hier. Damals gab es schon einen Händler auf Oleai. Die Truk-Leute verstanden bereits zu schreiben und lehrten diese Kunst ihren Gastgebern. Schließlich fuhren sie über Ifaluk und Lamutrik zurück und so lernten auch diese Insulaner die Schriftzeichen kennen.

100

XIII. Zur Sprache.

Lütke hat bereits über die sprachlichen Verhältnisse der Karolinen wichtige Erkenntnisse vorgelegt. Er stellte die Ähnlichkeit aller dieser Sprachen fest, dabei fiel ihm auf, daß man von Lukunor bis Uluti »une même langue radicale« spricht, obgleich beträchtliche Abweichungen besonders hinsichtlich der Aussprache vorliegen[1]. Das kommt auch in den Urteilen anderer zum Ausdruck; so behauptet Cheyne, daß die Ifaluk-Leute die gleiche Sprache wie auf Oleai[2] sprechen, dabei ist eine starke Übereinstimmung des Wortschatzes mit dem von Satowal unverkennbar[3]. Girschner erfuhr, »daß auf dieser Insel noch heutigentages Kusai gesprochen werde.«[4]

Für den Lautwandel lassen sich folgende Gleichungen aufstellen:

Ifaluk	Satowal
l	n (r)
n, r	l
s	' j
d	s

Zur Aussprache wäre zu bemerken:

ł = engl. l, d. h. die Zungenspitze fest an die Alveolaren angelegt und schnell losgelassen. -š = Zunge liegt hoch nahe beim Gaumen.

Demonstrativpronomen. Dieser Mann da (der nebenstehende Mann) = *älimätäl*, jener Mann dort (der etwas fernstehende Mann) = *älimätälå*.

Personalpronomen. Ich = *gåṅ*, du = *gål*, er = *te*, wir (inkl. ich und du) = *głdj*, wir (exkl.) = *gamåm*, ihr = *gåmi*, sie = *tle*.

Für das **Possessivpronomen** gilt das gleiche, was für Polowat gesagt wurde. a) Für Personen- und Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen hat man nachgestellte (suffigierte) Pronomina:

mein Vater	*demåī*
dein Vater	*demåm*
sein Vater	*demål*
unser Vater	*demår*

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 350.
[2] Cheyne 1852, S. 137.
[3] vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 278.
[4] Girschner 1911, S. 129 Anm. 1.

euer Vater *demâmi*
ihr Vater *demâle.*

b) bei allen lebendigen Wesen (Tieren usw.) werden dagegen zusammengesetzte und vorangestellte Pronomina angewendet.

mein Hund *lâ̂ gelâgu*
dein Hund *lâmu gelâgu*
sein Hund *lâl gelâgu*
unser Hund *lâ̂re gelâgu*
euer Hund *lâ̂mi gelâgu*
ihr Hund *lâ̂le gelâgu*

c) für Bäume und Pflanzen wird das Pronomen vorangestellt.

meine Kokospalme *gelâ̂ lâ̂*
deine Kokospalme *lümôm lâ̂*
seine Kokospalme *lümêle lâ̂*
unsere Kokospalme *lümâre lâ̂*
eure Kokospalme *lümi lâ̂*
ihre Kokospalme *lümâle lâ̂*

d) für leblose, zum Essen getötete oder gefangene Wesen gelten Formen ähnlich wie unter a), z. B. *gelâ̂ mälûk* = mein (zum Essen bestimmtes) Huhn, *gelâm lk* = dein (getöteter) Fisch usw.

Zahlworte.

1	*sâu*	80	*walłk*
2	*ruôu*	90	*diuēīk*
3	*selâ*	100	*säwûgu*
4	*fâū*	200	*ruowûgu*
5	*limôu*	300	*seliwûgu*
6	*olôu*	400	*fawûgu*
7	*fišâ*	500	*limowûgu*
8	*walâ*	600	*olowûgu*
9	*diuôu*	700	*fišiwûgu*
10	*sâk*	800	*waliwûgu*
11	*sâk imä sâu*	900	*diowûgu*
20	*ruēīk*	1000	*sâṅaläs*
30	*selłk*	2000	*ruâṅaläs*
40	*fâik*	3000	*sêliṅaläs*
50	*limēīk*	4000	*fâṅeläs*
60	*olēīk*	5000	*limâṅaläs*
70	*fišłk*	6000	*olôṅaläs*

7000	*fišiṅaläs*
8000	*weliṅaläs*
9000	*diuwāṅaläs*
10000	*sān*
20000	*ruān*
30000	*selin*
40000	*fān*
50000	*limān*
60000	*olōn*
70000	*fišin*
80000	*walin*
90000	*diuān*
100000	*selōp*
200000	*rualōp*
300000	*sēlilōp*
400000	*falōp*
500000	*līmalōp*
600000	*ololōp*
700000	*fišilōp*
800000	*walilōp*
900000	*diualōp*
1000000	*sāṅit*
2000000	*ruāṅit*
3000000	*selīṅit*
4000000	*fāṅit*
5000000	*līmaṅit*
6000000	*olōṅit*
7000000	*fišīṅit*
8000000	*walīṅit*
9000000	*diuāṅit*
10000000	*saṅalāu*
20000000	*ruaṅalāu*
30000000	*seliṅalāu*
40000000	*faṅalāu*
50000000	*limaṅalāu*
60000000	*oloṅalāu*
70000000	*fišiṅalāu*
80000000	*waliṅalāu*
90000000	*diuaṅalāu*
100000000	*ṅalāūl maṅalāūl*

jalōt = fertig.

Bemerkenswert ist dabei die Tatsache, daß die Einer von 5 bis 7 auch unter *dako* in Verbindung mit dem nächsten Zehner wiedergegeben werden; also

dakosāk = 5 oder 6 oder 7
dakoruēik = 15 oder 16 oder 17 usw.

Ebenso sagt man:

dakosāwūgu = 50 oder 60 oder 70, auch 80
dakoruowūgu = 150 oder 160 oder 170, auch 180.

wenig *daidōulōb* oder *galisemīt*
viel *dōulōb*
halb *sēdab*
viertel *darosedāb*
achtel *marōlōb*
drittel *selidāb*
anderthalb *sāu mäsedāb*
alle *jōlo*
gehen *lālak*

Verbum.

Präsens:

ich gehe (jetzt; d. h. ich bin im Begriff zu gehen)	*iwilâlak*
du gehst	*kowolâlak*
er geht	*äwolâlak*
wir gehen (inkl.)	*kaiwilâlak*
wir gehen (exkl.)	*siwilâlak*
ihr geht	*kaisalâlak*
sie gehen	*räwilâlak*

Imperfekt:

ich ging	*ilâko lâlo*
du gingst	*kolâko lâlo*
er ging	*älâko lâlo*
wir gingen (exkl.)	*silâko lâlo*
ihr gingt	*kailâko lâlo*
sie gingen	*rälâko lâlo*

Futur:

ich werde gehen	*iwâlak lâlu*
du wirst gehen	*kowâlak lâlu*
er wird gehen	*äwâlak lâlu*
wir werden gehen (exkl.)	*siwâlak lâlu*
ihr werdet gehen	*kaiwâlak lâlu*
sie werden gehen	*räwâlak lâlu*

Die entsprechenden Formen des Verbums schlafen *mädjûl* sind

ich schlafe	*iwimädjûl* (ich möchte schlafen = *igadû mädjûl*, ich möchte nicht schlafen = *igañâua mädjûl*)
ich schlief	*imädjûlu lâlo*
du schliefst	*komädjûlu lâlo*
ich werde schlafen	*iwämädjûl*

Die **Längenmaße** werden vom menschlichen Körper genommen, d. h. was die Gewährsleute Sarfert's mit »Faden« bezeichnen, ist die Länge der ausgestreckten Arme samt Brustbreite.

ein Faden	*ändʃ*	vier F.	*jañdʃ*
zwei F.	*ruañdʃ*	fünf F.	*limañdʃ*
drei F.	*selindʃ*	sechs F.	*oloñdʃ*

sieben F.	*fišiṅdʃ*	neun F.	*diuṅdʃ*
acht F.	*waliṅdʃ*	zehn F.	*sȧk*

Kürzere Längen bezeichnete man einfach durch Abgreifen am Körper, z. B.

das erste Fingerglied	*makorĺk*
das erste und zweite Fingerglied	*makōldp*
eine Fingerlänge	*segđd*
eine Handlänge	*sābäranĺm*
ein halber Unterarm	*sädjeliwȯr*
ein Unterarm	*sämåluk*
ein Arm	*säbȧ̊u*
ein Arm und eine halbe Brust	*sädilȯ̊up*
ein Arm und Brust	*säjđl*
ein Arm und Brust und ein halber Arm (bis Ellenbogen)	*göbȧ̊u*
ein Arm und Brust und dreiviertel Arm (bis zur Mitte des Unterarms)	*dalidȧ̊ne göbȧ̊u*
ein Arm und Brust und ein Arm (bis zur Handwurzel)	*dago äṅdʃ*
Länge der ausgebreiteten Arme und Brust	*äṅdʃ*

Adjektiva.

blau	*djolobȧ̊ṅu*
blind	*mädemajȧ̊lu*
braun	*jawurȧ̊lo*
groß, fett	*ewäligĺli*, auch *ewärigĺd*
gelb	*älȧ̊neläne*
grün	*galȧ̊ueläȧ̊u*
gut	*mamȧ̊u* (für Dinge), *ẗno* (für Essen und Trinken)
heiß	*isawȯ̊dj*
hoch, lang	*ewälimȯr*
kalt	*iʃȧ̊u*
klein	*ägidigĺd*
krank	*tomȧ̊u* oder *mȅdak*
lahm	*ägašubȯ̊šub*
mager	*ejaūdjĺk*
naß	*edjȯ̊k*
rot	*ädjđ*
rund	*wäliđli*
schlecht	*äṅdȧ̊u (dȧ̊euȯ̊* ist unser »Pfui!«)
schmutzig	*bȯ̊l*

schwanger	*ăšidle*
schwarz	*djedjdl*
stumm	*edūimolidli*
taub	*dalliŋewȧt*
tot	*mȧs*
trocken	*jabȧlē*
weiß	*bŏdjewŏdj*

Adverbien.

a) der Zeit:

gestern	*lȧlo*
heute	*rălēi*
jetzt	*ŋgelă*
immer	*tŏlŏb lȧu*
morgen	*laŋu*
übermorgen	*sălaŋil*
vorgestern	*sălaŋindlo*
vorvorgestern	*săbălarŏl delaŋindlo*

b) des Ortes:

auf	*wȧlo*
außen	*lŭgul*
fern	*edāoldgo*
hinter (mir)	*lugudogulŭ*
in	*nĭ*
innen	*lano*
nahe	*karebĕdo*
unter, unten	*ʃȧlo* (anliegend)
	idăloi (unter mir)
über, drüber	*wŏi* = über mir
	wŏm = über dir
vor	*iuwȧ*

Die Begriffe rechts und links sind unbekannt, man sagt *sibĕikimäsibĕik* = zu meinen Seiten.

nein	*idoă*
ja	*ilă*, auch *iă*

Verben.

arbeiten	*ănăn*	binden	*gŏgo*
aufstehen	*sŭddk*	blasen	*ugŭ*
beischlafen	*ʃă*	bleiben	*ibămile*

bringen	*gajt*	rudern	*jadûl*
defäzieren	*bâk*	rufen	*jadjôṅu*
essen	*môṅo*	sehen	*bîbi*
flechten	*jauſôu*	sitzen	*mâd*
fliegen	*jalijôli*	sich setzen	*mädôdiu*
fürchten	*medâgu*	singen	*gûle*
gähnen	*gadâl*	(singen und tanzen *walûk*)	
geben	*ganêâi* = gib mir	schlafen	*mâšur*
	iweraulok = ich gebe dir	schlagen	*bigilî*
		schleifen	*dâmi*
gehen	*lâlak*	schmatzen	*kamudumîd*
herunterfallen	*buṅudîu*	schnarchen	*diṅolonôlo*
hören	*ilôṅeloṅ*	schwimmen	*jâfe*
husten	*lôlâk*	stehen	*sû*
kommen	*bîdok* = komme	springen	*jajâli*, auch *liginûnud*
kriechen	*gelâk*		
lachen	*jâš*	stoßen, boxen	*dûk*
legen	*oudk*	tatauieren	*mâk*
lieben	*igomâuk*, auch *igodûk* oder *idibâlûk*	tōten	*lî*
		trinken	*ûl*
niesen	*mojî*	umkehren etwas	*ărabâdjiu*
pfeifen	*gâûwâ*	urinieren	*galôlo*
reden	*gebâd*, auch *jaldk*	weinen	*dâṅ*
rennen	*lîk*	werfen	*rûlâk*
riechen	*ṅûli*	zählen	*wâdewad*

107

Aurepik.

Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. E. Sarfert bearbeitet
von Dr. Hans Damm.

(p. 108 is blank)

107

Aurepik.

Allgemeiner Teil.

I. Äußere Geschichte.

Entdeckung und Erschließung. Aurepik ist wie die Mehrzahl der zentralkarolinischen Inseln dem Abendland zuerst durch den Brief des Pater Clain vom 10. Juni 1697 bekannt geworden und zwar unter dem Namen »Yaropie«[1], auf der diesem Brief beigegebenen Karte findet sie sich jedoch nicht.[2] Folgen wir Krämer, dem das Verdienst zukommt, die Entdeckungsgeschichte Mikronesiens kritisch bearbeitet zu haben, so findet sich unsere Insel erstmalig auf der Karte des Piloten Somera angegeben, der 1710 unter dem Kommando des Don Francisco de Padilla stand. Und zwar glaubt Krämer, daß die darauf verzeichnete »Isla de Casa« (Hausinsel) mit ihr gleich sei, weil die eigenartigen, auf hohen Steinterrassen errichteten Häuser der Insel ihr besonderes Gesicht geben und bei jedem Besucher einen unvergeßlichen Eindruck hinterlassen.[3] Auf der Eingeborenenkarte des Cantova (1721) findet sich das Atoll als »Eurrupuc« und kehrt unter diesem Namen auch auf der Karte von Vaugondy (1756) wieder.[4]

Die im Kolonial-Lexikon (Bd. I, S. 98) zu findende Angabe, »Aurepik wurde wohl schon von Hunter 1791 entdeckt«, ist nicht haltbar und geht wohl auf Gulick (1867 S. 59) zurück. Sie erklärt sich wohl aus einer mißverstandenen Angabe bei Chamisso (Bemerkungen und Ansichten S. 104), der schreibt; »Vergleiche die Phillip-Inseln von Cpt. Hunter 1791 und die two Islands 1791, die wir bereits mit mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit bei Eurüpük angeführt haben.« Damit wollte er aber sicher keine Gleichsetzung mit dieser Gruppe vornehmen, denn auf S. 98 führt er sie gesondert anschließend an Aurepik an. Ich halte die Erklärung von Brigham (1900, S. 148), daß die Phillips-Inseln Sorol seien, für richtiger.

---

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 15.
[2] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, Abb. 2.
[3] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 70.
[4] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, Abb. 7 und 8.

Am 12. April 1828 sichtete Lütke von Westen her kommend die Insel »Eourypyg«, wie er sie schreibt (v. Kittlitz: »Eurupyk«), landete jedoch nicht, sondern fuhr mit nördlichem Kurs weiter (Abb. 181)[1]. Die Eingeborenen kamen, trotzdem viele Boote am Strand lagen, nicht zum Schiff. Die Erklärung sucht v. Kittlitz in einem Tabu, das anläßlich eines Jahresfestes auf die Boote gelegt sein könnte[2]. Im September 1844 besuchte Andrew Cheyne die Insel[3] und am

Abb. 181. Karte von Aurepik nach Angabe von Lütke (1828).

25. März 1876 lief N. v. Miklucho-Maclay[4] auf dem kleinen Handelsschoner »Sea-Bird« die Inselgruppe an, doch fuhr er nicht an Land.

Am 31. Oktober 1909 legte das Expeditionsschiff der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition, der »Peiho«, an und setzte Sarfert an Land, der hier bis zum 2. November blieb. Zu damaliger Zeit besuchte das Schiff »Scotts« von Yap aus hin und wieder die Insel und auch die Japaner liefen hier mehrfach an[5].

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 148; v. Kittlitz 1858 Bd. II, S. 163.
[2] v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 163.
[3] Cheyne 1852, S. 138.
[4] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[5] Thilenius 1927, S. 243.

111

II. Geographie.

Name. Außer den zuerst bekannt gewordenen Eingeborenen-Namen »Yuropie« und »Eurrupuc« findet sich noch die von Lütke angewendete Schreibung »Eourypyge« (s. oben), die von Brigham[1] in Eurupig verwandelt wurde; v. Miklucho-Maclay wendet Auropik an. Die Mehrzahl der Entdecker und Walfänger gab der Gruppe jedoch neue Namen: sei es daß kennzeichnende Merkmale der Inselgruppe dazu die Anregung gaben (Low Islands) oder irgendein anderer Name gewählt wurde (»Kama« nach Horsburgh[2]). Alle diese Namen fanden auch Eingang in Meyer's Kolonialreich und in das Kolonial-Lexikon[3]. Beide benutzen jedoch als Hauptstichwort die Schreibung des Reichsmarine-Amtes »Aûrepik«[4]. Die japanische Regierungskarte von 1925 hat dagegen die Schreibung »Eauripik«. Die wissenschaftlichen Teilnehmer der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition geben den Inselnamen in folgender Schreibung an:[5] Aurepik (Sarfert), Auripig (Hambruch), Aûrupeg (Krämer), Jâurupek (Hellwig). Im vorliegenden Text wird die Sarfertsche Schreibung angewendet.

Die erste genauere **Karthographie** dieser Inselgruppe geht auf Lütke (1828) zurück, der den Archipel nur von weitem sichtete[6] und von ihm deshalb nur ein ungefähres Bild geben konnte (s. Abb. 181). Die einzelnen Admiralstabskarten der seefahrenden Mächte (s. Abb. 182) geben ebenfalls noch kein genaues Bild von der Gruppe, das erst durch die Kartenaufnahme des ersten Offiziers Lorenzen vom »Peiho« geschaffen worden ist (Abb. 183).

Lage und Größe. Die ovale Gestalt dieses Atolls hat bereits Lütke in seiner Karte (Abb. 181) richtig wiedergegeben, auch Cheyne[7] beschreibt sie in dieser Weise und gibt den größten Durchmesser der Lagune in OSO—WNW-Richtung mit 2½ Meile an. Meinicke[8] bezeichnet Aurepik als seine kleine Laguneninsel von ½ Meile Länge«, die aber in Wirklichkeit nach Lorenzens Karte 5¹/₂ Sm lang ist. Die Längen- und Breitenangaben einzelner Quellen enthält die folgende Aufstellung:

---

[1] Brigham 1900, S. 62.
[2] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 339.
[3] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364; Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. I, S. 98.
[4] Thilenius 1927, S. 245, dazu S. 185, Anm. 1.
[5] Thilenius 1927 S. 245, Anm. 1.
[6] Cheyne (1852 S. 138) sagt, daß man die Inseln bereits auf 12—13 Meilen Entfernung vom Schiffsdeck aus sehen kann.
[7] Cheyne 1852, S. 138, 145. [8] Meinicke 1888, S. 339.

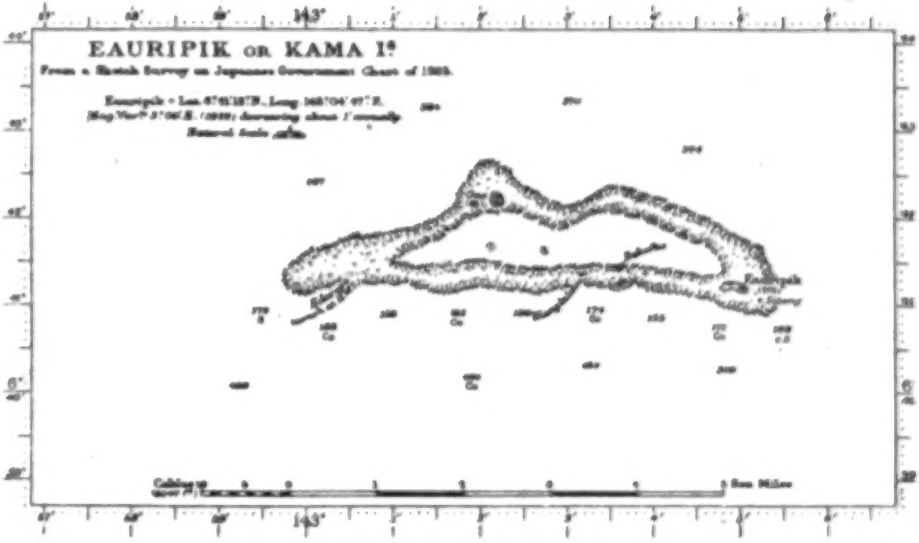


Abb. 182. Japanische Regierungskarte von Aurepik (1915).

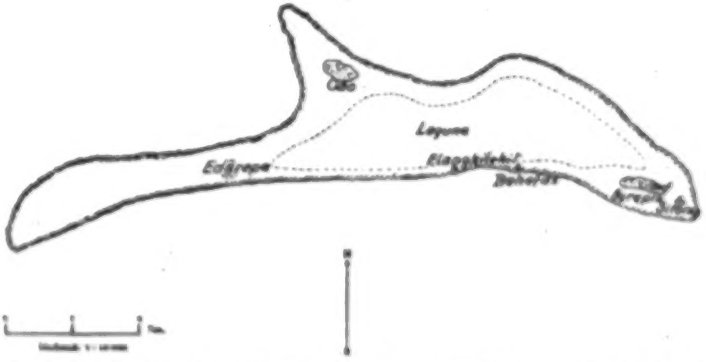


Abb. 183. Aurepik. Kartenaufnahme des ersten Offiziers Lorensen vom Expeditionsschiff „Pelle" (1909).

Jahr	Entdecker und Reisende	nördl. Breite	östl. Länge
1828	Lütke[1]	6° 39′ 44″	216° 49′ 2″
	Horsburgh[2].....	6° 40′	143° 11′
1844	Cheyne[3].....	6° 35′	142° 59′
	Raper[4]	6° 40′	143° 11′
1900	Brigham[5]	6° 40′	143° 10′
1910	Sievers[6]	6° 43′	143° 10′
1920	Kolonial-Lexikon[7]	6° 42′	143° 6′
1925	Japan. Regierungskarte[8]	6° 41′ 12″	143° 4′ 49″

Die Zahl der **Inseln** wurde von Lütke und v. Kittlitz im Text mit zwei, auf Lütke's Karte dagegen mit vier angegeben[9]. Auch Cheyne[10] spricht nur von zwei niedrigen Koralleninseln, von denen die östlichste, also die Hauptinsel, bewohnt und deren jede etwa eine Meile lang sei. Meinicke[11] scheint eine dieser Quellen benutzt zu haben, vermutlich hat ihm Cheyne vorgelegen, denn er weiß auch nur von zwei kleinen Inseln an der Nordseite, von denen die östlichste allein bewohnt sei. Miklucho-Maclay meint dagegen drei kleine Inseln gesehen zu haben[12]. Die gleiche Zahl nennt auch Sievers[13], zwei davon gibt er richtig als bewohnt an. In Wirklichkeit ist der Riffkranz der Gruppe mit fünf Inseln besetzt: Aurepík, Uáu, Ellanidigít, Bägefás, Sidéne, von denen aber nur die am Ostende des Atolls gelegene Hauptinsel Aurepík und die am weitesten westwärts gelegene nächst größere Uáu besiedelt sind.[14] An der Südseite der Hauptinsel ist ein Landeplatz für Boote bei Hochwasser[15]. — Die verschiedene Schreibweise der einzelnen Inselnamen zeigt die Tabelle:

---

[1] Gilt nur für die östlichste Insel (vgl. Lütke's Karte).
[2] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 339.
[3] Cheyne 1852, S. 138.
[4] Cheyne 1852, S. 138.
[5] Brigham 1900, S. 62.
[6] Sievers 1910, Bd. 2, S. 364.
[7] Kolonial-Lexikon 1920, Bd. 1, S. 98.
[8] Gilt für die Hauptinsel.
[9] Lütke 1835, Vol. II, S. 148; v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 163. Möglicherweise erklärt sich die Differenz zwischen Text und Karte damit, daß Lütke von dem Unbewohntsein zweier Inseln wußte und sie deshalb im Text nicht erwähnte.
[10] Cheyne 1852, S. 138, 145. Diese Angabe hat wohl auch Brigham übernommen (1900 S. 62).
[11] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 339.
[12] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 193.
[13] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364. Im Kolonial-Lexikon findet sich darüber nur eine kurze nichtssagende Angabe.
[14] Desgl. bei Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364.
[15] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 301.

Sievers	Reichsmarineamt	Sarfert	Lorenzen	Jap. Karte
Aurepik	Aũrepik	Aurepfk	Aurepiik	Eauripik
Uau	Oão	Uãu[1]	Oão	Oao
—	—	Ellanidigft	Elangkilekit	Elangkileku
—	—	Bägeffis	Behefas	Bekefas
Siting	—	Sidéõe	Sitong	Siteng

Das **Riff** hat nach Brigham[2] einen Umfang von 2½ Meilen und besitzt keinerlei Durchfahrt zur Lagune; ein mangelhafter Durchlaß befindet sich an der SO-Seite, der es den Eingeborenen doch immerhin ermöglicht, bei Hochwasser die Boote über das Riff zum Strand zu bringen[3]. Diese Schwierigkeit mag vielleicht die Insulaner seinerzeit davon abgehalten haben, das im Norden der Insel vorüber-segelnde Schiff Lütke's in ihren Booten aufzusuchen (vgl. S. 110)[4]. Die Brandung ist doch sehr stark und zwar nach dem Pacific Islands Pilot[5] bei leichten südwestlichen Winden an der Nordseite. Sie kostete Sarfert, als er im Boot zum »Peihos« zurückfuhr, fast das Leben; sein Boot kenterte, dabei gingen alle Fotos und Ethnographica verloren[6].

Auch diese Insel litt schwer unter dem gewaltigen Taifun vom März 1907 (s. S. 6 f.)[7], dessen Spuren noch 1909 sichtbar waren. Die Eingeborenen erzählten Hambruch, daß der damalige Taifun einen Teil des Ostendes der Insel weggerissen habe. Schon vor vielen Jahren — es sollen etwa 60 Jahre verflossen sein — soll ein ebensolches Unwetter die Insel heimgesucht haben.

Allgemeines über Klima und Temperatur auf den Karolinen vgl. bei Singer (1899, Globus Bd. 76 S. 41).

Wörterverzeichnis.

Himmel	*lâu*	Regen	*godjõu*
Luft, Wind	*jâu*	Taifun	*mãlimdi*
Sonne	*jâlo*	Blitz	*worwõru*
Schatten	*nâru*	Donner	*bâdj*
Wolke	*mâwâlâu*	Regenbogen	*lalõâru*

[1] In Hollwigs Schiffstagebuch (Thilenius 1927, S. 145 Anm. 1) »Wâu« geschrieben.
[2] Brigham 1900, S. 62.
[3] Thilenius 1927, S. 243; vgl. auch Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 301.
[4] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 148.
[5] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 301.
[6] Thilenius 1927, S. 247.
[7] Vgl. auch Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364, ferner Petermanns Mitteilungen 1908, S. 137.

Welle	*lā*	Ozean	*jāūlfiho*
Flut	*ewār*	Sandstrand	*bī*
Ebbe	*ewāt*	Stein	*fāū*
Außenriff	*jāhlūn*	Erdboden	*jāūdjāli*
Riff	*wādjo*	Feld (vertieftes Tarofeld)	*woīā*
Lagune	*lādmo*	Weg	*jāle*
Insel	*jalā*		

Flora. Sievers[1] hebt den reichen Bestand an Kokospalmen hervor, Kulturpflanzen (s. auch S. 124) sind vor allem Feld- und Sumpftaro, Süßkartoffel.[2]

Baum	*kiri* (Krämer)	Fragraea	*ut*
Blatt	*djāl*	Tournefortia	*djāl*
Wurzelstock	*djabāl*	Pandanus	*fālh* (He.: *tās*)
Wurzelzweig	*wedāre*	Scaevola	*nat*
Kokospalme	*garanū* (Kr. *lūn*)	Cordia (Karolinenpappel)	*mōg*
Kokosschale	*ddrak*	Calophyllum	*rākeo*
Kokosfutter	*djō*	Taro	*pillā* (He.: *būlag, fūlag*)
inneres Kokosfutter	*jarāl*		
Brotfrucht	*māī* (He.: *haldāv*)	Barringtonia	*gūlō*
Wedelia	*vāle* (Kr.)	Hirtentäschel	*marat*
Crinum	*giop* (Kr.)	Unkraut	*gajelejāl*.
Trionfettia	*gorag* (Kr.)		

Fauna. Auffällig war die große Zahl von Wildtauben im Busch, während sich in den Siedlungen viele Hühner herumtrieben[3].

Hund	*kelāuk*	Hahn	*mālugumāl*
Schwein	*sflo*	Henne	*māluk* oder *mālugudjāwad*
Ratte	*gās*		
kleine Eidechsenart	*gumadjāl*	Kücken	*lāūle māluk*
große Eidechsenart	*darulubā*	Reiher	*kōror* (He.)
Schildkröte	*uōn*	Seeschwalben	*xdraxdre* (He.)
Fliege	*lān*	Fisch	*ik*
Ameise	*lōn*	Schuppen	*ūlāl*
Laus	*gūis*	Kiemen	*bōl*
Vogel	*māl*	Schwanz	*bādjāl*
Kopf	*jāūwal*	Vorderflosse	*baul*
Flügel	*baūl*	Rückenflosse	*inīle*
Schwanz	*ugūl* oder *janāl*	Bauchflosse	*lādjāl*
Feder	*ūlāl*	Hai	*bāro*
Fuß	*bādjāl*		

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364. [2] Thilenius 1927, S. 247. [3] Thilenius 1927, S. 247.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Noleai

Bevölkerungszahlen sind spärlich. Ihre Zusammenstellung ergibt folgendes Bild.

Jahr	Bevölkerungzahl	Quelle
1791	etwa 50	Hunter (nach Gulick S. 59)
1828	etwa 30	Lutké 1835, Vol. II S. 326.
1844	etwa 150	Cheyne 1852 S. 138.
1900	50	Brigham 1900 S. 62.
1903	48	Sievers Bd. II S. 364, 347; ferner Mitteilungen Deutsch. Schutzgeb. Bd. 17 S. 194/196, Deutsches Kolonialblatt Bd. 15 S. 12/14.
1909	60—80	Hamburger Südsee-Expedition.
1914	etwa 50	Finsch 1914 S. 64.
1930	113	Pacific Islands Pilot 1933 S. 501.

III. Demographie.

Anthropologisches. Die Eingeborenen erinnerten Sarfert auf den ersten Blick an Sorol-Leute. Dabei waren zwei Typen zu unterscheiden: ein breitköpfiger und stämmiger und ein schlanker, schmalköpfiger, letzterer war jedoch nicht so häufig. Auffällig waren die vielfach männlichen Züge bei Frauen; dieser Eindruck wurde noch durch die Haartracht verstärkt. Das leicht gewellte Kopfhaar wird nämlich sehr gern bis auf einen Teil über der Stirn kurz getragen, andere tragen es lang oder gescheitelt. Die Haartracht war also nicht einheitlich. So hat Miklucho-Maclay unter den ihn besuchenden Eingeborenen scheinbar keine kurzhaarigen gesehen, denn er schreibt, daß ihr gelocktes und krauses Haar große »Haubene bilde[1]. Es ist dabei wohl an die Tracht des Jünglings Rábelimár zu denken (s. Taf. 5). Die Haarstruktur erinnerte Miklucho-Maclay an die Eingeborenen der Inseln südöstlich Ceram; er schließt daraus, daß auf Aurepik eine Beimischung von Papuablut »unzweifelhafte ist.

Die Hautfarbe der Frauen ist im allgemeinen bedeutend heller als die der Männer, die Säuglinge waren fast so hell wie die Kinder von Europäern[2]. Miklucho-Maclay gibt die Hautfarbe der ihn auf dem Schiff besuchenden Eingeborenen mit Nr. 37 der Broca'schen Tabelle an.[3]

Hambruch versuchte vergeblich Messungen vorzunehmen, da den Eingeborenen die Instrumente unheimlich waren.[4]

Wörterverzeichnis.

a) Körperteile.

Zunge	*lduwe*	Augenlid	*walewõle mädẽt*
Mund	*jálak*	Ohr	*dallṍ*
Lippe (meine L.)	*dilleweñ*	Ohrläppchen	*blewi dálliṍe*
Nase	*wõti*	Stirn	*manṍ*
Septum	*sũreli wõti*	Kopf	*djlm*
Nasenloch	*biẽri wõti*	Augenbrauen	*fát*
Auge	*mdd*	Kopfhaar	*djlm*
		Zahn	*nt*

[1] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[2] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[3] Vgl. auch Thilenius 1927, S. 245.
[4] Thilenius 1927, S. 245.

Schnurrbart	*vâl*	Kehle	*farùôl*
Backenbart	*âlluseuôl*	Achselhöhle	*falibôl*
Kinnbart	*âllôs*	Achselhaare, Schamhaare	*kôv*
Wange	*dôb*	Schulter	*cfâr*
Kinn	*jât*	Brust	*âb*
Arm	*bâu*	Brustwarze	*dû*
Hand	*gumâk*	Bauch	*sâk*
Finger	*kâti*	Nabel	*wâs*
Daumen	*katilôb*	Rücken	*dâkur*
Zeigefinger	*katirôv*	Gesäß	*bâlu*
Mittelfinger	*katuldâk*	Penis	*vâi*
Ringfinger	*katisiwôk*	Vagina	*dôlo*
Kleinfinger	*katisîk*	Haut	*gîli*
Fingernagel	*kû*	Knochen	*djû*
Bein	*bâdje*	Blut	*djâ*
Unterschenkel	*mañôte bâdje*	Ader	*wâk*
Knie	*bugû*	Fleisch	*fidûk*
Wade	*sâral bâdje*	Speichel	*gût*
Fuß	*bâre bâdje*	Urin	*kalôlo*
Fußrücken	*wole bâdjeī*	Schweiß	*mîemi*
Sohle	*fale bâdjeī*	Träne	*djâm mêdei*
Ferse	*kabiribîl*	Kot	*bâk*
Zehen	*kabiribâdjeī*	Atem	*jân*
Hals	*âe*		
Nacken	*kabirigû*		

Psychologisches. Die Kürze des Aufenthaltes konnte nur Zufallsbeobachtungen auf diesem Gebiete ergeben. Die Eingeborenen verhielten sich von Anfang an den Weißen gegenüber freundlich, zuvorkommend und mitteilsam. Hellwig bemerkt dazu, daß es für ihn auffällig sei, wie selbst die Kinder und zwar selbst die Kleinsten keinerlei Scheu vor den Fremden zeigten, obgleich sehr selten Schiffe die Insel anlaufen (s. S. 109)[1]. — Wie wenig diese Leute von der Kultur berührt waren, geht auch daraus hervor, daß Hambruch an ihnen keinerlei anthropologische Messungen vornehmen konnte, denn Instrumente waren ihnen fremd und unheimlich.

[1] Thilenius 1927 S. 245.

117

Spezieller Teil.

I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung.

Körperpflege. Lästige Körperhaare werden mit zwei scharfrandigen Muscheln *(bélik)* abgekniffen, wie es z. B. von Polowat beschrieben wurde.

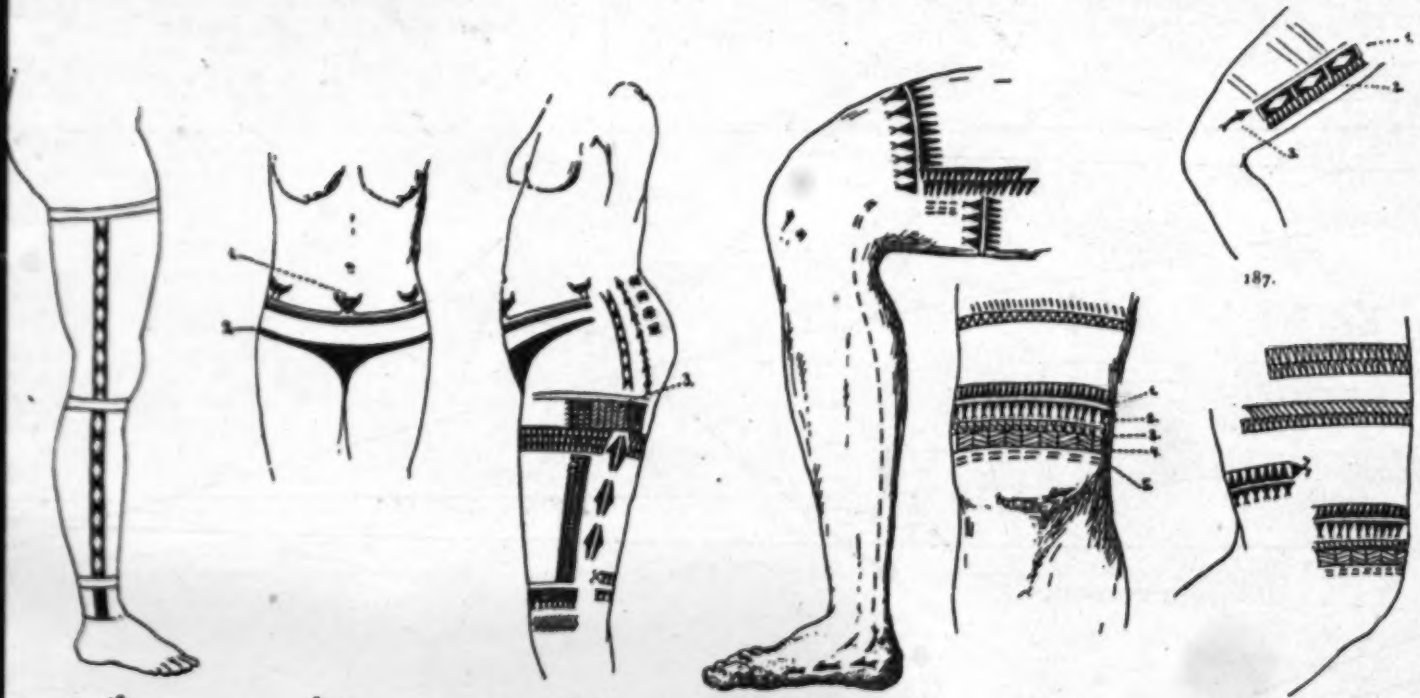
Körpertracht. Schnurrbart und Kinnbart wurden bei Einzelnen beobachtet (s. Taf. 5); über Haartracht s. oben.

Die **Tatauierung** war wesentlich reichhaltiger als etwa auf den Zentral-Karolinen z. B. Polowat und anderen Inseln. Sie erstreckt sich bei beiden Geschlechtern auf Arme und Beine, bei Frauen außerdem auf Lenden und Unterleib. Miklucho-Maclay stellte bereits fest, daß die Arme ober- und unterhalb des Ellenbogens in Gestalt von Armbändern tatauiert waren[1]. Frau Krämer zeichnete eine Reihe von Tatauiermustern der Frauen und Männer. — Tatauieren = *fálusər*, Tatauiermuster = *mák*, Tatauierkamm = *rallá*, Tatauierhammer = *dájo*. Tatauierfarbe wird aus Ruß, den man durch Verbrennen von *ólat*-Nüssen (Calophyllum) gewinnt, verfertigt. Vgl. die Abb. 184—191.

Schmuckgegenstände. Haarschmuck. 1. Im Haar werden die in den Karolinen allgemein üblichen Kämme getragen, vielfach sind sie noch mit Federn geschmückt (Taf. 5)[2]. — 2. Haarkränze aus Blütenzweigen werden gern von jungen Burschen getragen (Taf. 5).

Ohrschmuck. Die Ohrläppchen werden bei Knaben und Mädchen durchbohrt und durch Einführen von Spannringen aus Schildpatt (Abb. 192, 193) erweitert. Der Behang mit Schmuck aus Kokosnuß und Muscheln ist so stark, daß das Ohr nicht selten bis zu den Schultern in die Länge gezogen wird[3]. — Der gesammelte Ohrschmuck wurde allgemein mit *šáršu* (He.) bezeichnet. Form und Material waren ebenso reichhaltig wie etwa auf Ifaluk. So klemmte man kleine oder größere Schildpattringe in die Ohrlöcher oder man trug darin Gehänge von geschliffenen Conus-Deckeln bzw. -Ringen (Abb. 194). Am häufigsten waren Ohr-

[1] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[2] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[3] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.

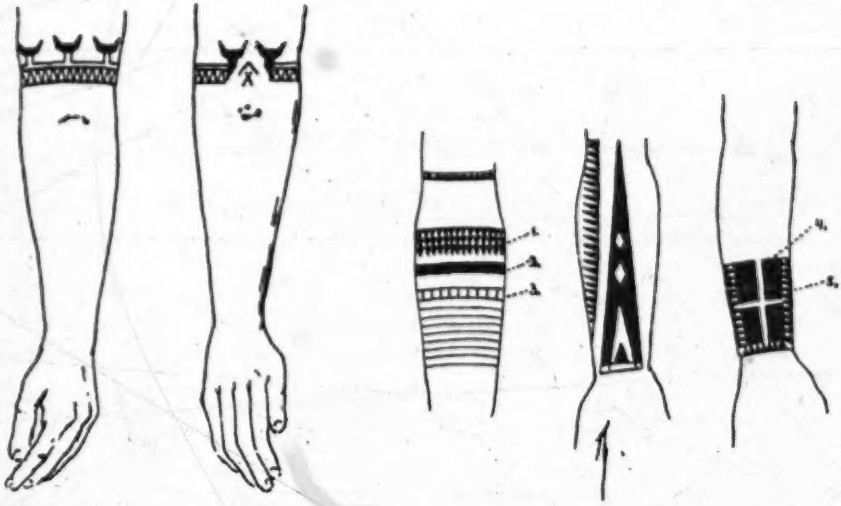


184. 185a. 185b. 186a. 186b. 186c. 187.

Abb. 184—187.

Abb. 184—187. Tatauiermuster (nach Skizzen Krämer). 184. Beintatauierung (dalivorá) eines Mannes. — 185a, b. Frauentatauierung; Muster 1 = waraliädjümo, 2 = vár, 3 = djunipa. — 186a—c. Beintatauierung einer Frau; Muster 1 = urepälirigé, 2 = garéb, 3 = lupädäligäi, 4 = djuripári, 5 = eirefige. — 187. Beintatauierung einer Frau; Muster 1 = baggajedre, 2 = raiaraije, 3 = kúa.

120



189a. 189b. 190a. 190b. 190c.

188. 191a. 191b.

Abb. 188—191.

Abb. 188—191. Tatauiermuster (nach Skizzen Krämer). — 188. Beintatauierung (golematz) eines Mannes. — 189a, b. Armtatauierung einer Frau, a innere, b äußere Seite. — 190a—c. Armtatauierung eines Mannes, a + b innere, c äußere Seite; Muster 1 = rädjaradj, 2 = makaroi, 3 = makagûbagûb, 4 = orai, 5 wie 1. — 191a, b. Handtatauierungen einer Frau.

ringe aus Kokosnußperlen oder -scheibchen, die sehr gern zu mehreren mit Schildpattringen zusammen getragen wurden (Abb. 195). Selten war dagegen eine Art spindelförmiger Hänger

192. 193. 194. 196. 195.

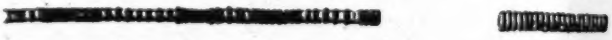
Abb. 192—196.

Abb. 192—196. Ohrschmuck. 192 und 193. Spannringe aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5366II, 5367II; ⅓ nat. Gr.). — 194. Conus-Ring (Hamburg 5339II, ½ nat. Gr.). — 195. Ohrgehänge aus Kokosperlen und Schildpattringen (Hamburg 5364II, ½ nat. Gr.). — 196. Ohrgehänge aus Kokosnuß- und Muschelscheibchen (Hamburg 5360II, ½ nat. Gr.).

(Abb. 196) von abwechselnd aufgereihten Kokosscheibchen (*daxax* He.) und Muschelplättchen (*läan* He.).

In der durchbohrten Nasenscheidewand werden Blumen und Blätter getragen[1].

Der Halsschmuck *(marremarre* He.) bestand aus Muschel, Kokosscheibchen und Kokosperlen, sei es, daß sie einzeln (Abb. 198) oder zusammen vermischt auf-



197. 198.

Abb. 197 und 198. Halsketten (Hamburg 220II bzw. 5347II, Länge 60 bzw. 76 cm).

gereiht waren. Ein typisches Beispiel dieser Art zeigt Abb. 197. Hambruch sammelte dieses Stück und erhielt dafür den Namen *tarrâk*, für die Kokosringe notierte er *tarrâk ururû*, für die Muschelringe *pfâle*. Von diesem Schmuck ist viel nach Osten verhandelt worden; die Polowat-Leute kauften ihn gern[2].

Blattknoten, wie sie Taf. 4 und 5 zeigen, hatten magische Bedeutung.

Die Armringe (He.: *lâxelâxe*, Kr.: *puósch)* waren aus Schildpatt (He.: *wóaθ*, Kr.: *uóth)*, breit und gerippt wie auf Polowat und andern Inseln; nicht so häufig sah man Armringe aus Tridacna[3].

Fingerringe (He.: *xalâxalax)* waren aus Schildpatt (Abb. 199, 200). Der auf Aurepik von Hellwig gesammelte und nachweislich von Faraulip stammende Neusilberring ist trotz des fremdartigen Materials ganz in der Art der einheimischen Ringe angefertigt worden.

---

[1] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295.
[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 40; vgl. auch dazu die Abb. 83, 85, 86, 89, 90.
[3] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 42.

Die **Kleidung** der Erwachsenen beiderlei Geschlechts bestand aus gewebten Lendenschurzen, deren Tragart[1] die Taf. 4 zeigt. Von den Kindern trugen die Mädchen einen Grasschurz, die Knaben gingen nackend oder legten den gewebten Lendenschurz der Männer um — a) Grasschurz (He.: *bánü*, Kr.: *pánnü)* wird von Mädchen vor der Pubertät getragen. Er besteht aus Pandanusblatt-

199. 200. 201. 202.

Abb. 199—202.

Abb. 199 und 200. Fingerringe aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5340II und 5329II, ½ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 201. Frauengürtel aus Kokosscheibchen (Hamburg 5336II, Länge 74 cm). — Abb. 202. Hut (Hamburg 5333II, Höhe 22 ½ cm).

streifen (He.: *vas)*, die an eine Kokosfaserschnur geknüpft sind — b) Gewebte Lendenschurze *(dôle)* bestehen aus Hibiscus- oder Bananenfasern (He.: *wuls, wûls)*, die letzteren sind im Vergleich zu ersteren weich und von seidigem Glanz und deshalb auch kostbarer. Die Muster sind ebenso mannigfaltig wie auf Ifaluk. Die im folgenden aufgezählten Matten wurden von Krämer mit dem Vermerk gesammelt, daß ihre Bezeichnungen von einem Faraulip-Mann stammen.

α) *dôr* (He.: *dórr);* Matte mit zwei schmalen schwarzen Randstreifen, in der Mitte zwei breite schwarze und zwei schmale rote Streifen[2].

β) *gâb;* Matte mit zwei schmalen schwarzen Randstreifen und einem ebensolchen breiten Mittelstreifen[3].

γ) *bâlou* zeigt Taf. 8 links Mitte.

δ) *dôro kîti* zeigt Taf. 8 links unten.

ε) *bêig;* Matte mit zwei schmalen roten Streifen im schwarzen Mittelfeld zeigt Taf. 8 links oben.

c) Hüftgürtel der Frauen: α) *xrîm* (He.) aus Menschenhaaren wie auf Ifaluk[4]. — β) *datâr* (He.) aus Kokosscheibchen, dreisträhnig und mit Schildpattstegen (Abb. 201). Diese Gürtel sind für Aurepik typisch; sie wurden nach Polowat verhandelt.

d) Hüte *(dôlivat)* aus zusammengenähten Pandanusblättern für Männer und auch Frauen (Abb. 202).

---

[1] Von Miklucho-Maklai (1877 S. 295) beschrieben.
[2] Sammlung Hamburg 5317. [3] Sammlung Hamburg 3028. [4] Sammlung Hamburg 5338.

124

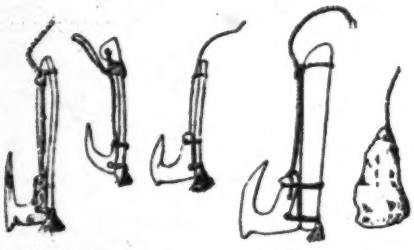
II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung.

Der Feldbau wurde in der gleichen Art betrieben wie auf den anderen niedrigen Inseln des Karolinen-Archipels. Die Felder waren mit Sumpftaro, gewöhnlichem Taro und Süßkartoffeln bestanden. An Fruchtbäumen pflegte man Kokospalmen und Brotfruchtbäume. Hellwig nennt noch als eßbare Pflanzen *jáxun* und *kópo*.

Zum Fischfang wurden benutzt:

a) Fischspeer *(kowuâ)*; es handelt sich um eine einfache Stange;

b) Angelhaken (Angelrute[1] = *wâu*, He.: *wahâu)* für den Fang von *xâli*, großen *čôp*, *mâdi*, kleinen *ätám* (He.). — 1. zusammengesetzter Haken *(bâ*, He.: *pâ)* verschiedenster Form (Abb. 203—205): Blänker aus Meleagrina (He.: *sâr)*, seltener *wâi*-Muschel (Abb. 206) oder Spondylus, Schildpatthaken *(wôad)*, Federfliege aus Federn des Fregattvogels *(xatáj)*, Schnur aus *âromā*-Faser. — 2. einfache Schildpatthaken *(gâuôdj)*. — 3. einfache Kokosnußhaken für den Fang des fliegenden Fisches *(mâñar)* bei Tage; als Schwimmer dient eine hohle Kokosnuß. — 4. Holzhaken *(gô)* für Haie.



203. 204. 205. 206. 207.

Abb. 203—207.

Abb. 203—206. Fischhaken (Hamburg 5322II, 5321II, 5325II, 5319II; ½ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 207. Fischköder (Hamburg 5344II, ½ nat. Gr.).

Die Haken werden in den bekannten Deckelkästen[2] (He.: *sâvo, sâlwo, sâlub, sâp, sâob)* aus Brotfruchtholz (He.: *kalâlw, xalâlu)* aufbewahrt.

c) Netze *(djôu*, He.: *srôu)* von der im Polowat-Band[3] abgebildeten Form; Hellwig gibt dazu an: Rahmen = *kattê*, Holz = *âû*, Verschnürung = *vâlwa*. — Der Stiel *(lb* oder *lboli mâñar)* wird erst kurz vor dem Gebrauch des Netzes festgebunden. Mit diesen Netzen fängt man nachts bei Fackelschein die fliegenden Fische *(mâñar)*.

---

[1] Sammlung Hamburg 5350.

[2] Sammlung Museum Hamburg 5351; vgl. dazu auch die Abb. 144/146 in Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 66.

[3] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 51.

d) Fischdrachen *(djoligodjáuk)* zum Fang des *dâx* (He.) mit einem Köder von Fischfleisch (?) (Abb. 207)[1] an drei bis vier Meter langer Leine.

e) Schlingen *(núm)* zum Fang von Haien wie auf Polowat[2].

Vor jedem Fischfang wurde Ráigumeń (S. 143) angerufen, dazu wurden ihm Opfer gebracht[3].

Jagd spielte keine Rolle. Ratten soll es auf der Inselgruppe nicht geben, deshalb fehlt auch die karolinische Art der Rattenfalle *(dâwis)*, wenngleich ihr Name bekannt ist. — Vögel werden entweder mit dem *djóu*-Netz (S. 29), das dann keinen Querstab besitzt, oder mit Schlingen *(núm)* gefangen. Von letzteren hat man zwei Arten: a) auf einen Holzstab gereihte kleine Schlingen, — b) eine an einen Stab befestigte Zugschlinge[4]. In diesem Zusammenhang sei der Schildkrötenfang genannt. Kann man das Tier an Land fangen, so wird es auf den Rücken gedreht, im Wasser sucht man ihm eine Schlinge über die Vorderfüße zu stecken. Das Rückenschild wird mit Feuer abgelöst.

An Haustieren hatte man lediglich Hühner; Hunde und Schweine fehlten. Die Haltung von gezähmten Tieren schien sich jedoch großer Beliebtheit zu erfreuen; so beobachtete Sarfert, wie sich ein Reiherpaar und zwei Seeschwalben im Bootshaus aufhielten und sich durch die Menschen nicht stören ließen, eine andere Seeschwalbe sah Hellwig in einem Boot zwischen Geräten angebunden[5].

Die Nahrung wird über dem offenen Feuer *(jâf)*; Brennholz = *uês*, Rauch = *buldk*, Asche = *madjódj)* geröstet oder im Erdofen *(jeldń)* gedämpft. Die Feuererzeugung erfolgt auf zweierlei Art: 1. durch »Pflügen«: der liegende Stab heißt dann *sine lâulti*, der stehende *lâul*, der ganze Apparat wird *lâultí* genannt; — 2. durch »Bohren«: der liegende Stab führt die Bezeichnung *sîl lidk*, der stehende *lâul lidk*, beide zusammen heißen *lidk*. — Hellwig erwarb eine »Feuerholzbüchse *(xuluxûl)* für Raucher«; sie ist aus Bambusrohr und besitzt einen Holzdeckel *(pilepîl)*, der mit einer Schnur am Boden befestigt ist (Abb. 208); es ist wohl eine Zunderbüchse, wie wir sie auch von Polowat kennen[6]. An Feuerfächern (Kr.: *sâipa)* gibt es drei Formen (vergl. Taf. 9 obere Reihe).

Wie das Feuer zu den Menschen kam, erzählt die folgende Sage. Der Donner fiel auf einen Pandanusbaum, der auf der Insel Yap stand, und kam von diesem Baum nicht mehr los[7]. Er hatte sich in den Blättern verfangen und flatterte wie ein Huhn hin und her. Da kam die Frau

Abb. 208. Bambusbüchse (Hamburg 5330II, Länge 27 ½ cm); die Schnur verläuft an der linken Außenseite. Abb. 208.

[1] Nähere Bestimmung durch das Zoolog. Staatsinstitut Hamburg war leider nicht möglich (Bescheid v. 9. Mai 1935).
[2] Sarfert und Damm 1929, S. 213, Abb. 97.
[3] Thilenius 1927, S. 245.
[4] Sarfert und Damm 1929, Abb. 98.
[5] Thilenius 1927, S. 247.
[6] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 63.
[7] Gemeint ist: Der Blitz schlug ein.

Medirâdi vorüber. Der Donner rief diese an und bat sie, ihn zu befreien. Doch die Frau weigerte sich aus Angst, sie könnte sich verbrennen. Der Donner versprach ihr, es nicht zu tun. Da befreite ihn die Frau. Der Donner sagte zu ihr: »Du verstehst ja gar nicht Feuer zu machen! Euer Essen schmeckt wirklich nicht gut!« So nahm er zwei Stöcke und zeigte ihr, wie man Feuer bohrt. Schließlich erklärte er ihr noch den Erdofen: sie solle ein Loch machen, das Feuer hinein- und das Essen darauf legen; nach einer gewissen Zeit werde dann das Essen gut sein. Wie der Donner das gesagt hatte, stieg er wieder in die Luft empor. Die Frau tat, wie ihr geheißen worden war, und erzählte auch den übrigen Menschen davon. Nun wußten sie alle, wie Feuer bereitet wird.

An Küchengerät hatte man zunächst den einfachen Handschaber (Kr.: *valegter)* aus Nautilus-Muschel (Abb. 209) und den dreibeinigen Kokosnußschaber (Ha.: *uəigánnu*, He.: *wáigaṅ*, Abb. 216). Hambruch notierte für die einzelnen Teile *perrák* = Muschel (He.: *pelig)*, *forrofor-* = Bindung, *uəigánnu* = Sitzbrett, *beramá* = Beine. Daneben gab es noch eine Art degenerierte Form, ein einfaches beinloses Sitzbrett mit angebundenem Hobeleisen.

Tarostampfer (He.: *faūrúpo)* aus Korallenstein (He.: *páraṅ)*, s. Abb. 211.

Kokosnußgefäße aus halben oder ganzen Früchten, dann mit und ohne Deckel *(bór*, He.: *pór)*, wurden viel benutzt vor allem für Wasser und Palmwein (Abb. 210).

Eßschüsseln (He.: *tapit*, Ha.: *tábbi)* aus *tralle*-Holz gibt es in verschiedener Form: a) einfach und bootförmig mit flachem Boden (Abb. 215) — b) durch Füße gehoben, mit »Nasen« versehen und teilweise stark ausgeweitet (Abb. 212—214).

An Körben zum Aufbewahren von Essen stellte Krämer folgende Arten fest:

a) *gádo* (Taf. 9 Abb. 5), ein hoher Henkelkorb,

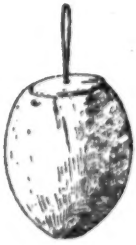
b) *a borów*, ein länglicher Henkelkorb aus gewöhnlichem Geflecht,

c) *dágu* (He.: *tūx)*, ein hoher Korb (Taf. 9 Abb. 4) mit »Zopf« am Boden,

d) *a boláu*, ein im Längsschnitt trapezförmiger Korb, ohne Henkel,

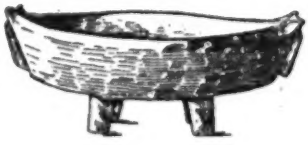
e) *léipo*, muldenartiger, henkelloser Korb (Taf. 9 Abb. 6).

209.

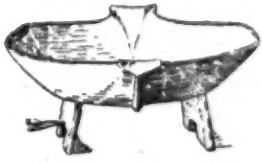


210.

211.



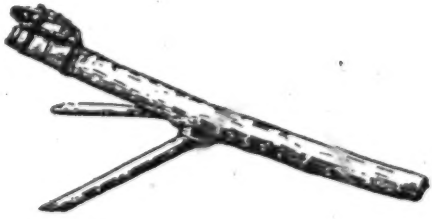
212.



213.

214.

215.



216.

Abb. 209—216.

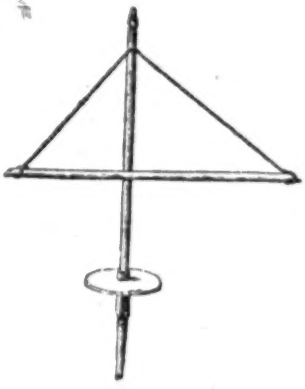
Abb. 209. Schaber aus Muschelschale (Hamburg 3027^{II}, ¼ n. Gr.). — Abb. 210. Gefäß aus Kokosnuß mit Holzdeckel (Hamburg 5365^{II}, Höhe 11 cm). — Abb. 211: Stampfer aus Korallenkalk (Hamburg 5341^{II}, Höhe 14 cm). — Abb. 212—215. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 217^{II}, Länge 48, Höhe 15 ½ cm; 5348^{II}, Länge 40, Höhe 15 cm; 5377 ^{II}, Länge 42 cm, Höhe 13 ½ cm; 5343^{II}, Länge 27 cm). — Abb. 216. Kokosnußschaber (Hamburg 218^{II}, Länge 47 cm).

III. Technik.

A. Die Holzbearbeitung erfolgte im Groben mit der Axt, die eine feste, nicht drehbare Muschelklinge *(dâlâ berêī)* besaß. Die Einzelteile heißen: Stiel = *imêīm*, Muschelklinge = *berêī*, Umschnürung = *fófo*.

B. Eine große Rolle spielte die Muschel- und Kokos-Scheibenherstellung Die Insel ist nach Dr. Born ein berühmtes Fabrikationszentrum von Spondylus-Scheiben und -Plättchen gewesen[1] und versorgte mit ihren Erzeugnissen einen großen Teil der Karolinen. Die zunächst durch Zerschlagen der Muschel entstandenen eckigen Stückchen werden durchbohrt und zwar die Kokosscheibchen mit dem Stabbohrer *(wârrewurr*, Abb. 217) mit Haizahnspitze (He.: *nilibágo)* und die Muschelscheiben mit dem Drillbohrer *(walupâûp*, Abb. 218), der eine besondere Schwungscheibe aus Schildkrötenknochen (He.: *šû lûwón)* aufweist und früher eine Steinspitze hatte, die dagegen jetzt durch eine Drahtspitze ersetzt ist. Während der Drillbohrer in senkrechter Stellung in Tätigkeit gesetzt wird, dreht man den Stabbohrer so mit der Handfläche auf dem Schenkel, daß seine Spitze schräg nach oben steht. Das Kokosplättchen preßt man mit der freien Hand gegen die Spitze. Die durchbohrten Plättchen werden nun auf eine gespaltene Kokosblattrippe gefädelt. Das Schleifen erfolgt auf einem Brett mit einem Korallenstein *(ðâaū)* unter

217.



218.

219.

Abb. 217—219.

Abb. 217. Stabbohrer; die Spitze ist durch eine besondere Basthülle geschützt (Hamburg 5345[II], Länge 32 cm). — Abb. 218. Drillbohrer mit Schwungscheibe (Hamburg 5346[II], Höhe 52 cm). — Abb. 219. Halbfertige Kette aus Kokosscheiben (Hamburg 5337[II], ½ nat. Gr.).

[1] Finsch 1914, S. 63.

2: Damm et al.

OR21 Woleai

öfterem Zugießen von Seewasser. Hellwig erwarb eine solche halbfertige Kette (Abb. 219) von dem elfjährigen Mädchen Maraŋ. Sie hatte der Schnur gerade den ersten Anschliff von etwa sechs Minuten Dauer gegeben, die beiden Enden wurden von ihr absichtlich unberührt gelassen.

C. An Flechtarbeiten wurden außer den bereits erwähnten Körben noch Täschchen (He.: *ɣapáč*) aus Pandanusstreifen geflochten[1] für Schmuck und dergl., vor allem wurden aber Matten angefertigt und zwar:

a) *ɣlagi*, aus schmalen Pandanusstreifen; doppelt gearbeitet, als Schlafmatten;

b) *glli* (Kr.: *gerri*, He.: *xedi*) aus den beiden Hälften eines Kokoswedels[2]; sie dienen als Schlaf- und Türmatten;

c) *tabachau* (Kr.), aus vier Wedelhälften doppelt gearbeitete Matte;

d) *jâs*, Dachmatten aus Kokoswedeln[3].

D. Die Weberei (weben = *dôdor*) spielte ehedem eine große Rolle als Hausgewerbe, heute ist diese Arbeit durch die Einführung europäischen Kattuns stark zurückgegangen. Das Material alter Zeit waren Bananen- (*ɣemies*) und Hibiscus-Fasern (*gulivâ*). Gewebe aus den erstgenannten sind besonders kostbar und genießen nicht zu Unrecht den Vorzug vor den gröberen Hibiscus-Geweben. Die Fasern werden mit einem Stock (Kr.: *bdüro*) geschabt, um sie geschmeidig zu machen (Abb. 220). Das Webmaterial wird in runden Körben (*gabâa*, He.: *xabâes*) aus Kokosblattstreifen aufbewahrt (Taf. 8).

Die Gewebe werden auf dem Horizontal-Webstuhl hergestellt, der den gleichen Spannkasten (Nr. 1—4 der Abb. 221) hat wie z. B. auf Satowal[4].

Abb. 220.

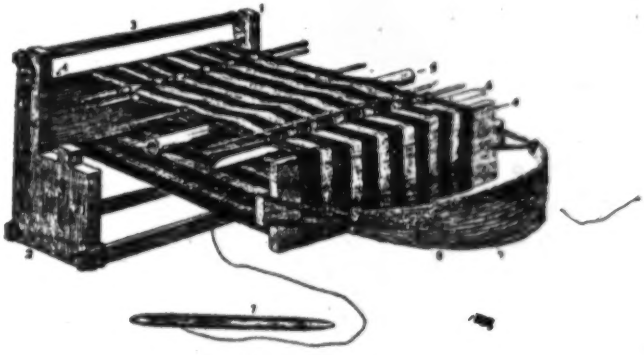


Abb. 221.

Abb. 220. Schabstock für Webfaser (Hamburg 3025II, Länge 81 cm). — Abb. 221. Webstuhl (Hamburg 219II, Höhe des Kastens 48 cm, Breite 72 cm).

[1] Museum Hamburg He. 5359, 5361.
[2] Museum Hamburg He. 5355.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5356, 3023, 3024.
[4] Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 195, 196.

Für die einzelnen Teile geben die Expeditionsmitglieder folgende Bezeichnungen:

Nr. der Abb.		Hambruch	Krämer
1.	Spannkasten	*ûnjá*	*buijallo*
2.	Fuß	*bothell e ûnjá*	—
3.	obere Leiste des Kastens	*thumall e ûnjá*	—
4.	Spannbretter	*berappá*	
	oberes		*babanúgun*
	unteres		*babaripálam*
5.	Trennstab aus Bambus	*tepañó*	
	dünner Holzstab	*ollotó*	
6.	Schwert	*chapob*	
7.	Schiffchen	*tibua*	
8.	Spanngürtel aus Kokosschnur *(xoloxále)*	*dále*	

Über die einzelnen Gewebe und ihre Muster s. S. 123.

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt.

Aurepik war ein wichtiger Handelsplatz für Spondylus-Schmuck (s. S. 128). Diese rote Muschel kommt hier so häufig vor, daß sie ein Haupthandelsartikel geworden ist und besonders stark von den Yap-Leuten angekauft wird, die dafür Gelbwurz zahlen. Rege Handelsbeziehungen bestehen aber auch nach Lamutrik, Ifaluk, Faraulip[1] und Polowat[2].

Die nautischen Kenntnisse der Aurepik-Leute standen nicht hinter denen anderer Karoliner etwa der Polowat-Insulaner zurück. Sarfert's Gewährsmann, der Kapitän Wasâu, hatte in seinem Eingeborenenboot alle Inseln zwischen Ngulu im Westen und Satowal im Osten besucht, desgleichen hatte er mit seinem Boot die Marianen-Inseln (Guam, Rota, Tinian und Saipan) angesteuert.

Sternhimmel (Stern = *fâis*)

1. Adler	*mâlŏb*	9. Drei Könige (im Orion)	*elâel*
2. Aldebaran	*âl*	10. Rabe	*serewŏl*
3. Plejaden	*mâregir*	11. Jungfrau	*dâmur*
4. Procyon	*mâl*	12. ?	*medârâ*
5. Orion	*ugelîk*	13. ?	*dagallbu*
6. ?	*wŏlago*	14. ?	*madje mâdŏl*
7. ?	*mâlŏb bardwân*	15. ?	*wŏlewŏl allbu.*
8. ?	*wŏlewŏl*		

Mond *mdrâm* (Neumond *lâgulaŏli mdrâm*, Vollmond *woninâbâli mdrâm*, abnehmender Mond *âlioldn*, zunehmender Mond *jâurugîli mdrâm*).

Die Strichrose von Aurepik zeigt Abb. 222. Die Ziffern 1—15 geben die Aufgangspunkte der in der obigen Liste unter der gleichen Nummer angegebenen Sterne an, ihre Untergangspunkte sind in 16—28 zu suchen (vgl. dazu Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 89).

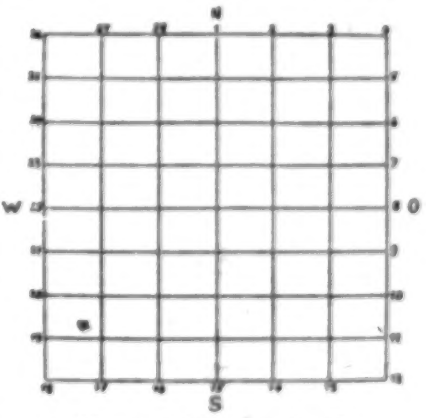


Abb. 222. Strichrose von Aurepik (nach Skizze Sarfert).

[1] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 296, vgl. auch Thilenius 1927, S. 248.
[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 38.

Die Namen der Himmelsrichtungen sind:

Norden	*jíwaṅ*	Nordwest	*lododwáṅ*
Osten	*chodú*	Nordost	*chodódwáṅ*
Süden	*jór*	Südwest	*lododr*
Westen	*ilodó*	Südost	*chodudru*

Segelkurse:

	Fahrt von	Fahrt nach	Kurs nach der Strichrose	Fahrtdauer bei gutem Wind in Tagen
1.	Aurepik	Oleai	19—4	1
2.	,,	Feis	13—24	5
3.	,,	Mogemog	12—25	7
4.	,,	Sorol	12—25	3
5.	,,	Ifaluk	18—2	2
6.	,,	Faraulip	18—5	2
7.	,,	Lamutrik	über Oleai und Ifaluk	?
8.	,,	Jap	über Feis und Mogemog	?
9.	Ifaluk	Lamutrik	21—2	1
10.	Mogemog	Jap	21—2	1
11.	Ngulu	,,	17—6	½
12.	Palau	,,	20—3	3
13.	,,	Songosor	6—17	?
14.	Songosor	Bur	6—17	1
15.	Bur	Chatowei (wohl Tobi)	6—17	?
16.	Songosor	Merir	8—15	1
17.	Lamutrik	Satowal	9—14	½
18.	Satowal	Polowat-Truk	15—1	3 + 3
19.	Polowat	Olol	17—6	die Inseln liegen in Sichtweite
20.	,,	Hol	8—15	1
21.	Truk	Lukunor	12—11	1
22.	,,	Murillo	18—5	1
23.	,,	Oroluk	15—1	3
24.	,,	Ponape	14—9	10

	Fahrt von	Fahrt nach	Kurs nach der Strichrose	Fahrtdauer bei gutem Wind in Tagen
25.	Oroluk (klein, unbewohnte Insel mit großem Riff, an dem bereits viele Schiffe gestrandet sein sollen.)	Mulegoás (klein, unbewohnt)	15—1	10
26.	Mulegoás	Chatâu (wohl Kusai)	15—1	20
27.	Chatâu (wohl Kusai)	Miseliôl	15—1	20
28.	Lamutrik	Saipan	16—7	5[1]

Diese Segelkurse zeigen die weit gespannte Kenntnis der Aurepik-Kapitäne *(damôl tôtt)*. Sie reichte ostwärts bestimmt bis nach Kusae (einheimischer Name Chatâu) und nach Ponape, hier Wulebêt genannt, wenn nicht noch weiter, nordwärts bis zu den Marianen, westwärts bis zu den Philippinen (Dawogân). Nach Eingeborenenaussage liegt Dawogân südlich von Chatowei[2] und soll viel größer und höher als Truk, Yap und Palau sein. Wie weit die Kenntnis südwärts reichte, läßt sich nicht sicher nachweisen.

Von Verschlagungen und Antreibungen wußten die Eingeborenen nichts zu berichten. Dagegen ist der eine wie der andere Fall aus der Literatur bekannt. Der Missionar Snelling trieb von Piherar aus im Eingeborenenboot 93(!) Tage lang umher, bis er Aurepik erreichte, von hier aus fuhr er dann nach Olean[3]. — Über die Verschlagung eines Aurepik-Bootes nach Hok s. Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 108.

Das Kanu *(ud)* ist ein Plankenboot von der typisch zentralkarolinischen Form. Die verschiedenen Bootarten haben besondere Namen, so fuhr Sarfert im *maiwôle* nach Uâu im Atoll. — Die Zahl der noch vorhandenen Boote ist jetzt sehr klein; auf der Hauptinsel waren drei große Segelboote und sieben kleine Kanus, auf der zweiten Insel befand sich ein kleines Boot. Lütke bzw. sein Begleiter v. Kittlitz beobachteten ehedem sviele Boote am Strand[4].

[1] Sarfert's Gewährsmann brauchte dazu wegen schlechter Windverhältnisse sogar 9 Tage.
[2] Es handelt sich hierbei wohl um Tobi, wie aus der Karte des Polowat-Kapitäns Igorâli zu ersehen ist (vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 203).
[3] Deutsches Kolonialblatt Bd. 17, S. 78.
[4] v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 163.

Die Bootsteile und Bootsgeräte führen folgende Bezeichnungen (vgl. dazu Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 109f.):

Boot *ud*
Bootinneres *niwud*
Kiel *djudigôb*
aufsteigender Kiel an den Bootenden *fadôwul*
Bug- und Heck-Aufsatz *mâdo*
Außenseite des Bootes
rote, vertiefte Fläche *lâniflôri*
schwarze erhabene Fläche *maodjôlo*
schwarzes erhabenes Band zwischen beiden *fâri*
Planke *dâ*
Auslegerbalken *dâm*
Auslegergabeln *jâmo*
Bindung *jarojâch*
Löcher im Ausleger für Verschnürung *wfewfo*
äußeres Querholz (s. Abb. 223) *wâlo-aielôbo*

Abb. 223.

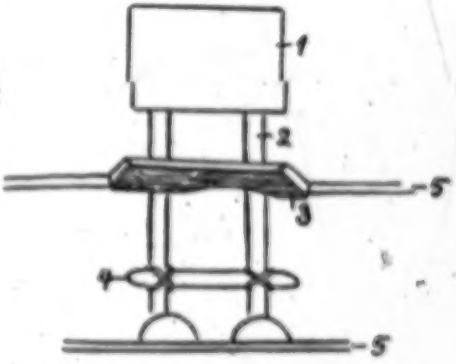


Abb. 224.

Abb. 223. Äußeres Querholz wâlaâelobo (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 224. Anbringung der Kanu-Plattform (nach Skizze Sarfert).

(es liegt mit seinen Enden zwischen je 2 Gabeln (s. Nr. 3 in Abb. 211 bei Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 111).
hinteres Querholz *waadso*
(parallel dem vorigen auf der dem Kanu zugewandten Seite der inneren Gabeln festgebunden)
Auslegerstöcke *chêdr*
Ausleger-Plattform *fâdai*
Rand davon *wôeli fâai*
Bretterwand auf Kanurand aufgesetzt *bêrdjo*
Randleisten dazu *mâle mâiâr*
Öffnung *lawâo*

Plattform der auslegerfreien Seite *ebôbe*
(Nr. 1 der Abb. 224)
Längsträger (Nr. 4 der Abb. 224) *walemôli*
Querbalken (Nr. 2 der Abb. 224) *suud*
hohes Querholz darauf (Nr. 3 der Abb. 224) *chaligissâ*
Kanurand (Nr. 5 der Abb. 224) *mesâpe*
Segel *âe*
Segelrahmen *iralâe*
Tau zum Ausleger *jaŋeldb*
Tau zum Bug und Heck *danegâdj*
Tau zum Festhalten des Segels *môli*
Rolle, durch die das *môli* läuft *haligirlh*
Tau zum Segel-Aufziehen *ulâle*
Mast *chaûis*
Ruder *jadâle*.

V. Haus und Dorf.

Hausarten. A) *fm*: Wohnhaus der Familie. Es stand in der Regel auf einem Steinunterbau und besaß Bretterwände mit Türen; die vorgebauten Giebelwände bestanden aus Matten, das Dach aus Palmwedeln.[1] Durch diese Vorbauten ergab sich ein sechseckiger Grundriß. — Daneben wurden auch kleinere Hütten *(imomâti)* zu ebener Erde beobachtet[2], die nur mit Matten verkleidet waren und auch keinen Giebelvorbau besaßen, also einen viereckigen Grundriß hatten. Wie Sarfert's Dolmetscher sagt, sollen diese Hütten den jungen Mädchen als Aufenthaltsort dienen. Dem steht jedoch eine Beobachtung Sarfert's entgegen, der auf Ulâu eine solche Hütte von einem alten Mann und seiner Familie bewohnt fand.[3]

b) *malâm:* Kochhaus; es ist nach allen Seiten offen, das kleine Giebeldach ruht auf vier Pfählen.

c) *fanud:* Kanuhaus; es ist nach allen Seiten offen; die Pfähle tragen ein schweres Dach. Die Kanuhäuser sind der Aufenthaltsort der Männer, denn eigentliche Männerhäuser gibt es nicht. Hier schlafen sie auch sehr häufig, wenn sie nicht gerade mit ihren Frauen zusammen sein wollen. — An der Lagunenseite wurden jedoch noch zwei kleine Pfahlhütten festgestellt (s. Taf. 7), die ebenfalls als Schlafhütten dienten und zum Schutz gegen die Moskiten auf Pfähle gesetzt waren.

d) *imbribel:* Bluthaus; es wird von den Frauen während der Menstruation bewohnt. Der Platz, auf dem diese Hütte steht, heißt *bâl*. Den Schiffskapitänen war das Betreten des Platzes wie der Hütte streng tapu, während dies angeblich für die andern Männer nicht gelten soll.

e) Häuptlingshaus. Diese Häuser fallen durch ihren gewaltigen, bis zwei Meter hohen und treppenartig ersteigbaren Steinunterbau auf, der zumeist wie das Haus einen sechseckigen Grundriß hat, doch kommen auch rechteckige und weniger hohe Plattformen vor (s. Taf. 6). Das südlichste von den drei Häuptlingshäusern steht noch auf einem besonderen kleinen Unterbau.

f) Geisterhaus: Das Geisterhaus des Râgumeñ ist scheinbar nichts anderes als ein auf den Boden gestelltes Blätterdach. Es stand auf einem abseits liegenden sauber gehaltenen Platz. In seiner unmittelbaren Nähe befindet sich die Grabstelle des Râgumeñ (s. S. 143).

[1] Eine ganz allgemein gehaltene Schilderung bei Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364.
[2] Thilenius 1927, S. 240. [3] Thilenius 1927, S. 246.

g) Hühnerstallungen fehlen, die Hühner schlafen im Freien.

Die Einzelteile eines Hauses sind:

Pfosten *sûre* (Nr. 1 der Abb. 225);

Mittelpfosten *naldwer* (Nr. 2), er trägt wie die zwei übrigen Mittelpfeiler den First, unterscheidet sich aber in nichts von ihnen;

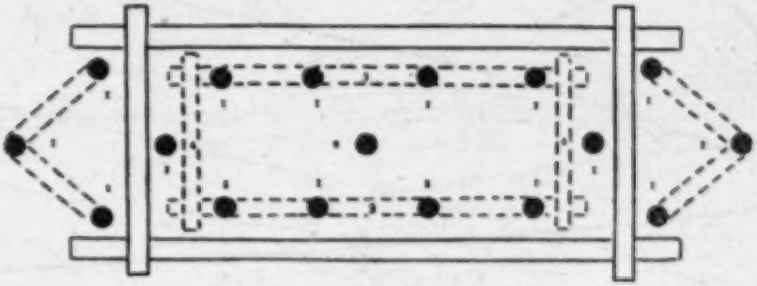


Abb. 225. Grundriß eines Wohnhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert).

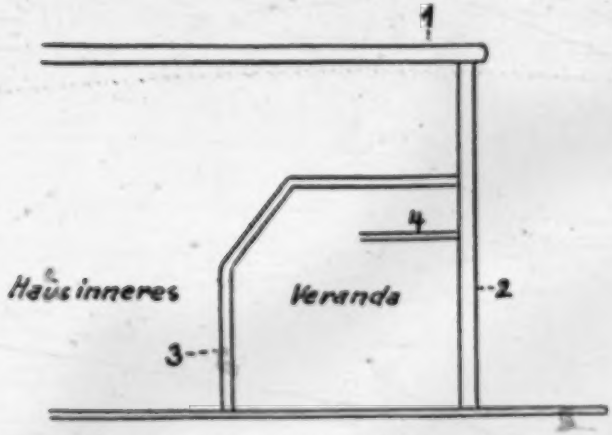


Abb. 226. Querschnitt durch einen Giebel (nach Skizze Sarfert). 1 = Firstbalken, 2 = letzter Mittelpfeiler, 3 = Wand, 4 = Gatterwerk.

Querbalken der Langseiten *darlelab* (Nr. 3), sie liegen auf den Pfosten auf;

Querbalken der Giebelwände *kôdom* (Nr. 4);

Auf den Querbalken der Langseite (Nr. 3) sind die dicken und im Querschnitt rechteckigen Dachträger festgebunden, auf diesen ruhen dünne, waagerechte Pfetten *(kabdnak)*, dünne senkrechte Dachsparren *(kâto)* und auf diesen liegen die Dachmatten *(jâso)*. Die Balkensetzung unterhalb der Wand (s. Taf. 6 unteres Bild) heißt *korddjo*.

Das Dach *(bōigilīm)* wird durch den Firstbalken *(dā)* gestützt. — Die Wände des viereckigen Hausinnern *(nīm)* sind senkrecht stehende Bretter, die einge-

Abb. 227.

Abb. 228.

Abb. 227. Kinderhängestuhl (Hamburg 5376II, 1/3 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 228. Kinderwiege (Hamburg 5322II, 1/3 nat. Gr.).

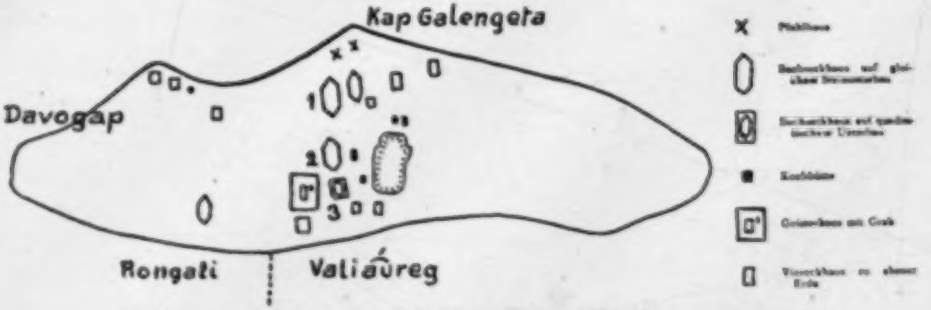


Abb. 229. Siedlung auf Aurepik (nach Skizze Krämer).

spannt sind. Die Giebelwände sind ebenfalls aus Brettern und sind von der Dachhöhe ab nach außen zu geneigt, jedoch nur für einen kleinen Teil und verlaufen dann horizontal als eine Art Dach für die Veranda. Dieses horizontale

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Stück bildet einen tiefen Raum zur Aufbewahrung von Sachen, z. B. lag darunter in dem einen Haus ein Boot. Unter diesem Veranda-Dach aus Brettern ist ein Gatterwerk *(niblɨ̀)* zum Ablegen von Sachen (vgl. Abb. 226).

Unter dem Hausrat fielen ein Kinderhängestuhl (He.: *xûr:* s. Abb. 227) und eine Kinderwiege (He.: *ûlólɛ, ōlólɛ,* s. Abb. 228) mit Pandanusmatte *(xɛ̂age)* auf.

Siedlungen bestehen auf der Hauptinsel und auf Uâu. Auf Aurepik verteilt sich die Bevölkerung auf zwei »Gehöfte« (Valiâureg [Kr.] oder Waliâudriγ [He.] und Roñali [Kr.]), die von nur wenigen Hütten gebildet werden (s. Abb. 229). Auf Uâu wird die Siedlung von zwei größeren Hütten gebildet, die auf hohen Steinplattformen stehen. Außerdem fand Sarfert noch ein kleines, mit Kokosmatten verhängtes Häuschen, das von einem alten Mann bewohnt war. Diese kleine Siedlung wird nach Eingeborenen-Aussage nur zeitweilig bewohnt.

VI. Waffen.

Der Speer ist als Waffe unbekannt; man hat lediglich den Fischspeer (S. 124). Die Steinschleuder *(kâule)* fehlt ebenfalls, man kennt sie jedoch von Truk. Allgemein gebraucht wird der Schlagring *(raserds)* in der bekannten karolinischen Form.

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur.

VII. Soziologie.

Über der engeren **Familie** stand die **Sippe.** Aufbau und Gliederung zeigten keinerlei nennenswerte Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Verhältnisse auf Polowat, so war z. B. die Sippe Wonĕī vertreten.[1]

Von den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen schrieb Sarfert folgende nieder:

Vater *domâl*

Mutter *sine (silĕī* = meine Mutter)

Bruder *wisîl*

Schwester *miandl* (bezeichnet das Verhältnis von Bruder zu Schwester und umgekehrt[2])

Gatte, Gattin *saligenĕī*

Sohn, Tochter *lĕī*

Vaterbruder *faduâl.*

Einehe ist die Regel. Vielehen sind selten; so fand Sarfert auf Uâu einen alten Mann, der mit zwei Frauen verheiratet war.

Bestattung. Der Tote wird in eine Matte eingewickelt und dann entweder in die Erde gebettet oder durch einen Stein beschwert ins Meer versenkt. Eine Beisetzung im Boot gibt es nicht! — Es gab besondere Begräbnisplätze.

Die **Geschichte** dieser Inselgruppe ist mit der Insel Yap aufs engste verknüpft. Wie Miklucho-Maclay erfuhr, »verdankt Aurepik einen großen Teil seiner Bewohner der Insel Japa[3]. Diese Tatsache ist auch in der Volksüberlieferung festgehalten worden, die berichtet, daß der Yap-Mann Chôiss nach Aurepik fuhr und dort aus der Spondylus-Muschel Menschen beiderlei Geschlechts schuf[4]. (Eine andere Version über die Menschwerdung s. S. 142.) Kann somit Chôiss (Chôs) als der erste Häuptling *(damôl)* angesehen werden, so ist sicher sein Sohn Râigumen, der heute göttliche Verehrung genießt (s. S. 143), sein Nachfolger gewesen. — Lütke nennt als Herrscher über Aurepik und einige ostwärts gelegene Inseln den Häuptling »Roouae[5].

---

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 155 ff.
[2] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 295/296.
[3] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 143.
[4] Vgl. Thilenius 1927, S. 245.
[5] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 344.

Die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition konnte noch folgende Häuptlingsreihe ermitteln. Baluelap als Nachfolger des Ligowûw, des Mannes der Urmutter (s. Religion), dann Solâñ, Ellulué, Módj, Ârûdâl (Erídal); über sie alle wußten die Eingeborenen nichts Näheres anzugeben, dagegen ist der Sohn des Ârûdâl namens Jadóa (Jâdowuá) als Häuptling noch in bester Erinnerung, denn unter ihm jagte ein Taifun über die Insel, der so schwere Zerstörungen anrichtete, daß die überlebenden Eingeborenen, um einer Hungersnot zu entgehen, nach Oleai fuhren und hier etwa zehn Monate blieben. Als nach dieser Zeit die Aurepik-Leute unter Mañeluá wieder in ihre Heimat zurückfuhren, blieb Jadóa in Oleai und starb auch hier. Von den Heimkehrern wurde sein Sohn Fagíl Häuptling. Ihm folgte sein Sohn Medâk, der noch 1909 regierte (s. Taf. 5).

142

VIII. Religion.

Das **Weltgebäude** zerfällt nach Auffassung der Insulaner in drei Teile: den Himmel *(rân)*, die Erde *(selôb)* und die Unterwelt *(ilôl* oder *faliolôl)*.

Die **Götterwelt.** Als Schöpfer des Weltalls gilt Solál. Er errichtete einen Baumstamm, kletterte bis zur Mitte empor und schuf dort die Erde als Scheibe mit all ihren Inseln und Meeren. Dann kletterte er weiter und errichtete an der Spitze des Stammes horizontal zur Erde ausgerichtet den Himmel. Als er fertig war, hieß er seinen jüngeren Bruder Älülôb, der mit Nimogél verheiratet ist, zum Himmel hinaufgehen und dort König sein, während er selbst König der Unterwelt bleiben wollte. Hier wohnen viele Menschen und die Sonne scheint nachts. Solál ist aber auch der Gott des Meeres.

Älülôb übergab die Regierung schließlich seinem Sohn Lugelâṅ, der nunmehr der Himmelskönig ist. Seine Frau ist Idämälûl. Lugelâṅ arbeitet nicht, sondern schaut beständig nach den Menschen aus. Sieht er, daß ein Inselhäuptling nicht dafür sorgt, daß seine Leute gut sprechen und gut handeln, so zerstört er die Insel durch einen Taifun. — Sein Sohn Olofâd ist der Himmelsbote, er wandert stetig umher und sieht auf der Erde nach dem rechten. Er berichtet dann seinem Vater Lugelâṅ, der den Himmel nie verläßt.

Auch auf Aurepik herrscht die Vorstellung von einem großen Geist Yâṅelap, der in Kadjebâr[1] sein »Haus« hat. Ihm sind ein großer Teil der mikronesischen Inseln tributpflichtig z. B. Mogemog, Feis, Sorol, Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal, Polowat, Hok, Truk, Pingelap, Kâtau (= Kusai?), Imâl, Meseliól u. a. Inseln, denn er hat die Inseln bevölkert. So sagte er zu einer Frau: »Du gehst nach diesem Platz!«, und zu einer andern sprach er: »Du gehst nach jener Insel und zeugst Kinder!« So gingen die betreffenden Frauen mit ihrem Mann nach der bezeichneten Insel und bevölkerten sie. Die Urmutter von Aurepik hieß Ligowurieliél, ihr Mann war Ligowûw, die Namen ihrer Kinder sind unbekannt. — Einen andern Bericht über die Menschwerdung und Besiedlung von Aurepik gibt Hambruch auf S. 143.

Yâṅelap verläßt sein Haus nicht, doch steigt er von Zeit zu Zeit in die Höhe und schaut nach seinen Inseln aus. Sie alle bringen ihm Tribut in Form von Matten, Schüsseln und dgl. Die Fahrten wurden von den Oleai-, Ifaluk-, Faraulip-, Lamutrik-, Satowal- und Aurepik-Leuten gemeinsam unternommen und zwar

[1] Es ist Aṅebâr auf Yap (vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 198).

von Oleai aus. Hier sammelten sich die Boote und fuhren dann über Feis—Mogemog nach Kadjebâr. Der »König« dieses Wallfahrtsortes bringt dann den Tribut ins Haus von Yâñelap, wo er unberührt liegen bleibt und verrottet. — Als die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition auf Aurepik weilte, war ein Teil der Insulaner nach Kadjebâr gefahren, doch hatte sie der König zur Arbeitsleistung nach Nauru geschickt, nur einer von ihnen war auf Yap geblieben.

Hambruch erfuhr auf Aurepik noch eine Sage, die auf Yâñelap Bezug nimmt und die Menschwerdung auf unserer Insel schildert, andererseits wirft sie ein interessantes Licht auf die Entstehung von Gottheiten. Yâñelap hieß den Yap-Mann Chôiss nach Aurepik fahren und dort aus einer Spondylus-Muschel Menschen erschaffen. Chôiss bekam selbst einen Sohn, den er Rãgumẽñ nannte. Dieser ist der eigentliche Gott der Seefahrer; er wird bei Antritt einer Seereise, bei Taifungefahr und vor Ausfahrt zum Fischfang angerufen. In seinem Haus hingen mancherlei Opfergaben (Kopfkränze, Matten, Kokosnüsse), in unmittelbarer Nähe der Hütte war seine Grabstätte, die mit Steinen eingefriedet war und sorgfältig betreut wurde.[1]

Das **Totenreich.** Die Toten schweifen unsichtbar als Geister *(âlläs)* umher, entweder halten sie sich auf der Erde auf oder sie fliegen durch die Lüfte wie der Wind. Andere Vorstellungen, wie sie auf Bur, Merir und Songosor bestehen, fehlen. König über Lebende wie Tote ist Lugelâñ.

[1] Vgl. Thilenius 1927, S. 245.

144

IX. Verschiedenes.

Spielzeug und Spiele. a) *bagisöfisôf:* Spielbogen,
b) *ganíni*: Schwirrer aus einem zusammengebogenen Kokosblattstreifen,

Abb. 230. Schwirrer (nach Skizze Sarfert).

über den ein Bügel aus einer Kokosblattrippe gespannt ist (s. Abb. 230). — Das Schwirrholz ist unbekannt.

c) Außer Fadenspielen wurde auch ein Handklatschspiel beobachtet.

Zeiteinteilung. Das Jahr hat zwölf Monate, die sich auf die beiden Jahreszeiten *rák* (auch *ledják)* und *niłwän* verteilen. Die Monatsnamen sind:

rák	*niłwän*
1. *ál*	7. *dûmul*
2. *elûel*	8. *mädjîk*
3. *mál*	9. *mâlöb*
4. *łt*	10. *sôda*
5. *serewôl*	11. *nâke*
6. *eremâis*	12. *gûi*

Jeder Monat hat dreißig Tage:

1. *sigorû*
2. *elłîn*
3. *mädjälâne*
4. *mädjâle*
5. *mädjaſis*
6. *mädjaūâle*
7. *mädjadłu*
8. *jamedâle*
9. *jabêī*
10. *djławon*
11. *jârowugû*
12. *wolawûl*
13. *wolomâu*
14. *mâdj*
15. *ûre*
16. *nêdu*
17. *kilêī*
18. *kalaūd*
19. *sâbâdj*
20. *jäſaldk*
21. *koseldn*
22. *karodâli äjälâk*
23. *sabâri meīmûri*
24. *kilêī* (wie der 17. Tag!)
25. *somalô*
26. *somâlifâl*
27. *jârofü*
28. *jôu*
29. *iſälń*
30. *etâfi.*

Von den Tageszeiten wurden folgende genannt:

nísoro oder *nimáliðl* etwa 6 Uhr
suoródl etwa 7 Uhr
jäfäldk etwa 11 Uhr
uðle etwa 12 Uhr
jabðl jädolowdu etwa 13 Uhr
jädeligódj etwa 18 Uhr
niwardwe abends.

140

X. Zur Sprache.

Personalpronomen:

ich *châṅ* du *chêl* er *ilâl*
ihr *gâmi*

Zahlworte.

1	*sâu*	2000	*ruaṅârâs*
2	*ruôu*	3000	*seliṅerâs*
3	*selâ*	4000	*faṅerâs*
4	*faū*	5000	*limaṅerâs*
5	*limôu*	6000	*olaṅerâs*
6	*olôu*	7000	*fisiṅerâs*
7	*fisâ*	8000	*waliṅerâs*
8	*walâ*	9000	*diuaṅerâs*
9	*duôu*	10000	*sân*
10	*sâch*	20000	*ruân*
20	*ruêīch*	30000	*selûe*
30	*selīch*	40000	*fân*
40	*faich*	50000	*limân*
50	*limêīch*	60000	*olôn*
60	*olêīch*	70000	*fisûr*
70	*fisīch*	80000	*walīn*
80	*walīch*	90000	*diuân*
90	*diuêīch*	100000	*selôwu*
100	*sawûgu*	200000	*rualôwu*
200	*ruowûgu*	300000	*selilôwu*
300	*seliwûgu*	400000	*falôwu*
400	*fawûgu*	500000	*limalôwu*
500	*limowûgu*	600000	*ololôwu*
600	*olowûgu*	700000	*fisilôwu*
700	*fisuwûgu*	800000	*walilôwu*
800	*waliwûgu*	900000	*diualôwu*
900	*diowûgu*	1000000	*sâṅit*
1000	*saṅârâs*	2000000	*ruâṅit*

3000000 *selïnit*
4000000 *fdnit*
5000000 *limdnit*
6000000 *oldnit*
7000000 *fisïnit*
8000000 *wallnit*
9000000 *diudnit*
10000000 *ndrâuli mañerâul*
fertig *jarôt*

Adjektiva.

blau	*rälaüeldu*	lang	*daüolôch*
blind	*mädimdsur*	mager	*bât*
fett	*faregit*	naß	*djôch*
gelb	*ämâu*	rot	*edjâ*
groß	*jaülôb*	schlecht	*ändu*
grün	*ämâur*	schwanger	*siâle*
gut	*mamâi*	schwarz	*arudjôl*
gesund	*dare medâch*	stumm	*jadaimaltli*
kalt	*fôu*	taub	*derrinewâd*
klein	*senûti, jetil*	tot	*samds*
krank	*medâch*	trocken	*bâle*
lahm	*gäsiwosûb*	weiß	*äbôs*
		warm	*buâs*

Adverbien.

gestern	*lalôu*	hier	*ïga*
morgen	*laüû*	dort	*igeldl*
heute	*lalêï*	ja	*nâ*
jetzt	*ïgelâ*	nein	*idoût*

Verben.

aufstehen	*suddch*	reden	*gebâd*
beischlafen	*fâ*	riechen	*nûli*
essen	*mûno*	rudern	*fâdüle*
flechten	*fâufâu*	rufen	*jâlach*
fliegen	*jâli*	sehen	*ibïbi, iwêli*
gähnen	*mâlegadôl*	sitzen	*mâto*
geben	*iwiganôch* (= ich gebe Dir)	singen	*warûch*
		schlafen	*madjûr*
gehen	*sälôch*	schlagen	*wâuwô*
hören	*loñelôñ*	tatauieren	*fâlufer*
husten	*föfâch*	trinken	*ûl*
kommen	*wûdoch*	weben	*dôdor*
kriechen	*gelâch*	weinen	*dâñ*
lachen	*fâdj*	werfen	*galôwu*
		zählen	*wâdewad*

(148 is blank)

149

Faraulip.

Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Prof. Dr. Paul Hambruch
bearbeitet von Dr. Hans Damm.

(p. 150 is blank)

151

Faraulip.

Allgemeiner Teil.

I. Äußere Geschichte.

Die Zeit der Entdeckung dieser Inselgruppe liegt nicht sicher fest. Nach Krämer ist die von Francisco Lezcano 1686 gesichtete Insel, die dieser »Carolina« taufte und deren Lage auf der Kompaßkarte des Piloten Somera 1710 erstmalig festgehalten wurde, »wahrscheinlich Fároilap«, also unser Faraulip[1]. Er geht damit über Meinicke[2] hinaus, der die Entdeckung dem Spanier Rodriguez 1696 zubilligt. Sichere Kunde von dieser Inselgruppe brachten 1696 nach Guam verschlagene Fais-Leute, von denen Pater Clain unterm 10. 6. 1697 berichtet. Diese Eingeborenen kannten die Hauptinsel unter dem Namen »Piraulop« und eine zweite nordwestlich davon im Riffkranz gelegene als »Pic«[3].

1804 besuchte Luis de Torres[4] von den Marianen aus die Gruppe. Sie verschwand jedoch wieder aus dem Gesichtskreis der Entdecker und Lütke mußte regelrechte Nachforschungen nach ihr anstellen. So erklärt es sich, daß Lütke vielfach in späterer Literatur als der eigentliche Entdecker geführt wurde und auch heute noch geführt wird[5]. Am 28. März 1828 morgens fand Lütke das Atoll »Farrollap«, wie es ihm von den Eingeborenen bezeichnet wurde. Daneben gibt er noch »Fattoilap« an. Diese Schreibung geht wohl auf den Eingeborenen Kadu aus »Ulle« (wohl Oleai) gebürtig zurück; er schreibt Fatoilep[6]. Am 16. Dezember des gleichen Jahres besuchte er diese Inselgruppe zum zweitenmal, ohne jedoch

---

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. 1, S. 13, 70.
[2] Meinicke 1888, Bd. 2, S. 358.
[3] Krämer 1917, Bd. 1, S. 15.
[4] Nach Krämer 1917, Bd. 1, S. 132, Anm. 1. — Er war der 2. Gouverneur auf den Marianen; seine wichtigen völkerkundlichen Aufzeichnungen über die Karoliner hat Chamisso im 3. Teil des Werkes von Kotzebue in deutscher Übersetzung gebracht (vgl. v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. II S. 130).
[5] Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon 1920, Bd. 1, S. 600; Gulick (Ms.).
[6] Vgl. v. Chamisso bei v. Kotzebue Bd. III 1821 S. 94, Bd. II S. 84.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

irgendwelche völkerkundlichen Beobachtungen machen zu können, denn sein Gewährsmann Alberto (vgl. S. 192) vom ersten Besuch war nicht da[1].

Von den Teilnehmern der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition weilte Hambruch vom 4. bis 18. November 1909 auf der Insel.

Wann sich die ersten Händler auf der Insel niederließen, ist nicht bekannt. 1909 unterhielten japanische Koprahändler eine Station auf Pik und hatten auch einen Kutter im Bau.

---

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 130, 298; v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 151, 417. — Brigham (1900 S.64) gibt das Jahr der Entdeckung durch Lütke irrtümlich mit 1818 an. — Nach Meinicke (1888, Bd. II, S. 358) hat »ein neuerer Seefahrer« die Insel »Gardner« genannt; welcher damit gemeint ist, war nicht festzustellen.

153

II. Geographie.

Wie oben bereits erwähnt wurde, ist der **Name** der Insel in einheimischer Mundart dem Abendland bekannt geworden und zwar als »Piraulop«. v. Chamisso gibt nach Luis de Torres die Schreibung mit Farruelap und Faroilep, nach dem Eingeborenen Kadu (s. S. 151) mit Fatoilep an[1]. Auch Lütke bediente sich der Eingeborenenbezeichnung »Farroilap«. Finsch machte daraus Faraulap[2]. Faroilap findet sich auch bei Meinicke, der jedoch als Hauptstichwort seines Verzeichnisses Faraulep wählt[3]. Diese Schreibung hat sich damals stark eingebürgert[4] und veränderte sich schließlich zu Faraulip, wie der Inselname auch von den Teilnehmern der Südsee-Expedition zumeist gehört wurde[5], daneben wurden noch folgende Aussprachen notiert: Faráulop und Faróilap (He.), Farûilôp, Farôilep, Fa-tja-ü-napo und Fatjaunapo (Ha.) sowie Fadjáumaep (Kr.)[6].

Das erste **Kartenbild** dieser Inselgruppe stammt von Lütke (s. Abb. 231), es hat die Unterlage für alle späteren Inselkarten (Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, Japanische Regierungskarte 1925; vgl. Abb. 232) gebildet.

Lage und Größe. Die Längen- und Breitenangaben von Faraulip gehen aus der Zusammenstellung hervor:

	nördliche Breite	östliche Länge
v. Chamisso (in v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 94)	8° 3′	144° 30′
Lütke (nach Karte)	8° 34′ 57″	215° 32′ 45″
Meinicke (1888 Bd. II S. 358)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Gulick (1862 S. 59)	8° 34′	144° 37′
Brigham (1900 S. 64)	8° 36′	144° 36′
Sievers (1900 Bd. II S. 364)	8° 40′	144° 35′
Kolonial-Lexikon (Bd. I S. 600; südlichste Insel)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Japanische Karte 1925	8° 35′ 45″	144° 33′ 16″

[1] v. Chamisso in v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 94.
[2] Finsch 1914, S. 64. [3] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 358.
[4] Auch bei Gulick (Ms.); Brigham 1900, S. 64; Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364; Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 503; Japan. Regierungskarte 1925.
[5] So auch bei Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364 und im Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. I, S. 600.
[6] Thilenius 1927, S. 258.

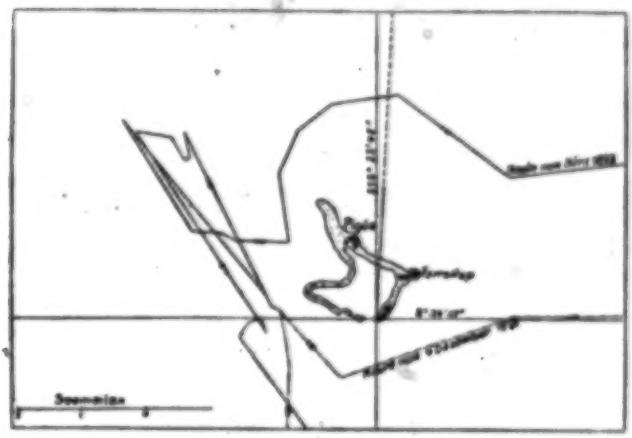


Abb. 231. Karte von Faraulip (nach Lütke 1828).

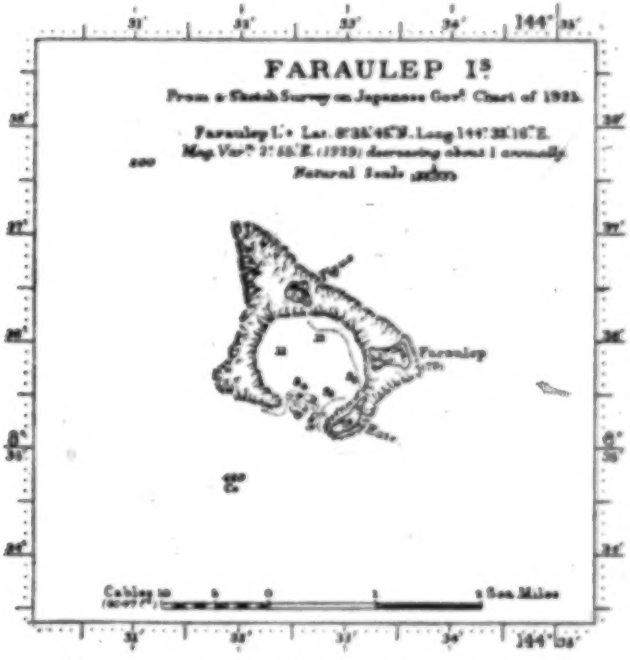


Abb. 232. Karte von Faraulip (Japan. Regierungskarte 1923).

Die **Gliederung der Inselgruppe** erkannte bereits Lütke als die eines typischen Korallenatolls von nicht mehr als 4 Meilen Umfang mit drei Inselchen[1]. Hellwig schildert sie in seinem Tagebuch sehr plastisch und mit der ihm eigenen Genauigkeit: »Das Atoll mit seinen drei länglichen, nach innen etwas ansteigenden, dicht bewaldeten Inseln, mit der in dunkelblau mit hell- und dunkelgrünen Streifen und ihren gelblich durchschimmernden Sandbänken und gelben Strandlinien leuchtenden Lagune endlich das Riff, außen scharf umzeichnet, von den gleißend weißen Schaumketten einer im Lee besonders mächtigen Brandung[2].« Bemerkenswert ist die Angabe, daß die Inseln nach innen etwas ansteigen, auf der Hauptinsel Faraulip erreicht diese Steigung 23,8 Meter[3]!

Das Atoll besteht aus drei Inseln: der Hauptinsel Faraulip und der nächstgrößten Pfx (Piko [Ha.], Pig [Marineamt], Pigue [Pacific Islands Pilot]), die beide bewohnt sind; die kleinste und südlichste Insel, Eád (Eatto [Ha.], Eat [Marineamt], Eate [Meinicke, Pacific Islands Pilot, Japanische Karte]) mit Namen, war nach Hambruch's Erkundungen ehedem ebenfalls bewohnt, ist aber nach den noch erkennbaren Verwüstungen eines früheren Taifuns nicht wieder besiedelt worden[4].

Drei schmale und nur für Boote befahrbare Passagen machen die Lagune von der Südseite her zugänglich[5].

Die Eingeborenen machten Hambruch folgende Angaben: a) Inseln: 1 = Faraulip, 2 = Pfx, 3 = Eád; b) Meere: 4 = lamm, 5 = nuguiborro; c) Riffe: 6 = madonnefjefan, 7 = fall lipig, 8 = furoú, 9 und 10 = pallepall, 11 = thawuorró, 12 = madonnefjóu; d) Passagen: 13 = tafualiáp, 14 = tafuleuleá, 15 = tafegiddegidd.

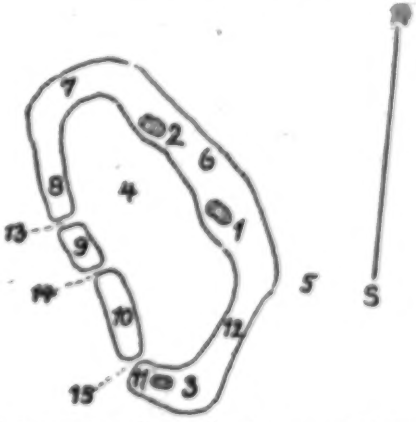


Abb. 233. Skizze des Atolls mit den von den Eingeborenen näher bezeichneten Teilen (die Ziffern sind im Text erläutert).

Die **Bevölkerungszahl** ist nie bedeutend gewesen, auf welche Angaben sich jedoch Gulick und Meinicke stützen, die die Inseln als unbewohnte angeben, ist unerfindlich[6]. In Wirklichkeit ist lediglich die kleinste Insel Eád unbewohnt

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 130. Von Brigham (1900, S. 64) und Sievers (1910, Bd. II S. 364) übernommen. – Meinicke (1888, Bd. II S. 358) gibt den Umfang mit nur einer Meile an.
[2] Bei Thilenius 1927, S. 249.
[3] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 503; vgl. auch Thilenius 1927, S. 259.
[4] Thilenius 1927, S. 259.
[5] Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 503.
[6] Gulick (Ms.); Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 358.

und vermutlich auch erst seit wenigen Jahren (s. S. 155). Es liegen folgende Zahlenangaben vor:

Jahr	Gesamt	Faraulip	Pfn	Bemerkungen	Quelle
1828	etwa 60				Lütke 1835, Vol. II, S. 326.
1903/4	121			1 eingeb. Händler	Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 347, 364; Finsch 1914, S. 64.
1909	155	96	59	davon 14 auf Yap	Hamburger Südsee-Expedition.
1912	80				Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. I, S. 600.
1930	145			dazu kommen 10 Japaner	Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 503.

Auffällig ist der bald 50% betragende, starke Rückgang zwischen 1909 und 1912. Dieser Ausfall ist wohl kaum auf reiselustige Insulaner zurückzuführen, vielmehr scheint sich darin doch der fortschreitende Zerfall der Bevölkerung auszudrücken, auf den bereits Sievers[1] hinweist und der nach Hambruch in alter Zeit seinen eigentlichen Grund in fortwährenden einheimischen Kriegen hatte[2].

Wörterliste.

Himmel	*ūeneŋ*	Brecher	*lā*
Luft	*oiutjdr*	Sonne	*eāl*
Wolke	*raniñan*	Schatten	*χdlu*
Regen	*eborogorō*	Tag	*rāl*
Wind	*eañl*	Mond	*mardm*
Taifun	*siwuri mani muri*	Neumond	*ejā rāχ*
Nordost-Passat	*nieſdn*	Vollmond	*urūl*
Südwest-Passat	*netjāχ*	abnehmender Mond	*ebi rāχ*
Südost-Passat	*oiruldp*	zunehmender Mond	*ejā lān*
Regenbogen	*noiridr*	Erdboden	*mordro*
Welle	*nalageldχ*	Sand	*pl*
Flut	*eja bāro*	Stein	*fālu*
Ebbe	*eja wāl*	Strand	*oolidi*
Nordwest-Dünung	*lāū bāubāū*	Riff	*reidi*
Südwest-Dünung	*lāū mazerlχ*	Insel	*eroliđi*

Flora. Von dem malerischen Anblick, den das dicht bewaldete Faraulip auf den Reisenden macht, berichtete bereits Hellwig in beredten Worten[3], in der Tat

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 347. [2] Thilenius 1927, S. 260. [3] Thilenius 1927, S. 249.

ist die Flora an Arten reich vertreten. Sievers[1] zählt Kokospalmen, Brotfruchtbäume, Bananen, Cystosperma edule, Betelpalmen, Pandanusbäume auf.

Hambruch notierte folgende Pflanzennamen:

Pandanus	*fáð*	Wurzel	*χrapli*
Kokospalme	*nd*	Dorn	*χrágd*
Brotfruchtbaum	*mdi*	Samen	*tumdl*
Banane	*edð*	Schale	*fóid*
Sumpftaro	*udi*	Blüte	*uarðn*
Taro (Colocasia)	*fild*	Frucht	*fóid*
Pflanze	*ualiðr*	Strauch	*ualiðr*
Baum	*ualiðr en ár endp*	Kraut	*pfurðχ*
Blatt	*χrán*	Gras	*ejawds*
Ast	*rd*	Farnarten	*χamdraχ, χriχri*
Rinde	*χín*		

Fauna. Die Landtierwelt ist wie auf allen diesen niederen Koralleninseln spärlich genug. Hambruch stellte abgesehen von Haustieren nur wenige Vogelarten fest. Lästig sind die Moskiten, die besonders nach Regen stark auftreten.

Wörterliste.

Hund	*χerdiχ*	junges Tier	*man iamát*
Schwein	*tlido*	Fell	*χám*
Hahn	*koko* (sicher vom engl. cock abgeleitet)	Schwanz	*artarid*
		Vogel	*χiraχí*
Henne	*gegðg*	Ei	*segán*
Kücken	*niñi*	(sein) Schnabel	*eodn*
Möwenarten	*nidh, χiagí*	Feder	*geldf*
Reiher	*gára*	Kralle	*latil*
Bekassine	*goldñ*	Vogelschwanz	*eañdra*
Regenpfeifer	*murí*	Flügel	*pold*
Eidechse	*umdral*	Fisch	*ig*
Schildkröte	*uðñi*	Schuppen	*make kópi kópi*
Hai	*bdχó*	Gräte	*tirh*
Krebs	*edf*	Kieme	*tapa ni*
Moskito	*idm (Larve = bazotíén)*	Flosse	*ig ni*
Laus	*χás*	Fischschwanz	*patjá*
Rattenarten	*χirð, katjí*	Schwanzflosse	*kata pani patja*
männliches Tier	*kerayó man*	Bauchflosse	*retje*
weibliches Tier	*kerayó ramát*		

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364.

158

III. Demographie.

Anthropologische Aufnahmen wurden nicht gemacht. Nach Sievers ähnelt die Bevölkerung der von Feis und Mogemog[1].

Krankheiten. Als Hambruch die Insel besuchte, litt die Bevölkerung unter einer heftigen Husten- und Schnupfen-Epidemie. Von sonstigen tropischen Krankheiten wurden Elefantiasis *(peverdup)*, Ringwurm *(genilewdk)*, Frambösie *(rdf)* und Syphilis *(kwdk)*, letztere zu einem hohen Prozentsatz, festgestellt.

Wörterliste.

Zunge (meine)	*leoßī*	Kinn (mein)	*eatßī*
Mund (mein)	*ßoßī*	Schulter	*eawarß*
Oberlippe	*drio*	Arm (sein)	*pēī*
Unterlippe	*drio mēīdl*	Oberarm	*tjapīli pēī*
Nase	*wotlχ*	Unterarm	*mardīi pēī*
Septum	*χatamdl e wotlχ*	Ellbogen	*χapīnipīni pēī*
Nasenloch	*bini e wotlχ*	Hand (meine)	*umurß*
Nasenflügel	*tjowdl e wotlχ*	Handrücken	*legālumurß*
Auge (mein)	*metdi*	Handfläche	*paran e mēī*
Iris	*tjotjōn e metdi*	Knöchel	*uruwu le pēī*
Pupille	*χordpa*	Finger	*χatū*
Augenlid	*udle uōn le me ðdī*	Daumen	*χatū le pēī*
Ohr (mein)	*talinßī*	Zeigefinger	*χatū le wōr*
Ohrläppchen	*eōla talinßī*	Mittelfinger	*χatū le nāχ*
Stirn	*marēu*	Ringfinger	*χatū le tīdi*
Kopf (mein)	*ðumßī*	Kleinfinger	*χatū rōχ*
Augenbrauen	*fatīχ*	Fingernagel	*kūi*
Augenwimpern	*matarał le metdi*	Bein (mein)	*pardī*
Kopfhaar (mein)	*ed mudru mōī*	Oberschenkel	*tjapīli pardī*
Zahn	*nī*	Unterschenkel	*pardī jetuē*
Schnurrbart	*ðerauðī*	Knie (mein)	*remdl e bubuēī*
Backenbart	*ealds*	Wade	*ðerdl le pardī*
Kinnbart (mein)	*χōloruatßī*	Fuß	*pdra pdra le pardī*
Wange (meine)	*tdpa*	Sohle	*fdu e pardī*

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 364.

Ferse	*χapĺniplní e pardī*	Seite	*falegatōigatō*
Zehen	*χatūn e pardī*	Rücken	*laūgāru*
Zehennagel	*kūi e pardī*	Gesäß	*legutāpordpi*
Körper	*χalaṅdī*	Hüfte	*rumunardi*
Hals	*ūndī*	Haut	*χīdi*
Nacken	*χapiligā*	Knochen	*fetāχ*
Kehle	*faliguđī*	Blut	*tjā*
Achselhöhle	*faunipđī*	Menstruationsblut	*tjā ra fafīl*
Schulterblatt	*leguira vardī*	Ader	*uđχ*
Rippen	*tīđī*	Puls	*uđχ*
Brust	*gunōī*	Fleisch	*fetāg*
Brustwarze	*tā*	Herz	*fālu u wōi*
weibliche Brust	*tāta*	Lunge	*nāī*
Bauch	*fiāl*	Magen	*dāī*
Nabel	*wolī*		

160

Spezieller Teil.

I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung.

Körperpflege. Die Eingeborenen reiben ihren Körper mit *rên*-Farbe und Kokosöl ein. Außerdem schätzen sie wohlriechende Blumen und Pflanzen über alle Maßen und behängen sich deshalb sehr gern mit ihnen; es sind dies weißgrüne Blüten *(edro)* oder solche von Banian-Bäumen *(uûd)*, Geranium *(xerâx)*, eine Lilienart *(madagâu)*, Papaya *(bâbâ)* und Pfefferminz *(uanronâ)*.

Die **Haartracht** (s. Taf. 10) wurde nach Auffassung der Eingeborenen von Lugulân eingeführt. Die Männer trugen das Kopfhaar in Form einer dichten Perrücke, die mitunter vorn gescheitelt und am Hinterkopf durch einen Blattstreifen zu einem Schopf zusammengerafft war, (Abb. 234, 235) oder das Haar war vorn glatt nach hinten gekämmt und durch einen Blattstreifen zusammengebunden (s. Taf. 10 links). Die Frauen tragen das Haar gelockt, wie Hambruch treffend schreibt, als »Tituskopf« oder herabhängend und glatt abgeschnitten.

234. 235.

Abb. 234 und 235. Männerhaartracht (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Der **Bartwuchs** ist nicht übermäßig stark; außer Schnurrbart wird vielfach und zwar von älteren Männern Kinn- oder Backenbart getragen (s. Taf. 10).

Tatauierung haben beide Geschlechter, die Tatauierkunst wird in gleicher Weise von Frauen und Männern geübt. Zum Tatauieren *(mâk)* bedient man sich eines Tatauierkammes *(garîd)* und eines Hammers *(merâm)* von der in den Karolinen üblichen Form[1]. Die einzelnen Teile des Kammes heißen: Griff = *kod*, daran gebundenes Querstück = *xalenân*, das durch ein besonderes Stäbchen

[1] Museum Hamburg 302.

(tšrü) mit dem Stiel verbunden ist. Die Farbe *(lâm)* wird aus dem Ruß verbrannter Kokosfasern gewonnen.

Als **Haarschmuck** werden gern Blumen (s. oben) und Pandanusblattstreifen getragen (s. Taf. 10 links). Es fehlen schließlich nicht die für die Karolinen typischen **Kämme** *(rdua)* aus Holz oder Bambus mit mehreren Zinken oder solche aus einzelnen Stäbchen, die durch Holznägel zusammengehalten werden. In der Form glichen sie denen von Polowat und anderen karolinischen Inseln. Für die einzelnen Kammteile notierte Hambruch: Kopf = *ðumdi*, Zinken = *gaill*, Bindung = *eðr*, Nagel = *ðriſðna*.

Als **Ohrschmuck** *(tſuðru)* werden in den durchbohrten Ohrläppchen Kokos- *(tagdx)*, Schildpatt *(buðxs)*- oder Muschel *(mdtſi)*-Ringe einzeln oder in verschiedener Zusammenstellung getragen, wie wir dies auch von anderen mikronesischen Inseln kennen[1].

In das durchbohrte Septum werden als einziger **Nasenschmuck** wohlriechende Kräuter gesteckt.

An **Halsbändern** werden die verschiedensten Arten getragen:

a) aus Kokosringen oder Kokosscheibchen (wie z. B. auf Ifaluk vgl. Abb. 42, 43)[2].

b) wie a), aber mit dazwischen geschalteten weißen Muschelscheibchen (vgl. Ifaluk Abb. 44—47)[3].

c) aus roten Spondylus-Scheibchen mit dazwischen geschalteten weißen Muschel- und schwarzen Kokosscheibchen (vgl. Ifaluk Abb. 53)[4]; nicht selten sind sie mehrsträhnig. Eine dreisträhnige Kette dieser Art besitzt das Berliner Museum in der Sammlung Finsch (VI/6397).

Selten waren **Kettenanhänger**. Hambruch sammelte einen aus Kokosnuß geschnitzten (Abb. 236), der dem aus Tridacna geschliffenen von Hok formgleich ist.[5]

Abb. 236. Brusthänger aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 298[II], Länge 10 cm). Abb. 236.

Es fehlten schließlich auch nicht die breiten **Halsbandkragen** *(tðo)*, wie sie bei Krämer (Inseln um Truk, 1. Hlbbd. 1935 Abb. 15) abgebildet sind.

Am beliebtesten waren **Armringe** aus gerilltem Schildpatt *(buðxs)* wie etwa auf Polowat[6], die von Truk eingehandelt werden, daneben gab es solche aus

[1] Einen *mdtſi* genannten Ohrhänger ähnlich Polowat (Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 41) besitzt Hamburg 233.
[2] Museum Hamburg 229, 242.
[3] Museum Hamburg 246.
[4] Museum Hamburg 287, 288.
[5] Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 95.
[6] Museum Hamburg 255; vgl. auch Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 101.

Kokosnuß *(tagáx;* vgl. Ifaluk Abb. 59)[1] und aus Trochus *(lagaldx)*[2]. — **Fingerringe** aus Kokosnußschale kamen erst in neuerer Zeit auf.

Die eigentliche **Kleidung** ist nach Alter und Geschlecht des Trägers verschieden. Ihren Ursprung führen die Eingeborenen auf »Eluelap« zurück, der deshalb die Kleidung einführte, um Blutschande zu verhüten (s. Weberei). Es ist in der Tat so, daß ein Mann ohne Lendenschurz sich unmöglich macht. Das gilt jedoch nicht für die Knaben und Mädchen bis etwa zum 4. Jahr; sie gehen nackend. Die Mädchen legen dann einen Schamschurz *(ðiirtsl/)*[3] aus wohlriechenden Kräutern an, während die Knaben von diesem Zeitpunkt an bereits die gewebte Lendenbinde *(xariûr)* tragen. Die ebenfalls gewebte Frauenmatte *(bðix)* ist wesentlich breiter (s. Technik). — Während die Männer ihre Lendenbinde in der bekannten T-Form tragen, wird die Matte der Frauen von einer aus Haaren geflochtenen Schnur *(šrîm)*[4] gehalten, darüber wird zumeist noch ein aus 3—4 Kokosperlen-Strähnen verfertigter Gürtel *(mdramar)*, der durch Muschelstege in Felder geteilt ist, getragen[5]. Während dieser auf Faraulip hergestellt wird, trifft dies für den seltener vorkommenden, sehr breiten (bis achtsträhnigen) und ebenfalls durch Stege in Felder geteilten Gürtel *(xldi)* nicht zu; er wird von Aurepik eingehandelt.

Die Seeleute haben festere Kleidungsstücke: sie tragen aus Pandanusstreifen zusammengenähte spitze Hüte *(þdriñ)* und gegen die Unbill des Wetters Regenkappen *(þalân)*, Segeljacken *(nikôt)* und Kokoskleidmatten *(ua lulit)*.

[1] Museum Hamburg 299—301.
[2] Museum Hamburg 305.
[3] Museum Hamburg 272.
[4] Museum Hamburg 232.
[5] Museum Hamburg 259; Abb. bei Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 43.

163

II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung.

Von den verschiedenen **Nährpflanzen** und **Fruchtbäumen** wurden folgende Arten angepflanzt bzw. ausgewertet:

Verschiedene Taro-Arten: *file e Ifaluk* (sehr klein), *file e kŏl, uŏt, momŏiga, marĺŋ*.

Colocasia: *lâk, pulâk*,

Süßkartoffel: *kamŏti*,

Sedum: *anûs, xŏp, eāugûle*,

Kürbis: *ewârs*

Zuckerrohr: *uwâu*,

Banane: *ulə*,

Terminabia: *fariŏp*,

Morinda citrifolia: *nâre*,

Pandanus: *fâə*,

Feige: *xoân*,

pfirsichähnliche Frucht mit vielen scheibenähnlichen Kernen: *xumâr*,

Brotfrucht: *mâī*; im Monat *uarĺx* setzt die Frucht an, im *mâtrĺx* beginnt sie zu reifen, im *mâllŏp* ist sie ausgereift; das dauert insgesamt sechs Monate. — Die Frucht liefert die Lieblingsspeise *mâra*, die auf dieselbe Art zubereitet wird, wie das *mâr* der Polowat-Leute[1].

Kokospalme: *nlu*. — Bezeichnungen zur Kokospalme:

Stamm	*χarâd*	alte Nuß	*âbf*
Wurzel	*χagrĺt*	Hülse	*χâus*
junges Blatt	*bagorifâ*	Schale	*pŏr*
altes Blatt	*âwud*	Fleisch	*tχrâ*
Blattscheide	*etenâ*	Kokoswasser	*rân*
rote Flechte am Stamm	*hudre e Olufaə*	Auge der Nuß	*metâd nugûd*
Blüte	*amiâm*	Keimloch	*pŏr*
junge Nuß	*χurâf e gûrub*	Keim	*tâmul*
Eßnuß	*sâu*	Keimblatt	*tχramĺn*

Die **Anpflanzung** geschieht ohne jede Ordnung. Bananen, Süßkartoffeln, Kokospalmen wachsen z. B. wild durcheinander, dagegen wird der Taro auf besonders hergerichteten Feldern angepflanzt. Es sind dies große viereckige Gruben

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 68.

(poadé), die von einem Erdwall *(xatú)* — es handelt sich um ausgehobene Erde — umgeben sind (Abb. 237). Die Männer legen die Felder an, während die Frauen die eigentliche Landarbeit besorgen; für die Tarokultur benutzen sie einen Holzspaten *(xuotó*, s. Abb. 238; Griff = *erd*, Blatt = *xdroxdre)*. Die Männer kümmern sich um die Kokospalmen, die übrige Fruchtpflege obliegt den Frauen. Die Oberaufsicht über alle Feldarbeiten hat der Häuptling; er greift mit Strafen ein, wenn die Arbeiten nicht ordentlich erledigt sind. Ebenso verbietet er zu gewissen Zeiten durch Tabuzeichen das Betreten der unbewohnten Insel Eád, um die hier wachsenden Bestände an Kokospalmen und Tabakpflanzen zu schonen und um andererseits die hier zur Eiablage an Land kommenden Schildkröten nicht zu vertreiben.

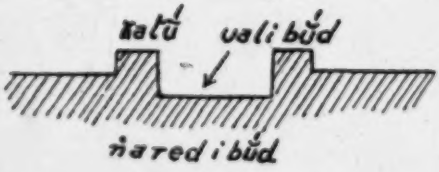


Abb. 237.

Abb. 238.

Abb. 237. Querschnitt durch eine Tarogrube (poadé); nach Skizze Hambruch. — Abb. 238. Holzspaten (Hamburg 274II, Länge 85 cm).

Fischfang. Folgende Fischarten werden gefangen:

talaṅáp	*ejáu*	*daṅírd*
rél	*jáujáu*	*dát*
ajlnó	*homél*	*xarús*
sáux	*etám*	*moilú*
erón	*séra*	*táuk*
llt	*tšalálut*	*mogulm*
olovlli	*mótš*	*tagaludrs*
vóu	*uiplix*	*mánar* = fliegender Fisch (erscheint viermal im Jahr)
ulúl	*lérjó*	*takú'u.*

I. Die Angelfischerei (Angelrute = *báu*, umstrickter Griff = *tigóu*[1]) wird mit folgenden Fischhaken betrieben:

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 113.

a) *bâ* ist der zusammengesetzte Haken, dessen Blänker aus Meleagrina oder Spondylus und dessen Haken aus Schildpatt besteht; die »Fliege« ist aus gestutzten Fregattvogelfedern[1]. — Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Teile: Angelschnur aus Hibiskusbast = *eôr* oder *eôl*, Blänker = *nâm*, Hakenspitze = *matâl*, Hakenbasis = *ramûm*, Fliege = *igûd*. — Diese Haken werden in Holzkisten *(sâup)* aufbewahrt (s. S. 168).

Abb. 239. Haihaken (Hamburg 270II, Länge des Hakens 15 cm).

b) *tlu* ist der einfache hölzerne Haken zum Haifang[2]. Ein seltenes Stück erwarb Hambruch; es war ein Doppelhaken aus einem Pteroceras-Muschelstück (s. Abb. 239).

c) *tarân* werden die neueren, aus einem Stück Eisendraht gebogenen Angelhaken genannt[3].

d) *porâli mâtš* ist ein einfacher Angelhaken aus Kokosnußschale, der an einer als Schwimmboje verwendeten Kokosnuß hängt (s. Abb. 240; über die Anwendung s. Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 49). Diese Fangart wird heute nur noch wenig geübt.

Abb. 240. Schwimmer aus Kokosnuß mit Angelhaken (Hamburg 250II; ¼ nat. Gr.).

II. Die Netzfischerei wird auf dem Riff mit *etîn*-Netzen betrieben. Die Bezeichnungen zu den einzelnen Netzteilen sind (vgl. dazu die Abb. 241) *xoloxôl* (Nr. 1), *tanûapip* (Nr. 2), *edn* (Nr. 3), *bugebûx* (Nr. 4), *metât* (Nr. 5), Netzsenker = *fâu u lûm*, Netzschwimmer = *xuapês;* die letzteren sind nicht selten in Gestalt

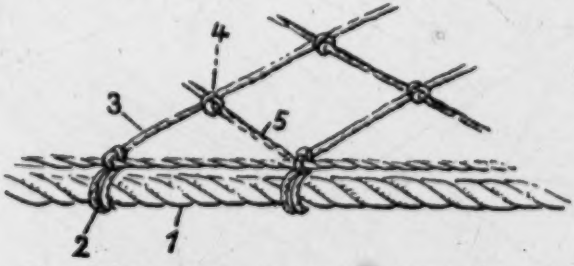


Abb. 241. Teil eines Netzes (Bezeichnung der einzelnen Netzteile im Text); nach Skizze Hambruch.

von Fischen geschnitzt. — Das große Netz ist nicht Eigentum eines Einzelnen, sondern gehört dem Männerhaus.

[1] Museum Hamburg 227, 240.
[2] Museum Hamburg 231.
[3] Vgl. Sarfert und Damm 1929, Abb. 74.

III. Für die Reusenfischerei bedient man sich folgender Reusen:

a) eine aus Kokosschnüren fest gearbeitete Reuse *(ulipâm)* von gleicher Form wie Ifaluk (Taf. 3)[1]. Die einzelnen Bezeichnungen sind: Boden = *bŏxebox*, Hinterwand = *xaplt*, Seitenwand = *pẽigil*, Dach = *xuluxûl*, erhöhter spitzer Dachteil = *uñdl*.

b) Reuse *(ule mõurõuld)* mit tonnenförmigem Dach aus starken Kokosblattrippen (s. Taf. 11, Abb.5). Die Namen für die einzelnen Teile sind folgende: vorspringender Teil des Daches = *xromâre*, Decke = *uñdre*, Seitenwand = *xobâr*, Boden = *ird*, Tür in Rückenwand = *irlə*, Henkel = *tanln*.

c) wie b), aber von viereckiger Form (s. Taf. 11 Abb. 4).

IV. Zur Drachenfischerei wird ein Drachen *(kapẽs)* aus einem durch Kokosblattrippen versteiften Brotfruchtblatt verwendet. An der Schnur hängt ein *tarân*-Haken.

V. Schlingenfang mit einer am Holzstab befestigten Schlinge *(nõm)*; an einer weiteren kurzen Schnur hängt der Köder[2].

Besondere Sitten. Gemeinsame Fischzüge in großen Booten werden nur mit Erlaubnis des Häuptlings veranstaltet. Der »erste Rat« (s. Staat) hat die Aufsicht über Kanu und Fang, der Häuptling verteilt dann die Beute nach bestimmten Regeln. Lautes Rufen und Trompeten auf den Muschelhörnern rufen die Bevölkerung zusammen. Die Fische werden am Strand ausgeschüttet und sind bis zur Verteilung tabu. Hambruch erlebte eine Verteilung von 45 großen Fischen *(falufâu* und *takû'u)*: den größten *takû'u* erhielt eine alte kranke Frau, zwei *falufâu* Hambruch, fünf *takû'u* und zwei *falufâu* sieben Gäste aus Ifaluk, zwei *takû'u* der Häuptling, einen *takû'u* der »erste Rat«, einen *takû'u* der »zweite Rat«, einen *takû'u* der Oleai-Mann Olapfl, achtzehn *takû'u* die neun Häuser, zehn kleine Tinte die Kanubesatzung und der »erste Rat«, zwei *takû'u* und die kleinen Fische die Knaben.

Bei einem zweiten Fang, den Hambruch miterlebte, wurden elf große und 390 kleine Fische (hauptsächlich in Treibholzreusen) gefangen. Sie wurden folgendermaßen verteilt: zwei große Fische erhielt Hambruch, zwei weitere der Häuptling, einen der »erste Rat«, einen weiteren der »zweite Rat«, zwei große Fische und zehn kleine der Oleai-Mann Olapfl, drei große Fische und sechzehn kleine die sieben Ifaluk-Männer, 270 kleine Fische die neun Häuser (jedes 30), fünfzehn kleine Fische der Kanuaufseher, achtzig kleine Fische für die acht Häuser in Pix, fünfzehn kleine Fische für einen Mann, der seinerzeit beim Bau des Bootes mitgeholfen hatte. — Ist die Beute nicht in dem erwarteten Ausmaße ausgefallen, so geht der Fischer zum »großen Haus« oder zum Geisterhaus des Ponijõu, legt hier eine Opfergabe nieder und bittet um einen guten Fang (s. Sage S. 206).

[1] Museum Hamburg 281. [2] Sarfert und Damm, 1929, Bd. I, Abb. 98.

Die **Jagd** spielt überhaupt keine Rolle, denn die Landtierwelt ist arm an größeren eßbaren Tieren. — Ratten werden mit einer Falle *(tâwiš)*, die in der Form der auf Polowat ähnelt[1], gefangen, die Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Teile s. Abb. 242. Auch Hunde werden gegessen.

Die **Zubereitung der Speisen** besorgen alle Frauen im Haus, lediglich im großen Haus kochen die Männer; die Kleinsten sind in allen Fällen immer die eifrigsten Helfer.

Zur **Feuererzeugung** (Feuer = *ijâ/*) bedient man sich des Feuerhobels *(noirlt;* der liegende Stab = *imôu*, der in einer Furche von diesem geführte Stab

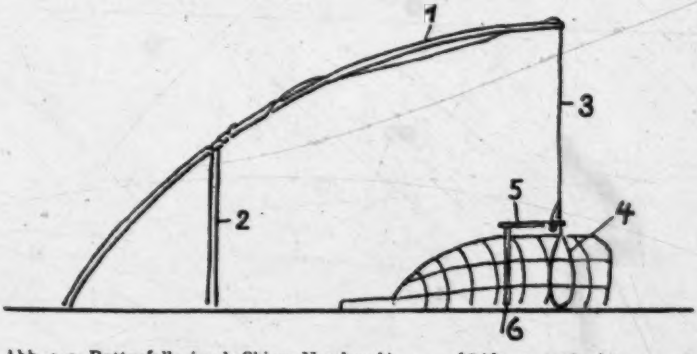


Abb. 242. Rattenfalle (nach Skizze Hambruch). 1 = fâuida, 2 = tâurân, 3 = eôr, 4 = nemâr, 5 = puñedâ, 6 = todugân.

= *noirlt)* und des Feuerbohrers *(niâluk* oder *liâluk;* liegender Stab = *ilâ*, Bohrloch = *meddd* [»Auge«], senkrecht stehender Bohrstab = *noirlt)*. Zunder *(xabâd)* wird in einer Bambusbüchse aufbewahrt. Der geflochtene Feuerfächer *(sêipo)* hat länglich rechteckige Form.

An **Haushaltgeräten** sind zu nennen:

a) Messer *(sâr)*, früher aus Muschel, jetzt ein in ein Brett geklopfter und geschärfter Nagel,

b) Taroschaber aus Meleagrina-Muschel,[2]

c) Kokoskratzer *(uêigan)* auf einem Dreifuß ist eine kleine Muschel *(poritôx)* aufgebunden (s. Abb. 243)[3].

d) Löffel *(idît)* aus Muschelschale.

e) Stampfer *(faierâs)* aus Korallen-

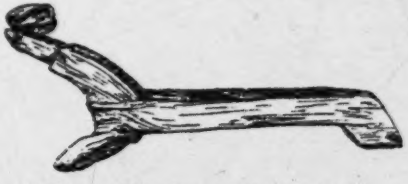


Abb. 243. Kokoskratzer (Hamburg 277[II]), Länge 54 cm.

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 126.
[2] Museum Hamburg 275.
[3] Ein weiteres Stück im Museum Hamburg 276, dessen Muschelbefestigung wie 277 (Faraulip) und Gestell wie 218 (Aurepik) ist.

stein *(ſdux)* in der Form wie auf Ifaluk[1] (stampfen = *zûs*, reiben = *egâx*, schlagen = *narûna)*.

f) Kokosnußgefäße *(tagax* = Kokosschale) als Wasserflaschen[2].

g) Holzkasten *(sâup)* mit Deckel wie auf Polowat[3], sie dienen zum Aufbewahren von Kleinigkeiten besonders von Fischhaken. Für die einzelnen Teile gibt Hambruch folgende Bezeichnungen: Deckel = *garâp*, Loch für Aufhängeschnur = *piapi* in einem angeschnitzten Ansatz (= *botil)* Unterteil = *xaloâl*, Boden = *pêigil*, Wand = *ni*, Falz für den Deckel = *pôra ni*.

h) Eßschüssel *(tâbbi)* mit Füßen von ähnlicher Form wie die *dôbi lemâbu* von Ifaluk (Abb. 119)[4]. Daneben finden sich auch von Truk eingeführte *täbbi*-Schüsseln mit dem für diese Inselgruppe typischen roten Anstrich[5]. (Boden = *ranôg*, Füße = *perêle*, Nasen = *madâl*.)

i) Körbe zum Aufbewahren von Essen, die größeren zum Transport von Feldfrüchten; erstere heißen *tûx*, letztere *hîx*. Besondere Formen sind *kâtôvas*[6] wie Taf. 1 oben (Ifaluk) und *paûtaû*[7], ein Tragkorb (s. Taf. 11 Abb. 2).

Abb. 244. Fischbrett (Hamburg 223II, Länge 66 cm).

k) Fischbrett *(bâp)* zum Zerteilen des Bonito (s. Abb. 244),

l) Besen *(nâux)* aus Kokosblattrippen[8],

m) Rattenhaken *(xôr)* zum Aufhängen von Speisebehältern ähnlich wie Abb. 126 in Sarfert und Damm 1929, S. 138.

Von geregelten **Mahlzeiten** in unserem Sinn kann man nicht sprechen. Kinder und Frauen essen fast fortwährend, die Männer morgens, mittags und abends. Die Familienmitglieder essen gemeinsam und nicht nach Geschlechtern getrennt. — Für die Frauen gelten einige Speiseverbote und zwar dürfen sie zu allen Zeiten folgende Fischarten nicht essen: *bûp, liwelû, fât, bâxo, nawût, môru, nôš, udi*. Schwangere Frauen dürfen überhaupt keine Fische essen und haben auch sonst noch Speiseverbote zu beachten. Erst fünf Monate nach der Geburt fallen diese; werden sie vorher schon nicht beachtet, so wird die Schuldige nach Eingeborenenansicht sehr krank.

An Genußmitteln hat man an erster Stelle Tabak *(tomâxo)*; den Eingeborenen kann er garnicht kräftig genug sein. Er wurde einst aus Guam eingeführt und wird jetzt auf der Insel selbst gezogen. Allerdings ist der amerikanische Stangen- und Plattentabak beliebter. Ferner genießt man sehr gern Palmwein (xarf). Die Zubereitung ist die gleiche wie auf Polowat[9].

[1] Museum Hamburg 222, 237. [2] Museum Hamburg 265, 286.
[3] Museum Hamburg 249. — Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 66, Abb. 145.
[4] Museum Hamburg 235. [5] Museum Hamburg 278. [6] Museum Hamburg 256.
[7] Ferner Museum Hamburg 293. [8] Museum Hamburg 290. [9] Damm und Sarfert, 1935, S. 69 f.

167

III. Technik.

Die **Holzbearbeitung** lag in den Händen der Männer. Angefertigt wurden Eßschüsseln, Deckelkästen, Kokoskratzer, Kämme, Waffen, Kanus und Hüttenteile. Das wichtigste Werkzeug war ehedem die Muschelaxt *(ϑapâl)*, die 1909 bereits nicht mehr im Gebrauch war, lediglich »heilige Äxte« (Abb. 245) hatten die alte Form getreulich bewahrt. Muschelklinge aus Tridacna oder Cassis = *porugîl* bzw. *tarâ* (die Klinge wird mit einem Schleifstein [*udre*] scharf gehalten), Schneide = *metâd*, Oberseite = *lugûl*, Unterseite = *ndn*, Beilschaft = *im mê âm*, Umschnürung = *fôr-fôr*. Daneben gab es schließlich die Geräte für die feineren Arbeiten: Feile = *(vâm)* aus Korallenstein, Pfriemen *(etâu)*, Bohrer *(purepûr)*.

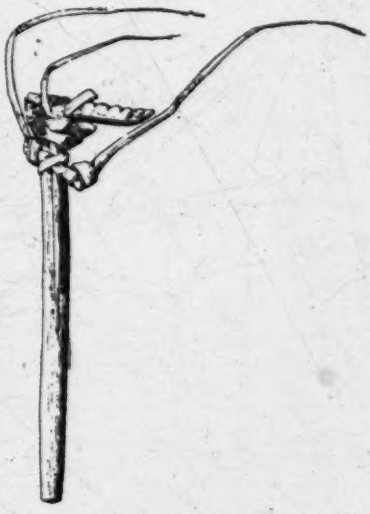


Abb. 245. Heilige Axt mit Muschelklinge (Hamburg 271 II, Gesamtlänge 46 cm, Länge der Klinge 17 cm).

Abb. 246. Bastklopfer (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Die **Herstellung von Kokosschnüren** *(mâtš)* geschah in dem allgemein üblichen Arbeitsgang: Wässern in Salzwasser = *ni pêli gôth*, Wässern im Süßwasser = *thâmu*, trocknen = *igapâl*, klopfen *(thâs)* mit einem schweren Holzklopfer *(pêreix;* s. Abb. 246) und schließlich drehen = *xôloxôl*. Kokosstrick = *tariklt*, Tau = *tât*.

Hibiskus-Schnüre *(giliſôſ)* für Fischleinen werden in der auf Polowat üblichen Art hergestellt[1].

Die **Weberei** ist, wie auf allen Karolinen-Inseln stark zurückgegangen, das ist um so bedauerlicher, als es der Frauenfleiß darin zu einer erstaunlichen Kunst-

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 75.

fertigkeit gebracht hatte (s. Taf. 12). — Früher soll es nach Eingeborenenaussage keine gewebten Matten gegeben haben; man lief nackend umher. Damals waren Fälle von Blutschande nicht selten, weil die Männer ihre Geschwister, Kinder und Frauen nicht unterscheiden konnten. Da gab der Himmelsbewohner Lugulen der Aifáth den Auftrag, den Menschen den Webstuhl zu bringen, damit sie sich Matten weben und somit besser unterscheiden könnten[1].

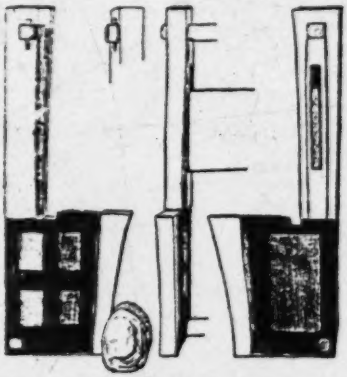


Abb. 247. Teile des Kastens vom Webapparat (Hamburg 263II; ¾ nat. Gr.); die gestrichelten Teile sind rot, die schwarzen mit schwarzer Farbe bemalt.

Es wird Hibiscus-Bast und Bananenfaser verwebt, wobei letztere wegen ihrer Güte bevorzugt wird. Der Bananenbast wird geschält, im Seewasser zerfasert, getrocknet und dann gedreht. Das Webmaterial wird in einem runden Korb *(xápen)*[2] aufbewahrt, der die Form wie auf Aurepik (Taf. 8) hat (vgl. auch Taf. 13 unten rechts im Bild). Den Aufbau des Webstuhls zeigt Taf. 13, die Form des Holzgestells Abb. 247.

Die einzelnen Teile des Apparates heißen:

Vorderes und hinteres Spannbrett = *pâp*,
Schwert = *xabôp*
Litzenstab = *nân*
Schiffchen[3] = *thritôp*,
(mit dem von Aurepik [Abb. 221] formengleich)
Spanngürtel = *tâdi*
Kasten mit Spannbrett = *puijdlʃ*
Verzierung daran in Rot und Schwarz = *xaũ iêl idr*
Querstange über dem Spannbrett = *nugûd*
Balken zum Gegenstemmen für die Füße = *ʃaʃâ*.

Eine wahre Musterkarte der auf Faraulip üblichen Webmuster, dazu ein Meisterwerk einheimischer Handwerkskunst ist die »Königsmatte« (Taf. 13). Die einzelnen Muster (von links gezählt) heißen: 1. *šürûbu*, 2. *ʃoirimât*, 3. *puriiʃât*, 4. *bôirûd*, 5. *uvethitâlub*, 6. *pairimûru*, 10. *xolimdth*, 11. *pairônunũ*, 13. *mônda*, 16. *šib*, 17. *xôugôuthip*, 18. *toirudt*. Das Muster der Matte (Taf. 12, Nr. 244II) heißt *metarêl*; die Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Elemente sind:

lugurêl = breite schwarze Streifen,
nigawôs = breite helle Felder zwischen den schwarzen Streifen,

[1] Es scheinen also die einzelnen Sippen bestimmte Webmuster gehabt zu haben.
[2] Museum Hamburg 279. [3] Museum Hamburg 241.

narłde = schmaler schwarzer Randstreifen,
thaū u wŏl = die beiden (schmaleren und breiteren) Querstreifen.

Der oberste Querstreifen im Muster der Matte Nr. 307 II (Taf. 12) heißt *taūb*, die über und unter diesem liegenden beiden schmalen Streifen heißen *pireplł*. — Die einzelnen Bestandteile des Querstreifens von Matte Nr. 308 II heißen *tanabó* = sanduhrförmiges, dunkles Muster, *taūf* = helles Rhombenmuster.

Für die **Färberei** gilt das für Polowat gesagte[1]. Als Farbtöpfe werden gleichfalls Meerpocken verwendet (Abb 248.), ebenso gibt es Farbschüsseln *(tăbbi endp)* von der Form wie Ifaluk (Abb. 125)[2]. Rote Farbe *(tšageŏx)* zum Streichen der Boote wird aus Yap eingehandelt. Als Pinsel dient ein beliebiges Stück Holz.

Abb. 248. Farbbehälter (Hamburg 245 II. 3/4 nat. Gr.).

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 81.
[2] Museum Hamburg 238.

172

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt.

Der **Handel** war ein reiner Tauschhandel, die Stelle des »Kleingeldes« vertraten Kokosnüsse. So kostete ein kleines Boot drei gewebte Kleidmatten, eine solche Matte hundert Kokosnüsse. Nach Hambruch ist aber auch Palau-Perlengeld und zwar das *ā udôt* auf der Inselgruppe als *ujôd (āujôd)* im Kurs gewesen.

In alter Zeit suchten die Eingeborenen folgende Inseln auf, um mit ihnen einen ausgedehnten Handel zu treiben: Unaṅâi (Oleai), Auripík, Ifalûk, ðoról (Sorol), Uejêi (Fais), Magemûx (Mogemog), Yap, Nólu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutšéx (Lamutrik), Setōuan (Satowal), Sóux (Hok), Unûon (Onon), Piserâs, Tšûk (Truk), Magur, Moirála (Murillo), Ratak, Magíl (Mokil), Ebon, Nutaû, Gâtšaûe (Kusai). Sehr rege waren auch die Beziehungen zu den Marianen (Guam, Saipan). Ferner wurden in alter Zeit noch folgende Inseln aufgesucht, die die heutige Generation jedoch nicht mehr bestimmen kann: Uaxû, Solnís, Bahaû, Ánelulu (Honolulu??). — Jetzt haben diese Großfahrten durch das Wegsterben der alten Kapitäne und die Interessenlosigkeit der Jugend aufgehört; es werden nur noch mit ganz wenigen Inseln in unmittelbarer Nähe Handelsbeziehungen gepflegt: von Lamutrik tauscht man *kamôs, reng*-Farbe, Schildpatt und aus Truk stammende Kleidmatten ein, von Aurepik *kamôs*, Spondylus-Halsketten, Tanzgürtel, *kid*, von Satowal *reng*-Farbe und Halsketten aus Truk, von Ifaluk und Oleai Tauwerk, Netze, gewebte Matten. Dagegen geben die Faraulip-Leute gewebte Matten eigener Arbeit, Tauwerk und Schlafmatten ab.

Über die **nautischen Kenntnisse** war mit Rücksicht auf die bereits oben angedeuteten Verhältnisse nur wenig Material zu heben. An Sternbildern (Stern = *fōn ð*) kannte man

Polarstern	= *olûol*	Adler	= *maûlop*
?	= *uolâgor*	drei Könige (im Orion)	= *öliöl*
?	= *ugeliga*	?	= *ðarawûon*
Procyon	*mâl*	Jungfrau	*tumur*
Plejaden	*maraegiri*	?	*metarû*
Aldebaran	*oûl*	?	*tubulûp*
?	*matjomaûdan*		

Krämer erwarb eine alte Schnurtasche[1] mit Schneckenschalen, die dem Oberhäuptling gehörte und als »heilig« galt. Sie hing am Firstbalken des Bootshauses und soll früher zu Lehrzwecken über Navigation benutzt worden sein, wobei die Schneckenschalen als Inseln (oder Sterne?) ausgelegt wurden.

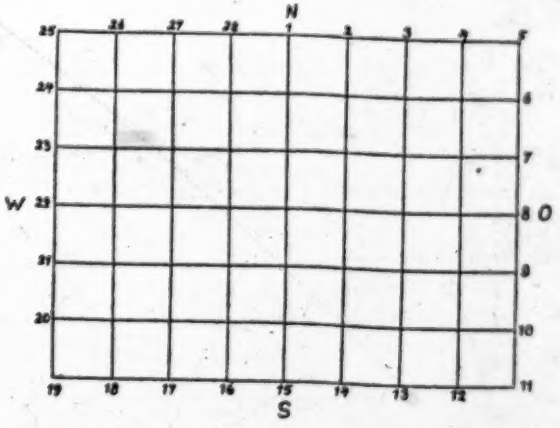


Abb. 249. Strichrose (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Die Strichrose (Abb. 249) ist in der gleichen Weise zu verstehen wie auf Polowat[2]. Die Eingeborenen-Namen für die einzelnen Punkte sind:

1. *olûol el ijefaṅ*
2. *tagali mâlop*
3. *uolâgor*
4. *ugelîga*
5. *mâl*
6. *maraegiri*
7. *oûl*
8. *mâlop*
9. *öliöl*
10. *ðarawuon*
11. *tumur*
12. *metarû*
13. *tubulûp*
14. *matjomâidan*
15. *olûol le lûp*
16. *matjomâiað*
17. *taχalûp*
18. *taχal metarû*
19. *taχal tumur*
20. *taχal ðarawuon*
21. *taχal öliöl*
22. *tubul mâlop*
23. *tubul oûl*
24. *tubul u maraegiri*
25. *tubul ule mâl*
26. *tubul ugeligâ*
27. *tubul uolâgor*
28. *tubul e mâlop baliefaṅ*

[1] Museum Hamburg 3171.
[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 89.

Die Windrichtungen sind:

etôk e lap	Wind aus Westen	*xotôu a ʃdṅ*	Wind aus Nordosten
xotôn e mâl	Wind aus Osten	*netô a ʃdṅ*	Wind aus Nordwesten
eâlr u lâp	Wind aus Süden	*xotôu eâlr*	Wind aus Südosten
eʃdṅ e lâp	Wind aus Norden	*netô eâlr*	Wind aus Südwesten

Die See von Osten und Westen heißt *la e lapaldp*, von Süden *la e l'eâlr*, von Norden *la el'eʃdṅ*.

Das Beispiel eines Schiffskurses gibt Abb. 250 wieder. Er führt von Faraulip nach Oleai und zwar erst zwei Meilen Kurs 3 zu 16, dann eine Meile 4 zu 18 und

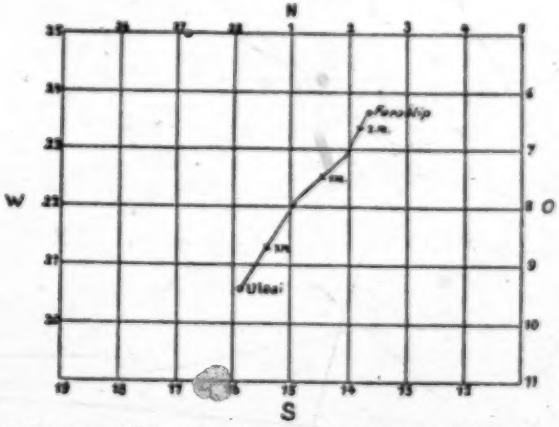


Abb. 250. Schiffskurs Faraulip — Oleai (nach Skizze Hambruch).

schließlich 3 Meilen 3 zu 17. Die Namen der betreffenden Sternbilder sind aus der Tabelle S. 173 zu ersehen.

Die zwischen den einzelnen Inselgruppen liegenden Meeresteile führen besondere Namen, die ebenfalls die Orientierung erleichtern: es heißen das Meer zwischen:

Mogemog—Yap	*mateuari ruepâne*	Lamutrik—Satowal	*uôi rêki*
Faraulip—Oleai	*ʃanihe matôuru*	Satowal—Elato	
Lamutrik—Ifaluk	*kapinapi nipu*	Satowal—Polowat	*kapina nêi*
Faraulip—Ifaluk	*metâue pânaki*	Polowat—Truk	*eruâni*
Oleai—Ifaluk	*ʃani aroma*	Fais—Mogemog	*metâue mare vâtje*
Oleai—Aurepik	*metâue ni polu*	Yap—Ngulu	
Oleai—Sorol	*metâue ni kini mâre*	Yap—Palau	*metâue u male*
		Polowat—Hok	*metâue pânaki*
Oleai—Fais	*kapini ma kano*		

Von Antreibungen brachte Hambruch nur eine in Erfahrung; es handelt sich um ein unbemanntes Boot, das vor etwa fünf Jahren (also um 1904) aus Pur antrieb. — Verschlagungen kamen sicher vor, wenn auch Hambruch keine in Erfahrung bringen konnte. Kadu, der Gewährsmann von Chamisso, berichtet von einem Faraulip-Häuptling, der nach Guam segeln wollte, aber nach Mogemog verschlagen wurde; er kehrte von hier wieder heim[1].

An **Kanu**-Arten gab es kleine *uá ju mẽn* und große *uá ju lấp*; im Bau zeigten sie keine nennenswerten Unterschiede von denen der zentralkarolinischen Boote (s. Taf. 14).

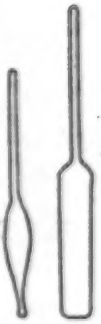


Abb. 252. Ruder (nach Skizze Hambruch). — Abb. 251. Steuer (nach Skizze Hambruch).

252. 251.

Die wichtigsten Bootsteile und Bootsgeräte heißen:

Boot	*uá, auch χrá*	Stab zum Staken	*fấl*
Bug	*imốu*	Ruder (s. Abb 252)	*faχíl*
Heck	*imấli*	Stiel	*erấn*, auch *erá*
Aufsatz	*bấtí*	Blatt	*tírấtírá*
Steven	*faiấlub*	Blattrippe *rórál*, auch *sóál*	
Kiel	*írúdúgápi*	Spitze	*zórál*
Sprung	*u'udr i vá*	Ruderbank	*iá*
vordere Planke	*matotốm*	Sitzbank	*fórá χ*
Ausleger	*parietám*	Anker	*fólá χ*
Auslegerbalken	*fárefốn*	Ösfaß (von der üblichen Form)	*χamất*
Auslegergabel	*ám*	Kochherd	*fenán*
Auslegerseite des Bootes	*itấn*	Mattensegel	*á*
auslegerfreie Seite	*igetá*	(die einzelne Segelbahn	*te rárn*
Mast	*χấlás*	Segelnaht	*te rấp)*
Steuer (s. Abb. 251)	*típ*		

Einzelteile des Bootskörpers und Auslegers zeigen die Abb. 253—258.

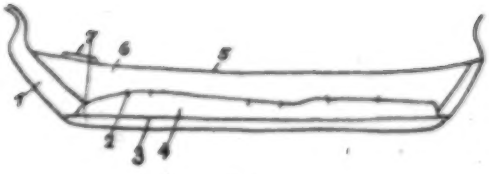
Abb. 253: Bootskörper.

1. *nenấp*
2. *sấn e rấn*
3. *matotốm*
4. *nugerfwa*
5. *meiấp*
6. *nan i vốr*
7. *nấun é le fatấl*

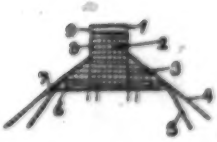
Abb. 254: Bemalte Flächen des Bootskörpers.

1. (schwarz)	*narất e meiấp*	4. (rot)	*matlanấ*
2. (rot)	*nenấp*	5. (schwarz)	*fấr*
3. (schwarz)	*raidm*		

[1] v. Chamisso bei Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III, S. 95.

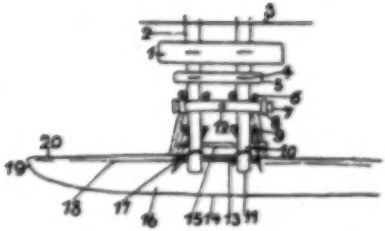


253.

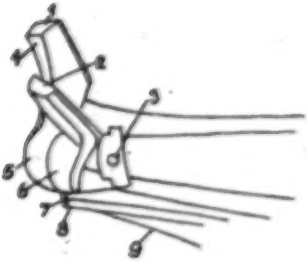


257.

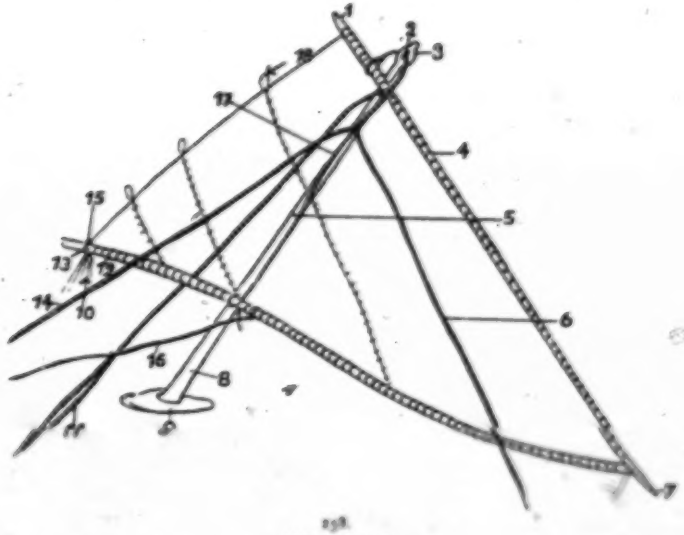
254.



255.



256.



258.

Abb. 253—258.

Abb. 253. Bootskörper. — Abb. 254. Bemalte Flächen des Bootskörpers. — Abb. 255. Ausleger. — Abb. 256. Bug- und Heckente. — Abb. 257. Brücke der auslegerfreien Seite. — Abb. 258. Mast und Segel. (Sämtliche Abbildungen nach Skiöldebrand von Hambruch. Die Ziffern sind im Text erläutert.)

Abb. 255: Ausleger.

1. *üöñ i metdl i fdṅ*
2. *srd*
3. *fdṅ idjö*
4. *srēla*
5. *χatjriṡöu*
6. *ümēddl* (hintere Gabel)
7. *tabōl*
8. *χöirōjēm*
9. *pōid*
10. *tēpēt* (Gabelstiel, unsichtbar in der Zeichnung)
11. *zrumēn*
12. *ṙrdsu*
13. *χapijd*
14. *fdl*
15. *darēda*
16. *tdm*
17. *ṡöujöu*
18. *pēigil*
19. *tabōl*
20. *undt*

Abb. 256: Bug- und Heck des Bootes. (Hambruch's Skizze ist perspektivisch nicht genau getroffen. Um Fehler zu vermeiden wurden keinerlei Korrekturen in der Zeichnung vorgenommen.)

1. *mdṅeroz*
2. *ni pētdl e mdṅeroz*
3. *ta e le vatavdt* (zum Segeleinsetzen)
4. *fdr e guru mdru*
5. *legulubōr*
6. *tdöñ i fatlra*
7. *tabōd e meidp*
8. *maiü ü teāt*
9. *fatdub*

Abb. 257: Brücke der auslegerfreien Seite.

1. *ivoāχ*
2. *fdṅ*
3. *kdl*
4. *metdl e fdṅ*
5. *mdlevēidr*
6. *ivōu*
7. *ṙrdra*
8. *ivōu*
9. *tripolevōl*

Abb. 258: Mast und Segel.

1. *χovāz*
2. *tōlo*
3. *mairi*
4. *tlārā*
5. *χēgā*
6. *tanerds*
7. *χovāz*
8. *tirapirigolu*
9. *turapli*
10. *ligdṅln*
11. *tdṅerab*
12. *nlm*
13. *mdjb*
14. *tanals*
15. *tar i mdkb*
16. *meddi* (Schote)
17. *drud* (Geitau)
18. *intrda*

Bestimmte Ausdrücke für einzelne Segelmanöver und die dazu notwendigen Tätigkeiten:

Mast einsetzen = *atlágris*
Segel setzen = *áru*
Segel halten = *petáddu*
Segel festmachen = *nám*
Segel rollen = *nínin*
Segel reffen = *χáhlt*
Rahe umsetzen = *χás*
mit dem Wind segeln = *terági*
kreuzen = *χónâ*
über Stag gehen = *χára*
nach Backbord steuern = *χâuχ*
nach Steuerbord steuern = *fánô*
Segel ist auf der Auslegerseite = *igetám*
Segel ist auf der auslegerfreien Seite = *igetá*
Mast niederlegen = *χómatto i láχ*
Segel schlägt um = *damáid*
Rahe fällt heraus = *etár*
mit dem Bug ins Wasser gehen = *eowâro*

Weitere Seemannsausdrücke:

Kielwasser	*lerâf*
Bugwasser	*χapôu*
Spritzer	*barâs*
auf den Ausleger treten	*etâlu*
der Ausleger kommt aus dem Wasser	*ilχ*
kentern	*χrâp*
auf Grund stoßen	*eaχódo*
Schiffbruch	*etods*
vollschlagen	*mâs*

Kanubau. Die großen Hochseeboote werden auf Befehl des Häuptlings gebaut und geweiht der Öffentlichkeit. — Wie die Kenntnis vom Bootbau zu den Menschen kam, erzählt folgende Sage: Thelán baute einstens auf Geheiß des Eluelap ein Boot auf der Insel Ponape für den Verkehr zwischen den einzelnen Inseln. Ein Mann namens Matáh half ihm bei der Arbeit, so daß dieser genaue Kenntnis über den Kanubau erhielt. Das Boot wurde aus Brotfruchtholz gearbeitet und zwar lediglich mit Muscheläxten, nachdem vorher der Stamm fast ganz mit Feuer ausgehöhlt worden war. Die Kiellänge wurde mit einer Meßleine *(tás)* von

6½ Faden Länge *(oulâṅ ṅâf ma kopôe)* festgelegt, d. i. die Kiellänge eines Reisebootes. Diese Meßleine ist dem Thelâṅ geweiht (S. 197) und hat an den beiden Enden Kokosfiederblätter *(tjâtš)*. Die Kalfatermasse bestand wie auch heute noch aus Brotfruchtbaumharz und jungen Kokosblättern. Das Boot war in drei Monaten fertig. Thelâṅ nannte es *uâ*. — Heute erstreckt sich die Arbeitsdauer

Abb. 259.

Abb. 260a.

Abb. 260b.

Abb. 259. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 31701I, Länge ohne Blattstreifen 36 cm). — Abb. 260. Doppelköpfiger Griff eines solchen Wetterzaubers (Hamburg 22611, Höhe 33 cm); b = Seitenansicht.

auf über zwei bis drei Monate; die hauptsächlichsten Arbeiten wurden bereits in sechs Tagen erledigt. Das ganze Dorf hilft dabei mit. Die Arbeit leitet ein Baumeister *(šînap)*. Die Werkzeuge wurden bereits oben bzw. unter Technik genannt. Die Verpflegung der Arbeiter obliegt in dieser Zeit den am Bau nicht mitschaffenden Menschen. Die Arbeit wird oft unterbrochen, damit das Holz nachtrocknen kann, und die freie Zeit durch festliche Schmausereien von jeweils sechstägiger Dauer ausgefüllt.

Als **Reiseproviant** wurden für eine fünfköpfige Besatzung zweihundert Kokosnüsse und fünfzig Kokosflaschen mit Wasser angegeben; verfehlt man das Ziel, so müssen Fische, aufgefangenes Regenwasser und im Notfall Seewasser genügen. Gekocht wird in einem kleinen Sandkasten *(fenâṅ)*.

Über Kanuhäuser s. S. 183.

Von den **religiösen Gebräuchen** ist der auf den Karolinen allbekannte Wetterzauber (Abb. 259, 260) mit holzgeschnitzten und mit Rochenstacheln (Stachel = *perạ*, Rochen = *ʃdix)* bewehrten Figuren *(xɔ̃s)* üblich, teilweise sind sie mit mehreren Kokosblattknoten *(ɑ̃wud)* und mit Seepocken für Farbe zum Bemalen der Figur behangen. Sie werden in der gleichen Weise wie auf Polowat gehandhabt[1]. — Dieser Wetterzauber wurde durch den vielgereisten Mann Buimẽn erst auf Faraulip eingeführt.

Vor Antritt der großen Fahrten wird noch folgender Zauber für Thelấn gemacht: es wird eine Tritonsmuschel geblasen, die nach Rückkehr im großen Haus aufgehängt wird. Als Opfer für Alülue werden auf dem Ausleger Matten und Kokosnüsse niedergelegt. — Beim Heraufziehen eines Reisebootes auf den Strand wird ein längeres Lied *(bɑ̃ne)* gesungen, das wohl mehr den Charakter eines Arbeitsgesanges hat.

Thibɑ̃e karehitšẽ	Es läuft von außen in die Passage ein,
Mẽthẽ Inarüdlu	In den Einlaß von Inarüalu.
Muirišõ u merẽ	Es steuert richtig und es fährt schnell
Puẽlẽ mailɑ̃p e lanĩkapi	Es sieht den Mailap, den Lanikapi
Urupu. Thibɑ̃e tẽe rivɑ̃tẽ	Und den Urupu. Sie sehen jetzt das Ziel.
Ta u mẽnu kamenai	Viele Vögel, viele große und kleine
Rẽ fiti mẽ korükakɑ̃	Sind nun in seiner Nähe,
Bue ire manü fẽ ki	Sie flattern auf das Kanu,
Re roupe uẽ ni matẽ,	Sie setzten sich auf Aufsatz und Ausleger,
Mẽ išerõu uẽ ni mate ŋaru	Sie setzten sich auf den weichen Fang,
Bue ire manü fẽ ki	Sie flattern auf das Kanu,
Re roupe uẽ ni matẽ ŋarɑ̃.	Sie setzten sich auf den weichen Fang.

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 114.

/81/

V. Haus und Dorf.

Hausarten. a) Die Wohnhäuser *(ĺm)* zeigen hinsichtlich der Giebelseiten Unterschiede, als neben der glatten Giebelseite hier und da noch ein von Stangen getragener Giebelvorbau angebracht ist (s. Taf. 15). Die Hütten stehen auf einer größeren rechteckigen Erdplattform, die von großen Kopfsteinen begrenzt ist, und haben Balkenlage sowie Bretterwände mit vier Türöffnungen. Das Dach *(eáu er ĺm)* hat die für die Westkarolinen typische Form mit dem weit überragenden Firstbalken. Dachmatten = *ás.* — Zu den verschiedenen Skizzen seien die einzelnen Bezeichnungen angeführt.

Abb. 261: Grundriß eines Wohnhauses.

1. Herdeinfassung *ûôôu e ĺerâṅ*
2. Herd *ĺerâṅ*, Herdstelle *nan e ĺerâṅ*
3. *ûlût*
4. *nen ni urôra*
5. Steineinfassung *urôr*
6. Balkenlage *gorâĺ, gorâro*
7. Stützbalken für vorragenden Firstteil *χamârumur*
8. Tür *nerĺṅ* (s. Abb. 262), sie dreht sich in Zapfen *(χatubetâp)* und hat einen Riegelzapfen *(âti)*, der in ein Riegelloch *(uarlti)* faßt. Türpfosten = *tîûm*, Türschwelle = *urâr*, Türsims = *pîr i pîṅ*.

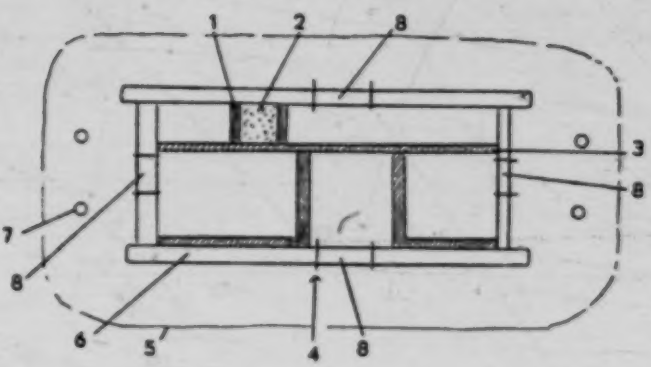
Abb. 263: Innenansicht des Daches.

1. *uṅarûχ, uṅatîlg* (oberer Firstbalken)
2. Firstbalken *uûṅ*
3. *ilûtîlg*
4. *onobêî*
5. *gâp*.

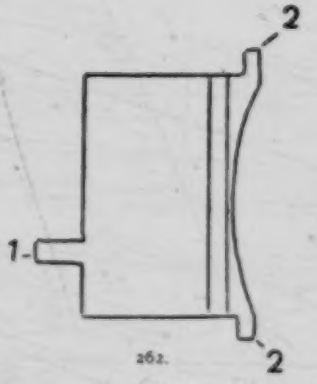
Die Sicherung des Daches zeigt Abb. 264. An den Pfetten (Nr. 1) sind Stützen (Nr. 2) befestigt, die das Dach halten.

Abb. 265 zeigt die äußere Giebelseite *(pîṅ)* eines Hauses mit dem Verandadach *(nugu e pîṅ)*.

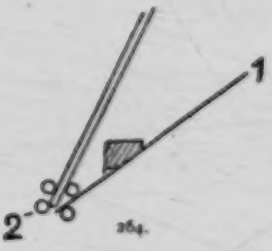
1. *lâre lipa pîṅ*
2. *uôṅ le pîṅ*
3. *lâraχ i lâṅ*



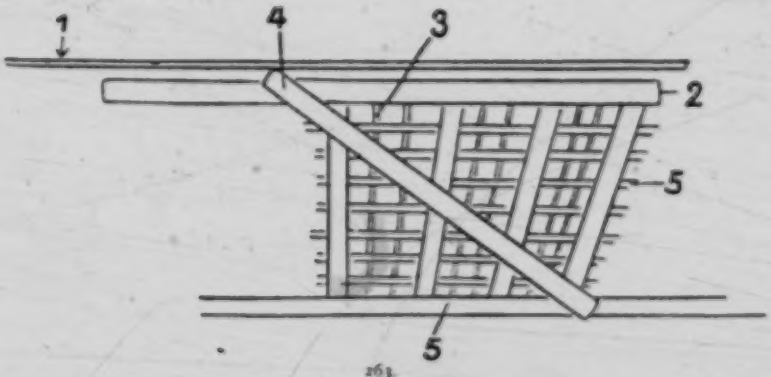
261.



262.



264.



263.

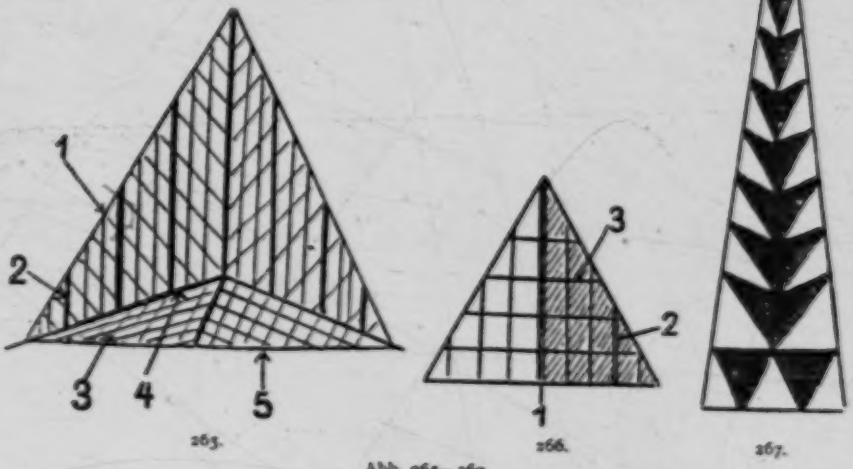
Abb. 261—264.

Abb. 261—264. Wohnhaus (nach Skizzen Hambruch). — Abb. 261. Grundriß. — Abb. 262. Tür. — Abb. 263. Innenansicht des Daches. — Abb. 264. Sicherung des Daches.

4. *tárè lipa e ʃán*
5. *ʃán*

Pfosten, die das Verandadach stützen = *ʃátr'ím*

Abb. 266 zeigt die Konstruktion der inneren Giebelseite



265. 266. 267.

Abb. 265—267.

Abb. 265—267. Wohnhaus (nach Skizzen Hambruch). — Abb. 265. Äußere Giebelseite. — Abb. 266. Konstruktion der inneren Giebelseite. — Abb. 267. Verzierung des Tragpfostens.

(tebálu); diese ist mit Kokosblättern verkleidet und nur der Tragpfosten in der Mitte ist verziert (s. Abb. 267).

1. Mittelpfosten *ʃodr tebálu*
2. *ʃu*
3. *túm tebálu*.

b) Das »große Haus« *(ʃál)* ist das Bootshaus und zugleich der eigentliche Aufenthalts- und Schlafraum für die Männer. Die Tragpfosten sind der Rinde entkleidete, roh behauene Stämme (vgl. Taf. 14). Das Haus ist nach allen Seiten hin offen, die Windseite wird je nach Bedarf mit Matten oder Palmwedeln zugehan-

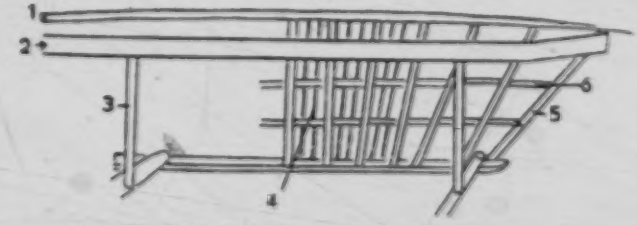


Abb. 268. Dachgerüst; Seitenansicht (nach Skizze Hambruch).

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

gen. Das Äußere macht einen rohen Eindruck und auch das Innere mit den verschiedensten Gerätschaften (Netzen, Reusen, Körben, Tauen, Schalen u. dgl.) an den Pfosten und Wänden, mit seinen schmutzigen Fußbodenmatten, über die an Speeren Moskito-Netze gespannt sind, atmet keinerlei Behaglichkeit.

Einzelteile des Dachgerüstes (Seitenansicht Abb. 268) 1. *uŋarûx*, 2. *uûn*, 3. *bxuôt*,

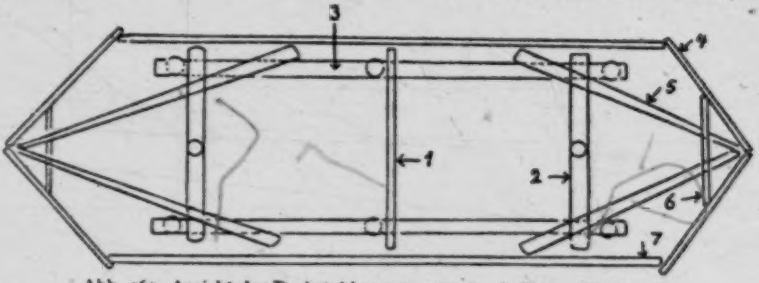


Abb. 269. Ansicht des Dachstuhles von unten (nach Skizze Hambruch).

4. *xât*, 5. *uôt*, 6. *gapaŋâx*, *edxth* = Dachmatte. Das Dachgerüst ruht ohne jede Bindung auf den Eckpfeilern. — DieAnsicht des Dachstuhles von unten (Abb.269) zeigt noch folgende Teile: 1. *lali erû* 2. *gôt i tjâm* 3. und 4. *dari e lâpe* 5. *tlf* 6. *wâi i ûp*.

c) Die Geisterhütte des Ponijóu trägt ein Satteldach und hat glatte Giebelseiten; die Hütte ist mit einer Steinsetzung umgeben.

d) Kochhaus *(malâm)*. Das Blätterdach *(eijôl)* ruht auf vier rohen Pfosten *(sura)* und wird in seinem vorragenden Teil an beiden Giebelseiten durch je vier schwächere Pfosten *(uâr etât)* gestützt. Mattenwände *(tire)* werden nur an der Windseite aufgestellt, an dieser Stelle der Hütte liegt das Brennmaterial, während der Erd-

270a.

270b.

Abb. 270a, b. Kochhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch); a = Außenansicht, b = Grundriß.

ofen *(tâm)* in der Mitte ist und die andere Seite für Küchenabfälle bestimmt ist (Abb. 270).

e) Niederkunftshütten und Bluthäuser *(tm malipâr)* sind nichts anderes als Wohnhütten, nur in roherer Ausführung und in kleinerem Maßstabe (s. Taf. 15).

Zum Inventar gehören außer Waffen und den auf S. 167 genannten Haushaltgeräten noch Kopfstützen *(elüdü)*, Wiegen *(ülo̊ila)* aus einem viereckigen Rahmen *(ealo̊)*, der mit einem Schnurnetzwerk *(metâd)* bespannt ist, sowie Schlafmatten *(χidgi;* Schlafstelle = *nanle)*.

Der Hausbau ist Sache von Fachleuten *(šînaṗ)*, in deren Händen auch die Kanuherstellung liegt. Auf Faraulip gab es 1909 noch drei derartige Handwerker. Als Honorar wird das gezahlt, was sie fordern, zumeist ist es Essen. Bei der Arbeit helfen alle Dorfbewohner mit; in ½ bis 1 Monat ist sie geleistet. Als Material wird Brotfruchtholz genommen. — Das »große Haus« wird auf Geheiß des Oberhäuptlings erbaut; es ist wie die großen Boote, die ja auch ein Ergebnis von Gemeinschaftsarbeit sind, gemeinsamer Besitz.

Siedlungen bestehen auf der Hauptinsel Faraulip und auf Pix; dagegen fand Hambruch die dritte Insel Ead unbewohnt und nur von Gestrüpp überwucherte Steinpostamente und verwilderte Tarofelder zeigten eine frühere Besiedlung an.[1] Die vorhandenen Niederlassungen unterstehen einem Häuptling und zwei Unterhäuptlingen. Auf *Faraulip* stehen 18 Wohnhäuser, 4 Bluthäuser und ein Geisterhaus. Die Hausaufnahme durch Hambruch ergab folgendes Bild:

Zahl der Gebäude	Name des Gebäudes	Zahl der Bewohner	Bemerkungen
1. u. 2.	*galîne e pix*	der Häuptling und seine zwei Schwestern, sein Sohn sowie zwei Mädchen und ein Knabe	Häuptlingshaus
3. u. 4.	*malûm*		Kochhaus
5.	*šepâl*		es ist kein Kanu mehr vorhanden; das Haus wurde sieben Gästen aus Ifaluk zur Verfügung gestellt.
6.	*gatimo̊x*		großes Kanu- und Männerhaus
7.	*banerdn̊*		kleines Kanuhaus mit 7 Booten, davon sind drei noch im Bau.
8.	*šordî*	ein Mann, eine Frau, zwei Knaben, ein Mädchen	

[1] Thilenius 1927, S. 258.

Zahl der Gebäude	Name des Gebäudes	Zahl der Bewohner	Bemerkungen
9.	*šomât*	drei Männer, fünf Frauen, zwei Mädchen	
10.	*šepâl*		kleines Kanuhaus
11.	*nîmmaū*	drei Männer, drei Frauen, zwei Knaben, ein Mädchen	
12. u. 13.	*lagôi ijâ*	vier Männer, fünf Frauen, fünf Knaben	
14.	*jalinîx*	ein Mann, eine Frau, zwei Knaben, ein Mädchen	
15.	*gajeldn*	drei Männer, drei Frauen, zwei Mädchen	
16.	*galineldx*	zwei Männer, drei Frauen, zwei Knaben, ein Mädchen	
17. u. 18.	*îm malipâr*		Bluthaus
19.	*jarijôu*	drei Männer, drei Frauen, drei Knaben, ein Mädchen	Haus des Saūeru
20.	*banijôu*		Geisterhaus
21.	*pegejân*	zwei Frauen, ein Knabe	»Prostituiertenhaus«
22. u. 23.	*îm malipâr*		Bluthäuser

In dieser Siedlung lebten also 22 Männer, 28 Frauen, 17 Knaben, 11 Mädchen, zusammen 78 Individuen, dazu kommen noch 14 Leute, die sich damals gerade auf Yap befanden. Die Bevölkerungszahl betrug also 92.

Auf Pix wurden 17 Wohnhäuser, 14 Kochhütten und zwei Geisterhäuser (ein Beispiel von der Verzierung der Stützpfeiler s. Abb. 271) gezählt, mit 15 Männern, 24 Frauen, 10 Mädchen, 13 Knaben, zusammen 62 Menschen. Ferner fand sich hier die verlassene Station des japanischen Händlers. Die Aufnahme durch Hambruch ergab folgendes Bild:

Abb. 271. Verzierung der Stützpfeiler im Geisterhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch).

1. u. 2.	oue e rûx	vier Männer, fünf Frauen, ein Mädchen, ein Knabe
3.	nanûefat	ein Mann, zwei Frauen, ein Mädchen, zwei Knaben
4.	matereměijûr	drei Männer, vier Frauen, zwei Mädchen, drei Knaben (hier waren die Hausplanken mit einem Tau »vernäht«)

5.	fareiåñ	ein Mann, vier Frauen, zwei Knaben
6.	orifåra	zwei Männer, zwei Frauen, zwei Mädchen, zwei Knaben
7.	oripéi	ein Mann, zwei Frauen, ein Knabe
8.	xateubůr	zwei Männer, zwei Frauen, zwei Mädchen, ein Knabe
9.	ralůñ	ein Mann, drei Frauen, zwei Mädchen, ein Knabe.

VI. Krieg und Waffen.

Kriege *(fitɛ̊x)* waren in alten Zeiten nicht selten[1], jetzt werden Streitigkeiten mit Speeren, Stöcken und Haizahnschlagringen *(rajarås)* ausgetragen. — Steine werden mit der Hand geschleudert. — Bogen und Pfeile sind nicht vorhanden. Der Sieger gebietet dem Kampf Einhalt. — Kriegserklärung = *maůd*, Friedensschluß = *eiamɛ̊le maůd*.

[1] Thilenius 1927, S. 259.

155

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur.

VII. Zur Soziologie.

An **Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen** stellte Hambruch folgende fest:
Großvater (väterlicherseits) *pulje tamâ*
Großmutter (väterlicherseits) *tjîn i tamâ*
Großvater (mütterlicherseits) *tematemâχ puljetjîn*
Großmutter (mütterlicherseits) *pulje tjîn temai tjînē*
Vater *temâ, tamâ*
Mutter *iîn, tjîn*
Bruder *mâneanâ*
jüngerer Bruder *puljî*
älterer Bruder *mâr'npêi*
Schwester *eïetogovêi*
ältere Schwester *maneâ* (ist wohl identisch mit dem Polowat-Begriff *moněâl;* vgl. dazu Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 143)
Gatte *tšoglnidne*
Gattin *eutâχ*
Sohn *šâri*
Tochter *nigâu*
Vaterbruder *marinepâ e tamâ*
Mutterbruder *puljid*
Sohn des Sohnes *lân în mân*
Tochter des Sohnes *lân în rawût*
Sohn der Tochter *naūîn*
Tochter der Tochter *naūîn rawût*

Als **Altersbezeichnungen** wurden dagegen genannt:

Mann	*mân*
Frau	*rawût, jāîfîn*
Greis	*itagîl e mân*
Greisin	*itagîl e medâ e jâ.*

Namen für die Altersabschnitte der Jugend finden sich bei Hambruch nicht angegeben!

Ehe. Die Regel ist Einehe, doch kann ein Mann auch mehrere Frauen haben, so hatte der Häuptling z. B. vier Frauen. — Will ein Mann heiraten und zwar kann er das, wenn er fischen, segeln, rudern, Palmwein bereiten, kurz wenn er eine Frau ernähren kann — so fragt er sein Mädchen, ob sie wohl die Seine werden wolle. Das Mädchen gibt nicht sogleich Antwort, sondern will ihren Zukünftigen erst einmal näher kennen lernen. Die Liebenden stecken sich gegenseitig allerlei zu: der Mann bringt der Frau Nüsse, Fische, Schmuck und dergleichen, die Frau versorgt den Mann mit Matten, Essen, Taro und dergleichen. Ist man sich schließlich einig geworden, so geht der Mann zum Vater des Mädchens und holt sich dessen Zustimmung, zugleich bringt er Matten, Fische und dergleichen mit. Wird dem Werber das Mädchen versagt, so kommt es mitunter vor, daß das Mädchen doch auf ihren Willen besteht und die Heirat auch gegen den Willen des Vaters durchsetzt. Die Hochzeit wird durch ein großes Essen gefeiert, das die Verwandten des jungen Paares anrichten; das ganze Dorf feiert mit. Als Mitgift werden der Frau Taropatschen, zwei bis drei Brotfruchtbäume und einige Kokospalmen mitgegeben, der Mann bezahlt dagegen an den Schwiegervater 30 bis 200 Kokosnüsse, 3—10 Brotfrüchte und einige Taroschüsseln.

Der Ehemann zieht in das Haus seiner Frau und leistet dort Arbeit; doch geht er auch ab und zu in das eigene Elternhaus. Die Frau kümmert sich zunächst wenig um den Haushalt, vorerst besorgen die Eltern alles für die junge Ehe, bis dann später auch die Arbeit von der verheirateten Tochter mit erledigt wird. Die junge Frau kümmert sich um das Haus der Schwiegereltern in keiner Weise; sie sucht es höchstens auf, wenn es dort etwas zu essen gibt.

Geschlechtsverkehr soll vor der Ehe nicht geübt werden, doch wird es jetzt zumindest nicht sehr genau damit genommen. Das Coitieren (*ria* = Vagina, *ɔunum* = Clitoris) wird beiden Geschlechtern von den alten Leuten systematisch gelehrt. Über die Entstehung des Coitus s. Sage S. 207. Dicke Leute üben meist den Cunnilingus aus und zwar drei bis viermal im Monat. Die Schamlippen (*/lx*) werden künstlich verlängert.

Prostitution ist bekannt; die Prostituierten liefern den Liebeslohn ihrer Mutter ab. Einen besonderen Namen gibt es für Dirnen nicht.

Geburt. Den Eintritt der Schwangerschaft erkennt die Frau an dem Wegbleiben der Mensis. Kurz vor der Geburt sucht die Schwangere das Bluthaus (S. 184) auf und bleibt hier etwa zwei Monate lang, dann geht sie wieder in ihr Haus. Erst fünf bis sechs Monate nach der Geburt darf der Verkehr wieder gepflegt werden, geschieht es eher, so stirbt nach Auffassung der Insulaner das Kind. — Über Mehrgeburten war nichts zu erfahren. — Bei der Geburt des ersten Kindes entrichtet der Vater des Mannes an den Schwiegervater große Zahlungen an Fischen, Nüssen und Brotfrüchten.

Ehebruch wird durch Zahlung von Wertsachen gesühnt.

Der persönliche **Besitz** verteilt sich auf beide Geschlechter; es gehören:

dem Manne	der Frau
Wohnhaus	Taroplätze
Kokospalmen	Küchengerät
Handwerkszeug	mitunter auch ein Boot.
Fischereigerät	

Beiden gemeinsam gehören Bananen und Brotfruchtbäume, während die großen Boote und das große Kanuhaus Dorfeigentum sind. Der Häuptling hat für die Instandhaltung zu sorgen; dazu stehen ihm die Dorfbewohner zur Verfügung.

Stirbt der Mann, so verbleiben der Frau die Tarofelder, während das Haus auf den nächstältesten Bruder des Verstorbenen übergeht. Dieser heiratet zumeist auch die Witwe und nimmt damit gleichzeitig die Kinder in seine Obhut. Mit seinem Ableben übernimmt das älteste Kind die Verpflichtung für die Mutter und Geschwister zu sorgen.

Die **Arbeit** verteilt sich auf die beiden Geschlechter in folgender Weise; es entfällt auf

den Mann	die Frau
Buschrodung	Tarokultur
Anlage der Brotfruchtpflanzungen	Süßkartoffelanbau
Kochen im Kanuhaus	Nahrungszubereitung
Tauanfertigung	Weberei
Kanubau	
Hausbau	

Tod *(emêia)* und **Bestattung** *(iragegêrigi)*. Ist der Kranke trotz sorgfältiger Pflege von seiten der Eltern, Geschwister und Verwandten gestorben, so wird sein Gesicht sorgfältig mit gelber Farbe *(rân)*, der übrige Körper jedoch nur wenig damit bemalt. Schließlich wird der Tote völlig in Kleidmatten eingewickelt. Männer und Frauen stimmen Totengesänge an und tragen die Leiche noch am gleichen Tag auf ein großes Boot, das nach Osten zu liegt, so daß also auch der Tote, ganz wie es einst Eluelap bestimmt hat, in dieser Richtung zu liegen kommt. Man bringt die Leiche dann außerhalb des Riffkranzes, legt sie in ein mit Steinen beschwertes Netz *(šrôu)* und versenkt sie im Meer *(gaterôuldûx)*. Die Toten werden von Fischen gefressen und die Gebeine nimmt der Meeresgrund auf. Nach 4—5 Wochen findet ein großer Totenschmaus statt *(eâxi giri mêxa)*, der gleichsam die Bezahlung für die gelieferten Totenmatten ist. Witwe und Witwer *(niptth)* dürfen drei Monate nicht ihr Haar schneiden.

Früher sollen die Toten begraben worden sein und auf ihren Gräbern soll man kleine Steinsetzungen errichtet haben *(šêtje)*. Erst auf Betreiben der Yap-Leute, die damit einen Wunsch des Gottes Yônelaf verwirklichten, haben dann die

Bewohner von Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik und Faraulip die Meeresbestattung übernommen. — Diese Angabe Hambruch's ist außerordentlich bemerkenswert, denn damit sind die beiden Bestattungsarten in ihrem Alter zueinander festgelegt und andererseits ist die Verknüpfung der Totenversenkung mit der Yŏñelaf-Verehrung sicher. Bedenken wir, daß auf Grund der *ánaṅ*-Verbreitung über die Karolinen ein Wanderstrom von Osten und einer von Westen als sicher anzunehmen sind[1], so zeigt sich durch Hambruch's Angabe das Bild der aus Westen vorgedrungenen Kulturwelle bereits sehr klar in seinen wesentlichsten Elementen.

Neben der eigentlichen Familie gab es die **Sippe**, wie sie von Polowat ausführlich beschrieben ist. Es gab die Sippen Wolél, deren *moṅánaṅ* 1909 Ligilak war, ferner Ellaṅáidjáu, Sáuwól, Sáufalášik und Moṅólifer[2].

Die Bevölkerung gliederte sich in folgende **Standesgruppen**:

a) Oberhäuptling *(tamól, e pi móón)* und seine Familie,

b) drei Unterhäuptlinge *(poirlm, áuelíg* und *mánu)* und ihre Familien,

c) das übrige Volk.

Die Würde des Oberhäuptlings ist erblich und geht bis auf die ersten Siedler zurück. So gab es in alter Zeit einen *tamól* auf Faraulip, auf Pix und auf Ead und zwar hatte die letztgenannte Insel den ersten *tamól*. Der Oberhäuptling kümmert sich um das »große« Haus, ordnet die öffentlichen Arbeiten an, überwacht den Grund und Boden sowie den Fischfang, spricht Recht und sorgt für den Frieden innerhalb seiner Gemeinde. Versagt jemand den Gehorsam, so wird sein Feld enteignet. Stirbt der Oberhäuptling, so werden seine Brüder der Reihe nach Oberhäuptling und dann erst die Söhne des Verstorbenen. Frauen können nie die Herrschaft übernehmen, fehlen doch einmal die direkten männlichen Nachkommen, so werden die männlichen Kinder der Oberhäuptlingsfamilie Oberhäuptling.

Im Fall der Minderjährigkeit eines Oberhäuptlings führt der *poirlm* die Geschäfte bis zur Großjährigkeit (d. h. bis zum Pubertätsalter). Stirbt er, so tritt der *poirlm* Nr. 2 an seine Stelle, falls nicht Söhne des *poirlm* Nr. 1 vorhanden sind. Stirbt der minderjährige Oberhäuptling, so wird der *poirlm* Nr. 1 Oberhäuptling.

Die Unterhäuptlinge sind die Sprecher: sie überbringen die Befehle des Oberhäuptlings und sorgen dafür, daß sie ausgeführt werden.

In Ratsversammlungen *(xopái)*, die im »großen« Haus stattfinden, werden Großfahrten beschlossen, Arbeiten beraten, wird Recht gesprochen.

Der Eigentumsbesitz verteilte sich auf diese beiden Standesgruppen etwa folgendermaßen: der Oberhäuptling hatte 24 Plätze, dazu die Inseln Ead und

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 158.

[2] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 155ff. und Tafel bei S. 160.

Pix [das Betreten dieses Besitzes verbot er zu Zeiten durch Tabus[1]], der *poirlm* 17 Plätze, der *ãuelig* 20 und der *mânu* 13 Plätze. Ihren Besitz lassen sie von Dorfbewohnern bearbeiten, die sie dann mit Kokosnüssen bezahlen.

Die Namen der Häuptlinge vom Jahre 1909 an rückwärts sind Sãuerû, Gavûs, (um 1885) Parôa, Mareróiisãû, Néipôl (um 1804; er ist der historische Alberto, vgl. S. 194), Ragetéx, Thamolrâs[2]. — Die beiden Unterhäuptlinge zu Zeiten der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition hießen Šãûwul und Mâroijam.

Recht. Der Oberhäuptling ist der oberste Richter. Stiehlt jemand Nüsse, so wird das ganze Dorf im »großen« Haus zusammengerufen, dieses wird dann mit einem Tau abgesperrt und der Dieb wird dann nicht eher wieder eingelassen, als bis er dem Häuptling eine Buße entrichtet hat. Ist der Dieb nicht zu fassen, so geht man in das Haus des Betreffenden und eignet sich hier an, was man will.

Schimpfworte wie *manu butšo* = vermaledeiter Kerl, *go tẽ pird manemu edi* = stiehl mir nur nichts! oder *xo na fẽe manemu mondanum* = gebrauche Deine Schwester! führen nicht selten zu Tätlichkeiten. Doch verprügeln bzw. duellieren sich die streitenden Parteien meist so, daß selten jemand dabei ernstlich zu Schaden kommt und stirbt. In diesem Fall tritt der Bruder des Erschlagenen für diesen ein und stellt Sühneforderungen, letztere sind sonst nicht nötig.

Ehebruch wird durch Barzahlung gesühnt. — Brandstiftung ist ein großes Verbrechen und wird mit dem Tod bestraft, außerdem wird das Haus des Täters niedergebrannt. Wer es wagt, das »große« Haus anzuzünden, wird vom ganzen Dorf zu Tode geprügelt.

Sind Schulden nicht beizutreiben, so nimmt der Gläubiger dem Schuldner Dinge im gleichen Wert fort, doch muß der Häuptling vorher davon unterrichtet werden.

---

[1] Vgl. Thilenius 1927, S. 259.

[2] Lütke (1835, Vol. II, S. 344) berichtet weiterhin, daß ein gewisser Kafalu Häuptling über Ifaluk und Faraulip sei; dieser läßt sich weder in der Häuptlingsreihe von Ifaluk noch in der von Faraulip eingliedern. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß es sich dabei um einen *moñaiñan* handelt.

193

VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte.

Über die Geschichte der ersten Besiedlung dieser Inselgruppe sind wir gar nicht unterrichtet. Wir wissen lediglich, daß die Inselbewohner sehr kriegerisch waren und sich in fortwährenden Kämpfen selbst vernichteten und daß eine neue Besiedlung in späterer Zeit von Ifaluk aus erfolgte.[1] Dies ist zur Zeit des Oberhäuptlings Thamolrâs gewesen, der deshalb auch in der Erinnerung der Bevölkerung als der erste Häuptling gilt. Über seine Zeit unterrichtet die folgende Geschichte:

Krieg zwischen Faraulip und Pix.

Ein Mann aus Pix namens Nargetumâr hatte mit langen Schimpfreden die Leute von Faraulip beleidigt. Diese hatten ihm fürchterliche Drohungen nachgerufen, als er Faraulip verließ. Daheim sagte er zu seinen Leuten: »Macht Euch fertig! Morgen kommen die Leute von Faraulip und werden mit uns kämpfen!« So machten sich die Pix-Leute Speere und auch die Faraulip-Leute rüsteten sich, aber keine Partei hatte den Mut, den Krieg zu beginnen. — Eines Nachts gingen die Faraulip-Leute fischen und nur wenige blieben mit den Frauen und Kindern im Dorf zurück. Diese wurden plötzlich von den Pix-Leuten überfallen und eine große Zahl von ihnen wurde getötet. Mit Sonnenaufgang kamen die Boote vom Fischen zurück und sahen das Blutbad. Da wurden plötzlich auch die wehrlosen Fischer in den Booten überfallen und niedergemetzelt, nur ein kleiner Teil konnte aufs Meer oder in den Busch flüchten. Die Leute von Pix blieben noch eine Zeit auf Faraulip, zogen aber dann ab.

Damals weilte ein Yap-Mann auf Faraulip, zu diesem gingen die wenigen Überlebenden und fragten ihn, ob er ihnen nicht gegen Pix helfen wolle. Er sagte zu und machte einen Zauber: da kam eine große See (wohl Taifun) und zerstörte viele Häuser auf Pix, dabei kamen zahlreiche Menschen um, nur 20 blieben etwa übrig. Aber auch der Insel Faraulip setzte die See böse zu, alle Bewohner bis auf einen, der sich in den Busch gerettet hatte, kamen um. Der Yap-Mann war kurz nach dem Zauber gestorben.

Dieser Faraulip-Überlebende namens Uerlipâr ging nun aufs Riff, fing in Körben 20 *oméi*-Fische, legte sie in einen *âx*-Korb und fuhr damit nach Pix. Zuerst rief er nach dem Häuptling. Da kam ein alter Mann an Stöcken herbeigekrochen. »Hier, willst Du den Fisch haben? Komm hole ihn Dir!« Der Alte

[1] Vgl. Thilenius 1927, S. 239, 260.

kam, da zog ihn der Fischer ins Boot und zertrümmerte ihm mit der Fischkeule den Schädel. So rief er der Reihe nach alle Leute herbei und tötete sie. Nun war er allein, das behagte ihm auch nicht und so fuhr er nach Unaneń (= Oleai) und heiratete hier, dann kehrte er mit seiner Frau nach Faraulip zurück. Als er ankam, fand er jedoch ein Boot aus Ifaluk vor, dessen Insassen von der Insel Besitz ergriffen hatten und ihm verboten, die Insel zu betreten. So fuhr er nach Pix und blieb dort. So sind viele Kulturgüter, die sich auf Faraulip finden, nicht ursprünglich, sondern stammen aus Ifaluk!

Unter dem Häuptling Ragetéx kam ein großer Taifun über Faraulip, der auf dieser Insel besonders großen Schaden anrichtete, Oleai und Aurepik dagegen weniger heimsuchte. Dieses Unwetter vernichtete viele Menschen und alle Palmen, so daß Hungersnot drohte. Glücklicherweise erschien bald ein Boot aus Oleai, das die Überlebenden mit nach ihrer Insel brachte und ihnen über die ärgste Notzeit hinweghalf. Als dann alles einigermaßen wieder angewachsen war, kehrten die Leute in ihre Heimat zurück. — Wenige Zeit später ging noch ein zweiter Taifun über die Insel, der zwar die Hütten vernichtete und einige Palmen umbrach, aber keinen größeren Schaden anrichtete.

Der Häuptling Néipôl ist der historische Alberto, den Lütke und v. Kittlitz 1828 kennen lernten und der ihnen durch seine europäischen Manieren und spanischen Sprachkenntnisse auffiel; er hatte zwei Jahre auf den Marianen zugebracht[1].

Wie Hambruch von den Eingeborenen erfuhr, kamen in dieser Zeit die ersten Weißen und zwar sollen es Spanier gewesen sein, die jedoch nicht landeten, sondern nur in der Lagune blieben. Möglicherweise ist damit Luis de Torres gemeint, der 1804 die Gruppe besuchte. Die Eingeborenen brachten ihnen Kokosnüsse und was sie sonst hatten und erhielten dafür von den Spaniern europäische Dinge. Das Eisen *(pardń)*[2] war ihnen damals schon bekannt und zwar hatte man es auf Lamutrik kennen gelernt, wo man es aus Guam einführte, gelegentlich waren auch Faraulip-Leute selbst nach Guam gefahren.

Unter Marerôi isáu wurden große Fischzüge ausgeführt und zwar in einem Ausmaße, wie es seitdem nicht wieder geschehen ist. Es erschienen auch unter seiner Regierung zweimal Walfänger (Wal = *rás)* und zwar waren es amerikanische Dreimaster. Für die Festlegung dieser Regierungszeit ist die Tatsache wichtig, daß zu jener Zeit ein deutscher Händler zum erstenmal nach Oleai kam.

Unter der Regierung des Häuptlings Gavûs strandete einmal nachts ein deutsches Schiff »Karerêin« (wohl »Kathrine«) in der Passage; sein Kapitän hieß

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 130; v. Kittlitz 1858, II. Bd., S. 151.

[2] Dieses Wort gibt hinreichend Aufschluß über die Herkunft dieses neuartigen Materiales, denn *pardá* ist das malaiische Wort für Buschmesser oder für ein Schwert mit gerader Klinge.

Becker. Er und seine Leute (zwei Weiße, das übrige waren Sandwich-Leute und ein Samoaner) blieben 1½ Jahr auf der Insel. Becker war dem Rum sehr zugetan und es wurde das Schiffsunglück seiner Trunkenheit zugeschrieben, er wurde später nach Ponape gebracht. Der eine von den beiden Weißen hat hier einen Sohn, der 1909 etwa 25 Jahre alt war; das Unglück muß sich also 1885 zugetragen haben.

Der 1909 regierende Häuptling Säberü war ein viel gereister und zuvorkommender Mann. Unter ihm siedelten sich der Händler O'Keefe und Japaner an, von letzteren ist einer auf Faraulip gestorben. Als Hambruch auf der Insel weilte, lag er grippekrank in seinem Haus; durch einen Zauberer hoffte er wieder gesund zu werden; der Zauberer half nicht, wohl aber das Chinin Hambruch's.

176

IX. Zur Religion.

Über die **Entstehung der Welt** erzählen die Eingeborenen folgendes. Tief unter der Erde liegt das Urriff *(olethapathâp*, s. Abb. 272, a); es brachte Solâl (δ) Alüeläp (ɔ) und Eoitâân (♀) hervor. Solâl pflanzte nun in das Urriff einen Stab, der rasch emporwuchs. Alüeläp nahm ein wenig Erde und stieg an diesem Stab (Abb. h) empor. Als er auf halber Höhe war, streute er etwas Erde aus und

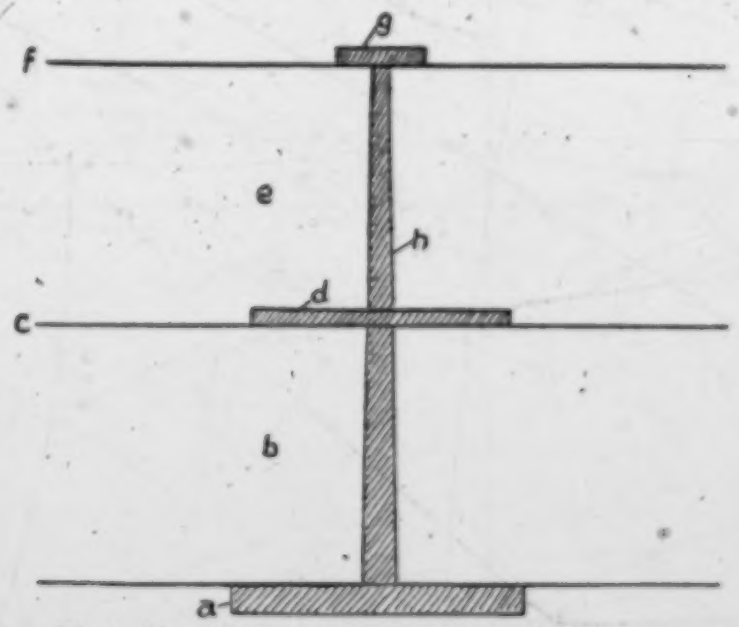


Abb. 272. Schematische Darstellung des Weltbildes (nach Skizze Hambruch).

schuf so die Erde (d), über die er seine Schwester Eoitâân, ein menschenähnliches Wesen, als Häuptling einsetzte. Er stieg dann noch höher bis in den Himmel *(lân*, Abb. f) und bezog hier das große Haus *(falûmâl*, Abb. g). Für die Erde schuf er die ersten Menschen, eine Frau namens Legobú und einen Mann Nigoburonialüâl. Beide wohnten im Osten, vielleicht auf Ponape, doch wissen es die Eingeborenen nicht genau. Auf Geheiß des Gottes Alüeläp zeugten sie viele Knaben

2: Damm et al. ORZI Woleai

und Mädchen, dann fuhren sie von Insel zu Insel und überall setzten sie einen Jüngling und ein Mädchen ab, damit sie die Inseln bevölkern sollten. Sie zogen dann weiter nach Westen, wo sie andere (!) Menschen antrafen. — Eine andere Version sagt, daß von diesem ersten Menschenpaar die gesamte Menschheit, Kanaker und Weiße, abstammen!

Die Unterwelt *(ilálo)* wird von Solál (Thaûulál, Thâûlalû), einem Wesen halb Mensch halb Fisch, beherrscht. Er schuf die Tiere des Meeres und setzte über jede Insel einen »Verwalter«, der den Eingeborenen eine reiche Beute zu sichern hatte. Im Reich der Unterwelt scheint die Sonne, wenn es auf der Erde nachtet. Der Eingeborene stellt sich dieses Land üppiger als die Erde etwa wie ein Schlaraffenland vor. Hier ist auch das Urriff (s. oben). Solal muß auf Geheiß des Alüelâp das Meer erregen, so daß Taifune entstehen und die Menschen sterben.

Im Himmel *(lâs)* befindet sich ein sehr großes Haus *(fatîumâl)*, in dem Alüelâp (auch Eluelâp), ein Wesen halb Mensch halb Fisch, haust und in dem auch alle guten Menschen Aufnahme finden (s. Totenreich). Alüelâp schuf die Welt, er machte die Sonne, die am Tag über der Erde scheint und des Nachts ihr Licht in der Unterwelt erstrahlen läßt. Ebenso schuf er den Blitz *(worowôr)* und Donner *(bâtî)*, beides benutzt er um böse Menschen zu töten. Alüelâp achtet sorgsam darauf, daß alles auf der Erde wie überhaupt im gesamten Weltall seine Ordnung hat.

Alüelâp hat eine Frau, deren Namen unbekannt ist, beider Kinder sind Nimegêt (?), die den Menschen die Kokosnuß gab (s. Sage S. 205) und Lugêilen (♂), doch gibt es über die Abstammung des letzteren noch eine andere Version (s. Sage S. 204). Lugêilen gilt genau wie bei den Polowat-Leuten als der Vertraute des Himmelsgottes[1]. Er hatte zwei Frauen und zwar eine im Himmel namens Lâmelâl (Ilamalûl), und eine auf Erden, Tâûrôx genannt, von dieser hatte er den Knaben Olufâth, während die Ehe mit der erstgenannten kinderlos war. Über die Taten dieser allbekannten karolinischen Göttergestalt berichtet die Sage S. 202.

Alüelâp hatte aber der Sage (S. 205) nach noch Adoptivkinder, von denen Thelân und Paluelâp für die Insulaner besondere Bedeutung haben. Ersterer ist der Erfinder des Bootbaues (s. S. 178), ihm sind die Meßschnur, an deren Enden zwei Kokosfiederblätter *(tjâtî)* hängen und die Kanuaxt (Abb. 245) besonders geweiht. Letzterer hat das Segel erfunden und kennt die Wege auf dem Meer. Deshalb legen die Kapitäne, wenn sie ihr Reiseziel sicher und bei ruhiger See erreichen wollen, im Boothaus eine Kokosnuß und eine Matte als Opfergabe für Paluelâp nieder. Sein Sohn Elülûe ist ihm Helfer in allen Dingen.

Im Himmel lebt weiterhin die gute Frau Marâm (= Mond). Sie möchte, daß alle Menschen leben, und läßt die Kinder zur Welt kommen. Das Gegenteil von ihr ist die Frau Nigesegés, die ebenfalls im Himmel haust. Sie ist nicht gut und

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 191.

läßt die Menschen sterben. Wenn auf der Erde jemand Böses getan hat, so gibt Alüeläp der Nigesegés den Auftrag, diesen Menschen sterben zu lassen. Marám wehrt sich dann dagegen und sagt wohl: »Sé má! (= Stirb nicht!) Die Menschen sterben dann wohl, werden aber alle zu kleinen Kindern, wachsen wieder heran und sterben so doch nicht. (Es scheint hier der Glaube an eine Unsterblichkeit vorzuliegen!) — Ehedem starben die Menschen überhaupt nicht. Als aber Alüeläp sah, wie viele Dinge sie seit der Zeit ihrer Erschaffung bereits erworben hatten, die er nicht einmal im Himmel besaß, befahl er Nigesegés, die Menschen sterben zu lassen.

Der Beherrscher der Luft *(oistjár;* das Blaue des Himmels = *li ma rahurah)* ist Thaúdr, ein Bruder des Solál (s. oben); er ist der Vermittler zwischen Himmel und Unterwelt und läßt den Menschen die Wünsche des Alüeläp wie des Solál wissen. Er kümmert sich um das Gedeihen der Brotfrucht, des Taro, der Bataten und was sonst an Eßbarem vorhanden ist.

Yoneláf

wird mehr als eine Art Dämon angesehen. Da er Taifun bringt, wird er auf den niederen Koralleninseln sehr gefürchtet. Wie Yoneláf auf den Inseln bekannt wurde, geschah folgendermaßen:

Einst wollten die Yap-Leute nach Palau fahren. Da kam ein starker Wind und verschlug sie nach Oleai. Hier berichteten sie den Bewohnern, daß in Yap ein großer König Yoneláf herrsche, dem alle Inseln bis Taróa (= Tarawa der Gilbert-Inseln) gehörten. Wenn sie nicht von einem Taifun heimgesucht werden wollten, sollten sie ihm bald Geschenke bringen. Obgleich die Oleai-Leute nicht recht an diese Erzählung glaubten, bekamen sie es doch mit der Angst zu tun und opferten seither regelmäßig Yoneláf. Von Oleai nahm dieser Kult seinen Weg weiter ostwärts.

Hambruch notierte noch den Namen eines Fabellandes Matán, das im Osten liegen soll und sicher mit dem Mehán von Polowat[1] identisch ist.

Mächtige Leute wie z. B. Ponijóu, der durch seinen Fischzauber berühmt wurde, sind nach Hambruch zu »Lokalgottheiten« erhoben worden und es wurden ihnen in kleinen Geisterhütten (s. Taf. 15) Opfer dargebracht (s. Sage S. 206).

Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung. Die Totenseelen *(faga bdobu)* gehen zu Alüeläp in den Himmel; die der guten Menschen kommen in das *fatfumál*, die der schlechten ins Feuer *(iáf)*[2], das weit vom Hause des Alüeläp entfernt brennt. Nach zwei Monaten werden diese aus dem Feuer entlassen und zur Erde geschickt, wo sie als Geister in der Luft herumschwirren, die Riffe, das Meer und den Busch

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1933, S. 197.
[2] Wörtlich: all some calabus.

beunruhigen. (Guter Geist = *eahatjá*, böser Geist = *candné*). Dabei erscheinen sie bald dem einen, bald dem andern Menschen als Traumgesicht und bringen bald böse, bald gute Nachrichten. Zumeist erscheinen sie dem Häuptling, der dann die Anordnungen des Verstorbenen ausführen läßt. Nicht selten fährt der Geist auch in einen gewöhnlichen Menschen, der dann eine Art Prophetismus (*hiffui*) betreibt. 1909 gab es solche Leute bereits nicht mehr, da mit dem Letzten die Kenntnis des entsprechenden Zaubers verloren gegangen war. — Über eine Unsterblichkeitsvorstellung s. S. 198.

Zauber kann nur von einem Wissenden (*tálo báneban*) gemacht werden. Seine Ausrüstung besteht in folgenden Dingen:

a) *tárapó*: um das rechte Handgelenk gebundene junge Kokosblattfieder,

b) *tejapetáx*: um den Hals gebundene junge Kokosblattfieder mit dem charakteristischen Knoten (*buzubáx*),

c) *ówád tábi'ip*: junge Kokosblattfiederstreifen, mit denen der Kranke unter Beschwörungen bestrichen wird; die Streifen werden dann am Kanumast für Alúlue aufgehängt,

d) *xárup*: mit Kokoswasser angerührte »Medizin«, die vom Kranken getrunken wird,

e) *xudli ówád*: Blattfiedern (*ilagli*) des Kokoswedels, wird wie c) benutzt und dann im Kanu niedergelegt,

f) *popów*: großer Palmenwedel, mit dem der Krankheitsdämon aus dem Haus getrieben wird,

g) *tídél*: der von Polowat[1] bekannte Medizinbeutel aus Kokosbastblattscheide (Blattzierstreifen = *edm*, Bastbeutel = *ád*, Medizin = *lífe*).

Hambruch konnte eine Krankheitsbeschwörung miterleben: der Häuptling war an Influenza erkrankt und so wurde der *tálo bánebau* gerufen, der mit dem Kranken folgende Rede und Gegenrede führte.

»Warum bist Du jetzt krank?« —

»Ach alles ist bei mir krank, Kopf, Arme, Beine, Bauch!« —

»Bist Du ein guter Mensch?« —

»Ja, ich bin gut!« —

»Das glaube ich nicht!« —

»Nein, ich bin gut!« —

»Wenn Du gut wärest, hätte Alúelóp Dich nicht krank gemacht. Ich glaube Du hast Leute beschimpft oder gestohlen. Ja, jetzt magst Du gut sein, denn Du kannst nichts Schlechtes tun, weil Du krank bist! — Jetzt will ich Dich besser und gesund machen. Ich werde zaubern, daß Du aufstehen kannst, und wenn Du nicht stirbst, wirst Du ein guter Mensch werden. Stirbst Du aber, dann bist Du ein schlechter Mensch! Sieh, Alúelóp gebot, Du sollst nicht töten, Du sollst nicht

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, Taf. 29, Abb. 1.

stehlen, Du sollst nicht schimpfen, nichts sollst Du nehmen, was nicht Dein Eigen ist. Tust Du dies aber doch, dann wirst Du bald sterben!«

Daraufhin trug der Medizinmann seine Krankenbeschwörung *(palupōl)* in monotoner Weise psalmierend vor.

Thālę mēiroñ, thāle māle fāl elāl	Sorget Euch, kümmert Euch!
Thāle mēiroñ thāle māle fāl elāub	Sorget Euch, macht Alles gut!
Elūlemāth le fāl lōwāx ko Elūlūe ko ll	Elülemath im großen Haus, Elülüe schau mich an!
Le ittox ko ol pi tomā uexelāhm	Komm herbei und sieh den Kranken an!
Ibue tlli riāl	Laßt die Krankheit vorüber gehen
Ko botli e tll	Macht ihn gesund!
Ko botll āñ riāth	Wehrt die Krankheit von ihm ab!
Lāuām, tarlser, xolomāri	Du, Junge, schön ist das Wetter, sieh doch
Fagli, mā u rūx, elāi, eāi	Wie schön, ich bin gesund mein Junge, mein
Aiūlāp, urisiā, falāi	Alüelap, wir singen in unserem großen Haus
Moxrōlaxrō, uāl.	Den Sitztanz.
Nalūda Alūlue, thoulde, voputōx, vapūleta lāñ.	Schlafe Alülue, geh an einen andern Platz, steig wieder in den Himmel.
Reā lāni tharāta, lm e ho xēlū	Der Himmel ist klar, es fällt ein wenig Regen.
Elāgelap, Elūlūmēi, Tebiōua[1]	Alüelap, Alülümei, Tebioua[1]
Thorōu logilorlti logilorōta	Seid gegrüßt, steigt herab, steigt hinauf!
Eān laximōt thorōulifel e vāūiōx	Seht Euch um, fertigt an die Medizin,
Uiserāx fāliſā thamōl ā	Bringt sie herab zum Häuptling!
Mailōp gerātax ūtā	Es ist gut, über dem Riff geht soeben auf der *mailōp*.
Falāi ūtā ourūna	Der Zauber ist gut.
Palde xōubogo narbiu	Palue, alle Leute bringen Dir Essen,
Tebiōua ilaiā tirorōle	Tebioua Dir auch und ebenso
Elūlemath erāti Thalāāx beigāua	Elülemath, kommt her zu meinem Kranken!
Ovilisōu sōu ull le mēiāli	Geht wieder zurück und nehmt den Weg über das Riff!
Alūlue xolouilōx, xolouilāx	Alülue, Komm herbei, steig wieder in den Himmel!
Udm Ualuā lā u xathavothovōā a le matāli	Alülue bleib wieder hinterm Riff im Wasser!

Ein anderer wichtiger Zauber ist der *mailumāti*, der Wetterzauber. Diesen gibt es in zweierlei Form: a) Wenn längere Zeit Regen ausbleibt, defäziert der Häuptling in eine Segelbahn *(gīri)* und hängt diese im großen Haus *(fāl)* auf. —

[1] Tebioua = Regengott, von Elūelap eingesetzt.

Um Regen zu machen, wird mitunter auch das Muschelhorn geblasen. — b) Über den Wetterzauber des Seemannes s. S. 180.

Eine Art Feldzauber ist das Schwimmenlassen von Spielbooten (s. Abb. 273) durch Kinder[1]. Er gilt der Brotfrucht, dem wichtigsten Nahrungsmittel der Insulaner, denn aus ihm stellt man eine Konserve her, die über die Notzeit hinweghilft. Wenn nun die Reifezeit beginnt — Wachstum und Reife dauern sechs Monate — fertigt jeder Knabe ein Spielboot *(uárlíš)* an und läßt es schwimmen, um die Brotfrucht zu begrüßen. Auf Geheiß des Älüelâp hat Thâûûr den Menschen die Kenntnis dieser Spielboote übermittelt.

Verbotsvorschriften *(etâb:* polynesisch tapu) werden bei bestimmten Gelegenheiten ausgesprochen; so verbot der Häuptling durch Tapuzeichen das Betreten seines Besitzes. Weitere Tapus s. S. 168.

[1] Vgl. Krämer, 1932 S. 242, 323.

X. Sagen und Märchen.

Die Taten des Olufâth.

Tâlâûóx war von Lugéileń schwanger. Sie lebte auf einer Insel (Name unbekannt), wo bei der Geburt eines Kindes der Frau der Leib aufgeschnitten wurde, da anders die Kinder nicht geboren werden konnten. Lugéileń sagte zu seiner Frau: »Wenn die Wehen kommen, so seufze gehörig, zieh die Bauchdecke ein und dann wird das Kind kommen!« Als es soweit war, kam Olufâth aus dem Kopfe (Bregma) der Tâlâûóx. Gleich nach der Geburt lief er nach einer Palme. Die Mutter sagte ihm: »Warte, Du bist ganz mit Blut bedeckt, laß Dich waschen!« — »Oh, ich kann mich allein waschen!« — Und er wischte das Blut an den Palmstämmen ab, die daher rot sind. Er wuchs rasch heran. Tâlâûóx sagte: »Komm, ich will Dir die Nabelschnur abschneiden!« — »Oh, das kann ich auch!« Und er schnitt sie ab. Er blieb auf der Erde und spielte mit andern Kindern. Eines Tages fing er Streit an. Da sagten die Kinder: »Geh zu Deinem Vater!« — »Ich habe keinen; ach, der ist im Himmel!« — Und Olufâth lief zu seiner Mutter. Diese fing auf seine Fragen nach dem Vater zu klagen an und sagte ihm nichts.

Eines Nachts dürstete Olufâth. Wie andere Knaben auch hatte er die Kokosnuß bisher nicht selbst aufgeschlagen und an den Mund gesetzt, sondern auf Geheiß des Vaters hatte ihm seine Mutter den Inhalt der Trinknuß stets in eine Schale gegossen und ihn daraus trinken lassen. Jetzt schlug Olufâth aber selbst eine Nuß auf und setzte sie an den Mund, da sah er seinen Vater. — »Ich will zu meinem Vater! Wie kann ich zu ihm kommen, sag' es mir!« — »Du sollst gar bald zu ihm gehen«, sagte da seine Mutter. Und Lugeiléń sagte zu Tâlâûóx: »Wenn mein Junge zu mir kommen will, zünde ihm ein Feuer an und lege viel Holz hinein, daß es Rauch gibt.« Tâlâûóx tat es. Olufâth setzte sich auf den Rauch und wurde in den Himmel emporgetragen. Als er dort ankam, sah er viele Knaben, die mit kleinen Booten spielten. »Kommt und leiht mir ein Boot!« — »Was will denn der? Woher kommt der fremde Junge? Wir geben Dir keins!« — Und sie spielten weiter. Nur ein Knabe gab Olufâth ein Boot zum Spielen. Olufâth spielte damit, gab es dann dem Knaben wieder und ging fort. Den anderen Knaben aber schwammen die Boote weg, nur dem einen nicht.

An einer anderen Stelle spielten Knaben mit Haifischen, die damals zahm waren. »Laßt mich mitspielen und leiht mir einen Fisch!« — »Was will denn der? Woher kommt denn nur der fremde Junge?« Und sie spielten weiter, nur ein

Knabe lieh Olufáth einen Fisch. Nachdem er damit gespielt hatte, gab er ihn wieder zurück. Als die anderen Knaben wieder mit ihren Fischen spielen wollten, hatten diese große Zähne bekommen und bissen die Knaben, nur den einen nicht. Dasselbe Spiel wiederholte sich bei dem kleinen Fisch *nɨx* (Hornhecht?).

Olufáth ging auf einen Berg und sah wie die Leute Palmblätter abschlugen, um damit das Haus des Eluelâp neu zu decken. »Gebt mir einmal das Messer, ich will auch Blätter schneiden!« — »Dummes Zeug! Wer kennt den Knaben?« — Nur einer gab ihm das Messer. Olufáth schnitt damit Palmwedel ab. Da kam die Nacht. Als am andern Morgen die Leute weiter arbeiten wollten, klebten ihnen die Hände am Arbeitsgerät fest, andere, die gerade die Palmstämme oder Wedel anfaßten, blieben daran hängen. So erging es allen, nur dem einen nicht.

An der Palme führte ein Weg vorüber, darauf urinierte Olufáth und hockte dann im Busch nieder. Bald darauf kam Lugeilêñ. Er trat in die Pfütze, schalt tüchtig, wußte aber nicht, wer es getan hatte. Olufáth saß im Busch und machte wie ein Vogel: »Hi, hi!« Lugeilêñ ging weiter und kam an den Platz, wo die Arbeiter an den Bäumen klebten. Da merkte er, daß Olufáth gekommen war, freute sich und befreite die Männer. Er ging dann in das große Haus. Bald darauf kam Olufáth, aber nicht als Mensch, er sah vielmehr aus wie der Vogel *golúñ*. Lugeilêñ sagte: »Komm!« Doch Olufáth lief fort. Nun rief Lugeilêñ: »Geh fort!« Da kam Olufáth herzu. Jetzt hatte er jedoch nicht mehr Vogelgestalt, sondern lag als ein Haufen Kot vor dem Vater. »Komm heraus!«, sagte da Lugeilêñ und da trat Olufáth in Menschengestalt hervor.

Die Leute im großen Haus sagten: »Ein Balken ist morsch geworden, morgen wollen wir einen anderen holen.« Alle gingen dann schlafen, auch Olufáth. Als die Sonne aufging, eilten die Leute in den Busch, schlugen einen Pfeiler, brachten ihn in das Haus und wollten ihn gegen den morschen auswechseln. Dazu mußten sie zuerst ein Loch graben. Sie sagten es Olufáth. Der nahm eine Palmblattrippe und ein Blättchen, steckte sie in seinen Lendengürtel und grub dann das Loch aus. Kaum war er fertig, als die Leute den Pfeiler nahmen und ihn durch Olufáth's Leib in die Grube rammten. Sie glaubten, daß er nun tot sei, das war jedoch nicht der Fall. Nachts nahm er die Kokosrippe, bohrte damit den Pfeiler aus und kletterte in ihm in die Höhe. Er setzte sich auf den Firstbalken und schaute zu, wie die andern Kokosnüsse aßen und sich dabei vom Tod des Olufáth erzählten. Da nahm er das einzige winzige Kokosblattstückchen, das er am Tage vorher beim Graben der Grube eingesteckt hatte, zauberte und aus dem Blattstückchen wurde eine Nuß, die größer und immer größer wurde. Er nahm sie und warf sie zwischen die Leute. »Seht, ich bin gar nicht tot!« Da merkten sie, daß Olufáth oben auf dem Firstbalken saß. Nun machten die Leute im großen Haus eine Fischreuse. Sie war nicht ganz fertig, im Innern mußte noch einiges gemacht werden, das sollte Olufáth tun. Er holte aus dem Busch Holz, nahm eine Pflanze

in den Mund und kroch in die Reuse. Schnell schlossen die Leute die Reuse, setzten sie auf ein Boot und fuhren damit vor das Riff. Hier warfen sie die Reuse in tiefes Wasser und glaubten nun, Olufáth sei endlich tot. Doch die Pflanze im Mund hielt ihn oben; es gelang ihm sogar aus der Reuse herauszukommen; dann fing er viele Fische und steckte sie in die Reuse. Er selber gab sich das Aussehen eines Ringwurmkranken und war schließlich noch eher an Land, als die Leute, die ihn töten wollten. Die Reuse lag aber schon gefüllt am Strand. Bald darauf kam Lugeilén. So waren die beiden Männer im großen Haus, ehe die anderen kamen. Als diese nun das Haus betraten, meinten sie, daß der Mann im Haus Lugeilén wäre. »Nein, so sieht er nicht aus! Ob es vielleicht Olufáth ist?« — »Oh, der liegt im tiefen Wasser vor dem Riff!« Als sie aber ins Haus eintraten, da sahen sie, daß es doch Olufáth war. Dieser erzählte ihnen nun von der gefüllten Fischreuse am Strand. Die Männer holten sie sofort herzu, sie war vollkommen gefüllt. Olufáth nahm einen Fisch und ging damit in das Haus des Donners, nahm dessen Frau, gab ihr den Fisch und schlief mit ihr. Da kam der Donner und sah, was Olufáth begangen hatte. Als er ihn fangen wollte, lief dieser jedoch ins große Haus. So machte es Olufáth auch mit der Frau des Blitzes und mit der des Mannes Pofs. Stets merkten es die hintergangenen Ehemänner, doch niemals konnten sie den flinken Olufáth fangen. Beim letzten wäre es Olufáth beinahe schlecht ergangen. Pofs war ein großer starker Mann und Olufáth hatte Angst. Er nahm deshalb einen Stein, warf ihn Pofs ins Auge und lief fort ins große Haus. Dann nahm er wieder einen Fisch und lief damit nach dem Haus des Féla. Dieser befand sich im Busch, so machte er es mit dessen Frau wie mit den andern auch. Als er fortgehen wollte, kam Féla. Sofort lief Olufáth weg, doch Féla hatte eine Fischleine. Mit dem Haken fing er Olufáth am Ohr, zog ihn zu sich heran und verprügelte ihn dermaßen, daß er wie tot liegen blieb. Féla stach ihm noch beide Augen aus und vergrub sie bei seinem Haus.

Da kam Lugeilén und hielt nach seinem Sohn Ausschau. Er spürte den Verwesungsgeruch, ging ihm nach und sah, daß Olufáth tot war. Schnell machte er einen Zauber und Olufáth wurde wieder lebendig. Er sollte nun mit Lugeilén gehen, doch wollte er nicht. Zuerst sollte Féla getötet werden. Er ging ins Haus, tötete ihn, schlug ihm die Zähne aus und warf sie ins Meer. Dann ging er zu seinen Eltern in den Himmel; er liebt Tanz und Gesang und leitet diese auf den Plätzen im Himmel und auf der Erde.

Lugeilen.

Zwei Frauen, Wavú und Pugelú, wohnten auf der Erde. Jede von ihnen bekam ein Mädchen und jedes von diesen hatte einen Apfelsinenbaum (von Europäern eingeführt). Doch waren beide nicht gleich; der eine Baum hatte bessere Früchte wie der andere. Da stahl das eine Mädchen dem andern eine Apfelsine.

Diese merkte es und verprügelte ihre Schwester. Schließlich fingen beide mit Sonnenaufgang an, eine Kleidmatte zu weben. Um die Mittagszeit hörte jedoch die eine damit auf, denn die andere, die schwächere Frau, hatte einen Zauber gemacht und machte ihre Kleidmatte fertig.

Da kam ein Mann Nisaréla; er fing sich die Frau, die ihre Matte fertig hatte und stieg mit ihr in den Himmel. Hier wohnte im Osten des Himmels ein kleiner König Mesenieńótu, der nahm sich diese Frau zur Gattin. Sie bekam bald einen Knaben, der erhielt jedoch keinen Namen; er war ein guter, lieber Mensch. Elueláp hatte ihn sehr gern, nahm ihn zu sich und nannte ihn Lugeiléń. Er machte ihn zu einem großen König im Himmel.

Wie Nimégei den Menschen die Kokosnuß gab.

Früher gab es wohl Palmen, aber keine Nüsse. Da bekam Elueláp eine Tochter Nimegéi. Nimegéi wurde schwanger, doch gebar sie kein Kind, sondern eine Kokosnuß kam heraus. Diese Nuß füllte sie mit Erde und ließ sie liegen. Nach zehn Tagen keimte sie. Nimegéi wußte nicht, was es war; das Ding wuchs rasch empor, es war eine Palme, an der viele, viele Nüsse hingen. Da sagte Elueláp zu vier Männern: »Paßt auf, daß niemand die Nüsse vom Baum stiehlt oder die abgefallenen wegnimmt!« Doch Lugeiléń nahm heimlich eine davon, ging damit nach Mogemog und pflanzte sie dort ein. Schnell wuchs sie empor und bekam viele Nüsse. Da machten sich alle Leute in ihren Booten nach Mogemog auf und holten sich Nüsse. So kam die Kokosnuß auf die Inseln.

Die Abstammung des Theláń und seiner Brüder.

Elueláp hat drei weitere Söhne Theláń und Alülemáth. Diese waren Zimmerleute. Theláń ging zu den farbigen, Alülemáth zu den weißen Menschen und zeigte ihnen den Schiffbau. Theláń baute in Málip auf Ponape das Kanu, das sich von dort aus weiter nach dem Westen verbreitete, er baute auch die Häuser, aber er war auf das Praktische bedacht. Alülemáth ging zu den Weißen, unterrichtete sie in den Wissenschaften, zeigte ihnen, wie Schiffe gebaut wurden und machte sie klug.

Eine andere Version lautet: Zwei Männer, Theláń und Themarûx, sind Brüder des Alülemáth. Die beiden ersteren halten sich bei den Eingeborenen auf, Alülemáth bei den Weißen. Alle drei sind nicht die rechtmäßigen Kinder des Elueláp. Sie stammen vielmehr von der Frau Legobú und dem Mann Nigoburonialüal ab, die sich beide von der Frau Eőitsán herleiten. Das Ehepaar bekam die genannten drei Söhne, die sehr klug waren und die Elueláp deshalb so gern hatte, daß er sie zu sich nahm, ihnen ihre Namen gab und sie adoptierte. Ein weiterer Sohn (dieses Paares?) ist Palûelap, der einen Sohn Elûlûe hat.

Eluelâp sprach zu seiner Schwester Eōitsân: »Schaffe Menschen!« Eōitsân gab es weiter an Legobû. Diese tat es, aber hatte kein Essen. Als sie morgens aufwachte, fand sie viel Essen vor, weil sie davon geträumt hatte. Wenn sie aber träumte, sie bekäme kein Essen, so war auch am andern Morgen keins da. Eluelâp ließ sie stets so träumen, wie es für ihr Leben notwendig war. Themarûx baute das Haus, Thelân das Boot. Palûelap ist der Wegweiser auf Reisen und hat das Segel erfunden. Sein Sohn Elülûe hilft ihm.

Die Frauen Nagé.

Zwei Freundinnen lebten in Ifaluk: Nagéibiorû (1) und Nagéirifan (2). Als sie einmal nach Ifaluk kamen, gerieten sie heftig in Streit. Da nahm Nagé 2 eine Kokosschale, füllte sie mit Sand und ging auf das Meer hinaus. Sie schüttete den Sand ins Wasser und eine Insel kam hervor; es war Fāliéu. Nur niedriger Busch wuchs hier, Palmen gab es nicht, kurz niemand konnte darauf leben. Diese Frau bekam einen Knaben Fagém e tāū und ein Mädchen Lewāūuót, letzteres starb jedoch. Als der Knabe herangewachsen war, sagte er zu seiner Mutter: »Mach mir ein Boot!« Die Mutter machte ihm ein Spielkanu. »Wenn Dir dieses Boot einmal wegschwimmt, dann steig hinauf!« Einmal schwamm das Kanu fort, da schwamm der Knabe hinterher und stieg in das Boot. Es brachte ihn nach Ifaluk. Da sah er viele Knaben und er zeigte ihnen, wie man Spielboote macht. Nagé 1 war in Ifaluk geblieben. Eines Tages sagte ein Knabe: »Woher kommt dieser Knabe, den haben wir früher nicht gesehen?« Das hörte Nagé 1. Da Fagém e tāū seiner Mutter sehr ähnelte, fragte sie ihn, woher er denn käme. Er sagte es ihr und berichtete auch von seiner Mutter. Da nahm ihn Nagé 1 in ihr Haus und er blieb bei ihr.

Ponijoû.

Ponijoû war ein Mann, der vor kurzer Zeit starb. Zu Lebzeiten war er wegen wirksamer Fischzauber sehr berühmt, besonders gut war sein Zauber für fliegende Fische. Da nun nach seinem Tod niemand den Zauber kennt, baute man ihm ein Geisterhäuschen. — Schläft Sāūerû, so erscheint ihm zuweilen Ponijoû und sagt ihm, daß die Leute einen guten Fischfang tun können. Fällt der Fang nicht gut aus, so geht ein Fischer zum Haus des Ponijoû und stiftet irgendein Geschenk. — Ponijoû befiehlt und verbietet das Fischefangen der; Häuptling ist in allen Fällen Vermittler.

Wie die Menschen zum Feuer kamen.

Eluelâp machte das Feuer und gab es Olufâth, der es heimlich in einem Bambus verbarg und es den Menschen brachte. Er zeigte ihnen, wie sie mit Hilfe von Hölzern das Feuer bohren konnten.

Wie Lugeilẽñ den Menschen den Coitus lehrte.

Früher hatten die Frauen keine Scham und die Menschen kannten den Coitus nicht, sie konnten nur essen und trinken. Da kam Lugeilẽñ, den Eluelâp zur Erde geschickt hatte, zum Mann Niparâra und zur Frau Temoñemõñ und sagte zur letzteren: »Hast Du keinen Mann?« Die Frau sagte: »Doch!« — »Wo ist er denn?« — »Er fängt Fische.« — »Mehr versteht Ihr nicht? Kennt Ihr nichts Anderes?« Bei diesen Worten nahm Lugeilẽñ der Frau die Kleidmatte fort und sah, daß sie keine Scham hatte. Da machte er eine, steckte zwei Finger hinein und gestaltete die Geschlechtsteile. Dann gebrauchte er sie und ging schließlich fort. Da kam der Mann nach Hause und sagte: »Hier bringe ich Fische, geh und mach das Boot gut fest!« — »Ach was, Boot!« Und das Boot blieb halb auf den Strand gezogen liegen. Die Frau sagte weiter: »Ich will Dir aber was Schönes zeigen, das wurde mich soeben gelehrt. Ich kannte es noch nicht, niemand hier kennt es. Komm, steig über mich hinweg!« Er tat es, aber sein Glied wollte nicht steif werden, da rieb sie den Penis und so koitierten sie. Und alle Leute kamen herbei und sahen zu. Da sagte die Frau: »Sieh nach Deinem Boot!« — »Ach was, Boot! Dies ist schön!« Und so koitierten sie den ganzen Tag.

Der Vogel Bâth.

Früher gab es einen Vogel Bâth, der mit seinem Ruf »Bri-bri« immer großen Lärm machte. In der Luft sah er bald weiß, bald rot, bald schwarz aus. Alle Menschen hatten große Angst vor ihm, denn viele, die ihn sahen, starben. Da beklagten sich die Überlebenden bei Olufâth. Dieser nahm nun einen jungen *bâth*-Vogel, setzte ihn auf die Erde und sagte ihm, er solle klein bleiben und nicht mehr solchen Lärm machen. Als das Tier auf der Erde seine Stimme ertönen ließ, kam nur ein »kikeriki« und »gakgak« heraus. Es soll ein sehr großer Vogel gewesen sein. (Damit kann wohl nur das Huhn gemeint sein?) Einmal bemerkten ihn zwei Yap-Leute, als sie fischten. Sie machten einen Zauber, um ihn zu fangen, doch der Vogel stieß auf den einen von ihnen los und tötete ihn, den anderen verwundete er. Der Vogel soll dann nach Palau gelangt und dort gestorben sein.

XI. Musik, Tanz und Spiel.

Von Musikinstrumenten ist einzig und allein die Muscheltrompete *(tâûi;* Mundstück = *eoâl*, Schalloch = *nân*, blasen = *xâ̈num)* zu nennen, die aber mehr zu Signalen und religiösen Anrufen (s. S. 180) als zur musikalischen Erbauung dient. — Schwirrer und Blattpfeife sind als Kinderspielzeug bekannt (s. S. 210).

An Tänzen *(ûru)* kennen die Männer den unter den Karolinern allgemein üblichen Stabtanz *(nôn ûra)* und den Handtanz *(huaſûrux)*. Die Frauen haben einen Sitztanz *(apſtax)*; die einzelnen Phasen sind nach Hambruch:

1. langsame, choralartige Einleitung, Handbewegungen: Schließen, Öffnen und Drehen taktmäßig im Rhythmus der Begleitmusik (gesungen), $^3/_4$ Takt, zum Schluß Beschleunigung, plötzliches Abbrechen,
2. Schnelleres Tempo und Gestenspiel zu lebhaftem Gesang,
3. Wie 1.,
4. Klatschen der Hände,
5. Kopfwenden und Drehen, gegen Schluß Handbewegungen.
6. Aufstehen, Ordnen der Reihen, Klopfen des rechten Oberschenkels, Aufheben des Beines, Treten auf der Stelle, Drehen und Wenden nach den Seiten und zurück, Bauchtanz (in drei verschiedenen Weisen zur Schau gestellt, stark erotisch),
7. Auflösen in Reigentanz, ballettartig,
8. Bauchtanz, Hüftendrehen, Treten auf der Stelle, dann Handbewegungen gegen Ende langsamer,
9. Coitustanz, Nachahmen der Hingabe,
10. wie 6.,
11. Klatschen mit hohler Hand auf Bauch, Brust, dann lebhafter Gesang, Coitustanz, Ballett,
12. wie 11.,
13. Klatschen, eine Vorsängerin singt Solo, weiter wie 11.
14. Vorwärts- und Rückwärtsschreiten, weiter wie 6., dazu Rufen: »*Hôka, ſetâi ûra tipêi.*«
15. Coitustanz, Herausforderung, Klopfen der Oberschenkel, Spreizen der Oberschenkel, Schlagen auf die Vulva.

Das Tanzkleid *(śrûp)* besteht aus einem Schurz von langen Kokosfiedern, die Männer tragen zudem noch im Haar mit Federn geschmückte Kämme und

273.

275.

274.

276.

277.

Abb. 273—277.

Abb. 273. Spielboot (Hamburg 273[II], Länge 56 cm, Höhe 43 cm). — Abb. 274. Schwirrer (Hamburg 266[II], 1/3 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 275. Vogel (Hamburg 268[II], 1/3 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 276. Ehepaar (Hamburg 318[II], 1/4 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 277. Täschchen (?) (Hamburg 269[II], 1/3 nat. Gr.).

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Blattbinden um den Haarschopf (s. Taf. 16). Die Tanzstäbe der Männer sind einfache Stöcke oder Rippen eines Kokoswedels.

An Spielzeug beobachtete Hambruch:

a) Spielboote *(maravâl)* mit einem Segel aus einem Taroblatt. Auf die religiöse Bedeutung wurde bereits S. 201 hingewiesen (Abb. 273).

b) Fadenspiele *(xatôte)*, einzeln oder zu zweien gespielt, dabei meist zehn Manipulationen zu einer Figur.

c) Schwirrer *(xânum)* von gleicher Form wie der *gañfni* von Aurepik (s. Abb. 274).

d) Windrädchen *(nigaferên)* aus Palmblattstreifen von derselben Form wie auf Ifaluk.

e) Ball *(garofâ)* von der bekannten karolinischen Form.

f) verschiedene Flechtarbeiten als Spielzeug: Vogel *(gatâf)* aus Blattstreifen geflochten (Abb. 275), kopulierendes Ehepaar (Abb. 276), Pfeife *(atîgetix)*, Täschchen(?) (Abb. 277).

211

XII. Verschiedenes.

Medizinische Kenntnisse sind nicht unbekannt. Zur Heilung der Elefantiasis wird die *kowddewad*-Pflanze in das Feuer geworfen, an dem der Kranke sich wärmt. Gegen Frambösie wendet man als Heilpflanze *tšêl* an, während man bei Syphilis die Geschwüre aufsticht. Bei Armbrüchen werden Stäbchenverbände angelegt (s. Abb. 278).

Abb. 278. Stäbchenverband (nach Skizze Krämer).

Zeiteinteilung. Das Jahr zerfällt in zwei Abschnitte, ähnlich unseren Jahreszeiten: *Thāū e ſâṅ* und *thāū e râx*. Die einzelnen Monate *(marâm)* sind nach Sternbildern benannt und verteilen sich folgendermaßen:

thāū e ſâṅ	*thāū e râx*
ülüâl = November	*māūirâx* = Mai
malâ = Dezember	*māūilôp* = Juni
ith = Januar	*thadâ* = Juli
thârebol = Februar	*nâx* = August
eremâūi = März	*xûe* = September
tumâlü = April	*uûl* = Oktober

Jeder Monat hat 29 Tage *(râl)* oder richtiger Nächte *(pôṅi)*, die nach den einzelnen Mondphasen bestimmt werden. Die Namen sind: (mit Neumond beginnend):

šegōrû	*epêïi*	*xerâṅ*
elïṅ	*olabuê*	*kerelieverâx*
mederïṅ	*olomâï*	*thapâs merioumûr*
mejân	*mâxth*	*komâla*
mejaſtïh	*ourâ*	*komalaſâṅ*
mexuân	*natiouâ*	*eroſû*
mejatûi	*kirêi*	*žeü*
emetatï	*kaneuâ*	*eſâïṅ*
šruobôṅ	*thapâs*	*ĕrâp/*
arabogû	*ewerâx*	

Den Tag teilte man in einzelne Abschnitte ein:

Morgen, Sonnenaufgang	*nī thorū*
Mittag	*nuēl*
Abend, Sonnenuntergang	*nifigāfi*
Nachteinbruch	*niga pūn*
Mitternacht	*nūk i ni pūn*
Nachtende	*pūn e nilō.*

Die Faraulip-Leute wenden eine eigene **Schrift** an (Abb. 279, 280), die viel Ähn-

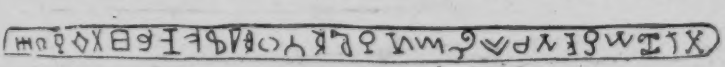


Abb. 279.

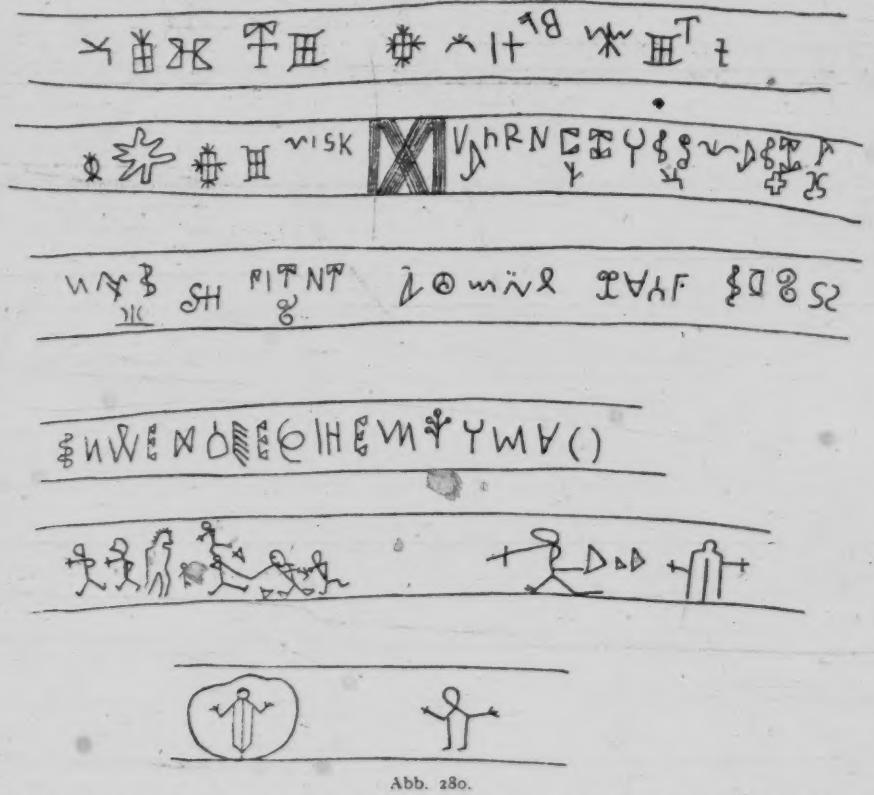
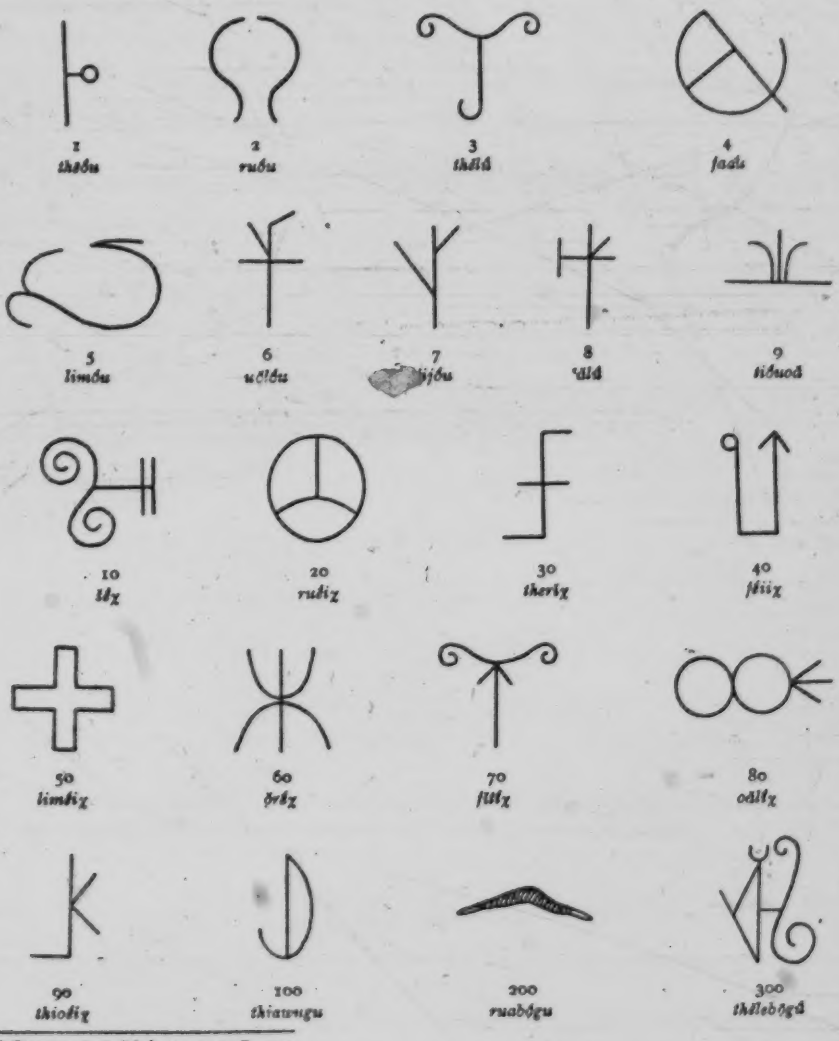


Abb. 280.

Abb. 279. Bilderschrift auf einem Stab (Hamburg 260II, Länge 37 cm). — Abb. 280. Zeichnungen an den Balken im Männerhaus (nach Skizze Hambruch).

lichkeit mit der von Polowat hat[1], außerdem haben sie eigene Zahlzeichen, die der Häuptling Sâueeru erdacht hat. Er unterrichtet darin die Jugend, die sie praktisch beim Koprahandel mit den Japanern verwendet. Die Zeichen entstanden aus Tatauiermustern und japanischen Schriftzeichen, die der Häuptling japanischen Zeitungen entnommen hatte.



[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 277.

214

Zentralkarolinen

400
fabōgá

500
limóubōgá

600
ólōbōgá

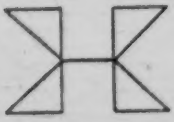
700
fithilōgá

800
ólobōgá

900
tiabōgá

1000
thiāṅerās

2000
ruāṅerās

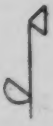


3000
thilliṅerās

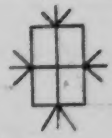
4000
ſaāṅerās

5000
limāṅerās

6000
ɔuuṅerās

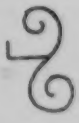


7000
fithiṅerās



8000
oalṅerās

9000
thióuaṅerās



10000
thſn

20000
rudn

30000
thaln

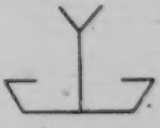
40000
fādn

50000
lmdn

60000
oarūn

70000
fithln

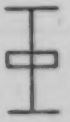
80000
oārln

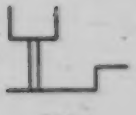


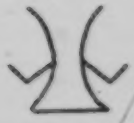
90000
thioudn

100000
thiarðuf

200000
ruarðuf

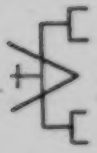

300000
thðliarðuf


400000
fðarðuf

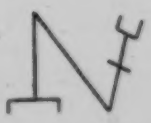

500000
limarðuf

600000
erarðuf

700000
fihiarðuf


800000
ðriarðuf

900000
thiaðrðuf


1000000
thiaðiharði

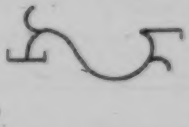
2000000
ruðiharði

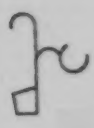
3000000
thðliðiarði

4000000
fððiharði

5000000
ijmðiharði

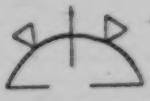
6000000
erðiharði

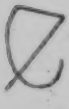

7000000
fihiharði

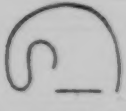

8000000
ðliharði

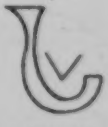
9000000
thiðuðiharði

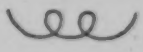
10000000
thiðilt


20000000
ruðilt

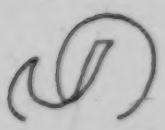

30000000
thðliilt


40000000
fððilt


50000000
limðilt


60000000
ðliðilt

216 ZENTRALKAROLINEN



70 000 000
fithirá

80 000 000
orúfá

90 000 000
thiodáfá

100 000 000
nawifdamdáwifá

Hälfte-Zeichen, Bruchstrich
ihúra

217

XIII. Zur Sprache.

Der Wortschatz hat mit Satowal viel Gemeinsames. Artikel gibt es nicht.

Personalpronomen:

ich	*χ̊ɔn*	wir (inkl. = ich und du)	*χ̊ɔn ema χ̊ɛl*
du	*χ̊ɛl*	wir (exkl. = ich und er)	*χ̊ɔn ema mɛ̀*
er	*χ̊i*	wir (drei)	*χ̊ɔn mɛ̀n ma jɛ̀li me mɛ̀n*
		wir alle (der Angeredete eingerechnet)	*χ̊illgimɛ̀n*
		wir alle (der Angeredete ausgeschlossen)	*χ̊ɛ̀mi*
		wir	*illgez*
		ihr	*ilegemɛ̀n*
		sie	*ilagɛ̀da*

Possessivpronomen (von Hambruch unvollständig aufgenommen):

mein	*im-mɛ̀i*	sein	*im-ameremɛ̀tera*
dein	*im-mɛ̀m*	unser	*im-mumɛ̀m*

Vom Demonstrativpronomen gibt Hambruch nur eine Form: *mɛ̀ne* = dieser.

Zahlworte s. S. 213ff.

Die Längenmaße werden dem menschlichen Körper entnommen:

eine Spannweite (= Länge der ausgestreckten Arme und Brust) *ɔandɛ̀l*
eine halbe Spanne *ɔaterɔ́ɔp*
ein Arm *ɔepɔ̀k*
ein halber Arm (= Unterarm) *ɔemɔ́rɔ̀*
Mittelfinger und Daumen *ɔɛ̀ɛn*
Mittelfinger bis Knöchel *ɔɛɔɛlipotlɔ̀*
eine Zeigefingerlänge *ɔerɔ̀i*
eine halbe Zeigefingerlänge *marɔ̀lɔ́p*
ein Fingerglied *marɔ̀i i rɔ̀χ*.

Adjektiva.

alt	*marenɔ́p*	fett	*botti*
blind	*mɛ̀ɛlimajɔ́r*	gerade	*re.ɔ̀l*
breit	*erɔ̀elap*	gesund	*emolɔ̀l*

groß	*faregit*	rund	*ewarilt*
gut	*mâlimâ*	schlecht	*tâlkof*
heiß	*zaudâ*	schwanger	*malezûdu*
hoch	*pultak*	schwarz	*zozôl*
kalt	*fôt*	stumm	*malûwâlz*
klein	*eatirîd*	taub	*lallûawot*
klug	*rêpi*	tief	*puilfp*
krank	*lemâ*	tot	*etumâ*
lahm	*teilogelôχ*	trocken	*ejapân*
lang	*farimâs*	weiß	*pozopôz*
mager	*bôt*	verfault	*ebbemas*

Adverbien.

a) der Zeit:

gestern	*linaulne*	heute	*rânie*
morgen	*nachû*	immer	*rânchâla*
übermorgen	*rânie meldi*	jetzt	*igêda*
vorgestern	*liapindko*		

b) des Ortes:

hier	*gêie*	vor	*fanimatâ*
dort	*igedâ*	hinter	*mûgûtekûrû*
nahe	*eharape*	oben	*îdi*
fern	*etâue*	über	*natlimdi*
dorthin	*igêla*	auf	*uenibukuuchi*
dorther	*iga*	unter	*fâi*
vorwärts	*ganutlôku*	unten	*itânu*
rückwärts	*tevâni*	außen	*pêikine*
seitwärts	*uenepêigi*	innen	*nândue*

Präpositionen.

mit	*uêiue*	in (hinein, um herum)	*nâno*
durch	*tôu*	von her	*bâtoχ*
in	*igamâ*		

Verben.

arbeiten	*enân*	blasen	*kânun*
atmen	*nâtie*	bleiben	*ijâmen*
aufstehen	*bwâtâχ*	brennen	*ferijâf*
beischlafen	*fî*	bringen	*fîloχ*
berühren	*χatepâia*	defäzieren	*pulla pâχ*
binden	*bugebâχ*	drehen	*firêtî*

ertrinken	*ciamɛ̃ meiɛtɛ̃*	pfeifen	*χ̃ũa*
essen	*mũno*	piepen	*poeliχ*
fallen	*huitlf*	reden	*metofidl*
flechten	*eudwũ*	riechen	*poinẽu rãi*
fliegen	*endiχ*	rudern	*fallr*
fließen	*enũn*	rufen	*feſẽi*
flöten	*χatiχ*	sehen	*pipi*
sich freuen	*mejẽik*	setzen	*matiẽi*
fürchten	*metãχ*	sitzen	*hijamãt*
gähnen	*manigatãt*	singen	*barãχ*
geben	*ijimdχ*	schlafen	*mãtijũr*
gebrauchen	*holebũ*	schlagen	*ilo dũtãχ*
gebären	*ejatũoat*	schleifen	*maremdre*
gehen	*ejabuch*	schnarchen	*bonoronerõn*
hauen	*nid*	stehen	*ſũ*
hören	*talindi*	stellen	*χ̃ũ rõti itãl*
anhören	*ijõgela*	stoßen	*tũχ*
hungern	*ejapotzẽi*	tatauieren	*mãk*
husten	*fãχ*	töten	*gimiχebãk*
kauen	*ñũn*	trauern	*dãni*
kommen	*wutãχ*	trinken	*ũdẽ*
kosten	*anõ*	sich betrinken	*põurãi*
krähen	*tigõχ*	urinieren	*χalõlo*
kriechen	*gateiχerõlo*	wachsen	*witãχ*
lachen	*ſhija*	weben	*ululdi*
leben	*matũ*	weinen	*trã*
lieben	*ſhijo*	werfen	*harẽluf*
liegen	*uõl*	wollen	*tapẽri*
machen	*ſõri*	zählen	*õãχ*
murmeln	*manũnu*	zeigen	*pipi*
niesen	*moſji*	ziehen	*thitõi*

(p 220 is blank)

Sorol.

Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Dr. E. Sarfert bearbeitet
von Dr. Hans Damm

221
(p 232 : blank)

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Sorol.

Allgemeiner Teil.

I. Äußere Geschichte.

Die **Entdeckungsgeschichte** der Karolinen wurde bereits von Krämer in seinem Palau-Werk in großen Umrissen festgelegt. Nach ihm haben bereits Alonso de Arellano und sein Pilot Lope Martin, nachdem sie sich mit der »San Lucas« von der Expedition des Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (1564) getrennt hatten, die Inselgruppe Sorol entdeckt[1]. Es ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, daß Francis Drake, der am 13. Oktober 1588 die Marianen erreichte, auf unsern Archipel traf[2]. Ist somit für das 16. Jahrhundert die Kenntnis von Sorol sehr fraglich, so wurde es jedoch dem Abendland mit Bestimmtheit durch den Brief des Pater Clain (vom 10. Juni 1697) bekannt, der aus dem Mund von angetriebenen Feis-Leuten u. a. den Namen einer Insel »Saraone« erfuhr, die mit Sorol identisch ist. Auf der seinem Bericht an den Generalpater Gonzalez beigegebenen Karte ist sie als »Sarol« angegeben[3]. Auf einer späteren, durch ihre völkerkundlichen Bilder interessanten Karte des Piloten Somera (1710) findet sie sich als »Saraol« wieder[4].

Die erste einwandfreie Nachricht von Sorol erhalten wir von Hunter, der am 14. Juli 1791 zwei Inseln etwa fünf Meilen voneinander entfernt unter 8° 6′ n. Br. und 140° 3′ ö. Länge sichtete und sie »Philipps-Inseln« nannte[5]. In der Zwischenzeit wird die Insel nicht weniger oft von Walfängern und Händlern angelaufen worden sein wie die übrigen Karolinen auch. 1883/84 besuchte Kubary das Atoll[6]. Vom 4.—21. Oktober 1909 weilte Sarfert als Mitglied der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition auf der Gruppe.

---

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 8.
[2] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 12.
[3] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 13 und Abb. 2 S. 17.
[4] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, Abb. 4, S. 71.
[5] Hunter 1794, Bd. I, S. 418; desgleichen angegeben bei Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359; Gulick (Ms.), Brigham 1900, S. 148, Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 304, Kolonial Lexikon Bd. III, S. 376.
[6] Krämer 1917 Bd. I, S. 148.

II. Geographie.

Der Name der Gruppe ist auf den alten Karten mit »Saraone«, »Saraole«, »Sarole« angegeben. Hunter legte ihr als Entdecker den Namen »Philipps Inseln« zu, den sie noch bis zu Zeiten Cheyne's behielt. Cheyne führt sie in seiner Arbeit noch unter diesem Namen[1].

Das **Kartenbild** war bis in die neueste Zeit noch recht unklar; erst auf den Admiralstabskarten schält sich die Form des Atolls immer klarer heraus. Sarfert

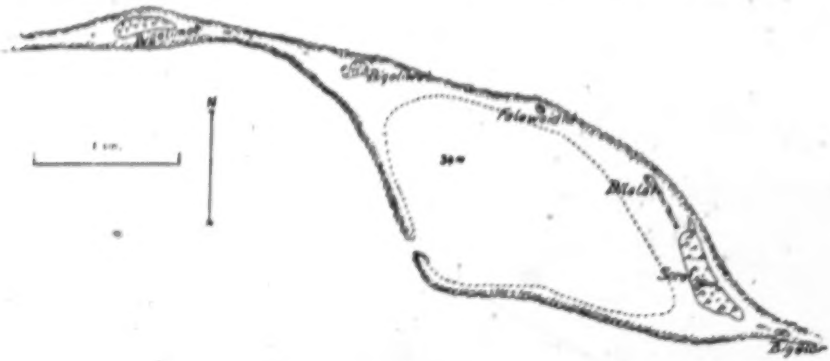


Abb. 281. Plan von Sorol.
(Aufnahme des ersten Offiziers Lorenzen).

nahm die größten Inseln der Gruppe Bigelimôl und Bigeliwôl auf[2], während der 1. Offizier des »Peiho« Vermessungsarbeiten in der Lagune vornahm (Abb. 281). Das neueste Kartenbild (Abb. 282) von der Gruppe zeigt die japanische Regierungskarte von 1925 (No. 772).

Lage und Größe. Die Entfernung von Sorol zu den nächsten Inseln ist bis Feis 95 Sm und bis Aurepik 50 Sm.[3] — Die folgende Zusammenstellung zeigt, wie lange sich die Angaben von Hunter und Raper in der späteren Literatur gehalten haben.

[1] Cheyne 1852, S. 139, 145.
[2] Siehe Skizzenbuch (Museumsarchiv Hamburg Sa. 11).
[3] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 339; Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 500.

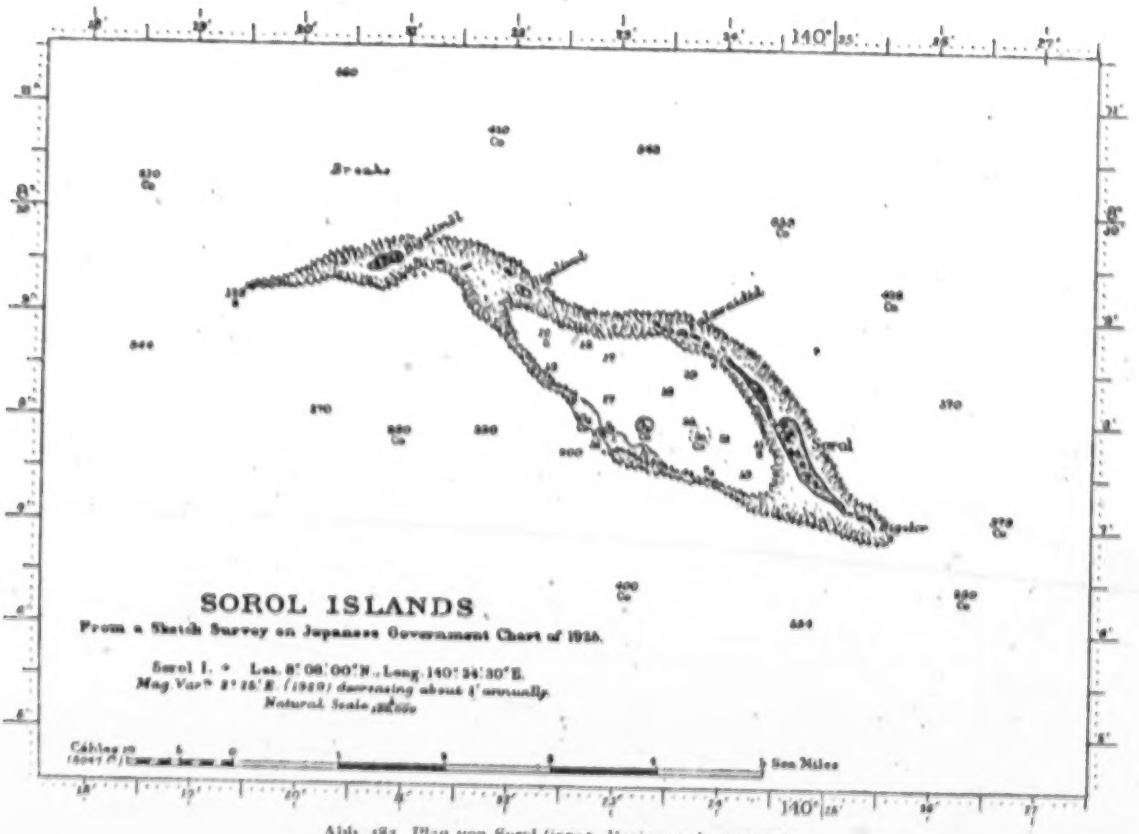


Abb. 282. Plan von Sorol (japan. Regierungskarte 1925).

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Quelle	nördl. Breite	östl. Länge
Hunter (1794 Bd. I S. 418), größte Insel	8° 6′	140° 3′
Lt. Raper (Cheyne 1852, S. 139, 145)	8° 6′	140° 52′
Meinicke (1888, Bd. II, S. 359)	8° 6′	140° 52′
Gulick (1862, S. 60)	8° 6′	140° 52′
Brigham (1900, S. 148)	8° 6′	140° 53′
Sievers (1910, Bd. II, S. 367)	8° 5′ bis 8° 10′	140° 15′ bis 140° 25′
Kolonial Lexikon (Bd. III, S. 376)	8° 10′	140° 17′
japan. Regierungskarte v. 1925	8° 8′	140° 24′ 30″

Nach Hunter liegen die beiden größten Inseln (Sorol und Bigelimôl) etwa fünf Meilen voneinander; diese Angabe ist auch von Cheyne und Brigham übernommen worden. Meinicke gibt die beiderseitige Entfernung mit nur einer Meile an[1].

Die **Gliederung der Insel** ist die eines typischen Korallenatolls. Auf einem niedrigen langgestreckten Riffkranz, dessen nordwestlichen und südöstlichen Teile spitz zulaufen, liegen 13 Inseln und Inselchen und zwar sind sie alle auf die Nordostseite verteilt[2]. Davon sind sechs mehr oder weniger mit Vegetation bestanden[3], die übrigen sind Sandbänke. Die Namen der Inseln sind von SO nach NW folgende:

Bigolór (auch Bigelór), mit wenig Baumbestand.

Belemán, Sandbank.

Soról, Hauptinsel, ist als einzige bewohnt; auf der Nordseite fehlt der Sandstrand, dagegen wird er im Osten an einer Stelle sehr breit, die Südspitze ist unbewachsen.

Belalâi (auch Bilalâi), mit Bäumen bewachsen, mit ausgedehntem Sandstrand im SW und NW.

Abidadogoriât, Sandinsel ohne Baumbestand.

Biedóni, Sandinsel.

Falewâldjfdj (auch Falewôidfd), kleine Insel mit wenig Baumbestand.

Chaugulebí, Insel ohne Baumbestand.

Bigeliwôl (auch Bigoliwol), Insel mit wenig Bäumen, Schildkröteninsel.

Falefât, Sandinsel ohne Bäume.

Buguwâidjdfj, Sandinsel.

Bigelimôl, Insel mit wenig Bäumen, Vogelinsel.

Biesâre, Sandinsel.

Von den Inseln ist nur die größte, Sorol, bewohnt, die anderen waren nie besiedelt; es wäre dies auch lediglich auf Bigelimôl möglich gewesen, die anderen

[1] Hunter 1794 Bd. I. S. 418. Ebenso Cheyne 1852, S. 143, Brigham 1900, S. 148, Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359.
[2] Cheyne 1852, S. 139. [3] Sievers gibt deshalb für das Atoll auch nur diese Zahl an (1910, Bd. II, S. 367).

sind viel zu klein. Die Inseln liegen so auf dem Riff, daß man bei großem Niedrigwasser von der südöstlichen Insel zur nordwestlichen zu Fuß (!) gehen kann, bei gewöhnlichem Niedrigwasser kann man nur bis Falewâdjfdj gehen.

Weitere **geographische Einzelheiten** von mehr maritimen Interesse bringt die letzterschienene Ausgabe des Pacific Islands Pilot 1933 S. 500.

Taifune haben die Inselgruppe nicht verschont, vielmehr wurde sie, wie die Geschichte erweist, vor fünf Generationen von einem Taifun so schwer betroffen, daß die Bevölkerung bis auf zwei Frauen umkam[1]. Auch später noch, so 1905 und am 27./28. März 1907 richteten derartige Unwetter schwere Verwüstungen an.[2]

Wörterliste.

Himmel	*ldn*	Meer	*ddd*
Luft, Wind	*jdin*	Wasser	*dâl*
Wolke	*rossôu*	Insel	*fdlü*
Regen	*chôto* (Mogemog *ûdj*)	Strand	*olebti*
Sturm, Taifun	*malemôl*	Sand	*fasigôm*
Blitz	*fls*	Stein	*fds*
Donner	*bdr*	Busch	*wolewâl*
Regenbogen	*jâ*	Baum	*ualiuâl*
Sonne	*jâl*	Ast	*râl*
Schatten	*jâlual*	Rinde	*chfn*
Tag	*râl*	Blatt	*dâl*
Morgen	*limalll*	Wurzel	*warachal*
Nacht	*sawôn*	Stamm	*rarâl*

Flora. Die Angaben über die Vegetation sind von allen Besuchern der Inselgruppe immer sehr allgemein gehalten und widersprechen sich vielfach: Sievers nennt den Bestand an Kokospalmen üppig und auch der Pacific Islands Pilot spricht von »well wooded«, dagegen konnte Sarfert die Vegetation nur als spärlich bezeichnen und auch Meinicke äußert sich sehr zurückhaltend.[3]

Sarfert stellte u. a. folgende Pflanzen fest:

Kokospalme *lâ*, *lâto* (Kokoswedel = *balâ*, Blattrippe = *sfal*, ungeschälte Nuß = *tô*, geschälte Nuß = *lût*)

Pandanus *fât*

Brotfruchtbaum *mâi* (Brotfrucht *mâr*)

Banane *ualûdj*, *ûdj*

[1] Thilenius 1927, S. 241.
[2] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.
[3] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367; Pacific Islands Pilot 1933, S. 500; Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359.

Taro-Art (Cyrtosperma = Sumpftaro) *wuldk*
Taro-Art mit großen Knollen *fild*
eine Crataeva-Art[1] *ãwût*
kobl
eine wildwachsende Knollenfrucht *wugil*
lümesb
Betelpfeffer und Betelpalme fehlen.

Mit der **Fauna** ist es nicht anders. Landtiere finden naturgemäß auf diesen kleinen Inseln keine guten Lebensbedingungen, auch die Vogelwelt ist nur mit wenigen Arten vertreten. Mehr Vögel, als in der folgenden Liste aufgeführt sind, gibt es nicht und alle die Vögel, die sich nur vorübergehend auf der Insel aufhalten, haben keinen besonderen Namen.

Wörterliste.

Eidechse	*sachâr*	(ein schwarzer Vogel)	*tôlob*
Schlange	*lawûdj*	Reiher	*rdrau*
Schildkröte	*uôl*	grauer, schnepfenartiger Vogel	*lidg*
Ratte	*chât*	Fisch	*lk*
Fliege	*lâw*	Schuppen	*uldl*
Moskito	*lâm*	Gräte	*tlle*
Laus	*gks*	Auge	*medll*
Spinne	*lossuerbru*	Lunge	*dierll*
Vogel	*mll*	Schnauze	*ewll*
Ei	*dawk*	Fleisch	*jedugll*
Schnabel	*ewll*	Kieme	*dalell*
Flügel	*bdld*	Flosse	*redll*
Schwanz	*ugll*	Fischschwanz	*bedll*
Feder	*ulll*	Hai	*burbu*
Kopf	*mmll*	Bonito(?)	*chalugtb*
Bein	*bddll*		*dugrk*
Auge	*medll*		*fofd*
Kralle	*chadjdlle bedll*		*jdld*
schwarze Möwe	*gfegi* (eine andere Art *chld*)		*jdll*
			dobôr
weiße Möwe	*chllung*		*hlli*
Fregattvogel (Tachypetes)	*chaddj*		

[1] Muller 1917, Bd. I, S. 53.

doroldr		*dâko*
dânieri	fliegender Fisch	*mânar*
erôn	(Exocoetus)	
diliwôd		*mâk*
môs		*falâ*
kalt		*mädâgot*
uôl		*lüelâ*
jâûb		*lôt*
mâmi		*ûtâ*
dâraû		*jâri*
kâûgus	Naseus (?)	*igofalafâl*
bädt		*delewâ*
râl		*sôu*
masûl		*mâbän*
dâûjâo		*ädâm*
jaûijâre		*dâde*
daûriât		*medjadâ*
jômä		*djädjêli*
lôg		*wâwa*
märâûo		*merâûrâo*
môl		*wôlä*

Es fehlen fliegender Hund und Fledermaus. Haustiere s. S. 241.

Die **Bevölkerung** ist, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, vor einigen Generationen durch eine Naturkatastrophe so dezimiert worden, daß sich eine völlige Neubesiedelung notwendig machte (s. S. 269). So mag es kommen, daß hin und wieder die Inselgruppe als »unbewohnt« angegeben wird[1], ja selbst der neueste Pacific Islands Pilot (1933 S. 500) tut dies noch. Die Kopfzahl stellt sich für die einzelnen Jahre wie folgt:

Jahr	Kopfzahl	Quelle
1862	20	Gulick 1862, S. 60
1900	20	Brigham 1900, S. 148
1903	72	Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 347, 367[2]
1909	156	Hamburger Südsee-Expedition

[1] Najmcke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359.

[2] Finsch 1914, S. 64) spricht von etwa 75, er hat wohl die gleiche Quelle wie Sievers benutzt.

234

III. Demographie.

Anthropologisches. Die Sorol-Leute sind im Durchschnitt größer als die westlicher wohnenden Stammesgenossen: die Größen wurden bei 6 Individuen mit 170, 166, 170, 170, 163, 163 cm gemessen. Dabei erscheinen sie noch stattlicher durch die ihnen eigene Wohlgenährtheit. Junge Frauen tragen oft recht männliche Züge. — Die Zähne sehen gesund und weiß aus, denn die Sitte des Betelkauens ist unbekannt.

Krankheiten hat Sarfert an keinem Insulaner bemerken können, obgleich er alle zu Gesicht bekommen hat. Wie äußerlich ihr Körper gesund und von Wohlergehen strotzend aussieht, so scheinen sie auch so gut wie von keiner Krankheit geplagt zu sein. Ihrer Aussage nach war zur Zeit Sarfert's niemand krank, auch nicht geschlechtskrank. Nur über Kopfschmerzen klagten sie von Zeit zu Zeit. Ringwurm *(gilsewó)* soll früher vorhanden gewesen sein, 1909 war diese Hautkrankheit nicht zu beobachten. Geschlechtskrankheiten *(damálŏ)* sind nur dem Namen nach bekannt.

Wörterliste.

Mensch	*fromät*	Backen- und Kinnbart	*elŏs*
Zunge	*lŏmodj*	Wange	*lŏmod tobŏt*
Mund	*eudŏj*	Kinn	*edjŏt*
Nase	*wodjŏdj*	Schulter	*ejwŏt*
Nasenloch	*nŏdŏli wodjŏdj*	Arm	*bŏlŏt*
Auge	*madŏdj*	Hand	*gamadŏdj*
Augenlid	*walowŏl limidŏt*	Handfläche	*bedŏlimät*
Ohr	*dallimŏdj*	Knöchel	*bool lŏlŏbedŏt*
Ohrläppchen	*ŏlŏti dallimŏdj*	Finger	*kadjŏt*
Stirn	*mandŏdj*	Daumen	*kadjulŏb*
Kopf	*demŏdj*	Kleinfinger	*kadjudlŏ*
Augenbrauen	*fadjŏt*	Fingernagel	*gŏt*
Augenwimpern	*medŏrli madŏt*	Bein	*bedŏdj*
Kopfhaar	*tŏmot*	Oberschenkel	*dabŏli bedŏt*
Zahn	*nŏdj*	Unterschenkel	*madŏli bedŏt*
Schnurrbart	*kŏroliwŏt*		

Knie	*mõñoli bedât*	Rücken	*darwût*
Wade	*sâle bedât*	Gesäß	*wuriôt*
Fuß	*giwûli bedât*	Penis	*vâi*
Sohle	*jâle bedât*	Eichel	*barôñ*
Ferse	*kabîlibili bedât*	Skrotum	*môr*
Zehen	*kadjîli bedât*	Samen	*sabôt*
Zehennagel	*gûli bedât*	Vagina	*diñi*
Hals	*ñat*	Haut	*meddûedu* oder *gîu*
Kehle	*eroñdt*	Fleisch	*jidjûk*
Achselhöhle	*jâli bôt*	Knochen	*egâl*
Achselhaare	*korôli bôt*	Blut	*dâ*
Rippen	*ti*	Ader	*wâk*
Brust	*uwôdj*	Speichel	*dâlē uôt*
Brustwarze	*djût*	Schweiß	*malâl*
Bauch	*sât*	Kot	*bâak*
Nabel	*uoôt*	Atem	*jañli uôt*

Psychologisches. Die Insulaner sind sehr träge[1] und langsam in ihren Bewegungen, dagegen lachen sie gern und viel. Ihr Lachen ist dem unseren ähnlich, während nach Sarfert — soweit er das beobachten konnte — die Papuas im Fistelton lachen. Auch beim Tanz können die Sorol-Leute sehr lebhaft werden. — Eine eigentümliche, von Sarfert mehrfach beobachtete Sitte ist das Schlafen mit nur halbgeschlossenen Augen. Der Gewährsmann aus Yap bestätigte es auch für seine Heimatinsel. — Ihr Denken ist äußerst langsam, nur einer zeichnete sich durch geistige Gewandtheit und Verständnis aus. — Was Sarfert den Eingeborenen an Speisen, Getränken und anderen Dingen gab, alles wurde genau berochen und ging von einer Nase zur andern. Meist lehnten sie die fremden Dinge ab, nur den Reis schätzten sie. — Beim Sprechen werden häufig die Arme mit verwendet, z. B. wird bei »Das weiß ich nicht« eine Hand oder es werden beide Hände vorwärts geschwungen.

[1] Vgl. dazu auch Thilenius 1917, S. 241/242.

Spezieller Teil.

I. Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung.

Körpertracht. Man trägt das Haar kurz oder lang und dann auf dem Scheitel zu einem Knoten gebunden. Der Bartwuchs ist spärlich. Schnurrbart *(koroliwát)* ist hier im Gegensatz zu den südwestlichen Karolinen Bur, Merir, Songosor und manchen zentralkarolinischen Gruppen wenig beliebt; man reißt die Haare aus. Sarfert beobachtete diese Barttracht nur bei wenigen Männern. Dagegen ist der Vollbart *(elús)* der Stolz des Mannes, er wird von besonders angesehenen Personen getragen und zwar als Spitzbart oder Fräse (s. Taf. 17).

Die **Tatauierung** *(mák;* tatauieren = *fáfufer)* soll früher den Sorol-Leuten unbekannt gewesen sein. Ein Mogemog-Mann, namens Mudjuwulúl, der hier blieb, führte diese Sitte ein und lehrte sie einem Mann, der noch 1909 alle Männer tatauierte. Von den Frauen versteht keine diese Kunst. Sie tragen nur wenige Muster und zwar werden ihnen die Oberschenkel und Hände und, wenn es gewünscht wird, auch die Scham tatauiert. Beim Mann bedeckt das Muster einen großen Teil des Körpers. Das Tatauieren ist sehr schmerzhaft und dauert beim Mann, sofern er es aushält, zwei bis drei Monate. — Die zu dieser Operation benötigten Instrumente sind der Tatauierkamm *(kállis;* Abb. 283) und der Tatauierhammer *(káfo)*, die beide in Holzkästen (s. Abb. 321) aufbewahrt werden. Die benötigte Farbe stellt man folgendermaßen her: es wird das Harz *(wulús)* des *fúfu*-Baumes im Feuer verbrannt, der Rauch in einer Kokosschale aufgefangen, so daß sich der Ruß absetzt, dieser wird dann mit Kokosöl angerührt.

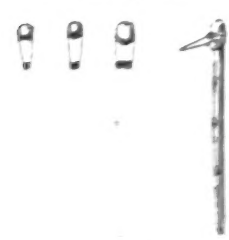
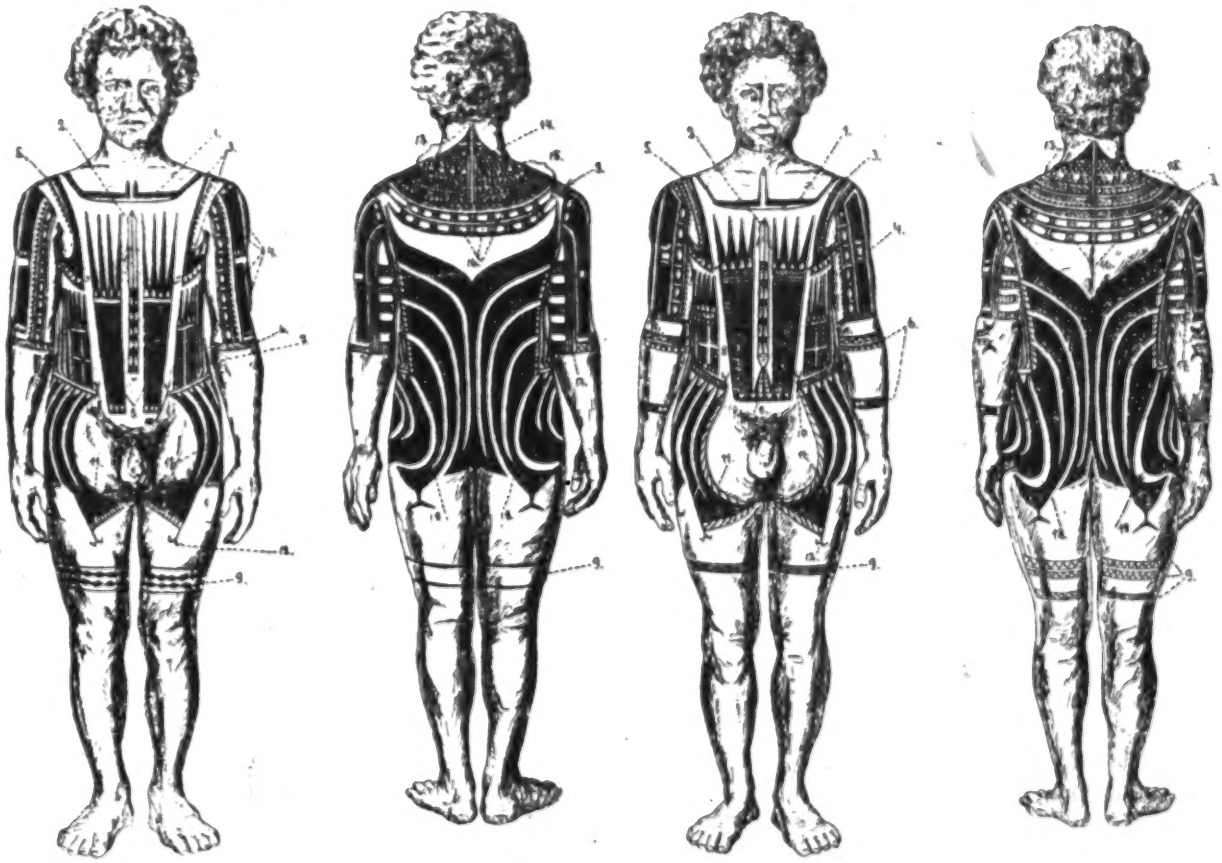


Abb. 282. Tatauierkamm und verschiedene Kammformen. Stammung in [illegible] gehörig. [illegible] der Ge[illegible]

Die Tatauierung der Männer besteht aus folgenden Mustern (in den Abb. 284, 285 nummeriert):

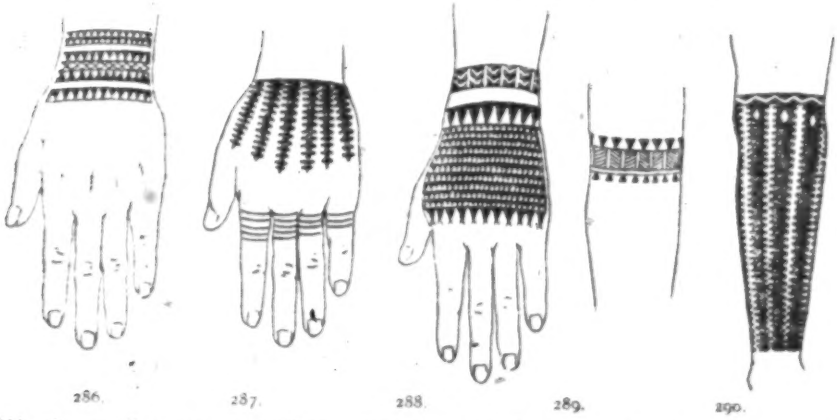
1. chádau
2. dúgaranúb
3. marúl
4. dolúbanu
5. faresár
6. roród
7. sebalúá
8. danelúch
9. chal
10. fad
11. chúb
12. búlebil
13. lugulúi
14. chauiót
15. fálodóbl
16. uás
17. lugulúbóu
18. wól



284a 284b 285a 285b

Abb. 284a. Tatauierung des Mannes Dèidjók (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 285a, b. Tatauierung des Mannes Dèlinan (nach Skizze Sarfert).
Die Ziffern sind im Text erläutert.

Hand-, Arm- und Beintatauierung von Frauen s. Abb. 286—290.

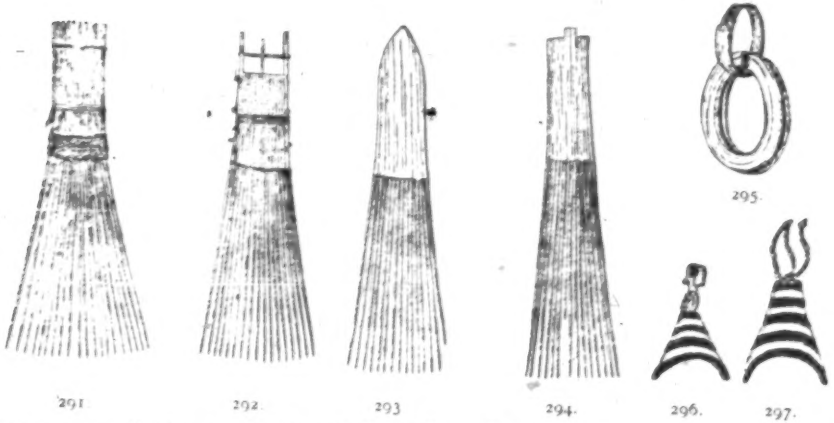


286. 287. 288. 289. 290.

Abb. 286—290. Tatauiermuster bei Frauen (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 286—288. Handmuster djôu; Abb. 289. Armmuster rôros; Abb. 290. Beinmuster bagêli bêdâ.

Schmuckgegenstände. 1. Im Haar werden — jedoch nicht allgemein — Holzkämme *(makâl)* verschiedener Form getragen (s. Abb. 291—294); sie bestehen aus einzelnen Stäben, die entweder zusammengepflockt oder gebunden sind. Zum Tanz bindet man dem Kamm Federschmuck an, besondere Tanzkämme gibt es nicht.

2. Blütenkränze *(maremâr)* im Haar wurden nur vereinzelt getragen.



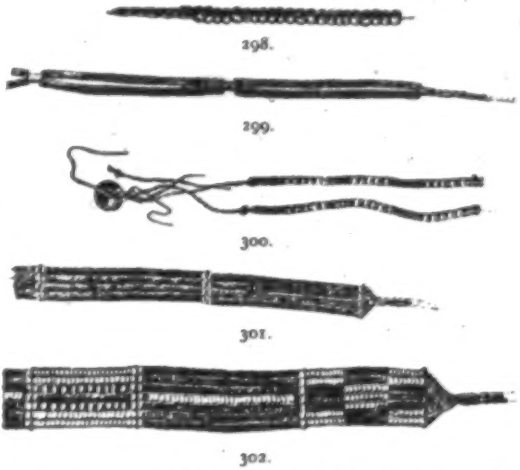
291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297.

Abb. 291—294. Holzkämme (Hamburg 1680II, 1685II, 1690II, 1688II; Länge 23 ½, 23, 24, 24 ½ cm). — Abb. 295—297. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 1682II, 5300II, 18.94:2; ⅓, ⅓, ⅓ nat. Gr.).

3. Als Ohrschmuck trugen Frauen wie Männer gewöhnlich mehrere Ringe aus Muschel- und Kokosnuß an einem kleinen Schildpattring im durchbohrten Ohrläppchen (Abb. 295)[1]. Diesen Schmuck nennt Sarfert *mddj*; nach Hellwig, der solchen Zierrat von Sorol-Leuten aus einem längsseits der »Peihoe liegenden Boot erhandelte, ist dies der Name für die Muschelringe. Solche aus Kokosnuß heißen nach ihm *dâxax*, während ihm der Muschelschmuck als *duodâ* bezeichnet wurde. — Eine andere Form des Ohrschmuckes erwarb Hellwig unter dem gleichen Namen (Abb. 296), er bestand aus abwechselnd übereinander gelegten Platten von dunkler Kokosnußschale und weißer Muschel; er wurde mit einem Schildpatthaken ins Ohr gehängt; ein ähnliches Stück mit europäischen Glasperlen s. Abb. 297. — Junge Leute stecken sich dagegen gern Blätter und Blüten in die Ohrdurchbohrung.

4. Nasen- und Lippenschmuck ist nicht üblich; es ist auch die Durchbohrung der Lippen und des Septums unbekannt.

5. Als Hälsschmuck *(maremâr*, He.: *marremârr)* dienen Ketten aus dicken Kokosperlen (Abb. 298) oder aus kleinen Kokosscheiben (Abb. 299), zwischen die sehr gern in bestimmten Abständen weiße Muschelscheibchen (Abb. 300) gefädelt werden.[2]



298.

299.

300.

301.

302.

Abb. 298—300. Halsketten (Hamburg 1673II, 1671II, 1662II; Länge 71, 64, 68 cm). — Abb. 301—302. Hüftketten (Hamburg 1669II, 1670II; Länge 68 und 62 cm).

6. Dieser eben genannte Schmuck wird von den Frauen über der Lendenmatte auch als Hüftkette *(daredâr)* getragen; am wertvollsten sind jedoch die mehrsträhnigen durch Schildpattstege zusammengehaltenen Ketten *(kll*, He.: *klm;* Abb. 301, 302). Daneben sind auch Gürtel aus Menschenhaar (He.: *târre-târre, tâge-tâge)*[3] üblich. Ferner findet sich, wenn auch selten[4] die sonst auf Ifaluk übliche Kokoskettenart.

7. Armringe *(lakaldk)* und Fingerringe (Name fehlt) werden nicht getragen; früher wurden mitunter Schildpattarmringe von Mogemog-Leuten gekauft.

[1] Museum Hamburg 1684 II.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5303, 5304, 5315, 1661—1668.
[3] Museum Hamburg 1676.
[4] Museum Hamburg 1674.

8. Frauen und Männer tragen gewebte **Lendenschurze** *(bălebal)* und zwar erstere rockartig, letztere als Binde um den Leib und dann zwischen den Schenkeln durchgezogen. Gewöhnlich sind die Schurze gemustert, entweder einfach durch schwarze Streifen (Taf. 22 untere Reihe Mitte [1699^{II}]) oder sie wechseln mit roten Streifen ab und geben dann der Tracht eine besonders lebhafte Note (Taf. 22 obere Reihe, Mitte [1700^{II}]); die Streifen können schmal oder breit sein. Mitunter sind die schwarzen Bänder durch zierliche Muster aufgelockert (Taf. 22 obere Reihe rechts [5307^{II}]) oder es wird noch eine malerische Steigerung dadurch erzielt, daß in diese Streifen feine rote Fäden eingewebt werden (Taf. 22 obere und untere Reihe links [1697^{II}, 1701^{II}]).

Abb 303 Hut (Hamburg 1725^{II}; Höhe 22 cm).

Segeljacken *(ligŏu)* wie auf Yap und Trauerjacken sind unbekannt.

Hüte *(bŏrŏn)* aus Pandanusblatt-Streifen genäht (wie auf Ifaluk) werden auf dem Meer getragen (Abb. 303).

II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung.

Landbau. An Nährpflanzen und Fruchtbäumen haben die Eingeborenen Taroarten (solche mit großen Knollen = *filâ*, Sumpftaro = *wuldk*), eine wildwachsende Knollenfrucht *(wugll)*, eine Crataeva-Art *(ăwât)*[1], *koll*, *lümesâ*, Kokospalmen *(lâ)*, Brotfruchtbäume *(mâi)*, Pandanus *(fât)*, Bananen *(âdj)*. — An Feldern *(gli)* sind nur Taropatschen vorhanden. Diese sind in tiefen Löchern (etwa 1—1½ m tief), die in alter Zeit ausgehoben worden sind. Der ausgeworfene Sand ist noch jetzt um den Feldern als eine Art Wall zu erkennen. Diese Felder sind vollkommen unregelmäßig über die Insel verstreut. Außerdem stehen noch Taropflanzen im Dorf und zwar meist zwischen den Häusern. Die Grenzen *(kôjeu)* zwischen den einzelnen »Grundstücken« sind entweder durch einen Baumstamm, durch angepflanzte Bäume oder auch gar nicht besonders gekennzeichnet.

Die Pflege dieser Anlagen ist Frauensache. Zum Graben verwenden sie einen langen Stock *(kôdj)*; Düngung *(wâl)* erfolgt wie auf Yap und Palau mit Blättern. Neben den Feldern stehen Unterkunftshütten *(imelîgel)*, ebenso gibt es hier Wasserlöcher *(dalâl)*, die das Regenwasser auffangen.

Fischfang. Die Zahl der eßbaren Fische ist sehr groß. Sarfert konnte zu der Sorol-Bezeichnung die entsprechende von Yap angeben, was eine Artenbestimmung erleichtern wird.

Sorol	Yap	Deutsch
kalugâb	*kavanâb*	Bonito
dagâ	*dagâ*	
foßâ	*fâfo*	
jâkâ	?	
jâl	*galedâdj*	
dobâr	*dobâr*	
kâi	*kudjîk*	
dorolâr	*djorolâr*	
dâneri	*danîr*	
erôn	*erôn*	
diliwôd	*djlifodj*	

[1] Vgl. Müller 1917, Bd. I, S. 53.

Sorol	Yap	Deutsch
mõs	*mõs*	
kall	?	
uõl	*uõl*	
jalub	*mûl*	
mâmi	*mâl*	
ddrdû	*djardû*	
kdlugus	?	
bâdt	*badjûi*	
rdl	*djidjibâgo*	
masûl	*komûgul*	
dâjâo	*dâjalu*	
jdûijdre	*kaldt*	
dâûridt	*djaguruôt*	
jômâ	*komâ*	
lôg	?	
mârâwo	*mârâw*	
môl	*nân*	
dâko	*djâg*	
mânar	*gôk*	fliegender Fisch
mâk	*nâk*	
falâ	*nudûdj*	
mâddgot	*jugelôu*	
lûelâ	*nûf*	
lôt	*rorôk*	
ûtâ	*anêr*	
jâri	?	
igofaleſâl	*mâdj*	Naseus(?)
delewâ	*djelewâ*	
sôu	*ûlân*	
mâbân	*m'bân*	
âdâm	*âdjâm*	
dâde	?	
medjadâ	*hadjâl*	
djâdjêli	*djâdjel*	
wâwa	*holedjô*	
merâlurdo	*merordu*	
wôlâ	*boldâj*	

I. Zur Angelfischerei mit Angelstab und Schnur benutzt man verschiedene Haken: a) *kowŏdj:* Schildpatthaken (Abb. 304, 305); sie wurden von Mogemog-Leuten gekauft. 1909 gab es nur wenige derartige Haken. — b) *dardk:* Haken aus Kokosnußschale zum Fang des fliegenden Fisches wurden in früherer Zeit wie der *gŏni* auf Polowat benutzt.[1] — c) *meddīgo:* hölzerner Haken zum Haifang, an seine Stelle sind große Eisenhaken getreten (Abb. 306, 307). Die Haischlinge ist auf Sorol unbekannt. — d) *bd* ist der übliche zusammengesetzte Haken aus Meleagrina- oder Cassis rufus-Muschel und Schildpatt (Abb. 308, 309). Diese Haken werden auf rechteckige Holzrahmen *(lenlāwŏd)* aufgespannt, die für gewöhnlich im Bootshaus hängen und mit aufs Kanu genommen werden. Seitdem unter der Regierung des Lemadjāl ein Segler auf dem Riff strandete, verfertigen die Eingeborenen ihre Angelhaken aus Eisen.

304. 305. 308. 309. 306. 307.

Abb. 304—309. Angelhaken (Hamburg: 304 = 1748[II], Länge 4 ⅛ cm; 305 = 1749, Länge 5⅜ cm; 306 = 1750[II], Länge 62 cm; 307 = 1751, Länge 51 cm; 308 = 1743[II], Länge 6 ⅛ cm; 309 = 1744[II], Länge 4 cm).

II. Die Netzfischerei gebraucht folgende Netze: a) *wŏli mānar* für den Fang des fliegenden Fisches *(mānar)* nachts im Schein der Kokosblattfackeln. Der Rahmen ist in seinem oberen Teil nach unten geknickt (Taf. 20). Der Griffteil heißt *kabŏr*, der obere Teil des Rahmens *kŏdj* und das eigentliche Netz *ŏk*.

b) *wulimŏdj* ist ein Netz wie a), jedoch ohne Knickung des Rahmens; diese Form ist vor allem für den Fang innerhalb des Riffes.[2]

c) *ŏdjiñ:* langes, schmales Netz mit Senkern und Schwimmern *(uabŏs)* zum Fang von vielen Fischen innerhalb des Riffes. Die Fische werden in einen Netzkreis eingeschlossen und dann mit dem *wulimŏdj* gefangen.

d) *fŏl:* das runde Senknetz[3] ist hier unbekannt, dagegen benutzen es die Mogemog-Leute.

III. Speerfischerei mit dem *soresŏr*-Speer betreibt man auf große Fische innerhalb wie außerhalb des Riffes.[4]

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 49.
[2] Museum Hamburg 1752, 1753.
[3] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, Taf. 14, Abb. 1.
[4] Museum Hamburg 1760—1763.

IV. Zur Reusenfischerei benutzt man die *merowōl*-Reuse (Taf. 20). Die Benutzung ist die gleiche wie auf Polowat.[1] Der Reusenbau soll in alter Zeit unbekannt gewesen und erst durch die Ifaluk-Leute eingeführt worden sein.

V. Fischfang mit Drachen. Der Fischdrachen besteht aus einem Brotfruchtblatt, das mit Kokosblattrippen versteift wird: die Blattrippe bleibt oben, das Gatterwerk von Rippen und die Achse (aus mehreren Rippen) liegt unten. Die Schnur ist am Boot befestigt und läuft von da zur Mitte der Drachenachse, von da zum Schwanz und dann ins Wasser. Als Köder benutzt man *kaūlāl*, das Hautgewebe des Haifisches, das im Wasser aufweicht und sich dann in den Zähnen der Beute verfängt.

VI. Fischfang mit Gift (Name unbekannt) wird nicht geübt.

VII. Haifischfang mit Schlinge *(lōm)* ist nie üblich gewesen; man benutzte dazu große Holzhaken (s. S. 239). Haigesänge wie auf Yap waren beim Fang nie üblich.

VIII. Schildkrötenfang. Man fängt die Schildkröte an Land. Die Männer verstecken sich mit Stangen im Busch und stoßen, sobald sich das Tier ein Loch zur Eiablage gegraben hat, ihm die Stange vor den Kopf, so daß es sich nach der andern Seite zur Flucht wendet; inzwischen greifen es die andern mit den Händen. — Auch vom Boot aus fängt man Schildkröten und zwar zur Zeit der Begattung. Gewöhnlich springen zwei Männer mit einer Schlinge am Arm ins Wasser und suchen sie dem Tier über den Fuß zu stecken, um es dann aus dem Wasser zu ziehen.

Nach dem Fang der Schildkröten stimmen Männer und Frauen unter Händeklatschen einen Schildkrötengesang an. Bei jedem Takt wird zweimal unter leichtem Schwingen der Arme in die Hände geklatscht. Der Text lautet:

Emēle ffle ffāluk
Gowāligīda kābedje
Mālejāre mālei
Āloferinārā imāut tīli wēle
Fāsut tōle kīei
Kāwālilād diādoki
Māli wālidādigidji
Iffā mōli igōdoki
Kōwā dādiōrei
Sābei dine Itgemi
Kāigōli wāsage
Āilokāje hānīdi
Wālā āwārōnāli
Wādlā giligādji

Ñāne melarāsoru
Ādlālā madjān
Ñōādēlle mālie
Dibesi gādkile
Ālerōfei ifālok
Āāwagid dādsok
Falāisā bādjan
Nāne sililōum
Gisāfidī kāudwōñ
Iddārōb mōōrōm
Wowōlere lādlaki
Rēmado ādei
Mallwol lā komākāmu
Liwōlitō kemālei.

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 54.

Dem **Vogelfang** wurde mit Netzen und Schlingen nachgegangen. Die Netze[1] *(wulimál)* wurden vom Baum aus gehandhabt; sie waren dem zum Fischen benutzten *wulimddj*-Netz ähnlich, nur größer. Zum Schlingenfang benutzte man bis 5 m lange Stangen[2], an deren Spitze vorn eine Schlinge *(lóm)* festgebunden ist. Das freie Ende der Stange hält der Eingeborene in der Hand, streift die Schlinge dem Vogel über den Kopf und zieht zu. — Einen andern Schlingenfang wie z. B. auf den südlichen Inseln, wo die Schlingen an einen Zaun festgemacht werden, ist nicht üblich.

Ratten werden entweder mit einem Stock erschlagen oder in der bekannten Bambusrohrfalle *(ddfit)*[3] gefangen.

Haustiere sind lediglich Hühner *(malúk)*; Schweine *(bdwi)* und Hunde fehlen, sind aber bekannt.

Feuererzeugung. Das Feuer *(jáf)* wurde früher mit dem Feuerquirl *(liág)* erbohrt, jetzt benutzt man Schlageisen und Zunder, der in einem Bambusrohr aufbewahrt wird. — Woher die Menschheit die Kenntnis vom Feuer erhielt, darüber wußte man nichts. Sarfert hat die Eingeborenen durch seinen Yap-Mann wissen lassen, daß der weiße Mann diese Art der Feuererzeugung bereits viel früher anwendete. — Zum Anfachen des Feuerbrandes dient ein geflochtener Fächer *(sabó)*. — Über das Kochen s. Kochhaus.

Küchengeräte. a) Schaber, Kratzer, Reiber: 1. *nodofdr* ist ein Stück des Cassis rufus-Schneckengehäuses zum Schaben von Taro und Brotfrucht (Abb. 315). — 2. *wánek* ist der bekannte Kokosnußkratzer (Abb. 319).

b) Fruchtöffner. Zum Schälen und Aufschlagen der Kokosnüsse bedient man sich eines zugespitzten Stück Holzes (Abb. 312), das man vor sich in die Erde steckt. Jetzt sind derartige Öffner gewöhnlich aus Eisen.

c) Messer: 1. Die gebräuchlichsten Messer *(sár)* waren Muschelschalen; — 2. *tilewál* ist ein Messer aus Schildkrot zum Ausschneiden der Kokosnuß (Abb. 310, 311).

d) Löffel *(dárak)* waren Cymbium-Muschel (Abb. 316) oder aus Kokosnußschale in Palauform geschnitzt (Abb. 317, 318).

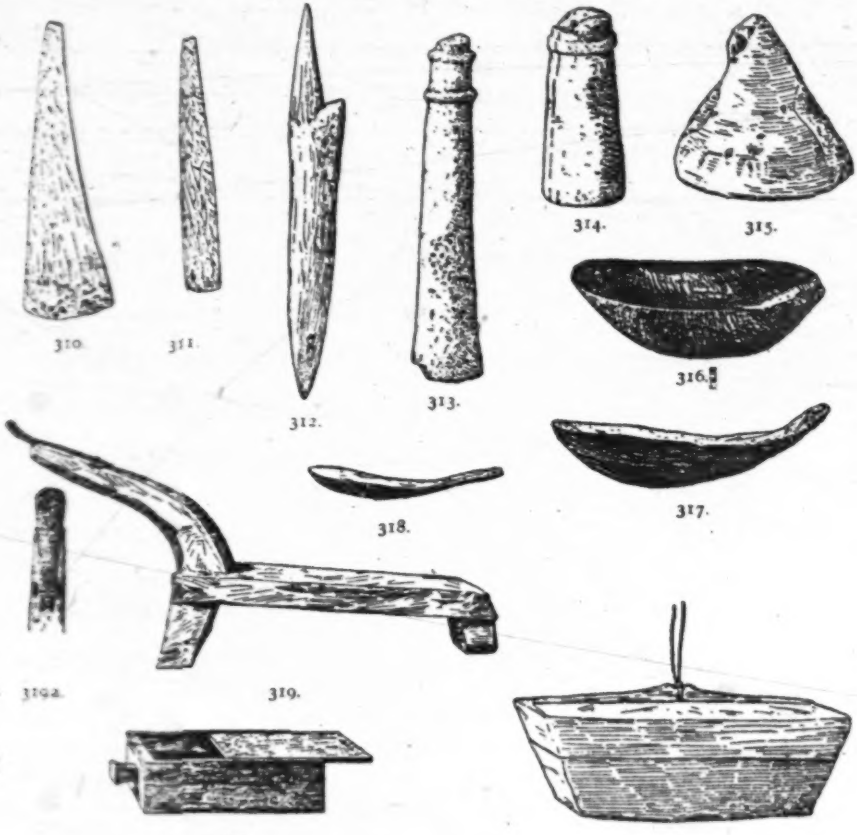
e) Stampfer *(fasifis)* aus Korallenkalk zum Zerquetschen des Taro (Abb. 313—314). — Als Mörser dienen Holzschüsseln.

f) Gefäße aus der Cassis rufus-Schneckenschale *(mafál)* dienen zum Aufbewahren der Pandanusfrüchte und als Eßschalen. Sie werden in Mengen aufbewahrt und an den Hausständern aufgehängt (Taf. 18).

g) Schüsseln *(dóbi)* aus Brotfruchtholz zum Herrichten der Speisen sind in der Regel rund, haben einen flachen, mitunter auch kielförmigen Boden[4], nicht selten

[1] Museum Hamburg 1756, 1757. [2] Museum Hamburg 1758, 1759.
[3] Museum Hamburg 1764.
[4] Museum Hamburg 1769.

einen Aufsatzrand oder Füße (Abb. 322—332), besonders auffällig sind die mannigfachen Henkelformen (Abb. 333—342). Ob sich diese Henkel aus den Aufhängeösen (Abb. 330, 332) entwickelt haben oder europäischen Vorbildern ent-



310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319a. 319. 320. 321.

Abb. 310—311. Messer aus Schildkrot (Hamburg 1731[II], 1732[II]; Länge 30 bzw. 26 cm). — Abb. 312. Fruchtöffner (Hamburg 1733[II], Länge 27 ½ cm). — Abb. 313—314. Stampfer aus Korallenkalk (Hamburg 1706[II], 1707[II], Länge 27 bzw. 16 cm). — Abb. 315. Muschelschaber (Hamburg 1691[II], 1/3 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 316—318. Löffel (Hamburg 1740[II], 1736[II], 1738[II]; Länge 17 ½, 14 bzw. 10 ½ cm). — Abb. 319. Kokosnußkratzer (Hamburg 1734[II], Länge 66 cm); 319a. Kratzer von oben gesehen. — Abb. 320 und 321. Deckelkästen (Hamburg 1741[II] bzw. 1658[II]; Länge 21 ½ bzw. 12 cm).

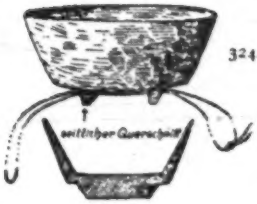
lehnt sind, ist nicht festzustellen. Eigenartig ist das Vorkommen von Doppelschüsseln (Abb. 325, 326) gleicher oder verschiedener Größe mit den für die Zentralkarolinen typischen »Nasen«; diese Schüsselformen haben ihren Weg bis nach Wuvulu und Aua gefunden.

322.

322a.

323.

323a.



324.

324a.

325.

327.

326.

327a.

328.

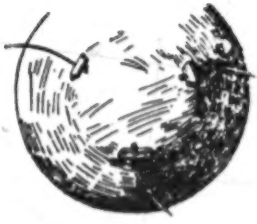
328a.

330.

331.

329.

332.



331a.

Ab.. 322—332. Holzschüsseln (sämtlich im Museum Hamburg: 322 = 5071^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 323 = 1643^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 324 = 5311^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 325 = 5068^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 326 = 1644^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 327 = 5309^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr., 327a Bodenansicht; 328 = 1633^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 329 = 5075^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 330 = 1645^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.; 331 = 1649^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr., 331a Bodenansicht; 332 = 5306^{II}, $^1/_6$ nat. Gr.

2: Damm et al, OR21 Woleai

333. 334. 335. 336. 337.

338. 339. 340. 341. 342.

Abb. 333—342. Henkelformen von den Holzschüsseln (sämtlich im Museum Hamburg) 1634II, 5312II, 1631II, 5074II, 5313II, 5073II, 5072II, 1635II, 1632II, 1630II (alle ¼ nat. Gr.).

h) Deckelkästen aus Brotfruchtholz mit abnehmbarem Deckel, in dessen »Rippe« eine Öse für die Aufhängeschnur angebracht ist (*soub* genannt, Abb. 320) und solche mit Schiebedeckel, *giuar* mit Namen (Abb. 321), dienen mehr zur Aufnahme von Kleinigkeiten (Tatauiergerät, Angelhaken, Schmuck).

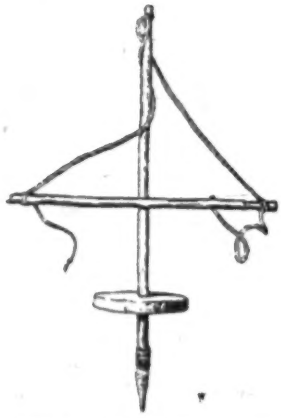


Abb. 343. Drillbohrer (Hamburg 1767II, Höhe 42 cm).

Unter den **Speisen** spielt wie auch anderwärts die Brotfrucht eine wichtige Rolle, denn sie läßt sich konservieren und hilft so, Notzeiten überstehen. Die Früchte werden erst einen Tag und eine Nacht in den *tôu*-Netztaschen ins Meerwasser gelegt. Dann wurden Strunk und Kerne entfernt, die Früchte zerdrückt und in Gruben aufbewahrt. Das Ganze wurde mit Blättern zugedeckt und mit Steinen beschwert genau wie auf Polowat.[1] Solche Vorratsgruben finden sich öfters im Busch, wenn man auch leicht achtlos daran vorübergeht.

Neuerdings haben sich die Eingeborenen auch an Reis gewöhnt.

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 68.

245

III. Technik.

Holztechnik. Männer stellen Schüsseln, Kästen, Kokoskratzer, Waffen, Kanu- und Hüttenplanken her, doch ist ihre Anfertigung nicht jedermanns Sache, es verstehen sich nur einzelne Männer darauf. Zur Holzbearbeitung bedienen sie sich folgender Werkzeuge:

1. Äxte *(ddlai)* mit gerader oder gekrümmter Muschelklinge *(gł)*, um welche Muschelart es sich dabei handelte, erfuhr Sarfert nicht, da keine alte Axt bzw. Klinge mehr vorhanden war. — Äxte mit drehbarer Klinge waren angeblich unbekannt. Beilschaft = *mâul*, Umschnürung = *ſôſo*.

2. Bohrer *(wulewûr)* ist entweder ein einfacher Stab mit einem Haizahn als Spitze oder der bekannte Drillbohrer mit Schwungscheibe (Abb. 343). Auf Yap ist nach Angabe von Sarfert's Gewährsmann der Querstab mit einem Loch versehen, in dem die Achse läuft.

3. Zirkel fehlt.

4. Feilen *(ſât)* zum Glätten des Holzes sind Korallenkalkstücke oder die Haut vom Rochen.

Schildpattechnik. Das Schildpatt wird vom Rücken der Schildkröte durch einen glühenden Holzstab losgelöst. Das Schildpatt wird mit heiß gemachten Haizähnen *(nilibâro)* geschnitten und mit einem Stück Rochenhaut, die man um einen Stab wickelt, abgefeilt.

Die **Anfertigung von Kokosperlen** ist wie die von Muschelscheiben eine Sache der beiden Geschlechter. Die Bearbeitung beider Materialien ist fast gleich. Während die Kokosringe aus der Schale geschnitten werden, schlägt man den Muscheln mit einem Stück Eisen die Spitze ab. Dann werden beide auf einem Reibstein dünn geschliffen, schließlich mit dem Bohrer durchbohrt und alle Muscheln wie Kokosschalen werden auf eine Schnur gereiht. Das eine Ende davon wird auf einem Stück Holz befestigt. Dann wird die ganze Reihe mit einem Stück angeschwemmten Bimssteines glatt geschliffen.[1] Diese Technik ist auf Sorol sehr hoch entwickelt, die Insulaner stehen seit alters in dem Ruf, die schönsten, mehrsträhnigen Gürtel der Karolinen anzufertigen, die sie im Tausch weithin nach Osten verhandeln.[2]

[1] Vgl. die Taf. 27 in Sarfert und Damm 1929 Bd. I.
[2] Finsch 1914, S. 155.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Schnurherstellung. 1. Kokosschnüre fertigt man folgendermaßen an: Die Kokosnüsse werden lange Zeit in Wasser gelegt. Sarfert beobachtete eine ganze Reihe von Wasserlöchern *(semäligôt)*, die mit Kokosschalen gefüllt waren. Nach einer gewissen Zeit werden sie herausgenommen und mit einem Stück Holz geklopft, bis die Faser leicht herauszuziehen ist. Sie wird auf dem Bein zu dünner Bindeschnur *(kolekôl)* gedreht, die dann zu dickeren Seilen *(tâl)* für Segelboote und dergleichen weiter verarbeitet wird. Es geschieht dies nicht mit den in den Karolinen so häufig dazu benutzten Stöcken, sondern in einer Art, die bereits auf Polowat als die ältere Arbeitsmethode gekennzeichnet war[1]. Drei Männer sind dabei tätig: der eine hält das über einen horizontal liegenden Hausbalken gelegte Seil, die zwei andern drehen es zusammen, indem sie die beiden Enden sich immerfort im Kreise zureichen.

2. Bastschnüre werden aus dem weichen Holz des *eremâ*- und *liliſô*-Baumes gewonnen. Man legt die Stöcke vier Tage lang ins Wasser, dann ist das Fleisch des Holzes leicht in Fasern lösbar. Daraus werden auf dem Schenkel Fäden gedreht, die dann mit dem bekannten kreuzförmigen Apparat *bîlebil*[2] zu Fischleinen *(jâu)* weiter verarbeitet werden.

Die **Flechterei** ist Frauenarbeit. 1. Pandanusmatten: a) *gîaki* aus etwa 1,7 cm breiten Streifen in einfachem Geflecht dienen als Schlaf- und Totenmatte[3]. — b) *tôb* ist eine in einfachem Geflecht aus etwa ½ cm breiten Streifen doppelt gearbeitete Matte.

2. Kokosmatten: a) *daborô* ist aus einem ganzen Kokoswedel geflochten und dient als Schlafmatte oder als Decke für den Fußboden. — b) *jâso* ist in einfachem Geflecht aus einem halben Wedel gearbeitet und wird als Dachmatte benutzt.

3. Taschen verschiedenster Form und Größe. a) *sirâra* (He.: *serâra* oder *sigerâra*[4]): kleines Täschchen von viereckigem oder rundem Querschnitt mit aufstülpbarem Deckel aus Pandanusstreifen in einfachem Geflecht; sie dienen zum Aufbewahren kleiner Gegenstände, die man in der Tragtasche mit sich führt, z. B. Tabak (Taf. 21 Abb. 3 und 4). — b) *rârêt*: Tasche mit Henkel aus schmalen Pandanusstreifen in einfacher Technik gearbeitet; es ist die Handtasche der Männer und Frauen (s. Taf. 21 Abb. 2). — c) *wôdâū*: Es ist die gewöhnliche Gebrauchstasche beider Geschlechter. Sie wird aus verschieden breiten Kokosblattstreifen in verschiedener Technik gearbeitet (s. Taf. 21 Abb. 1, 5 und 6).

Strickarbeiten sind nicht häufig. Die Männer verstehen große Netztaschen *(tôu)* anzufertigen, in denen die Brotfrucht gewässert wird.[5]

---

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935. S. 75.
[2] Museum Hamburg 1768.
[3] Museum Hamburg 1726, 1728.
[4] Das Museum Berlin besitzt ein solches Stück (VI 25380), das der damalige Bezirksamtmann von Yap Senfft unter dem Namen *singerada* sammelte.
[5] Museum Hamburg 1722.

Zu **Näharbeiten** (Hüte s. S. 236) werden Nadeln *(jð)* aus Vogelknochen benutzt.

Die **Weberei** ist Sache der Frauen. Sie arbeiten die Lendenschurze auf dem Webstuhl *(dâl)*[1], dessen hinteres Spannholz durch zwei senkrecht in den Boden

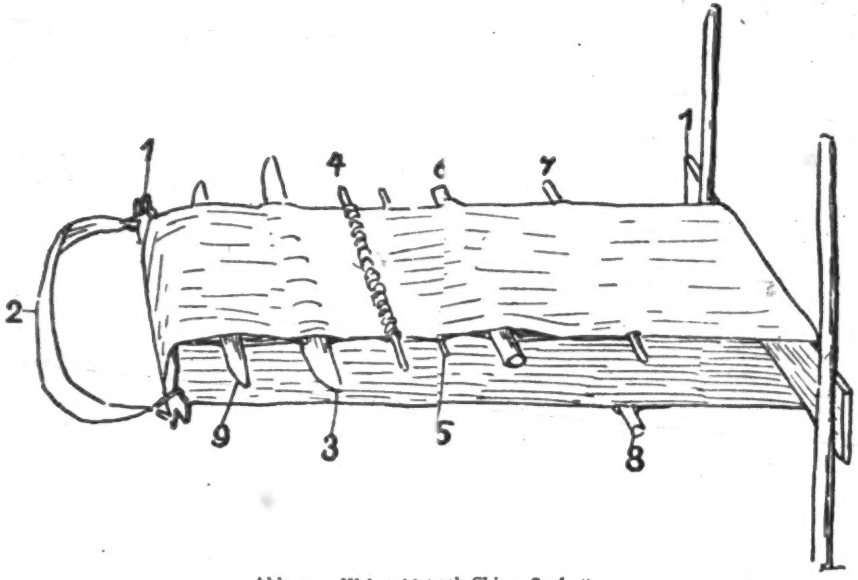


Abb. 344. Webstuhl (nach Skizze Sarfert).

gesteckte Stäbe gehalten wird (s. Abb. 344). Die einzelnen Teile des Apparates heißen:

Nummer der Abb.	Deutsche Bezeichnung	Sorol
1	vorderes und hinteres Spannholz	*bâb*
2	Spanngurt	*dâl*
3	Schwert	*kabôb*
4	Litzenstab	*dîb*
5	—	*ṅâṅ*
6	—	*dâbaṅ*
7	—	*olât*
8	—	*dîwo*
9	Schiffchen	*kasâb*
10	Faden	*ligâbat*

[1] Museum Hamburg 1704, 1705.

Über die Muster s. S. 236. Weiße Streifen heißen *ligabôt*, schwarze *ligodôl*, Rand der schwarzen Streifen *kaût*. Die andern Muster tragen keine Namen.

Die **Färberei** ist Frauenarbeit. a) Die gelblichbraune Farbe *(rân)* zur Körperbemalung wird aus Gelbwurz gewonnen. — b) Die rote Farbe erhielten die Sorol-Leute von den Weißen auf dem Umweg über Mogemog und diese Eingeborenen kauften sie von Yap. Früher gab es keine rote Farbe. — c) Die schwarze Farbe wird durch Abreiben eines alten Stückes rostigen Eisens gewonnen, das man mit einem Stein in eine mit wenig Wasser gefüllte Holzschüssel abkratzt. — Über Tatauierfarbe s. S. 232.

249

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt.

Wie auf allen Karolinen-Inseln, so ist auch auf Sorol der **Handel** mit den Nachbarinseln mehr und mehr zurückgegangen. Nicht allein, weil die Jugend sich nicht mehr für die alten Seefahrtskenntnisse interessierte, wohl eher, weil der Weiße mit seinen Waren ganz neue Wünsche wach werden ließ, zu deren Befriedigung Reisen nicht mehr notwendig waren, er brachte ja seine schönen Sachen selbst ins Land. — So ist es gekommen, daß die groß angelegten Tributfahrten nach Yap, die auch Lütke erwähnt,[1] ganz der Geschichte angehören. Dennoch betrachten die Sorol-Leute noch jetzt den Häuptling von Katschebar auf Yap als ihren Oberhäuptling und selbst unter dem 1909 herrschenden Häuptling fuhr ein Mann namens Ligedjisŏk mit Tributgaben (Matten, Holzschüsseln, Muscheln, Seilen usw.) dorthin. Ein Mogemog-Boot holte ihn ab und fuhr mit dem Passatwind zunächst nach Feis, wo es einige Tage blieb, dann weiter nach Mogemog, wo ebenfalls ein kurzer Aufenthalt genommen wurde, und schließlich nach Katschebar. Hier blieb dieses Boot solange, bis der Monsun die Heimfahrt ermöglichte. Der genannte Sorol-Mann kam auf der letzten Heimreise ums Leben. — Auch in früheren Zeiten waren die Mogemog-Leute die Vermittler dieser Tributzahlungen; sie holten die Sorol-Leute ab und brachten sie auch wieder zurück, da diese schon frühzeitig ihre Segelkenntnis verloren hatten. Den Grund für diese Tributzahlungen wußten die Sorol-Leute nicht anzugeben.[2]

Andererseits statteten einst Mogemog- und Feis-Boote[3] den Sorol-Leuten Handelsbesuche ab, um gegen gelbe Farbe und Töpfe, Ruder, Schüsseln und Schnüre zu erhandeln. Zu häufigen Besuchern zählten auch Yap- und Oleai-Leute[4], von denen gerade die letzteren sehr begierig die schönen Muschelgürtel verlangten[5], in deren Anfertigung ja die Sorol-Leute Meister waren. Von Gebrauchsgütern waren noch Matten, Schurze, Schüsseln, Seile, Boote begehrt.

---

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 306.

[2] Nach Aussage von Sarfert's Yap-Mann kamen früher nach Katschebar die Leute von Feis, Mogemog, Sorol, Aurepik, Oleai, Lamutrik, Faraulip, Ălădj, Satowan, Ifaluk, Truk, Polowat, Saipan und zahlten an den Häuptling von Katschebar ihren Tribut. Dieser betrachtete diese Inselleute alle als seine Untergebenen!

[3] Ehemals kamen Mogemog-Boote nicht nur des Handels wegen, sondern auch zum Schildkrötenfang hierher. Die Sorol-Leute wollen früher die Schildkröten nicht gegessen haben, angeblich lernten es ihnen die Mogemog-Leute.

[4] Vgl. auch Cheyne 1852, S. 139.

[5] Finsch 1914, S. 155.

Über die **Nautik** sind, wie bereits oben bemerkt wurde, schon seit langer, langer Zeit keine Einzelheiten mehr bekannt. So weiß man von den Sternbildern gerade noch die, deren Namen in den Monatsbezeichnungen bewahrt wurden. Man kennt auch ihre Stellung am Himmel (s. Abb. 345); aber nur von zweien *(mâlôb* und *elâel)* weiß man die Zahl der dazu gehörigen Sterne. Die Eingeborenen können auch nicht sagen, in welchem Sternbild jeweils Mond oder Sonne aufgehen. Die Namen der Sternbilder sind:

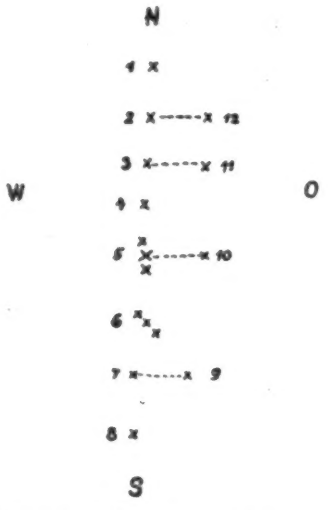


Abb. 345. Stellung der Sternbilder zueinander (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Nummer im Abb.	Sorol	Deutsch[1])
1.	*môl*	Großer Hund
2.	*lâke*	Pegasus
3.	*gûi*	Delphin
4.	*mâleg*	Plejaden
5.	*mâlôb*	Oststern
6.	*elâel*	Aldebaran
7.	*sêrewol*	Orion
8.	*dûmul*	Großer Bär
9.	*mâl*	Procyon
10.	*sôda*	Equuleus
11.	*eremôi*	?
12.	*tt*	?

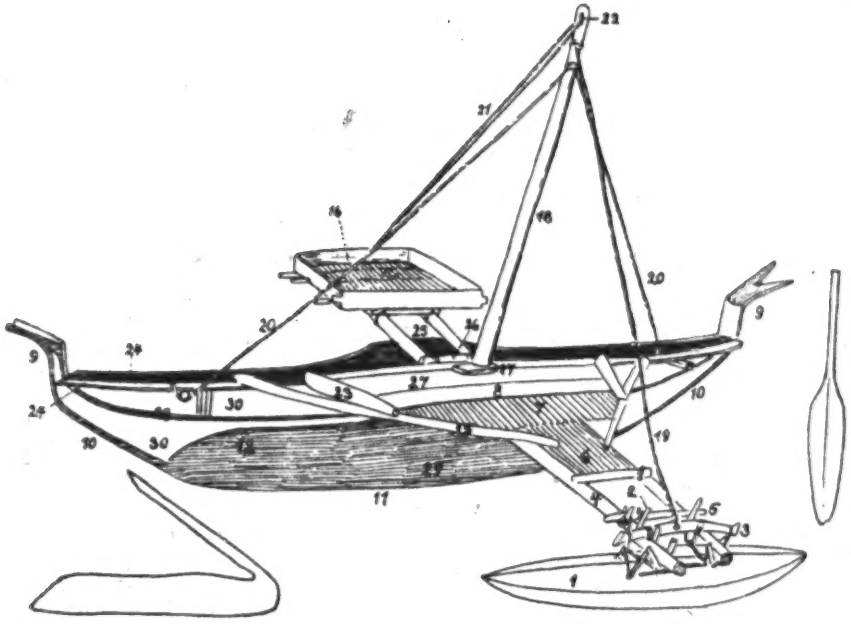
Boot. In alter Zeit sollen die Sorol-Leute keine Boote gekannt, sondern nur Flöße *(ʃâʃad)* benutzt haben. Erst durch den Mogemog-Mann Mâlemuk, der in einem kleinen Segelboot ankam und noch der alten Geschichte Sorols angehört — die Ifaluk-Leute kamen erst viel später — lernten sie den Bootbau. Flöße sind der heutigen Bevölkerung unbekannt.

Die Bootform ist aus der Abb. 346 und aus der Taf. 19 ersichtlich; sie unterscheidet sich kaum von der sonstiger zentral-karolinischer Boote. Die Ruderform (Ruder = *ʃâdjul)* zeigt Abb. 348,[2] die des Steuers *(ʃadelâlû)* Abb. 347.

Die Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Bootsteile gibt folgende Liste (vgl. dazu Abb. 346).

1. Ausleger dâm
2. Auslegergabel jâm
3. wâliſn
4. chſa

[1] Die deutschen Bezeichnungen wurden nach der Liste in Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 88 und 273 bestimmt.
[2] Museum Hamburg 1765, 1766.



347. 346. 348.

Abb. 346. Segelboot (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 347. Steuer (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 348. Ruder (nach Skizze Sarfert).

5. chasóso
6. kleine Plattform jêlan
7. breite Plattform fáñ
8. Plattform aus Brettern fáraf
9. Bug- bzw. Heckverzierung bedeloa
10. Teil des Kieles an Bug und Heck fádo
11. Kiel abêdíd
12. Seite des Bootes dulibál
13. Innenraum des Bootes lál
14. Bänke im Bootsinnern djá
15. mâdârafañ
16. Plattform auf der auslegerfreien Seite âbôb
17. Holzschuh für den Mast chára
18. Mast cháūs
19. jañalâb
20. dalegâd

21. Tau zum Hochziehen des Segels erûr
22. Mastspitze mit Öffnung für Tau charegirî
23. malemäsûr
24. mesâb,
25. erhöhter Teil der Bootwand chalegedâ
26. Querbalken, an dem die Träger der Plattform festgebunden sind djilôb
27. Rand der Ausleger-Plattform fodofalû
28. schwarzes, erhabenes Zierband fâr
29. schwarzer Teil der Seitenfläche medôdol
30. vertiefter, rot bemalter Teil der Seitenfläche fâlâre

Segel hûije
Stangen am Segel râlli
Ösfaß châmat
Stake fâû.

Der Bau von Booten *(oâ)* geschieht nur mit Erlaubnis des Häuptlings; außer ihm verstanden sich 1909 nur noch vier Männer auf diese Kunst. Die Bäume werden aus den Stämmen von *mâ-* und *ſldou*-Bäumen gefertigt, die bereits im Walde roh zugehauen und dann zur Küste gezogen werden. Irgendwelche Arbeitslieder oder Verse zum gemeinsamen Anziehen des Stammes, wie sie anderwärts bekannt sind, hatte man nicht. Die Eingeborenen baten Sarfert's Yap-Leute darum, ihnen einen solchen Vers vorzusingen. Auch während des weiteren Arbeitsganges gibt es keine Gesänge; erst wenn das Boot fertig ist und zu Wasser gebracht werden soll, stellt sich der Eigentümer mit den bekannten Kokosblattknoten vor das Boot und singt:

Sibôu, sibôu, sâbo, sâbo[1]
Sibôu, sâlok maddwudal äwälawâile
Dailîabel äwälawîle sîbo, sâbo!

Dieses Lied wird verschiedene Male wiederholt. Ist das Boot zu Wasser gebracht worden, so stellt sich der Eigentümer wieder an den Bug mit einem Doppelknoten[2] und während er damit klatscht, wird ein anderer Vers hergesagt. Darauf wird der Knoten an den Bug des Bootes gehängt und nunmehr ein halber Kokoswedel hin und her bewegt und dazu ein dritter Vers gesagt. Diese beiden letzten Verse konnte Sarfert zunächst nicht niederschreiben, weil sie tapu waren, man sagte sie ihm wohl im üblichen Redefluß her, aber der Mann war nicht zu bewegen, die Verse nochmals langsam für die Nachschrift zu wiederholen. Wenn er dies tun würde, wäre Krankheit und gar Tod für ihn die Folge gewesen. Nach langen Verhandlungen, die mit dem Vertrauensmann allein geführt wurden und bei denen er

[1] Entsprechende Verse von Yap enthalten ebenfalls diese Wiederholung *sibôu, sâbou*. Sarfert's Yap-Dolmetscher weigerte sich, den entsprechenden Yap-Text herzusagen, da er sonst erkranken würde.
[2] In der gleichen Form wie Abb. 261 bei Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 150.

immer wieder seine große Angst beteuerte, erklärte er sich schließlich gegen Zahlung von einem Lendenschurz und drei Tabakstangen bereit. Der zweite Vers lautet:

Limôlo / limôlo / sûsûmêija /
Sûsûmeluwôlobol ʃâlû Sorôlo /
Sâi rilâdo / elewûôʀ / mellineraû dâraí /
Lâdibâr / damôniʃeliť / mamâniʃeliťi /
Linâri / linâri liwôl / sereneri /
Sereneriilimeli mareneńâr /
Iganeréńâr / igadoâdok / wâ lidmel /
Maroldmel / roróra / waualla /
Lauaigo / ʃalewûdok gôʀ /
Falewûdok gâlai / sûsû neliť /
Elewuôʀ / ralêi!

Der letzte Vers hieß:

Lâreʃldi / môdemêi lâlomâi / mêlera rlliwar /
Mêile mêile / mêile golalimâʀ / mêile mêile /
Mêile golaloʃldi ʃid / iʃididîbum wajêl /
Mamâi doróri / wâimêi!

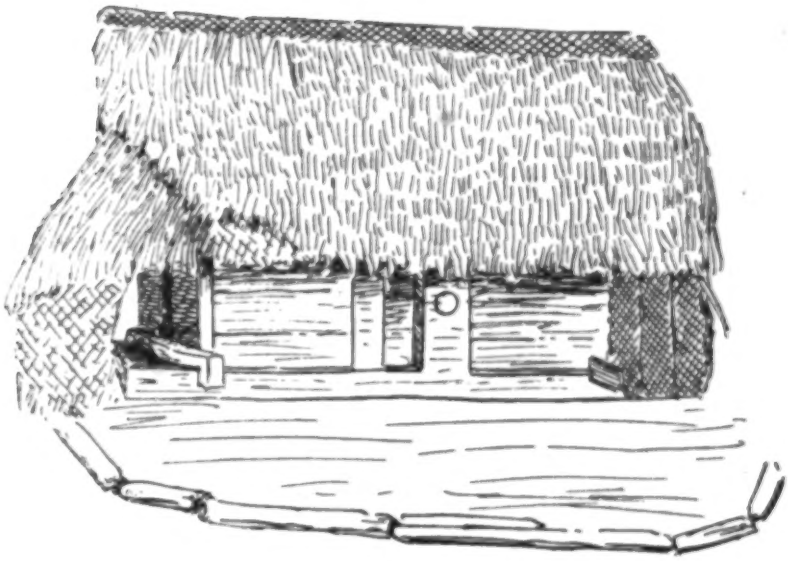


Abb. 349. Wohnhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

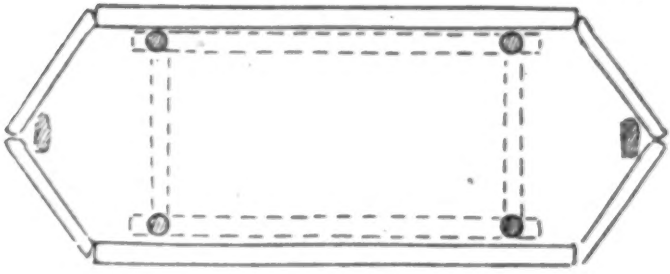


Abb. 350. Grundriß des Wohnhauses (die gestrichelten Linien bezeichnen die Wände, die ausgezogenen Linien die Trägerbalken des Daches; schraffiert sind die Stützpfosten).

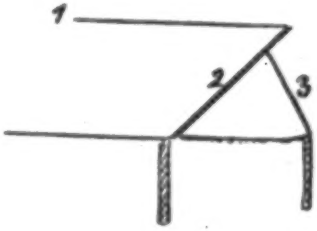
255

V. Haus und Dorf.

In alter, alter Zeit kannten die Sorol-Leute keine Hütten; sie schliefen unter Pandanus-Bäumen. Die Kunst des Hausbaues lernten sie erst durch den Mogemog-Mann Mâlemuk.

Es gibt folgende **Hausarten**: a) *fm*: Wohnhaus der Familie (vgl. Abb. 349. 350). Grundriß und Form sind verschieden und zwar richten sich diese nach der Größe der Hütten. Manche sind zehn Meter und länger und dabei bis über drei Meter hoch, wobei auf die Wandhöhe allein $^1/_3$ entfällt. Der Grundriß bei umfangreicheren Bauten ist eigentlich viereckig und erhält erst durch besondere Giebelvorbauten eine sechseckige Gestalt, die bei den kleineren Wohnhütten bereits im Grundriß vorhanden ist. — Der viereckige Raum eines größeren Wohnhauses besteht in seinem Grundriß aus starken, vierkantigen Balken, die an den Ecken ineinander greifen. In diesen Balken sind wieder an den Ecken senkrechte, vierkantige Pfosten eingelassen, desgleichen Türpfosten. Zwischen diesen senkrechten Pfosten stehen dicke Wandplanken; die zu oberst liegenden fassen in die beiden

351.



352.

353.

Abb. 351. Querschnitt durch die Längsbalken: 1 = Auflage für die Dachträger, 2 = Außenseite, 3 = Wandplanke (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 352. Dach mit Vorbau (nach Skizze Sarfert), 1 = First, 2 = Gatterwerk, 3 = Giebelvorbau. — Abb. 353. Querschnitt durch Türverschluß (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Längsbalken, die auf den Eckpfosten eingelassen sind. Diese Längsbalken haben nicht nur einen Falz für die Wandplanken, sondern auch eine feste Auflage für die kräftigen, im 45 Grad-Winkel aufliegenden Dachträger (vgl. Abb. 351), auf denen dann das Gatterwerk der Sparren liegt. Dieses überragt die Hüttenwand, so daß das Dach übersteht. — Auf jedem Querbalken der Giebelwände steht ein Stützpfosten, der den Firstbalken trägt. Dieser überragt die Giebelwand, so daß das Gatterwerk, das auf dem Querbalken aufliegt, nach außen geneigt ist.

Die Giebelwände haben einen gesondert gebauten eckigen Vorbau, dessen Gatterwerk an das des Daches anlehnt und angebunden ist, andererseits sitzt es auf zwei horizontalen Stangen auf, die von wenigen, einfachen runden Stützpfosten getragen werden.

Die horizontalen Dachsparren dieses Vorbaues sind meist einfach rund gebogen, seine Wände bestehen einfach aus Matten. Auch sein Dach ist so dicht mit Matten belegt, daß man von außen nur die Fransen sieht. Dieser Vorbau mag entstanden sein, um einen Raum mit mehr Luft und Licht für die tätigen Frauen zu haben. Sarfert sah verschiedentlich Frauen unter diesem Vorbau arbeiten.

Das Dach wird außerdem innen an jeder Langseite meist noch durch einen schräg liegenden Balken oder eine Stange *(ßlowöt)* gestützt, dem *idubut* auf Polowat oder dem *lari Orofad* der kleinen südlichen Inseln ähnlich.[1]

Türen *(katám)* finden sich an jeder Langseite zwei und an jeder Giebelseite je eine, doch sind immer mehrere von ihnen geschlossen. Der Verschluß ist eigenartig genug. In dem Grundrißbalken ist ein Stück Holz im Querschnitt von Abb. 353 eingelassen, durch das Loch wird ein Brett geschoben. Da nur wenig Türen in den Häusern offen sind und das Dach sehr tief bis zur Erde reicht, ist es meist in ihnen sehr finster.

Auf den Bau dieser Hütten verstehen sich nur besondere Familien. Man ruft sie und ihre Helfer herbei und bezahlt sie während der Bauzeit mit Essen und Geld. Gewöhnlich bauen sich erwachsene und verheiratete Kinder ein Haus für sich. Durch eine Balkenlage wurde das Haus, wenn auch vielfach unvollkommen von anderen abgegrenzt. — Mitunter ist an das Wohnhaus noch ein kleines Schlafhaus *(ruterán)* für das Ehepaar angebaut.

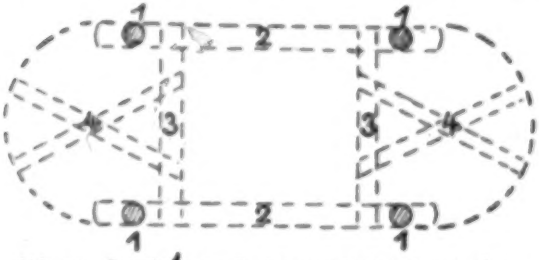


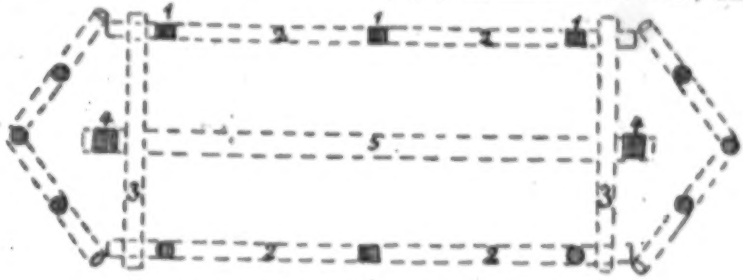
Abb. 354. Grundriß eines Bootshauses (nach Skizze Sarfert).

b) *falod*: Kanuhaus (s. Taf. 18). Die Bootshäuser stehen am Strand und wirken in ihrem Äußeren massiger, behäbiger als die Wohnhütten, zeigen aber auf den ersten Blick manche Ähnlichkeit mit ihnen. Die vier Stützpfosten (Nr. 1 der Abb. 354) sind derbe Baumstümpfe, in deren Gabeln die beiden Längsbalken (Nr. 2) liegen, auf diesen ruhen die kürzeren Querbalken (Nr. 3). Eigentliche Wände *(rarardk)* gibt es nicht, das *falod* ist nach allen Seiten offen; nur der obere Teil der Giebelwand ist geschlossen und zwar durch einen halbrunden (nicht eckigen) Vorbau, der aber nicht wie beim Wohnhaus durch Stützpfeiler getragen wird, sondern dessen Last einzig und allein auf zwei Stangen (Nr. 4) ruht, die auf

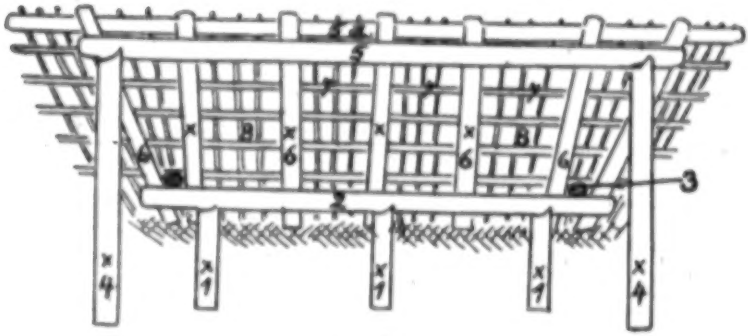
[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 118; Eilers 1935, S. 129.

dem Giebelquerbalken befestigt sind. Die Dachkonstruktion ist die gleiche wie beim Männerhaus. Sarfert fand in einem Bootshaus einen Dachträger beschnitzt und bemalt.

c) *falarîdr:* Männerhaus[1]. Es ist der Aufenthaltsort für die Männer, aber nur tagsüber, und gleichzeitig ihr Tanzhaus. Den Frauen ist der Zutritt verboten; diese tanzen auch nicht. Der Fußboden *(lôfal)* ist mit Sand bestreut, auf dem



355.



356.

Abb. 355. Grundriß des Männerhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 356. Längsschnitt durch das Männerhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

z. T. Kokosblattmatten liegen. Balken dienen als Kopfstützen. Der Bau des Männerhauses, an dem alle mithelfen, ist nicht mit Gesang und Tanz verbunden, auch seine Fertigstellung nicht. — Das einzige noch vorhandene Männerhaus, das Sarfert seinerzeit als Wohnung diente, war etwa 12 Meter lang und etwa 4 Meter breit. Sein Grundriß war rechteckig, auf jeder Langseite standen drei, etwa ein Meter hohe Stützpfosten *(sâre,* Nr. 1 der Abb. 355) von rundem oder viereckigen Querschnitt. Die in der Abb. viereckig eingetragenen (in Abb. 356

[1] Hambruch spricht in seinen Aufzeichnungen von einem „Geisterhaus" auf Sorol, das dem Yoneláf geweiht sei; hier sollen sich einfache Spielboote befinden, die vor der Brotfruchtreife angefertigt werden und mit denen die Knaben spielen. — Sarfert erwähnt ein „Geisterhaus" nicht; möglicherweise ist es mit dem Männerhaus identisch.

angekreuzten) sind beschnitzt und schwarz und weiß bemalt (Taf. 18 und Abb. 357—363). Der First wird von zwei viereckigen und beschnitzten Stützpfosten *(sūrōō*, Nr. 4) getragen, diese sind etwa drei Meter hoch gewesen. Die Trägerbalken für das Dach *(darielōb*, Nr. 2) und der First *(ōō*, Nr. 5) ruhen in Kerben auf den Stützpfosten. Wände gibt es nicht, nur die Windseite ist mit Kokosblattmatten verhangen; es ist dies stets eine Langseite oder eine halbe Giebelwand.

Auf dem Längsbalken ruhen dicke Pfosten *(wōō*, Nr. 6 der Abb. 356), die oben auf dem First aufliegen und von denen die angekreuzten verziert sind (Abb. 363). Auf diesem liegen wiederum horizontale *(kabuūk*, Nr. 7) wie vertikale *(tolewūt*, Nr. 8) Sparren. Diese letzteren ruhen auf dem Firstbalken *(ōō*, Nr. 5) und werden von einem zweiten längeren, jedoch dünneren (Nr. 5a) gehalten. — Die Giebelwände liegen innerhalb des nach vorn überhängenden Giebeldaches und haben nur eine leichte Balkenunterlage, die ohne jeden Stützpfosten von den Längsbalken getragen wird (s. Nr. 3 in Abb. 355). Das Sparrenwerk ist auch hier horizontal und vertikal angeordnet und mit dem des Giebeldaches verbunden.

a b c

357.

Die Musterung der einzelnen Stützpfosten und Dachträger (sind in Abb. 355als Viereck eingetragen und in Abb. 356 angekreuzt) zeigen die Abb. 357—363. Die weiß gebliebenen Flächen in der Abb. sind weiß bemalt und vertieft, die schwarzen dagegen erhaben und schwarz bemalt. Nur von wenigen Ornamenten konnten die Eingeborenen Namen angeben (z. B. Abb. 363b Nr. 1 = Penis, 2 = Vogel, 3 = Sonne).

a b c d a b a b c

358. 359. 360.

Abb. 357—360. Muster von den einzelnen Seiten der Stützpfeiler des Männerhauses (in Abb. 355 Nr. 1); nach Skinner Sariert.

Das Dach *(jaleflt)* ist ganz dicht mit Kokosblattmatten *(jāa)* belegt, die dachziegelartig übereinander liegen und zwar so, daß die Ränder der Matten (das sind die gespaltenen Kokoswedelstiele) in ganz geringem Abstand voneinander angeordnet sind und nur die losen Fransen nach außen kommen. Das

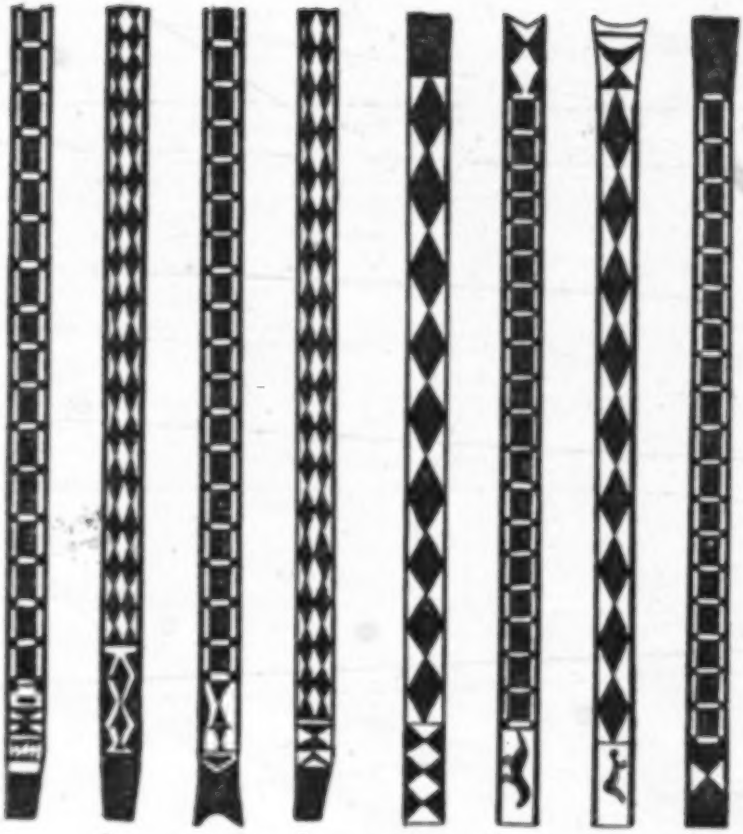


Abb. 361—362. Muster von den einzelnen Seiten der Firststützpfosten (in Abb. 335 Nr. 4); nach Skizze Sarfert.

eigentliche Geflecht kann man nur im Innern sehen (s. Abb. auf Taf. 18). — Als Bindematerial für Balken und Sparren dient *fdfa* - Schnur.

d) *fan melidi:* Kochhaus (Abb. 364); etwa 2½ m lang, 1—2 m breit, über 2 m hoch. Es mutet zunächst wie ein einfaches, auf Pfosten gesetztes Satteldach an, das aber bei genauerem Zusehen in der sorgfältigen Bearbeitung der Hölzer, der sauberen Verschnürung nicht den Eindruck einer flüchtig errichteten Hütte macht. — Der Grundriß (Abb. 365) ist rechteckig. Auf den vier Stützpfosten (Nr. 1) liegen

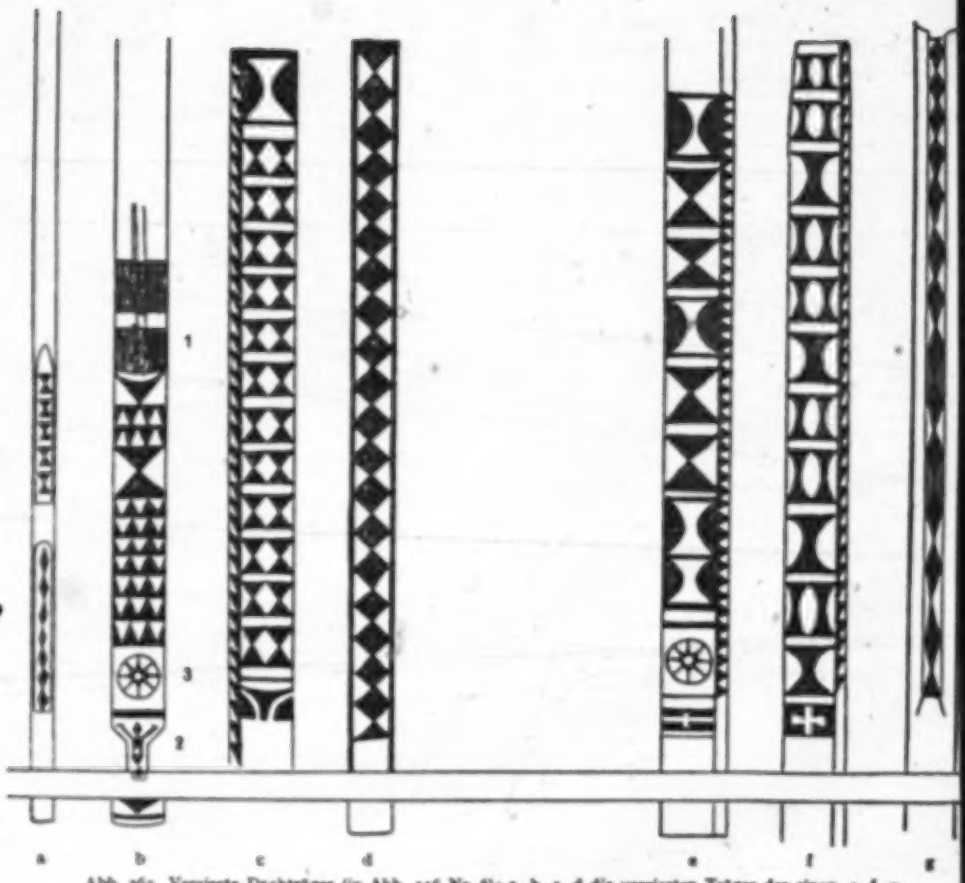


Abb. 363. Verzierte Dachträger (in Abb. 356 Nr. 6): a, b, c, d die verzierten Träger der einen, e, f, g die der andern Seite (nach Skizze Sarfert).

zwei Längsbalken (Nr. 2) und auf diesen zwei Querbalken (Nr. 3). Auf den Längsbalken liegen die Dachsparren, die nach dem First zu laufen und hier mit einem ganz leichten Firstbalken verbunden sind, der lediglich durch diese Bindung gehalten wird, denn besondere Stützpfosten sind für ihn nicht da. Über diesem Firstbalken liegt noch eine leichte Stange, so daß sich hier das gleiche Bild eines Doppelfirstes ergibt wie beim Männerhaus. Das Dach ist auch in der gleichen Art gedeckt, selbst die runden Giebelvorbauten fehlen nicht. Wände sind nicht vorhanden.

Gekocht wird in Löchern *(kaŭjó)*, in denen die Speisen liegen. Oben unterhält man ein Feuer. So hat man bei diesem langsamen Rösten stets warmes frisches Essen, ohne doch jeden Tag kochen zu müssen.

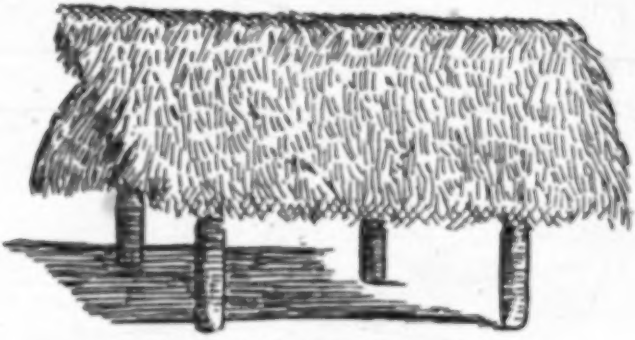


Abb. 364. Kochhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

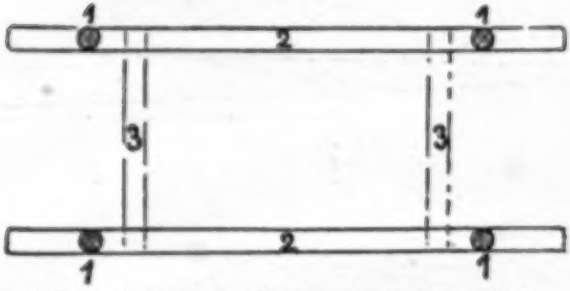


Abb. 365. Grundriß eines Kochhauses (nach Skizze Sarfert).

Das *fm melidt* ist aber nicht allein Kochhaus, sondern anscheinend auch Vorratshaus, denn es findet sich darin unterm Dach ein größeres Hängegestell (Abb. 366) zum Ablegen von Speisen und Geräten und dergleichen. Von jedem der beiden Querbalken Nr. 3 (s. Abb. 365) hängt ein Holz herunter, in dem unten in einer Kerbe ein zweites horizontales liegt, dessen freies Ende an einem Stützpfosten festgebunden ist. Auf diesen beiden horizontalen Hölzern liegen dann Bretter zur Ablage für allerlei Dinge. Dieses Gestell wird auch einfacher dadurch erreicht, daß man die Querhölzer für die Bretter

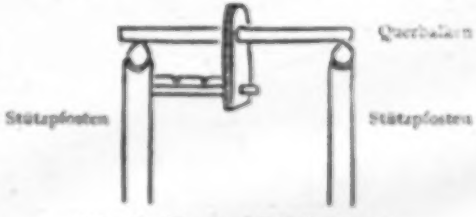


Abb. 366. Hängegestell im Kochhaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

gleich an die Stützpfosten bindet. — Dienen die *fm melidt* nur zur Aufbewahrung von Vorräten, sowie für Körbe, Schalen und dergleichen, so errichtet man sie mitunter nur auf zwei Baumstämmen (s. Abb. 367) oder macht um einen Baumstamm lediglich eine Plattform.

e) *fm oltôb*: Arbeitshütte und

f) *fâfi*: Holzschuppen sind einfache kleine und niedrige Hütten von rechteckigem Grundriß mit Mattenwänden und Giebeldach, der Vorbau fehlt bei e und f.

Abb. 367. Vorratshaus (nach Skizze Sarfert).

g) *bâl*: Bluthaus; es hat etwa die Form eines Bootshauses und ist mit Matten dicht verschlossen. Es liegt etwa drei bis vier Minuten vom Dorf entfernt mitten auf einem runden, mit weißem Sand bestreuten Platz. Um diesen herum stehen dicht gedrängt etwa 10—15 Schutzdächer ähnlich wie die *fm melidt*; es sind dies die Unterkunftshütten für die Männer, die ihren Frauen Essen bringen, denn dem männlichen Geschlecht ist das Betreten des Platzes wie des Hauses untersagt, sie würden sonst krank werden. — Die Frauen suchen diese Hütte auf, sobald die Mensis einsetzt; sie verlassen diese Hütte aber auch ebenso schnell wieder, wenn die Blutung wegbleibt.

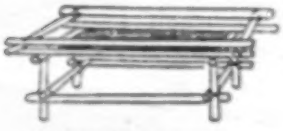


Abb. 368. Bettartige Lagerstätt (nach Skizze Sarfert).

h) *meltgel*: Unterkunftshütten auf den Feldern.

i) *fm olimoldk*: Hühnerställe kennen sie nur dem Namen nach; die Tiere wohnen auf Bäumen.

Das **Inventar** eines Hauses bilden Wirtschaftsgeräte (S. 241) und Waffen (S. 265). Pandanusmatten (S. 246; *gfaki)* dienen als Lager; man hat neuerdings europäischen Vorbildern entsprechend bettartige Lagerstätten eingerichtet (Abb. 368).

Das **Dorf** *(olefiliði)* liegt auf der Westseite der Hauptinsel und macht einen schmutzigen, vernachlässigten Eindruck auf den Besucher[1]. Es zerfällt in vier einzelne Distrikte (über ihre Entstehung s. Sippe und Geschichte), die durch Balken abgegrenzt und sehr dicht mit Hütten verschiedener Bestimmung bestanden sind. Die Distrikte führen folgende Namen (vgl. Abb. 369):

Nr. 1 *kadlebi* Nr. 3 *lugaldb*
Nr. 2 *medâirdb* Nr. 4 *faligil.*

Abb. 369. Plan des Dorfes auf Sorol (nach einer Aufnahme von Sarfert).

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.

In jedem dieser Distrikte wohnt eine Großfamilie, die sich in ihren Einzelfamilien auf die verschiedenen Wohnhütten verteilt. Es entfallen:

	auf den Distrikt	Kanuhäuser		große Boote	Wohnhütten
		Zahl	Namen		
1	*kadṭebi*	2	*faleaṅoṅ*	1	3(?)
			faledjabḍaṅ		
2	*meddṛrḍb*	3	*faleledemadṓlok*		
			faleldt	4	5
			falibolṓ		
3	*lugaldb*	4	*kadṭefḍr*		
			faleäfḍṅ		
			uleliḍk	2	7(?)
			ubelifḍl		
4	*faligll*	1	*faledalemḍr*	2	4

Trinkwasser entnimmt man aus Wasserlöchern *(dalṓl)*, die man neben dem Feld bisweilen in den Korallenboden gegraben hat und in denen sich das Regenwasser sammelt.

265

VI. Waffen und Krieg.

Waffen sind unbekannt. Speere *(sorosôk)* wurden nur zum Fischfang verwendet. Die von Sarfert vorgezeigte Haizahnwaffe wurde bewundert und lebhaft besprochen. Schleuder, Bogen und Pfeile sind vollständig unbekannt und nicht einmal als Kinderspielzeug vorhanden. — Kriege *(fiâjêk)* scheint es kaum gegeben zu haben, denn in der Geschichte lebt keine Erinnerung an sie weiter.

206

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur.

VII. Zur Soziologie.

Über der eigentlichen **Familie** *(lâodj)* steht die Sippe. Der Umfang beider läßt sich aus den Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen erschließen.

Folgende Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen konnte Sarfert feststellen:

Großvater (väterlicherseits) *damadjdamâdj*
Großmutter (väterlicherseits) *sildamâdj*
Großvater (mütterlicherseits) *damadjsll*
Großmutter (mütterlicherseits) *silesll*
Vater *damâdj*
Mutter *silâdj*
Bruder *wisldj mal*
Schwester *wisldj fâfil*
Gatte, Gattin *rll*
Sohn, Tochter *lêï*
Vaterbruder *wisidjdamâdj*
Vaterschwester *midwaldamâdj*
Mutterbruder *mâlelebêï*
Mutterschwester *wisisll*
Sohn des Sohnes, Tochter des Sohnes, Sohn der Tochter, Tochter der Tochter *laulêï*
Vater der Ehefrau *damalimeleroärll*
Mutter der Ehefrau *silêï*
Bruder der Ehefrau *kâûdomêï*
Schwester der Ehefrau *wisilerll*
Gatte der Schwester der Ehefrau *wîsi*
Vater des Ehemannes *damâï*
Mutter des Ehemannes *silêï*
Bruder des Ehemannes *kâûdôle wîsi*
Schwester des Ehemannes *kôsêï*
Gatte der Schwester des Vaters *rllimiawalidamêï*

Frau des Bruders des Vaters *rlliwisidamẽi*
Gatte der Schwester der Mutter *rlliwisisilẽi*
Sohn des Vaterbruders, Sohn der Vaterschwester, Sohn des Mutterbruders, Sohn der Mutterschwester *wisi*, auch *wisidj*
Tochter des Vaterbruders, Tochter der Vaterschwester, Tochter des Mutterbruders, Tochter der Mutterschwester *miandi*, auch *miandi*

Über das Verhältnis zwischen Bruder und Schwester vgl. das über Polowat Gesagte (Damm und Sarfert, 1935 S. 143).

Ehe. Es herrscht nur Einehe, Polygamie ist unbekannt. Heiratsfähig ist der Mann, sobald der Bart zu wachsen beginnt; beim Mädchen ist die Mensis das Zeichen der Reife. Geheiratet wird nur zwischen den Dorfteilen, also den Sippen; es besteht also Exogamie (s. unten). — Die Frau wird gekauft gegen Zahlung von Kanus und Gegenständen aller Art an die Eltern des Mädchens, selbst Grundeigentum wird mitunter vom Distriktältesten des heiratslustigen Burschen gegeben. Eine Gegenleistung von Seiten der Eltern des Mädchens gibt es nur insofern, als das junge Ehepaar Tag für Tag zu ihnen geht und sich von ihnen mit Essen versorgen läßt. Bleiben sie einmal aus, so wird ihnen das Essen nicht zugeschickt. Mitunter schläft das junge Paar auch hier. Doch zieht mit dem Tag der Eheschließung die Frau in das Elternhaus ihres Mannes. — Vor der Ehe besteht freier Verkehr zwischen den Unverheirateten.

Der **Geschlechtsverkehr** wird in der Form geübt, daß der Mann zwischen den Beinen der liegenden Frau kniet. Die Frau als incubus kennt man ebensowenig wie den seitlichen oder normalen Coitus. — Geschlechtliche Anormalitäten wie Cunnilingus (auf Yap zwischen Mann und Frau) oder Conträrsexualität (auf Palau zwischen Männern) kennt man nicht. — Ehebruch soll angeblich unbekannt sein.

Schwangerschaft und **Geburt.** Die Frauen sind im allgemeinen sehr fruchtbar, sie gebären im Durchschnitt etwa 4—5 Kinder. Zwillingsgeburten sind bekannt, aber selten; Drillinge sind nicht zur Welt gebracht worden. Die Geburt erfolgt im Wohnhaus, doch auch in der *bâl*-Hütte. Während des Geburtsaktes sitzt die Frau mit angezogenen und gespreizten Beinen, eine andere massiert sie, indem sie die Gebärende von hinten umfaßt. In dieser Hütte bleibt die Mutter mit dem Neugeborenen etwa 11 Tage. Eine Festlichkeit gibt es bei der Geburt nicht. Nach beendigter *bâl*-Zeit wiegen Vater und Mutter das Kind unter Gesang im Arm. Der Geschlechtsverkehr unter den Eltern ist solange tapu, bis das Kind laufen kann, das tritt etwa mit zehn Monaten ein. Über diese Zeit hinaus werden die Kinder noch gestillt, angeblich bis zu 20 Monaten. — Die Namengebung erfolgt sehr frühzeitig, etwa wenn das Kind anfängt herumzukrabbeln. Den Namen geben die Eltern. Im Alter von etwa sechs Jahren erhält dann das Kind den Schurz.

Menstruation. Die Frau geht während dieser Zeit in das Bluthaus (S. 262) und hält sich hier solange auf, bis die Menses aufgehört hat. Während dieser Zeit darf kein Geschlechtsverkehr geübt werden. Wenn die Frau wieder ins Haus zu ihrem Mann zurückkehrt, nennen sich beide Gatten *wuṅdôro* (auf Yap *medjillb)*, es besteht dann noch eine Tapu-Frist von vier Tagen. Speiseverbote bestehen nicht.

Altersbezeichnungen in dem Maße wie auf Bur hat man auf Sorol nicht.

Kind	*ellułt*
Junge	*daremdl*
Mädchen	*ddre ʃāʃidj*
Mann	*mdl*
Frau	*ʃāʃidj*
alter Mann, alte Frau	*dûʃeĭ*
Greis, Greisin	*môus*

Über Kindesadoption s. S. 269.

Tod und Begräbnis. Der Tote wird im Hause mit dem Kopf nach Norden aufgebahrt. Ist der Verstorbene ein Mann, so werden Totenlieder *(kadjiedjł)* angestimmt, die von den Angehörigen gedichtet worden sind. Der Tote bleibt einen Tag im Haus und wird nachmittags gegen vier Uhr beigesetzt und zwar wie bei der Aufbahrung mit dem Kopf nach Norden. — Es gibt Erdbegräbnis und Wasserbestattung; letztere besteht darin, daß man den Toten in ein Boot legt und forttreiben läßt. Die Art der Bestattung bestimmt der Betreffende vor seinem Tode, das gilt auch für die Frauen. Für die Kinder wählt die Mutter die Bestattungsart. Anscheinend sind beide Arten gleichwertig, die Vorliebe des Sterbenden für diese oder jene Art ist ausschlaggebend.

Die Gräber *(sialiwd)* liegen nicht auf einem Platz zusammen, sondern einzeln und verstreut, denn die Beerdigung erfolgt auf einem der Grundstücke, dem der Verstorbene zugehört. Der Tote liegt mit dem Kopf nach Norden; an den vier Ecken des Grabes, das weder durch einen Hügel, noch durch eine Steinsetzung kenntlich ist, werden Kokospalmen gepflanzt. Wer deshalb in der Nähe eines Grabes Kokosnüsse pflückt, legt stets für den Toten aufs Grab eine ungeschälte Nuß, die an einer Seite geöffnet ist.

Die Angehörigen des Verstorbenen bleiben im Haus des Toten zwei Monate lang ohne irgendeinen Handgriff zu tun. Die Witwe bleibt auch weiterhin im Haus ihres verstorbenen Mannes, sofern sie nicht heiratet; dieses darf sie — und das Gleiche gilt für den Witwer — erst nach neun Monaten.

Über die **Sippengliederung** war bei der Unkenntnis der Sorol-Leute in soziologischen wie in religiösen Fragen nichts zu erfahren, meinte doch selbst der Häuptling: »Wir Sorol-Leute wissen nichts, wir sind dumm wie die Schweine und Hunde, uns hat niemand etwas gesagt!« Hierin kommt ganz offensichtlich das

Fehlen jeglicher Tradition zum Ausdruck, was sich durch die vor kaum fünf Generationen erfolgte Neubesiedlung der Insel durch Ifaluk-Leute erklärt. Ein großer Taifun hatte nämlich die gesamte Inselbevölkerung bis auf zwei Frauen vernichtet, eine von ihnen gebar einen Sohn. Zu diesen drei Überlebenden kamen von Ifaluk fünf Männer und fünf Frauen, die schon damals die heute bestehende Dorfeinteilung vornahmen und von denen sich die heutigen Sorol-Leute herleiten. Da auf Ifaluk die Sippengliederung seit alters besteht, werden die neuen Siedler zweifellos die ihnen so wohlbekannte Einrichtung weiter erhalten haben.

Und in der Tat zeigt die Gliederung eines jeden der vier Dorfdistrikte und ihr Verhältnis zueinander das gleiche Bild wie auf den Zentral-Karolinen. So ist die Ehe zwischen den Mitgliedern des gleichen Dorfteiles untersagt, es besteht also Exogamie. Eine strenge Abgeschlossenheit zwischen den einzelnen Distrikten herrscht jedoch keineswegs, denn der Mann schläft einmal im elterlichen Haus, also in seinem Dorfdistrikt, dann wieder einmal bei seiner Frau, die einen anderen bewohnt. Die Kinder gehören aber stets dem Platz des Vaters an! Eine Kindesadoption kann auch nur aus einem anderen Dorfteil erfolgen. Der Adoptierte geht nie in das Haus seiner eigentlichen Eltern zurück.

Jeder dieser Dorfdistrikte untersteht einem älteren Mann, offenbar dem ältesten Vertreter der dort ansässigen Familien; er bestimmt, wann gefischt werden soll, und verteilt die Beute, desgleichen beaufsichtigt er die Arbeiten auf den Feldern seines Distriktes, deren Erträgnisse auch allen Sippengenossen zur freien Verfügung stehen. An allen Arbeiten beteiligt sich dieser Älteste selbst mit. Die Namen dieser Ältesten und Distriktsvorsteher waren für

den Distrikt	1909	zur Zeit der Ifaluk-Besiedlung
Kadiebi	Lugusemâl	Karañôt
Medairäb	Walekéda	Melâimlû
Lugalab	Filärôñ	Fereliwâ
Faligil	Medâlemâñ	Dalûdj

Filärôñ ist zugleich **Häuptling** *(domôl)*, die übrigen gelten jedoch nicht als Unterhäuptlinge! Die Vorgänger des jetzigen Häuptlings waren (rückwärts) Lamadâï, Kakilâ (seine Frau hieß Melolfal) und Merällím. Die Vererbung der Würde geschah bisher vom Vater auf den Sohn; auch Frauen übernahmen, wie die Geschichte lehrt, diese Würde. Die Nachfolgefrage nach dem Ableben des jetzigen Häuptlings Filärôñ wird insofern schwierig, weil seine beiden Söhne früh starben und seine Schwester mit ihrem Sohn bei einem Versuch ihre einstige Heimatinsel Ifaluk zu erreichen, ums Leben kam. So hat Filärôñ keine Familie mehr. Nach Aussage der Sorol-Leute kann nach seinem Tod Häuptling werden, wer will.

Recht. a) Besitzrecht. Grundeigentümer sind auf der Hauptinsel Sorol außer dem Häuptling auch die Ältesten der einzelnen Dorfdistrikte. So besaß

der Älteste	vom Distrikt	Nr. in Abb. 369	Zahl der Grundstücke	Namen	Nr. in Abb. 370
Lugusemál	Kadiebi	1	6	Dawôt	22
				Rielôṅ	16
				Mālôdo	18
				Sedeårāṅ	23
				Daboloåtaṅ	17
				Falåres	19
Walekéda	Medairäb	2	4	Luguliôludj	10
				Medaleôl	21
				Walibilimådo	20
				Lugulifålar	11
Filärôṅ	Lugalab	3	8	Bogelûk	2
				Domelilêi	3
				Falelimåṅar	4
				Dalâlok	5
				Lugulumâu	6
				Lugûlo	7
				Djimåfāṅ	8
				Bädît	9
Medālemāṅ	Faligil	4	4	Adåaṅ	12
				Wanimâ	13
				Manewôi	14
				Biedû	15

Von den übrigen Inseln des Atolls ist nur noch Bigelimel aufgeteilt und zwar in Faluwûe, Atidiué, Lalimadolôe, Laṅowâidît. Doch waren sie wie die übrigen fast unbewachsenen Inseln und gar die Sandbänke, die nicht aufgeteilt waren, Gemeingut, d. h. man konnte hier mit Erlaubnis des Häuptlings Nahrung holen.

Häuser, kleine Boote, Angelhaken, Schüsseln und sonstiges Gerät sind persönliches Eigentum, doch gehören die großen Reiseboote und Kanuhütten, also Geräte bzw. Einrichtungen, die in gemeinsamer Arbeit geschaffen wurden, dem Dorfdistrikt, während die beiden riesigen *ädjdṅ*-Netze gar Eigentum der ganzen Siedlung waren.

Besitz vererbte sich immer vom Vater auf den ältesten Sohn.

b) Ein Strafrecht wollen die Eingeborenen nicht haben, da angeblich Körperverletzungen und Schlägereien nicht unter ihnen vorkommen, ebenso soll Diebstahl *(modjŏk)* fremd sein.

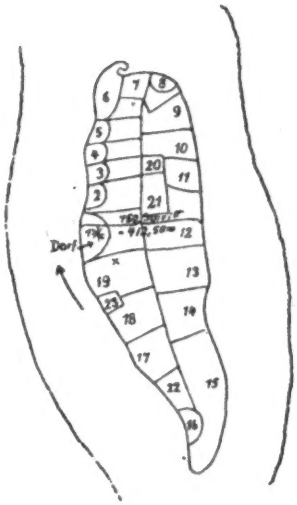


Abb. 370. Die Lage der Grundstücke auf der Insel Sorol (nach Skizze Sarfert).

370.

222

VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte.

Die geschichtliche Erinnerung der Sorol-Leute reichte kaum fünf Generationen zurück, das fand seine Erklärung darin, daß durch eine Taifun-Katastrophe die alteingesessene Bevölkerung der Insel bis auf zwei Frauen, von denen eine, Mogorâń mit Namen, später noch einen Knaben zur Welt brachte, getötet wurde und erst von Ifaluk her eine Neubesiedlung durch fünf Männer mit ihren fünf Frauen erfolgte (vgl. auch unter Sippe). Die Einwanderer waren Fereliwâ und seine Frau Lelimâk, Karańôt und Läalûel, Dalûdj und Liliffdj, Tilfb und Kariesédj, Mosûräk und Ladokerâń.

Von anderen Inseln, die mit Sorol Handel pflegten wie z. B. Yap, Mogemog, Feis, ist keine Besiedlung erfolgt. Häuptling wurde damals Merälllm, der einzige der Abstammung nach männliche Sorol-Abkömmling.

Von den vor der Katastrophe lebenden Sorol-Leuten lebt lediglich noch der Name Mâlemuk in der Erinnerung fort. Es handelt sich dabei um einen Mogemog-Mann, der einst in einem kleinen Segelboot ankam, den Eingeborenen die Kenntnis des Haus- und Bootbaues übermittelte und Tanz und Gesang lehrte, um dann wieder in seine Heimat zurückzukehren.[1]

Kakilâ war mit einer Frau namens Melolfal verheiratet. Über seine Regierungszeit ist nichts bekannt. — Als Lamadâî herrschte, besuchten zwei Segelschiffe die Insel, eines davon strandete auf dem Riff und ist den Insulanern eine unergründliche Fundgrube des ihnen so wertvollen Eisens. Menschen kamen bei dieser Schiffskatastrophe nicht ums Leben, die Besatzung wurde vom Begleitschiff übernommen. Noch 1909 lag von diesem Unglück her ein großer Eisenblock vor dem Häuptlingshaus. — Der Sohn des Lamadâî, namens Filärôń, war 1909 Oberhäuptling; er war ein »fetter, fauler, dabei dummschlauer Mann«, der keinen guten Einfluß auf die Bevölkerung ausübte.[2]

---

[1] Von der Geschichte Sorols, wie sie Chamisso darstellt, ist nichts bekannt. Lugulôt ist nur dem Namen nach bekannt. Von einer Besiedlung der Insel von Mogemok aus ist nichts bekannt, ebenso von einer politischen Abhängigkeit in dieser Richtung.

[2] Thilenius 1927, S. 241/242.

IX. Zur Religion.

Von der alten Religion, die in den Zentralkarolinen z. B. auf Polowat noch so lebendig ist, wissen die Sorol-Leute — Sarfert hatte die ältesten Eingeborenen vor sich — nichts mehr. Das gilt auch für die Vorstellungen über die Totenwelt, für Zauber und Sagen. Der Grund dafür ist in erster Linie die bereits erwähnte Naturkatastrophe vor 5 Generationen, doch hätten andererseits die religiösen Anschauungen der Ifaluk-Einwanderer noch lebendig sein müssen. Daß auch dies nicht der Fall war, liegt daran, daß seinerzeit alte Männer aus Ifaluk nicht mit nach Sorol fuhren und in den jungen damals die geistige Kultur ihrer Heimat noch nicht oder schon nicht mehr Wurzel gefaßt hatte. Eine Religion konnte sich auch nicht herausbilden, da das Leben auf Sorol »durch eine erhebliche Abgeschlossenheit von der übrigen Eingeborenenwelt« dahinglitt und Reisen, die eine geistige Anregung vermittelt hätten, nicht mehr unternommen wurden.[1]

Von den Himmelsgottheiten kennt man wohl die Namen Lugélaṅ und Ellefádj; erster gilt auf Polowat als Sohn des obersten Himmelsgottes Áluelöb, letzterer ist identisch mit Olifád.[2] Als Sarfert ihnen erzählte, daß Lugélaṅ den Menschen, wenn sie böse sind, Tod und Taifun bringt, waren sie sehr erstaunt und frugen immer wieder, ob das tatsächlich wahr sei. Über Gestirne und Naturerscheinungen (Regenbogen usw.) hatten sie keinerlei Vorstellung.

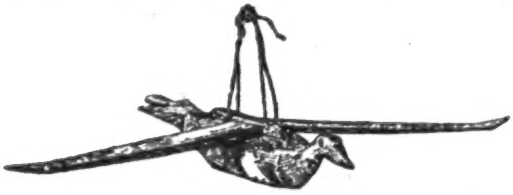


Abb. 371. Fregattvogel aus Holz (Hamburg 2396[II], Länge des Rumpfes 31, Flügelbreite 44 cm).

Sarfert erwarb auf Sorol die Darstellung eines Fregattvogels (Abb. 371), zu der die Eingeborenen keine näheren Angaben machen konnten. Es ist aber wohl die Annahme berechtigt, daß dieser Vogel einst auch auf Sorol religiöse Wertschätzung genossen hat wie z. B. auf Polowat als Götterbote (vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935 S. 193, 217).

Es besteht auch noch ein Geisterglauben und zwar sind die »Seelen« *(samedóh)* der Toten derartige Geister (ob böse oder gute, sie heißen stets *éllüs)*. Kurz nach dem Tod irrt nämlich die Seele nachts ruhelos umher, die Eingeborenen

[1] Vgl. auch Thilenius 1927, S. 241/242.
[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 191, 193.

hocken dann zusammen und fürchten sich vor ihr. Worin ihr böser Sinn besteht, was sie den Menschen antun, ist ebenso unbekannt wie die Vorstellung von einem Totenreich oder irgendeinem Aufenthaltsort der Seelen. Als Sarfert den Sorol-Leuten die Ansicht der Pur-Leute erzählte, erwiderte der Sorol-Häuptling trocken: Der Tote wird ja zu Erde! — Vom Geist Besessene gibt es auf Sorol nicht.

Zauberei *(wânewân)* spielt bei der Krankenheilung eine große Rolle. Bei kranken Frauen benutzt der Wissende Kokosblattknoten (Abb. 372); er setzt sich damit an das Krankenlager, wedelt mit den Knoten hin und her und spricht dazu: »*Älemerâ mälemält Dôlor* (= Sarfert gemeint) *wä mälemält fâfît, wä mälemält mal, fâflte wä mâl, wägêr remâle remâl, remâle fadefâdo.*«

372.

373.

Abb. 372. Bindestadien (1—3) des Zauberknotens (nach Skizze Sarfert). — Abb. 373. Brett zur Heilung kranker Männer (Hamburg 1742[II], Länge 67 cm).

Zur Heilung der Männer wird ein Brett (Abb. 373) gebraucht, das viele kleine Löcher aufweist, deren Zweck unbekannt ist. Das Brett führt keine besondere Bezeichnung. Diese Methode stammt von Mogemog; ein Mogemog-Mann lehrte sie einem alten Sorol-Mann: das Holz wird unter Hersagen eines Verses gegen die Stirn des Kranken geschlagen. Über medizinische Mittel zur Krankenheilung s. S. 277.

Zeremonien zur Zeit der Brotfruchtreife gibt es nach Sarfert nicht; Hambruch behauptet dagegen, daß zu dieser Zeit einfache Spielboote angefertigt werden, mit denen die Knaben dann spielen.

Tabu *(etâb*, das Gegenteil davon ist *dâtôb)* besteht in folgenden Fällen: 1. Zur Fangzeit der Hochseefische *malidâdj, dagû, kalanâb, fafâ, manâr*, dann dürfen die Fischer nicht ins Wohnhaus gehen, sondern müssen im Männerhaus schlafen. — Während des Fanges ist jedes Essen tabu; es ist erst an Land im Männerhaus gestattet. Von den Fischen sind seit alters folgende tapu: *borô* (Hai), *soröfân, fâ* (Rochen), *lôt, belibêl* (Yap: *lugûl)*; der Grund ist unbekannt. — 2. Während des Kanubaues ist der Mann tapu. — 3. Tapu nach der Geburt eines Kindes s. S. 267. — 4. Tapu während der Menstruation s. S. 268. — 5. Das Betreten des Männerhauses ist tapu (s. S. 257).

295

X. Musik, Tanz und Spiel.

Musikinstrumente gibt es nicht; die Begleitung zu den Tänzen erfolgt durch Händeklatschen und eintönigen Gesang, der eigentlich nur aus drei Tönen besteht: Grundton, ½ Ton, Terz!

Den Tanz mit dazugehörigen Liedern lernten die Sorol-Leute von dem Mogemog-Mann Mâlemuk (s. S. 272). Man kennt nur einen einzigen, aber sehr ausgedehnten Tanz *(wâruk)*, der aus fünf Teilen, die nicht besonders benannt werden, besteht und den nur die Männer pflegen; die Frauen tanzen nicht. Der Häuptling ordnet nach Belieben Tanzaufführungen an.

Das gesamte Tanzkostüm besteht aus jungen Kokosblättern:

a) *mêrimal:* Kopfring, dessen Knoten vorn über der Stirn liegt.
b) *mâremar:* Halsring; er ist vorn und hinten geknotet,
c) *silibôt:* Oberarmring und Unterarmring,
d) *gamâdjo:* Gürtel,
e) *dâbeddb:* Schurz aus einem halben Kokoswedel,
f) *silibeddt:* Beinringe, sie werden über dem Knöchel und über der Wade getragen.

Inmitten der in einer Reihe aufgestellten Tänzer ist ein Vorsänger, der den Beginn der Veranstaltung verkündet. Der einleitende Teil ist sehr getragen und besteht aus langsamen Arm- und Handbewegungen. Der Vorsänger singt besonders am Anfang und Ende dieser Tour etwas vor und der Chor stimmt dann mit ein. — Der zweite Teil hat etwa zwölf Touren. Die erste davon wird mit Händeklatschen auf Waden, Armbewegungen und leichtes Hin- und Herwiegen des Körpers eingeleitet. Das Tempo wird dann rascher und rascher und gewinnt durch abwechselndes Stampfen mit den Füßen etwas Wildes, Urwüchsiges. Die Tanzstellung ist eine halbtiefe Kniebeuge (nach vorn) mit leicht vorgeneigtem Oberkörper. Etwa in der achten Tour spaltet sich die Reihe der Tänzer, die durch Halbrechts- bzw. Halblinkswendung innerhalb der beiden Hälften hintereinander stehen und einander zugekehrt sind. Bei der neunten Tour knieen die Tänzer nieder, wobei der Vorsänger zur andern Partei hinüberwechselt. Die folgenden Touren sind lebhafter als die vorhergehenden. Die zehnte beginnt mit Vorwärts- und Rückwärtsschreiten verbunden mit einem seitlichen Drehen des Körpers. Mitten in der Tour setzt dann bei lebhafter werdendem Vorwärts- und Rückwärts-

schreiten abwechselnd der Gesang aus, bis ein Schlußruf die Tour beendet. Bei der elften Tour treten die Tänzer in Doppelreihe und zwar Rücken an Rücken gekehrt an. Die Reihen bewegen sich in lebhaftem Tempo vor- und rückwärts und durchschreiten schließlich die Gegenreihe. Auch hierbei fällt der Gesang verschiedentlich aus; auf die Rufe des Vortänzers antworten die übrigen. Bei der zwölften Tour sind die Tänzer wieder in Doppelreihe aufgestellt und zwar so, daß die Paare abwechselnd mit entgegengesetzten Fronten stehen. Sie tanzen unter Klatschen gegeneinander bald nach links und rechts. Auch bei dieser Tour setzt der Gesang wiederholt aus. Das Tempo steigert sich nach dem Schluß zu. — Der dritte Teil besteht aus Sitztänzen; es handelt sich dabei um ein Hocken auf den Waden. Eine der Touren besteht fast ausschließlich aus Deklamationen in einer leicht hockenden Stellung. — Der vierte Teil gleicht mit seinen langsamen Tanzbewegungen und seinem getragenen Gesang ganz dem ersten und zweiten Teil, ja die fünfte Tour hat das gleiche Bild wie die achte Tour vom zweiten Teil. Bei der sechsten Tour knieen die Tänzer in der gleichen Anordnung wie vorher, die beiden Hälften sind also einander zugekehrt und stehen in Einerreihe, mitten im Tanz erheben sie sich. — Die Touren des fünften und letzten Teiles kennzeichnet Sarfert in folgender Reihenfolge: Sitztanz, lebhafte Stehtänze teilweise mit Coitusbewegungen und zum Schluß Stabtänze, der Stab wird über dem Kopf geschwungen, dann wieder vorgehalten usw.

Lieder s. Fischfang.

Spiele *(gogôm)* kennen die Erwachsenen nicht, umso lauter geben sich die Kinder damit ab (Kopfstand, Spielboote s. S. 274); Einzelheiten gibt Sarfert nicht an.

Die Blattpfeife *(kanîni)* ist nur dem Namen nach bekannt; das Schwirrholz fehlt.

277

XI. Verschiedenes.

Krankheiten werden nicht allein mit *wdńewaṅ*-Zauber (s. S. 274) behandelt, man verfügt auch über **medizinische Kenntnisse,** die bei bestimmten Erkrankungen angewendet werden.

a) *fieſt* = Massieren der Arme und Beine; damit behandelten die Eingeborenen z. B. einen Influenzakranken namens Moṓn.

b) *ddſēt* = ein Aufguß von zerstampften Blättern und Blüten alter Bäume mit der Milch dreier Kokosnüsse.

c) *kosṓs:* es wird in einem Topf junge Kokosmilch gekocht, in die der Saft bestimmter Bäume hineingedrückt wird; der Dampf wird inhaliert.

d) *kṓlob:* es werden bestimmte Blätter heiß gemacht und der Kranke legt sich darauf.

In der Nennung von **Namen** gibt es keine Einschränkung wie auf Merir, Songosor, Bur und Palau, es ist auch die Anrede der Personen anders, man nennt alle, auch den Häuptling beim Namen und nimmt keinerlei Rücksicht auf Namen von Verstorbenen.

Grußformen. Das Grußwort, das unserem »guten Tag« entspricht, ist *kawṓṅ;* man wendet es auch bei längerem Abschied an, so grüßen die Angehörigen einen Verstorbenen mit dem Ruf: »*kawṓṅ!*« Zwischen den nächsten Familienangehörigen ist der Nasenkuß *(fāsṓṅ)* üblich, dagegen führt man bei der Begrüßung von Fernstehenden die Hand des andern an die Nase[1]. — Der »Zungenkuß« ist auf Sorol nicht üblich.

Die **Zeiteinteilung** in zwei Jahreszeiten und in Monate ist dieselbe wie auf Polowat[2]. Der Tag wird in folgende Abschnitte eingeteilt:

Morgendämmerung	*limaltl*	etwa 13 Uhr	*sadjfk mä ilódo*
Sonnenaufgang	*satirat jāl*	etwa 14 Uhr	*sabāl mä ilódo*
(etwa 6 Uhr)		etwa 15 Uhr	*djälewāṅ*
etwa 7 Uhr	*dämālūk*	etwa 16 Uhr	*doligōt*
etwa 8 Uhr	*efälēri mālūk*	etwa 18 Uhr	*sādjub*
etwa 9 Uhr	*sabólo mogodjī*	abends	*liwarāf*
etwa 10 Uhr	*djāddūk mogodjī*	nachts	*sāwon'*
etwa 11 Uhr	*efälēri mogodjī*	Mitternacht	*lugoliwṓṅ*
etwa 12 Uhr	*sāūwōl*		

[1] Bei Behandlung dieser Sache schämten sich die Leute und der Mogemog-Mann lief lachend weg.
[2] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 273.

208

XII. Zur Sprache.

Die Sorol-Sprache ist dem Yap sehr fremd, steht dagegen dem Mogemog näher. Die Ähnlichkeit des Sprachschatzes ist jedoch nicht sehr groß, denn der Mogemog sprechende Yap-Mann, den Sarfert als Dolmetscher benutzte, konnte sich nur schwer mit den Sorol-Leuten verständigen.

Artikel gibt es nicht.

Demonstrativpronomen. Dieser Mann = *ārimātalā*, jener Mann = *ārimātalāī*; dieser Vogel = *malilā*, jener Vogel = *malilāī*; dieser Fisch = *thelā*, jener Fisch = *thelāī*; diese Nuß = *lüelā*, jene Nuß = *lüelāī*.

Personalpronomen.

ich *ńdń*	wir (exkl.) *kāmem*
du *kēl*	ihr *kāmi*
er *tje*	sie *tge*
wir (inkl. = ich und du) *ktt*	

Possessivpronomen. Für Sorol gilt dazu das Gleiche wie für Polowat (vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 279). — a) Für Personen- und Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen hat man nachgestellte (suffigierte) Pronomina:

mein Vater	*damāī*
dein Vater	*damōm*
sein Vater	*damāl*
unser Vater	*damādj*
euer Vater	*damāmi*
ihr Vater	*damāre*

b) Bei allen lebendigen Wesen (Tieren usw.) werden dagegen zusammengesetzte und vorangestellte Pronomina angewendet:

mein Huhn	*lāī malūk*
dein Huhn	*lālum malūk*
sein Huhn	*lālule malūk*
unser Huhn	*lālat malūk*
euer Huhn	*lālumi malūk*
ihr Huhn	*lāūāre malūk*

c) Bei Bäumen und Pflanzen wird das Pronomen vorangestellt.

meine Nuß	*kalô tô*
deine Nuß	*kaldmu tô*
seine Nuß	*kâle tô*
unsere Nuß	*kalât tô*
euere Nuß	*kalâmi tô*
ihre Nuß	*kaldre tô*

d) Für leblose Dinge gelten Formen ähnlich wie unter a).

mein Boot	*odî*
dein Boot	*odm*
sein Boot	*odî*
unser Boot	*oddj*
euer Boot	*odmi*
ihr Boot	*odre*

Zahlworte.

1	*sâu*	600	*olowâgi*
2	*ruŧu*	700	*fisiwâgi*
3	*selâ*	800	*waliwâgi*
4	*fâk*	900	*duwâgi*
5	*limŧu*	1000	*sanarâs*
6	*olŧu*	2000	*rianarâs*
7	*fisâ*	3000	*selanarâs*
8	*walâ*	4000	*fanarâs*
9	*diuŧu*	5000	*limanarâs*
10	*sâk*	6000	*olanarâs*
11	*sâkimâ sâu*	7000	*fisanarâs*
	usw.	8000	*walânarâs*
20	*rilâk*	9000	*diuanarâs*
30	*sellâk*	10000	*sâl*
40	*fâlâk*	20000	*rilâl*
50	*limâlâk*	30000	*sellâl*
60	*olâlâk*	40000	*fâl*
70	*fislâk*	50000	*limâl*
80	*wallâk*	60000	*olâl*
90	*duâlâk*	70000	*fisll*
100	*sowâgi*	80000	*wallâl*
200	*riwâgi*	90000	*diuâl*
300	*seliwâgi*	100000	*sebî*
400	*fawâgi*	200000	*rlebi*
500	*limowâgi*	300000	*selibî*

400000	*fábt*	2000000	*ribádj.*
500000	*limebt*		
600000	*olobt*	wenig	*sugát*
700000	*fisibt*	viel	*dblób*
800000	*nalibt*	voll	*sandk*
900000	*djuebt*	leer	*sardt*
1000000	*sebádj*	alle	*dolób*

Verbum. Von den Verbalformen erfuhr Sarfert stets nur Präsens und Futur.

Präsens:		Futur:	
ich gehe	*ifildlok*	ich werde gehen	*osdlok*
du gehst	*kofildlok*	du wirst gehen	*kosdlok*
er geht	*ifildlok*	er wird gehen	*dsdlok*
wir gehen	*sifildlok*	wir werden gehen	*sidlok*
ihr geht	*gäfildlok*	ihr werdet gehen	*gäsdlok*
sie gehen	*räfildlok*	sie werden gehen	*räsdlok*

Vom Verbum »kommen« wurde Sarfert auch das Imperfekt genannt.

Präsens:			
ich komme	*iwowdjo*	er kam	*milawddjok*
du kommst	*kowowddjok*	wir kamen	*milawddjok*
er kommt	*dubuddjok*	ihr kamt / sie kamen	*melowowddjok*
wir kommen (inkl.)	*siwowddjok*		
wir kommen (exkl.)	*kawowddjok*	Futur:	
ihr kommt	*gäwddjok*	ich werde kommen	*oswddjok*
sie kommen	*kawddjok*	du wirst kommen	*koswddjok*
Imperfekt:		er wird kommen	*äswddjok*
		wir werden kommen	*siwddjok*
ich kam (gestern)	*milawddjok*	ihr werdet kommen	*gäswddjok*
du kamst	*melowowddjok*	sie werden kommen	*räswddjok*

Imperativ:

komme	*wddjok*
kommt	*kawddjok*

Die **Längenmaße** werden dem menschlichen Körper entnommen.

ein Faden (= Länge der ausgestreckten Arme und Brustbreite)	*sandf*	sechs F.	*olandf*
zwei F.	*rindf*	sieben F.	*fisindf*
drei F.	*selindf*	acht F.	*walindf*
vier F.	*fandf*	neun F.	*duandf*
fünf F.	*limandf*	zehn F.	*sdk*

Kürzere Längen wurden mit dem einen Arm auf dem andern bzw. auf der Brust abgegriffen.

eine Armlänge vom Schulteransatz an = *sebŏl*
Unterarm vom Ellenbogen bis Fingerspitze = *samall*
von der Handwurzel bis zur Fingerspitze = *sugumăl*
von dem Ansatz der einen Schulter bis Ende des andern Armes = *sălăr*
vom Ellenbogen bis zu den Fingerspitzen des andern Armes = *kobŏl*
von der Handwurzel bis zum Ende des andern Armes = *dŏko sănaf*

Adjektiva.

alt	*sŭwda*	lahm	*siwosăr*
blau	*rărĕu*	lang	*sabăllĭă gomăs*
blind	*măddmăsur*	mager	*badigedĭl*
braun	*mŭrŭn*	müde	*sabbo*
dumm	*samăkĭ*	naß	*sialŏl*
fett, groß	*ălo, bălliă*	neu	*fĭfĭ*
gelb	*elŏll*	rot	*ată*
gerade	*ăuŭl*	rund	*dagŭl*
gesund	*sădăi*	schlecht	*jănăŭ*
grün	*emăn*	schmutzig	*bŏli*
gut	*măman*	schwanger	*sătăfal*
heiß	*molŏl*	schwarz	*dodŏl*
hoch	*ălaă*	stumm	*dăma lleli*
kalt	*sajŏl*	taub	*dăllĭăe wŏd*
klein	*badigedĭ*	tief	*illŏ*
klug	*sălob*	tot	*sămas*
krank	*damăt*	trocken	*siăbal*
krumm	*ăbăr*	weiß	*wddowod*

Adverbien.

a) der Zeit.

gestern	*lălo*	dort	*igelăt*
heute	*ralăt*	nahe	*sararăb*
jetzt	*igelă*	fern	*sadăn*
morgen	*walătsă*	vor	*emă*
übermorgen	*wadalaxĭl*	hinter	*emĭri*
vorgestern	*ralăa*	neben	*olĭbălgil*
früher	*sasllet*	über	*ăl*
		auf	*satăp ăăl*

b) des Ortes.

		unter	*făl*
rechts	*llimeră*	außen	*lugŭl*
links	*llidăgil*	innen	*lăl*
hier	*igă*	ja *ilă*	nein *dăle*

Verben.

abziehen	*hadiagll*	murmeln	*saŋemdŋŋl*
arbeiten	*fõri*	nähen	*dddã*
atmen	*ŋasaŋds*	niesen	*most*
aufstehen	*sudjdk*	pfeifen	*hamll*
beischlafen	*safti*	piepen	*saŋtŋi*
berühren	*jaŋdsi*	reden	*kabõdobod*
binden	*sidrorõ*	rennen	*rlk*
blasen	*ũbd*	riechen	*ŋorl*
bleiben	*samorõro*	ringen	*ŋaddõal*
bohren	*djtt*	rudern	*fadjõl*
brennen	*bõl*	rufen	*safesõŋi*
defäzieren	*sabidk*	sehen	*sãõbri*
denken	*djebõd*	sitzen	*madodjõi*
drehen	*hadardãu*	singen	*hadjuodjõi*
fangen	*rlk*	schlafen	*samdslr*
feilen	*igẽtge*	schlagen	*sabugfri*
essen	*moŋõ*	schnarchen	*ŋõs*
fallen	*sabõŋ*	springen	*lõt*
flechten	*fõsifõs*	spucken	*gũt*
fliegen	*sũõl*	stampfen	*sugũ*
fürchten	*sarls*	stecken	*siadtõõli*
gähnen	*mõ*	stehen	*sõdjok*
gebären	*aldlo*	stoßen	*djiŋõllo*
graben	*girl*	töten	*sawadlfi sõmes*
hacken	*falafõl*	tragen	*sãferõ*
hauen	*wõkõi*	trinken	*wõõl*
hören	*sarõŋeroŋ*	umkehren (von irgendwoher)	*sadõŋgõl*
hungern	*sagllok*	umkehren (etwas)	*adoõõlo*
husten	*fakefõk*	urinieren	*kalõlo*
klettern	*dõõlo*	waschen	*waladõõu*
kochen	*dõŋelraũ*	vergessen	*saligidõõi*
kommen	*wudjõk*	wachsen	*satumõl*
kosten	*ewõt*	weben	*dõõõr*
krähen	*sagõ*	weinen	*dõŋ*
kriechen	*rarõk*	werfen	*kagõt*
lachen	*mamõl*	wiegen (Kind)	*babõŋi*
laufen	*rigilõk*	zählen	*bõbõ*
lieben	*saŋõt*	zeigen	*ugedjl*
liegen	*sãũõl*	ziehen	*siaũru.*

283

Mogemog.

Nach den Aufzeichnungen von Prof. Dr. Hambruch bearbeitet
von Dr. Hans Damm.

(p 284 is blank)

Mogemog.

285

Allgemeiner Teil.

I. Äußere Geschichte.

In seiner Entdeckungsgeschichte der Karolinen hat sich Krämer nächst Palau mit besonderer Ausführlichkeit der Inselgruppe Mogemog gewidmet, die bei dem starken nach Osten gerichteten Vorwärtsdrängen spanischer Kolonisatoren und Missionare von den Philippinen her rasch bevorzugtes Interesse fand. Wann jedoch das Auge eines Europäers diesen großen Inselarchipel erstmalig sichtete, ist nicht mit Sicherheit ausgemacht. So hält es Krämer für ziemlich sicher, daß Ruy Gomez de Villalobos am 23. Januar 1543 in der von ihm »Arrecifes« (Inseln der Riffe) genannten Gruppe Mogemog vor sich hatte,[1] während eine frühere Entdeckung (1. Oktober 1525) durch Diego de Rocha und seinem Piloten Gomez de Sequeira weniger wahrscheinlich ist[2]! Unsicher ist nach wie vor, ob die durch Meuterei führerlos gewordene »San Gironimo«, die am 1. Mai 1566 Acapulco westwärts verließ, Mogemog gesichtet hat.[3]

Sicheren Bescheid von der Gruppe erhielt Pater Clain[4] durch einige im Jahre 1696 angetriebene Feis-Leute, von denen einer namens Olit genauere Angaben machen konnte. Er selbst besuchte die Insel nicht. Es vergingen etwa 150 Jahre, bis wieder und zwar am 6. Februar 1712 ein europäisches Schiff, die »Santo Domingo«, unter dem Kommando des Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga die Inseln sichtete und einen Bericht mit ethnographischen Einzelheiten der Nachwelt hinterließ[5]. Mogemog war nunmehr so stark in den europäischen Interessenkreis d. h. Spaniens getreten, daß es nur eines Anstoßes bedurfte, um auf der Inselgruppe eine europäische Niederlassung zu gründen. Dieses Ereignis trat gar bald ein, nur nahm es einen tragischen Ausgang. Am 19. und 21. Juni 1721

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 2/3.
[2] Krämer 1917 Bd. I, S. 4. — Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Angaben von Meinicke (1888 Bd. II, S. 359), auf die auch Sievers (1910 Bd. II, S. 303) sich zu stützen scheint, sind damit endgültig erledigt.
[3] Krämer 1917 Bd. II, S. 8/9.
[4] Krämer 1917, Bd. II, S. 15.
[5] Krämer 1917, Bd. II, S. 75ff. — Auch Lütke (1835, Vol. II, S. 317) berichtet kurz darüber. — Egui kann also kaum als »Entdecker« gewertet werden, wenn er auch stets als solcher genannt wird (Grück, Ms.).

trieben an der Ostküste von Guam zwei Mogemog-Boote mit 29 Insassen an und mit einem Teil dieser Schiffbrüchigen fuhr im Mai 1722 Pater Juan Antonio Cantova mit dem Ziel Mogemog los. Sein Schiff strandet jedoch auf einer der Philippinen-Inseln, Cantova wird als Einziger gerettet. Am 11. Februar 1731 fährt er zusammen mit Pater Viktor Walter und einem der noch auf Guam weilenden Mogemog-Leute ein zweitesmal nach jenen Inseln, die er glücklich am 2. März 1731 erreicht und »Los Dolores« nennt, die Hauptinsel erhält von ihm den Namen »Isla de los Garbanzos«. Auf Falalap wurde eine Niederlassung gegründet und die äußeren Erfolge der Missionsarbeit zeigten sich gar bald in 127 getauften Kindern. Als nach drei Monaten die Lebensmittel ausgingen, segelte Pater Walter nach den Marianen, wurde aber nach den Philippinen verschlagen; am 12. November fuhr er weiter, sein Schiff ging vor den Marianen unter, mit knapper Mühe und Not konnte sich Walter retten. Am 31. Mai 1733 trat er die Rückreise in Begleitung von Pater Schrevel und 44 Soldaten an. Als man nach 9 Tagen am Ziel war, fand man ein zerstörtes Missionshaus aber keine Weißen mehr vor. Pater Cantova, 8 Spanier, 4 Filipinos und ein Sklave waren niedergemetzelt worden. Damit fanden Missionierung und auch jedwede Zivilisationsbestrebung ein rasches Ende.[1]

Die Inselgruppe ist seit dieser Zeit lange gemieden worden. Erst Lütke suchte sie wieder auf; am 21. Dezember 1828 fand er sie, nachdem sie bereits 1823 von dem Engländer Mackenzie gesehen worden war.[2] In den folgenden Jahren wurde sie vielfach von Händlern und Walfängern besucht, was nicht immer friedlich abging[3]; von ihnen muß u. a. Tetens, der 1865/68 die Insel verschiedentlich besuchte, lobend genannt werden[4], denn er brachte dem Volkstum dieser Insulaner größtes Verständnis entgegen und hat mancherlei beobachtet. Am 27. März 1876 nimmt Miklucho-Maklai kurzen Aufenthalt auf einer der vielen Inseln[5]; er ist für die völkerkundliche Erschließung ebenso belanglos wie die kurzen Besuche vom Bezirksamtmann Senfft am 11. Mai 1901 oder von SMS. »Planet« am 15. April 1907, denn hierbei handelte es sich um ein Studium der Verwüstungen des Taifuns zwecks Hilfeleistung.[6]

Die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition landete am 2. Oktober 1910 Hambruch auf Mogemog, der bis zum 17. Oktober hier blieb, am 13. Oktober besuchten dann noch Sarfert, Hellwig und der 1. Offizier Lorenzen Falalap, wenn auch nur für drei Tage.

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 103/106.
[2] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 306; v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 418/19. — Brigham u. a. nennen Mackenzie zu Unrecht den Entdecker dieses Archipels (1900, S. 161; ferner Kolonial-Lexikon Bd. III, S. 571), wenn auch zugegeben wird, daß der Spanier Egui bereits vorher den Archipel sah.
[3] Tetens 1889, S. 331/32, vgl. auch Müller-Wismar 1917, Bd. I, S. 4.
[4] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 12.
[5] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, Bd. 31, S. 296, auch bei Krämer 1917, Bd. 1, S. 149.
[6] Senfft 1901, S. 824.

267

II. Geographie.

Name. Wie bereits oben gesagt wurde, ist vermutlich der erste Name, der dieser Inselgruppe von den Weißen zugelegt wurde, »Arrecifes« (s. S. 285) gewesen.[1] Die einheimische Benennung erfuhr das Abendland durch den bereits erwähnten Brief des Pater Clain (1697) mit seinem Bericht über die Antreibung von Feis-Leuten, die u. a. auch die Insel »Lamululutup« (in einem ausführlichen Einzelbericht von einem dieser Insulaner nur »Ulutup« genannt) aufzählten.[2] Bereits wenige Jahre später (1712) finden sich in einigen Reisebeschreibungen der Fahrt des Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga[3] eine ganze Reihe einheimischer Namen einzelner Inseln dieses Atolls aufgezählt, die dann auf Cantova's Karte (1721) in anderer Schreibung wiederkehren (vgl. S. 288[4]). Diese Eingeborenennamen fanden aber noch keinen Anklang, Cantova belegte vielmehr auf seiner Missionsfahrt die als Mogmog bekannte Insel mit dem Namen »Los Dolores« (Namenstag), während die Hauptinsel der Gruppe von ihm den Namen »Isla de los Garbanzos« (Kichererbsen-Insel) erhielt.[5] Später wurde sie nach dem Engländer »Mackenzie« benannt.[6] Alle diese Namen hatten aber nur eine kurze Lebensdauer, erst durch Lütke (1828) wird in den Namenwirrwarr Ordnung gebracht, denn er stellte fest, daß der Archipel Mogemog sei und von den Eingeborenen Ouluthy (th = engl. th) genannt werde.[7] Diese Namen haben sich nun sehr rasch eingebürgert, wenn auch — besonders was den letzteren angeht — in den verschiedensten Schreibungen: Ulithi und Mogmog bei v. Miklucho-Maklay[8], Uli 9i und Uluthy bei Meinicke[9], Uliti, Uluti, Ulussi bei Finsch[10], diese Formen finden

[1] Da die von Meinicke (1888, Bd. II, S. 359/60) dem Spanier Saavedra zugeschriebene Entdeckung von Mogemog zu Unrecht besteht (s. S. 285 Anm. 2), ist oben die Bezeichnung Los Reyes nicht mit aufgeführt worden.

[2] Krämer 1917, S. 15, 27.

[3] Krämer 1917, S. 78, Anm. 2.

[4] Chamisso (bei Kotzebue 1821, III. Bd. S. 102) gibt die Namen des Cantova z. T. in anderer Schreibung wieder; bemerkenswert sind noch die von ihm aufgeführten Inselnamen des Mogemog-Archipels, die er aus dem Munde des Oleai-Mannes Kadu erfuhr.

[5] Krämer 1917 S. 105 und S. 78 Anm. 2. Nach Meinicke ist der Archipel das »Egoy bzw. Garbanzos früherer spanischer Seefahrer« (1888, Bd. II, S. 359/60); diese Angaben hat er wohl Chamisso (bei Kotzebue 1821, III. Bd., S. 102) entnommen.

[6] Meinicke 1888 Bd. II, S. 359/60.

[7] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 306, 308.

[8] v. Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 296.

[9] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359/60.

[10] Finsch 1914, S. 64, 432.

Schreibung der Inselnamen.

Angaben eines Mogem.-Kapitäns	Clain	Egui	Cantova (vgl. S. 287 Anm. 4)	Lütke	Meinicke
Falalup (Nr. 1 in Abb. 376)		Falalep	Falalop		Falalep
Eŝur (2)		Hosor	Outtur		
Soroldâ (3)		Sagaley (Sagalay)	Sagaleu		
Mogemog (4)	Lamululutup (Uhutup)	Mocmoc (Mogmog)	Mogmog	Mogmog (Ouluthy)	Mogmog (Uli ði Uluthy)
P'taŋeras (5)		Mantagaros (Matangaros)	Patasaras		
Etal (6)			Elil		
Mathethir (7)					
Elimat (8)					
Lamm (9)		Lamo	Lam		
Thoroilong (10)		Groailin (Croaylen)	Troilem		
Pogirth (11)					
Summ (12)		Soon	Soin		
Tukeiûli (13)		Galayhay	Pigileilel		
Ellâpik (14)			Pig		
Thonethûgethik (15)					
Eŝû (16)					
Bi'uk (17)					
Pugelûk (18)			Pugelup		
Wâtavoll (19)					
Lothôp (20)					
Wasaru (21)					
Lolon (22)					
Manân (23)					
Math (24)					
Tûgêf (25)					
E'u (26)					
Uluûl (27)			Alobul		
Lethiop (28)			Lusiep		
Ear (29)			Caur	Ear	Ear
Kielop (30)			Guielop	Khielap	Kielap
		Bataray			

sich bei Brigham[1] und auch bei Sievers[2], hier leider unkritisch durch Meinicke's Angaben (s. oben) vermehrt. Allein Hambruch notierte sechs verschiedene Aussprachen des Namens Mogemog (s. Tabelle), zu denen Hellwig eine weitere Schreibung hinzufügte. Im Pacific Islands Pilot (S. 500) wie auf der japanischen

[1] Brigham 1900, S. 161. [2] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

des Mogemog-Archipels nach:

Tetens	Brigham	Sievers	Pacific Islds. Pilot	Japan. Karte	Hamburger Südsee-Expedit.
Fallalep	Falalep	Falalop	Fassarai	Falolop	Falâlap (Flalap)
Assur (Isor)			Asor	Asor	Asor, Eoet, Engolpolop
				Sorlen	Sorleu
Moggomog	Mogmog (Uluthi, Uluti)	Ululssi, Ulussi Uluti Uliti, Ulewi, Ugeu, Egeu	Mogamog	Mogamog	Magemôɣ, Magemôɣ, Magemâɣ, Moɣemôɣ, Magemôɣ, Mogemôg, Môɣemuɣ (He.)
					Malotel, Tetelsu
				Potangeras	Patangeras,
				Delesag	Dâlesack
			Ealil	Eleute	Eleute
				Elemot	Elemat
				Lam	Lam
	Troilem			Sorenlen	Sorenleng
				Song	
				Pigelelet	
				Eläpig	
				Songeti-getah	
			Eau	Eau	
				Pugelug	Pogel
				Feitabul	
				Lossau	
				Lolang	
				Mangejang	
				Mass	Mas
		Pau		Pau	
		Bulubul		Bulubul	
		Losiep		Losiep	
	Ear	Jar		Jar	
	Kilap	Gielap		Gielap	
Fandrée					Piras
Mongin					

Regierungskarte findet sich dagegen Mogamog. Kubary[1] deutete dieses Wort mit »Pfeilwurz *(arrowroot)*«, einer wichtigen Nährpflanze, die hier besonders reichlich gedeiht. Hambruch erhielt dies von Eingeborenen bestätigt.[2]

[1] Kubary 1895, S. 109.
[2] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 229.

Karthographie. Der Archipel taucht schon früh auf den Karten auf (Ortelius 1579 und 1589)[1]. Die dem Brief des Pater Cantova beigegebene Karte zeigt bereits eine ganze Reihe von Inseln dieses Archipels[2], eine genauere Aufnahme

Abb. 374. Japanische Regierungskarte des Mogemog-Archipels.

erfolgte aber erst in jüngster Zeit durch die Kolonialmächte (japanische Regierungskarte v. 1925 [s. Abb. 374], Pacific Islands Pilot 1933). Die deutsche Regierung hat sich die Verbesserung der Karte sehr angelegen sein lassen[3]; die Offiziere vom »Peiho«, besonders der 1. Offizier Lorenzen, haben dann den Archipel genau vermessen (Abb. 375).

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 7; vgl. auch S. 3, Anm. 1.
[2] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, Abb. 7.
[3] Vgl. Senfft 1901, S. 826.

Lage und Größe des Archipels ergeben sich aus den folgenden Breiten und Längenangaben:

Quelle	nördl. Breite	östliche Länge
Egui (bei Krämer 1917 Bd. I S. 93)	9° 32′ — 10° 10′	14° — 13° 15′
Lütke (nach Gulick 1862 S. 60) »östl.-Atoll«	10° 6′	139° 47′
d'Urville (nach Gulick 1862 S. 60)		
»Südpunkt der Westgruppe«	9° 47′	139° 35′
»Nordpunkt«	10° 6′	139° 46′
Meinicke (1888 Bd. II S. 359/60) »für Falalap«	10° 2′	139° 50′
Brigham (1900 S. 106, 161)		
»für Mogemog«	10° 6′	139° 45′ 30″
»für Uluthi«	9° 56′	139° 50′
Sievers (1910 Bd. II S. 367) (Die Inseln »freilich nur bis 139° 57′ das Riff aber bis über 140«.)	9° 47′ — 10° 7′	139° 37′ — 140° 4′
Japanische Regierungskarte		
Mogemog	10° 5′	139° 43′
Falalap	10° 1′ 30″	139° 48′

Die **Gliederung** dieser für die Westkarolinen größten Inselgruppe ist durch die vielen flachen Inseln und Inselchen, deren Egui bereits 28 zählte[1] und die langgestreckte gebrochene Form nicht übersichtlich. Dieser ebengenannte spanische Entdecker erfaßt in seinem Diario trotzdem und mit wenigen Worten richtig die eigentümliche, von Sievers[2] treffend mit einem Hammer verglichene Gestalt[3], doch erkannte er nicht, daß der gesamte Archipel aus zwei Atollen, streng genommen sogar aus drei nebeneinander liegenden besteht.[4] Das östlichste Atoll besteht aus dem langgestreckten Riff Zohhoiiyorut und trägt die Inseln Gielap und Jar, während das mittlere kleiner ist, aber drei Inseln Bulubul, Pau und Losiep trägt; beide sind wirtschaftlich ohne jede Bedeutung. Am größten — die Lagune hat in der NS-Richtung eine Länge von »über 30 km«[5] — und unter dem Namen Mogemog bzw. Uluti auch allgemein verstanden ist das westlichste

[1] Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 75.
[2] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.
[3] Krämer 1917, S. 91.
[4] Vgl. Meinicke (1888 Bd. II, S. 359/60), dessen Angaben z. T. auf Tetens und Kubary (1873, S. 56) zurückgehen, ferner Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.
[5] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.

Riff mit etwa 30 Inseln, von denen die japanische Karte die meisten anführte (s. Tabelle). Unter ihnen befinden sich auch die am dichtesten bevölkerten Inseln Mogemog und Falalap, beide sollen nach Meinicke[1] etwa ½ Meile lang sein. Sie haben im Innern sumpfige, dicht mit Gestrüpp bestandene Senkungen, während für die gesamte Insel Falalap ein durchschnittlich 10—12 m hochansteigendes Ufer kennzeichnend ist.[2]

Passagen für größere Schiffe soll es nach Tetens nicht geben, so daß die Fahrzeuge vor dem »brandungsumtosten« Riff ankern oder treiben müssen[3]. Der Pacific Islands Pilot (S. 499/500) nennt jedoch einige gute Passagen: so hat die an der NO-Seite der Mangejang-Insel 9 m Tiefe, ferner führt im SW von Asor der Dowarugui-Kanal und ein weiterer zwischen Eau und Ealil am SW-Teil des Atolls zu guten Ankerplätzen. Der »Peiho« ankerte in der Lagune vor der Piras-Insel bei 34 m Wassertiefe[4]. — Die Namen der Passagen gibt der oben bereits angeführte Mogemog-Kapitän, wie folgt an:

[1] Meinicke 1888, Bd. II, S. 359/60.
[2] Thilenius 1927, S. 231, 233, 237.
[3] Tetens-Steinberg 1889, S. 370.
[4] Thilenius 1927, S. 238.

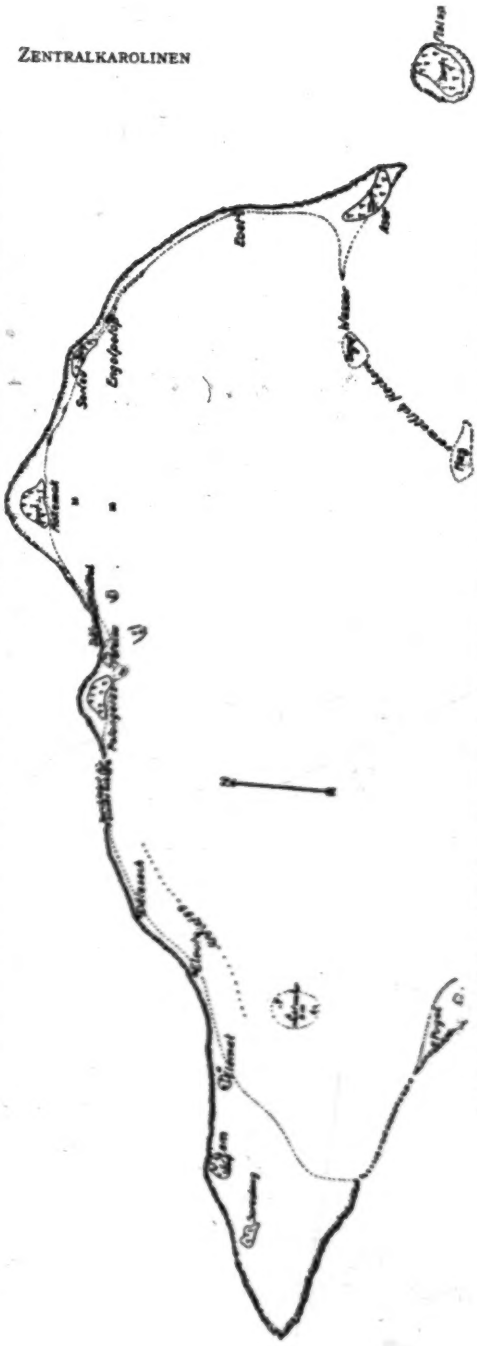


Abb. 375. Nördlicher Teil des Mogemog-Archipels (nach Aufnahme der Offiziere des Expeditionsschiffes „Peiho").

a) (in Abb. 376) Thāuelik
b) Thāū e P'taneras
c) M'thāū
d) Thāū e thūgethik
e) Lügütherōi
f) Thāū i lierō
g) Thāū i liāū.

Taifune haben die Inselgruppe mehrfach (etwa 1869[1]), 10./11. November 1898[2], 1904, 27./28. März 1907[3]) schwer heimgesucht. Die dabei angerichteten Verwüstungen der Palmbestände und die dadurch zu erwartende Knappheit an Nahrung veranlaßte die deutsche Kolonialregierung sogar zur Verpflanzung eines Teiles der Bevölkerung nach anderen Karolineninseln.[4]

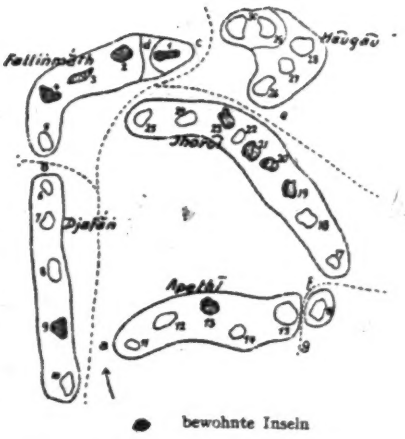


Abb. 376. Karte eines Mogemog-Kapitäns von seinem Inselarchipel. (Die in der Karte angegebenen Namen sind Riff-Namen, die Inselnamen s. Liste S. 290, die Buchstaben sind Passagen (s. oben).

Wörterverzeichnis

Himmel	*ldṅ*
Luft	*ăth*
Wolke	*tharâmi*
Regen	*hâl*
Wind	*edṅ*
Sturm	*m'thōthō edṅ*
Blitz	*fith*
Donner	*þâr*
Sonne	*eâl*
Schatten	*eoṅôl*
Erdboden	*thewâs*
Weg	*eolôp*
Berg	*tâk*
Hügel	*watîltî*
Strand	*falâ*
Welle	*zât*

Die **Flora** ist im Vergleich zu andern Karolineninseln reichhaltig. Es wurden von Hambruch und Hellwig festgestellt.

magemâg = Manihot utilissima, gedeiht üppig und hat der Inselgruppe den Namen gegeben (s. oben);
komōtiχ o totâl = Süßkartoffel;
eōz = Sumpftaro;
wuldχ = Taroart;
fîle = Taroart;
mâṅ = Brotfruchtbaum;
þâ = Arekapalme;
Pandanus;
eowâdj (He.: *jawât*) = Gurkenbaum mit grüner, weiß gesprenkelter und gerieften Frucht;
lôl = Morinda citrifolia;

[1] Russel Robertson 1876/77, S. 47.
[2] Senfft 1901, S. 41.
[3] Ausführlich beschrieben im Schiffstagebuch bei Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 230.
[4] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 348.

ittš = Banane;
udwđ (He.: *wdwđ*) = Papaya;
χaūel (He.: *χaūwal*) = strauchartige Bananenart mit birnenartigen, gelbroten Früchten;
dχuss = kleines gelbblühendes Crassulaceenartiges Gewächs;
widewid = Betelpfefferstrauch;
kalavas = Kürbis, wurde vor vielen Jahren aus Yap eingeführt;
(He.) *jiji* = Farnart;
kamardk = Farnart;
Zuckerrohr
lđ = Kokospalme;
Teile der Kokospalme:

Nuß	*lđ*
Rispe	*emiđm*
Blütenscheide	*χaūudl*
Blütenstengel	*tathēl e imiđm*
Blüte	*mār a wulūṅ*
Nußansatz, kleine Nuß	*thorōup*
große Nuß	*thorōup tamōl*
Trinknuß	*ša lđ*
alte Nuß	*ša tjūχ*
Fleisch der Nuß	*bēl* (jung), *ša mošōu* (alt)
Kokoswasser	*đ*
Kokosmilch (gepreßt)	*thalōχ o tšōl*
Öl	*lōṅ*
Schale, Hülse	*šēu*
Faser	*elogōdš* (jung), *tjōχ* (alt)
Kernschale	*tagagēl*
Löcher	*fathēl*
Keimloch	*matdl*
Keim	*tomōl*
Blattstengel	*palēṅ*
Blattfiedern	*pāthūl*
Bast	*uūl*
Stamm	*χāχēl*
Rinde	*χīl*
auf die Palme klettern	*χēla fđla falđla*
Stufen	*χavelovēl*
Kokosnuß holen	*la fđlagethā uulđ*
Palmwein schneiden	*χēla fđla χđtšila*
Palmwein	*χđtši*
Pflanze	*walu ēl*
Baum	*e dro lđp*
Blatt	*tšal lo ulu ēl*
Ast	*ulurđl*
Rinde	*χillirđ*
Wurzel	*ogodl*
Blüte	*erēl*
Frucht	*uđl*
Strauch	*eto'olōp*
Kraut	*lōl*
Gras	*fathēl*
Wald	*poru*
Busch	*relđ*
Wiese	*totūl*

Fauna. Hambruch gibt folgende Tierarten an:
the i all = fliegender Hund;
labāth = Eidechse;
galūf = Varan;
uđl = Schildkröte; Lütke und v. Kittlitz[1] nennen zwei Arten der Gattung Caretta, eine größere „*oul*", und eine kleinere „*kaf*".
liflf = Schmetterling;
revōl = Fühler;
temdl = Kopf;

[1] v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 418/419; Lütke 1835, Vol. II, S. 312.

poón = Flügel;
χoloχól = Leib;
ldń = Fliege;
thoń = Moskito;
le metherńda = Spinne;
χalép = Krebs;
ńr = Tridacna;
mál = Vogel;
tiirtiir = Ei;
igúl = Schnabel;
pál = Feder;
bothel e mál = Kralle;
úkúr = Schwanz;
pá'ul = Flügel;
tg, td = Fisch;
haraṅap = Schuppen;
tśiltg = Gräte;
tjel = Kiemen;
botól = Schwanzflosse;
ratól = Bauchflosse;
iṅtll = Rückenflosse;
húi = Delphin;
baró = Hai.

Die **Bevölkerung** sitzt nach Tetens[1] auf den Inseln »Mogemog, Falalap, Assur, Fandree, Mongine«. Nach Aussage des oben genannten Kapitäns sind jedoch weit mehr Inseln besiedelt; außer den von Tetens genannten Falalup, Ešur, Mogemog und Mańáń, sind es Lamm, Sorolóń, Tukelüli, Wätavoll, Lothóp und Wasaru. Die größte Bewohnerzahl hat Falalap.

Jahr	Gesamt	Falalap	Mogemog	Quelle
1828	?	?	200	Lutké 1835 Vol. II S. 236; dass. bei Gulick 1862 S. 60.
1873	700	300	?	Tetens und Kubary 1873 S. 56.
1903	797	?	?	Sievers 1910 Bd. II S. 347.
1914	etwa 700			Finsch 1914 S. 432.
1909	200 Männer 329 Frauen 268 Kinder			
	797		über 100	Hamburger Südsee-Expedition.

Das Überwiegen der Frauen wird nach Sievers auf die Verluste von Männern durch Verschlagungen usw. zurückgeführt.[2]

Eine Verminderung der Kopfzahl trat einmal 1906 ein, als die deutsche Regierung »mehrere hundert Eingeborene« der übervölkerten Inseln Mogemog, Bur, Merir, Sonsol nach Palau und Saipan verpflanzte, und schließlich 1907 durch die Taifunkatastrophe, die den betroffenen Inseln (darunter auch Mogemog) etwa 230 Todesopfer kostete und die zu einer nochmaligen, wenn auch nur vorüber-

[1] Tetens-Steinberg 1889, S. 321.
[2] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 367.

gehenden Verbringung von Insulanern nach Yap führte.[1] Andere Gründe für die Entvölkerung erfährt Hellwig durch eine Frau Sulivên, die in europäischen Diensten weit herumgekommen war und deren Auskunft als zuverlässig gelten kann. Sie gab als Ursachen an: »das Aussterben ganzer Häuser durch eine vor Jahren umgehende Seuche (Husten, Gliederschmerzen, Atemnot, blutige Entleerung, nach 3—4 Tagen tot!), zweitens: die Arbeiteranwerbung, durch die manche nicht wiedergekommen seien und drittens: der Verlust vieler Reisekanus auf See. Es gäbe eine große Zahl männerloser Weiber und viele Kinder ohne Eltern. Die bei richtiger Bewirtschaftung sehr reichlichen Nahrungsmittel der Insel verkamen z. T. durch überwachsenden Busch und die Trägheit der Eingeborenen. Felder von Abwesenden dürften nicht angerührt werden, denn man wisse nicht, ob die Besitzer wieder kämen, und um Felder von Verstorbenen kümmere man sich nicht, weil jedes Haus genügend mit dem Instandhalten der eigenen Pflanzungen zu tun habe.«[2]

[1] Sievers 1910, Bd. II, S. 347, 348, 367.
[2] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 236.

297

III. Demographie.

Anthropologisches (vgl. Taf. 23, 24). Dem Brief des Don Bernardo de Egui y Zabalaga[1] war ein Bericht beigegeben mit einer treffenden Beschreibung der Eingeborenen: »Sie sind von gutem Körperbau, im allgemeinen hochgewachsen, und von starken Leibesumfang[2]; einige haben ein Haar wie Mulatten, andere langes und schlichtes Haar wie Juden.« Diese Angaben werden von Lütke[3] ergänzt, dem der Unterschied »einiger Physiognomien« mit denen von Oleai-Leuten auffiel, sie hatten große und gestülpte *(retroussés)* Nasen und dickere Lippen. Die Hautfarbe fand Tetens der von Yap-Leuten ähnlich, aber »etwas dunkler«.[4] Die Ähnlichkeit mit den Bewohnern von Yap betont auch Miklucho-Maclay.[5]

An **Krankheiten** sind bekannt Frambösie *(ijeldh)*, die sehr verbreitet und sehr ansteckend ist, Rheumatismus *(ddth)*, Influenza *(misiliplg)*, die durch Schiffe eingeschleppt wird, Ringwurm *(faguthlr)*, Schwären *(marägäs)*, Pocken *(methindh)*, Pusteln *(rüb)*, Schuppenringwurm *(gilthebö)*, Dysenterie *(pogothä)* wurde von Yap eingeschleppt, Auszehrung (Tuberkulose?, *thli'omerlü)*, Elephantiasis *(methulöp)*, Durchfall *(thär)*, Verstopfung *(pildd)*, Schnupfen *(manerö th)*, Augenentzündung *(djodjll i matäl)*, Zahnschmerz *(uarex e ni)*.

Wörterverzeichnis.

Zunge	*löel* oder *löedj*	Augenlid	*wanowäl ll mata'dj*
Mund	*ijoll*	Ohr	*talindl*
Lippe	*thüli'oll*	Ohrläppchen	*em ni talindl*
Nase	*uwathll*	Gehörloch	*porothö talindl*
Septum	*djädjä lä uadjddj*	Stirn	*manöl*
Nasenloch	*katomäl*	Kopf	*tlamöl, djamäl*
Nasenflügel	*tavelevothll*	Augenbrauen	*fathll*
Auge	*matll*	Augenwimpern	*matherll ll e mata'dj*
Iris	*dawäl e mata'dj*	Kopfhaar	*fli tlamöl*
Pupille	*ile mata'dj*	Zahn	*nll* oder *nldj*

[1] Nach Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 79.
[2] Diese Wohlgenährtheit fiel auch dem Beiratsamtmann Senfft auf (1901, S. 824).
[3] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 310.
[4] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 56.
[5] Miklucho-Maklai 1877, S. 296.

Bart	*rɛ̄ɔol*	Kehle	*falūū*
Schnurrbart	*komōl eōl*	Achselhöhle	*falepu'ēi*
Wange	*tapāl*	Achselhaare	*gorro li pēi*
Kinn	*elothōl* oder *djilioōl*	Schulterblatt	*dagēri* oder *dagedjl*
Schulter	*efardī*	Rippen	*tū dāgedarā*
Arm	*pādn*	Brust	*ubuēi*
Oberarm	*tšapilopōl* oder *podn*	Brustwarze	*sūdj*
Unterarm	*ma tsōni uge podn*	Mammae	*tū sū dj*
Ellbogen	*hapēl podn*	Bauch	*thiēi*
Hand	*komotūl*	Nabel	*mutēi*
Handrücken	*lugulū e motūl*	Seite	*pēigi*
Handfläche	*lāne potān motūl*	Rücken	*tagerū*
Knöchel	*pukūl e puthāl*	Gesäß	*tapišagī*
Finger	*gatīl*	Penis	*fethāl* oder *fethāl*
Daumen	*gatīl e pāl*	Skrotum	*fāulegemōru*
Zeigefinger	*gatīl e dīl*	Vagina	*eōtī*
Mittelfinger	*gatīl e lāo*	Klitoris	*tāo*
Ringfinger	*gatho thumethāgm*	After	*fdath*
Kleinfinger	*gathīlīk*	Haut	*buru dī*
Fingernagel	*kāl*	Knochen	*hīn*
Bein	*bothōl*	Blut	*dīl* oder *djīl*
Oberschenkel	*lugulū bothōl*	Menstruationsblut	*mālk*
Unterschenkel	*monelō bothōl*	Puls	*tāgālk*
Knie	*pukūl e bothōl*	Fleisch	*ulāk*
Wade	*thielū bothōl*	Herz	*ugāl e pēi*
Fuß	*batāl e bothōl*	Lunge	*dīrā nōs*
Sohle	*fāl e bothōl*	Magen	*tharago ulēi*
Ferse	*a pīli e bothōl*	Speichel	*tāl*
Zehen	*gatīl-e bothōl*	Urin	*gnduwēi*
Zehennagel	*kāl e bothōl*	Schweiß	*alolōi*
Körper	*mororo thiā*	Träne	*udī e gīdi*
Leichnam	*thāmas*	Kot	*mathār*
Hals	*uuēi* oder *iijēi*	Atem	*pegū*
Nacken	*habē tlomā*		*lāmiliowā*

Psychologisches. Die Eingeborenen fielen dem ersten Entdecker Egui durch ihre Lebensfreude auf[1] und auch auf Lütke machten sie einen liebenswürdigen und anständigen Eindruck[2]: jeder Eingeborene suchte sich aus dem Kreis der

[1] Nach Krämer 1917, S. 79.
[2] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 309.

Europäer seinen besonderen Freund und schloß diesen Freundesbund durch Ineinanderfassen seiner Hände mit denen des Weißen. Das gleiche Urteil gewannen hundert Jahre später auch die Mitglieder der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition[1]. — Wie ganz anders schildert dagegen Tetens die Leute, einmal als »kriegerisch gesinnte, hinterlistige Menschen«, das andere Mal als »wohl friedfertige, aber sehr falsche Menschen«[2]. Dieses Urteil ist zu subjektiv und erklärt sich wohl aus der Behandlung, die der von Tetens eingesetzte Händler auf der Gruppe erfahren hatte.

An Fleiß und Intelligenz werden sie von den Yap-Leuten übertroffen[3], Hellwig fand sie faul, Hambruch ist in seinem Urteil vorsichtiger; er hatte den Eindruck, daß den Eingeborenen Essen, Trinken, Schlafen sehr am Herzen liegt und sie für die Arbeit nur schwer zu haben sind. Selbst zu den kleinsten Handreichungen bedurfte es wiederholter Aufmunterung. Nur wenn ihnen ein nach ihrer Auffassung großes Geschenk winkte, beeilten sie sich und gehorchten sogleich. Sie scheuten selbst regelmäßige körperliche Arbeiten für sich selbst. Die Männer machten gelegentlich Flickarbeiten am Haus und Boot; die Frauen sorgten für die Küche oder bereiteten Hibiscus- oder Bananenbast zum Weben vor oder webten gar, wenn sie nicht gerade Neigung zu einer Siesta hatten.

Von Wahrheitsliebe sind sie nicht durchdrungen, wiederholt konnte Hambruch feststellen, daß sie Dinge ableugneten, die sie später, nach Kreuzfragen überführt, doch zugaben. Ein verlegenes Lächeln diente dann als Entschuldigung.

Für manche Dinge hatten sie keine Begriffsordnung. Der Zweck von Übersetzungen, die Angabe von Namen wollte ihnen nicht einleuchten. Vor dem weißen Mann, namentlich vor der regierenden Gewalt (Amtmann in Yāp) hatten sie große Angst. Anordnungen des Amtmannes wurden strikt befolgt, da sie glaubten, daß er sie von Yap aus kontrollieren könne. Die Mitglieder der Expedition galten gleichfalls als Respektspersonen. Jeder Wunsch wurde ausgeführt, nur durfte man nicht allzusehr auf Schnelligkeit der Ausführung dringen. — Gegen völlig fremde Dinge (Phonograph) verhielten sie sich entgegenkommend. Gern lauschten sie den *sloköm e djérmanə* (Tänze der Deutschen) und konnten sich nicht genug daran tun, immer wieder in den Phonographen hineinzusingen und das Gesungene wiederzuhören. Die Militärmusik interessierte sie wenig, die menschliche Stimme, der Gesang, zog sie an. Unbändiges Gelächter erscholl, wenn der Refrain eines erotischen Liedes mit großer Deutlichkeit aus der Maschine wiederhallte. Geheimnisvoll war es ihnen, als sie die Stimme des seit Jahren abwesenden Rúx e liól aus Falalap hörten. Den Phonographen hielten sie für einen großen Zauber.

---

[1] Thilenius usw. 1907, S. 232.
[2] Tetens-Steinberg 1884, S. 372, 391.
[3] Senfft 1901, S. 804.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Für das Photographieren waren sie sehr zu haben; sie hielten trefflich still und zeigten nicht die geringste Angst. Eine Ausnahme machten die Frauen, die infolge übler Erfahrungen mit den Weißen zurückhaltender waren. Was sie den Weißen erläutern konnten, taten sie gern zumal die Knaben, die schon rege beim Fischfang, Sammeln von Muscheln und Schnecken und dergleichen mithalfen.

Als die Eingeborenen den Zweck der Expedition begriffen hatten, stellten sie sich von selber ein. Der alte Ufr und die Häuptlingsstellvertreterin Xáthàc kamen als ständige Gäste bereits morgens um 9 Uhr und blieben bis ½13 Uhr, um sich dann um 14 Uhr wieder einzufinden und bis 18 Uhr auszuharren. Alles, was Hambruch wissen wollte, mußte einzeln erfragt werden; unaufgefordert teilte niemand etwas mit. Um die kleinsten Dinge befragte man sich gegenseitig, um auf jeden Fall die richtige Auskunft zu geben. Häufig genug wichen sie dabei vom Thema ab und berichteten plötzlich über eine ganz andere Sache. — Alte Erzählungen zu erfahren, war ganz unmöglich. Die beiden Gewährsleute waren zu alt: »Wir haben zuviel im Kopf und wissen es nicht mehr! Die Leute in Yap wissen alles!« bekam Hambruch immer wieder zu hören. Hambruch glaubt wohl nicht mit Unrecht, daß die Mitwirkung des Yap-Mannes als Dolmetscher hinderlich war; die Leute wagten in seiner Gegenwart einfach nicht, aus sich herauszugehen. Die jungen Leute wußten gar nichts, hörten aber gern den Berichten der Alten zu.

Eine gewisse Lernbegier kann man der Jugend nicht absprechen. Die beiden Männer Oliefén und Elañumár kamen häufig und ließen sich deutsche Wörter sagen, letzterer wäre am liebsten mit nach Deutschland gegangen. Ein anderer Eingeborener namens Sebón von Falalap fuhr, nachdem er einmal begriffen hatte, was Hambruch wollte, in der Gruppe umher und brachte die Ethnologika zusammen. Bei diesem Wissensdurst war die Jugend nach unseren Begriffen oft reichlich zudringlich und unverschämt. Hambruch's Essen wurde eingehend geprüft, berochen; die leeren Konservendosen, Flaschen usw. auf ihren Inhalt hin untersucht, gern sahen sie sich Bilder aus Deutschland an, zumal Häuser und Schiffe. Alles, was der Weiße hatte, galt als *mámáß* = gut, schön, während sie von ihrem Eigenbesitz (Haus, Nahrung usw.) behaupteten, er sei *tánhŏf* = schlecht. Ob das eine Art Höflichkeit war, konnte Hambruch nicht feststellen.

Die Eltern sind gegen die Kinder sehr streng; sie verlangen unbedingten Gehorsam. Die Kinder zeigen auch große Ehrfurcht den Erwachsenen gegenüber. Trotzdem ist das Erinnerungsvermögen der Insulaner nicht besonders groß, sie können sich nur auf die dritte bzw. vierte Familiengeneration besinnen.

Was an Überlieferungen vorhanden ist, wird von Mund zu Mund weitergetragen, ohne Bild, ohne irgendwelche Anhaltspunkte. Im übrigen bildeten das Männerhaus und die Bluthäuser die Klatschbörse. Abends machte man sich gegenseitig Besuche. Nach dem Essen, das kurz nach Sonnenuntergang eingenommen wurde, legte man sich ein wenig schlafen und begab sich darauf zum

Tanz nach Fariöu. Dort hielt man bis 2 Uhr morgens aus und legte sich erst dann endgültig schlafen. Um 9 Uhr standen die ersten auf, doch lag nicht selten noch um 12 Uhr eine große Anzahl von Erwachsenen im Männerhaus oder in den Familienhäusern im tiefsten Schlummer.

Groß ist die Liebe zur Heimat und die Anhänglichkeit zueinander. Wie oft fragten die Leute in Palau nach unserm Abfahrtstermin (um dann doch in Yap bleiben zu müssen), wie oft mußte Hambruch in Mogemog von den in Yap angetriebenen Landsleuten berichten.

In manchen Benennungen von Pflanzenteilen sind sie arm; das meiste hat den gleichen oder keinen Namen.

Schamgefühl ist den Eingeborenen nicht abzusprechen. Ist man in geschlechtlichen Dingen auch wenig zurückhaltend, so wird man doch nie im Gespräch die Namen der Geschlechtsteile nennen, das geschieht nur im Flüsterton. Ist ein Vertreter des andern Geschlechts anwesend, so spricht man überhaupt nicht davon. — Diebstahl gibt es nicht, Hambruch konnte alles offen und ohne Aufsicht herumliegen lassen, es wurde nicht das Geringste weggenommen.

Unternehmungsgeist ist vorhanden und entspringt in der Hauptsache religiösen und kultischen Beweggründen; dagegen fehlt Mut und Tapferkeit.

302

Spezieller Teil.

I. Körperpflege und Tracht, Schmuck und Kleidung.

Körperpflege. Die Eingeborenen sehen auf Reinlichkeit und baden sich täglich. Auch bei der Verrichtung ihrer Notdurft sind sie sehr sauber; sie suchen zu diesem Zweck den Lagunenstrand auf.

Das Haar tragen Männer und Frauen gewöhnlich lang, vereinzelt haben es die Männer auch in einen Knoten gebunden, wie das bereits de Egui beschreibt.[1] Lütke bestätigt dies, sah aber auch Eingeborene mit zwei Büscheln an den Seiten.[2] Die Seltenheit dieser Haartracht deutet darauf hin, daß sie jetzt nicht mehr so beliebt wie früher ist. Das gleiche scheint für die Barttracht zuzutreffen, nach de Egui trugen sie den Bart »sehr lang und dicht«[3], was nach den Abb. der Taf. 23 nicht gesagt werden kann.

Rote Gesichtsbemalung war nicht selten.[4]

Die **Tatauierung** (*/ällu* = tatauieren) der Insulaner wird von den ersten Reisenden zwar erwähnt, aber nicht in ihrer Reichhaltigkeit erkannt[5]. Lütke meint,[6] die Tatauierung von Mogemog sei die gleiche wie auf Oleai.

Einzelne Muster hat Krämer bereits bei einem früheren Aufenthalt auf der Gruppe 1906 festgehalten. Der Halskragen ist in der Anordnung der Muster wie beim Sorol-Mann Deidock, ja einzelne Elemente kehren darin wieder:

Mogemog	Sorol
valetõl	*falodõl*
volumäravat	
valudz	*udz.*

Ebenso findet sich das breite Rückenmuster (auf Sorol wõl genannt) als *dlep* wieder, das auch auf den Oberschenkeln wiederkehrt (Sorol: *kdb*). Das eigentümlich lang gezackte Ornament an Brust und Seiten treffen wir gleichfalls bei

[1] Bei Krämer 1917, S. 79.
[2] Bei Krämer 1917, S. 79.
[3] Totens-Steinberg 1889, S. 321.
[4] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 310; vgl. auch Atlas Taf. 25.
[5] Thilenius 1927, S. 237.
[6] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 310.

Männern an. Bei Frauen skizzierte A. Kr. eine Tatauierung des Unterschenkels und Unterarmes, die dem *bagelibdā* von Sorol ähnelt. Der Oberschenkel war durch Fischmuster (Kr.: *fāfil*) verziert (Abb. 377). Bemerkenswert ist ferner, daß am Oberarm der Männer das gleiche Kreuzmuster *(laŋasīse)* auftritt wie auf Oleai.

Nach Hambruch's Feststellungen stammen die Muster der Frauentatauierung von Feis und die der Männer aus den Yap-Dörfern Nûlu, Gatšepâr, Oneân, Rikên, Lên, Livinâu, Têb, Mêrur. Der Mogemog-Mann Rathêl brachte diese Kunst in alter Zeit aus Yap mit. Die Mogemog-Tatauierer verstanden ihr Handwerk so gut, daß sich selbst die Yap-Häuptlinge von ihnen tatauieren ließen.[1] — 1909 wurde die Tatauierung noch von dem Mann Moxalôel auf Falalap ausgeführt, desgleichen von Têso, dem besten Künstler auf Yap. Die Frauen werden von einer Frau gemustert.

377

380

378

379

Abb. 377. Frauen-Tatauierung (nach Skizze Krämer). — Abb. 378 und 379. Tatauierkämme (Hamburg 611 bzw. 3275[II], ½ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 380. Tatauierhammer (Hamburg 3293[II], Lge. 30 cm).

Tatauieren lassen kann sich jeder, wenn er nur in der Lage ist, das Honorar zu bezahlen. Jedes Muster hat seinen bestimmten Preis, gezahlt wird in *rêi-*

[1] Krämer 1908, S. 174.

Abb. 381. Ohrschmuck (Hamburg 5233II; 1/2 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 382. Halskette aus Kokosperlen (Hamburg 5294II; Lge. 70 cm). — Abb. 383. Halskette aus Schildpatt-, Kokos- und Spondylusscheiben (Hamburg 5169II, Lge. 46 cm). — Abb. 384, 385. Halsschmuck mit Flossenknochen des Tümmler (Hamburg 5120II, 5136II, 1/4 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 386. Halskette mit Fischhaken (Hamburg 5166II, Lge. 45 cm). — Abb. 387. Armring aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5180II, Durchm. 5 1/2 cm). — Abb. 388. Armring aus Kokosnuß (Hamburg 5090II, 1/2 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 389—391. Verschiedene Herstellungsstadien eines Schurzes (Hamburg 52708, 5270, 5279, 1/4 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 392. Gürtel aus Kokos- und Conus-Scheiben (Hamburg 5236II, Lge. 30 cm).

Farbe, Kleidmatten, Armringen, Frauengürteln u. a. Da jede Zeichnung dreimal(!) geklopft werden muß, benötigt der Künstler für ein vollständiges Muster etwa ein bis drei Monate, nur sehr kräftige Personen können diese Operation in kürzerer Zeit überstehen. — Der Tatauierkamm *(thallt*, He.: *alkd)* ist aus einem Fregattvogelflügel-Knochen und vier- bis sechszackig, der Hammer ist aus *xâni*-Holz (Abb. 378—380)[1]. Die Farbe *(wölloth)* wird in Kokosschalen aus dem Ruß verbrannter Calophyllum-Nüsse gewonnen und in Kokosschalen angerührt.

Schmuckgegenstände gab es nicht in der reichen Auswahl wie auf den Zentral-Karolinen; viel soll von Yap eingeführt sein. Beliebt waren dagegen Blumenschmuck[2] und Bänder aus mit Curcuma gefärbten Blattstreifen[3]. — Haarschmuck. Kämme (He.: *makdl)* aus zusammengebundenen Kokosfiederrippen (He.: *loχ)* sind häufig[4], doch kommen auch die bekannten gepflockten Holzkämme vor (s. Taf. 23). — Jüngere Männer und Frauen tragen im Haar gern Kränze[5] (He.: *uliaĕ)* von einem eispflanzenähnlichen Unkraut *(dkuxuss)* oder eingeknotete Bänder *(mâr el ue tšêm)* aus jungen Kokosblattfiedern (s. Taf. 23, 24).

Ohrschmuck (He.: *fufu)* gibt es in verschiedener Form: a) *čle talinâ* ist das bekannte Ohrgehänge aus Schildpatt *(wodtsch)* und Muschelringen *(falêrpe)*[6]. — b) aus einem Schildpattring mit Muschel- und Kokosscheibenkettchen, daran Anhängsel von roter Spondylus *(felêrpök)*[7] — c) dasselbe, jedoch als Anhänger Stücke der perlmutterähnlichen glänzenden *sârr*-Muschel (Abb. 381).

Halsschmuck. a) *mârremarr:* Kette aus großen Kokosscheibchen[8]. — b) *mârre dâxax:* Kette aus großen Kokosperlen[9] (Abb. 382). — c) *mârrelt:* Kette aus weißen Konusscheiben *(rassêlesâl)* und schwarzen Kokosscheiben *(daxâx)* wie auf Ifaluk. — d) *lamulâx:* Faserschnur mit roten Spondylusscheibchen, wird nach Hellwig von Oleai eingehandelt. — e) *mârreč:* Kette aus Schildpatt- und Kokosscheibchen, dazwischen Spondylusscheiben und zwei Blänker als Verschlußstück (Abb. 383). — f) *roropôk* ist ein eigentümlicher Hals- und Rückenschmuck aus den Flossenknochen des Tümmler (He.: *čile hâi)*, an jedem Knochen sind zwei Blattknoten angebracht. Der Schmuck wird so getragen, daß ein Knochen auf der Brust und einer auf dem Rücken hängt (Abb. 384); eine davon abweichende Form zeigt Abb. 385.

Abb. 393. Brustschmuck (Hamburg 5106II, 1/3 nat. Gr.).

Brustschmuck. a) *marêm:* Brustschmuck aus Schildpatt *(wodt*, Abb. 393). — b) *lâgeldge:* Brustschmuck in Form eines breiten Schildpattringes[10]. — c) Ungewöhnlich

[1] Museum Hamburg Nr. 5877—5875, 5085/88.
[2] Thilenius 1927, S. 229, 237, vgl. auch Lutké 1835 Vol. II, S. 310.
[3] Vgl. Thilenius 1927, S. 229, 238.
[4] Museum Hamburg 5173.
[5] Museum Hamburg 5182—5188.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5245.
[7] Museum Hamburg 5215, 5170.
[8] Museum Hamburg 5207, 5225.
[9] Museum Hamburg 5153.
[10] Museum Hamburg 5078, 5104, 5105, 5121.

ist ein Brustschmuck aus Schildpatthaken an einer Kokosscheiben-Kette, der angeblich aus Yap stammen soll (Abb. 386).[1]

Armringe *(lagél, lagáč)*: a) aus Schildpatt, hoch und gerippt[2] oder flach (Abb. 387); — b) aus Kokosschale (Abb. 388)[3] glatt und auch gerillt[4]; — c) aus Trochus *(oxôx)*[5]; — d) aus jungen Kokosblattfiedern.

Abb. 394. Beinring aus einem Kokosblattstreifen (Hamburg 5248[11], 1/2 nat. Gr.).

Fingerringe *(milaxât daxâx)* aus Kokosschale.[6]

Beinschmuck sind mit *rên* gefärbte junge Kokosblattfiedern *(moâd)*, die um Waden und Fußgelenk gebunden (Abb. 394) und *potštš* genannt werden; selten sind sie aus gezwirntem Männerhaar (s. Taf. 24).[7]

Kleidung. Männer und Frauen sind bekleidet, nur die kleinen Kinder laufen nackend umher. Das männliche Geschlecht trägt eine aus feiner Bananenfaser gewebte Matte in der bekannten T-Form um die Lenden gebunden. Die Matte wird zu diesem Zweck schmal zusammengelegt, so daß die oft in Zierknoten verschlungenen Fransen vorn herabhängen (Taf. 24). Diese Lendenmatte wird *gultš* genannt und den Knaben angelegt, sobald sie Palmen erklettern können. Dieses Ereignis wird durch ein besonderes Essen gefeiert.

Das weibliche Geschlecht ist in den ersten Lebensjahren unbekleidet, erhält aber gar bald einen Schurz *(šš/*, He.: *šire šir*[8], Abb. 389—391 zeigen verschiedene Herstellungsstadien, vgl. auch Taf. 32) aus getrockneten, fein geschlitzten Fiedern des Kokoswedels, die zu einem langen unteren und einem kürzeren oberen Fransenbehang angeordnet sind. Mit Eintritt der ersten Mensis legen die Mädchen die breite, zumeist aus Hibiscusbast gewebte und gemusterte Matte *(bêgi)* an[9]. Dieser Tag *išêdjix* genannt, wird durch ein besonderes Essen (Fisch, Kokosnuß, auch Brotfrucht und Papaya), das kräftigen soll, im Kreise der engeren Familie feierlich begangen. Die Matte wird so getragen, daß die Zierstreifen horizontal liegen. Eine Kokosschnur *(xoroxôr)* hält das Kleid fest (vgl. Taf. 24).

Außer dieser bereits genannten Kokosschnur werden über der Kleidmatte mitunter noch Ziergürtel getragen: a) häufig ist ein solcher, *teretlr* genannt, aus jungen Kokosblattfiedern, — b) *wšl*[10] wie Sorol Abb. 302, — c) *tarrâc*, auch *dardâ*: aus Menschenhaar *(čêm)* gezwirnt (wie auf Ifaluk[11]) oder aus Bananenfasern

[1] Museum Hamburg 5214.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5168.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5217.
[4] Museum Hamburg 5129, 5097.
[5] Museum Hamburg 5222.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5153, 5154.
[7] Museum Hamburg 5249.
[8] Museum Hamburg 5279, 203.
[9] Finsch behauptet zu Unrecht (1914, S. 432), daß gewebte Matten nur Männerkleidung seien.
[10] Museum Hamburg 3866.
[11] Museum Hamburg 5171.

gedreht[1], — d) *fil:* mehrsträhnige Ketten aus Kokos- und Conusscheiben mit Schildpattstegen (Abb. 390) sind jetzt selten[2], obgleich Mogemog als Fabrikationszentrum ehedem eine Rolle spielte[3]. Nach Angaben der Frau Sulivên, die Hellwig's »Mittelsmann« war, besitzt jetzt jede Frau einen solchen Gürtel, die zumeist aus Ngulu stammen.[4] Sie wurden bereits von de Egui erwähnt.[5] — e) sehr breite Gürtel aus Kokosperlen von über zwanzig Strähnen mit doppelten Holzstegen wahrscheinlich aus Truk stammend.[6]

Auf dem Meer wird der runde Spitzhut[7] *(parên, parropârr)* aus zusammengenähten Pandanusblattstreifen getragen; er ist teilweise durch aufgeheftete Schildpattplättchen verziert und mit einem Halteband *(eôl)* aus Kokosschnur versehen. — Der sonst gebräuchliche Umhang aus Hibiscusfasern *(ricôt)* ist unbekannt. — Bei Hitze fächelt man sich mit einem geflochtenen Fächer Kühlung zu und um vertreibt damit die lästigen Fliegen.

[1] Museum Hamburg 5165, 5201, 5216.
[2] Museum Berlin VI/27145 (Slg. Fritz).
[3] Finsch 1914, S. 155.
[4] Thilenius 1927, S. 238.
[5] Bei Krämer 1917, S. 91.
[6] Krämer 1932, S. 108.
[7] Museum Hamburg 155.

308

II. Die Nahrungsquellen und ihre Ausnutzung.

Landbau. Die Anlage der Pflanzungen geschieht ohne bestimmte Ordnung. Hellwig schreibt darüber[1]: ».... das Innere der Insel, welches aus einer hier und da sumpfigen Senkung besteht, deren Busch überall mit kleinen, unregelmäßigen Pflanzungen von Sumpftaro, Bananen, Süßkartoffeln und Zuckerrohr durchsetzt eines gewissen landschaftlichen Reizes nicht entbehrt. Dazwischen stehen die Kokospalmen verschiedensten Alters zahlreich, viele mit vollem Behang von kleinen, runden Nüssen und eine .....Art mit länglichen.« — Zum Feldbau der wichtigsten Früchte macht Hambruch folgende Angaben:

1. Süßkartoffeln *(kamôti)*. Der Yap-Mann Gilemoon aus Gatschebar brachte diese Frucht nach Mogemog. — Die Frucht wird von der Frau, mitunter auch vom Mann (wenn er Lust dazu hat), in Stecklingen *(rôl e kamôti)* ausgepflanzt, wozu eine »Schildkrothacke« (Abb. 395) benutzt worden sein soll. Die Auspflanzung erfolgt zwar wahllos in Beeten *(matôli e kamôti)*, doch liegen diese ihrerseits in regelmäßig angeordneten Feldern. Der Steckling wird in seinem unteren Ende zusammengerollt, dann in das vorbereitete Pflanzloch *(lûuʃ)* gelegt und mit Erde bedeckt *(theuêle vâ)*; dann überläßt man die Pflanze sich selbst. Nach drei Monaten kann man bereits ernten. Zum Ausgraben der Knollen benutzt man ein spatenähnliches Holz *(ʃathêl*, s. Abb. 396). Diese Feldfrucht ist sehr geschätzt, denn sie reift nicht nur rasch, sondern läßt sich auch zu jeder Zeit pflanzen.

2. Taro; es gibt zwei Sorten, den Sumpftaro *(eôtš)* und den Bergtaro *(ʃile)*; letzterer ist das Hauptnahrungsmittel. — a) Den Sumpftaro brachte vor etwa 70 Jahren (von 1909 an zurückgerechnet) ein Mann namens Mâuêl aus Umun. Die Pflanze kann nur dort gedeihen, wo genug Brakwasser vorhanden ist, wie z. B. in den sumpfigen Senkungen im Inselinnern. Das erklärt auch die unregelmäßige Anpflanzung. Nicht jeder Eingeborene besitzt Sumpftaro-Pflanzungen. Um den Anbau dieser Feldfrucht kümmern sich neben den Frauen auch alte Männer. Das Pflanzen der Stecklinge (abschneiden = *udre)* erfolgt am frühen Morgen. Frauen, die vorher geschlechtlichen Verkehr gehabt haben, können dabei nicht mithelfen, da sonst der Taro nicht gedeihen würde. Gedüngt wird mit frischen und verwelkten Blättern. Nach drei Monaten ist die Knolle des Stecklings so groß wie

[1] Thilenius 1927, S. 237.

ein Fingernagel, nach etwa 8 Monaten kann geerntet werden. Das Stechen *(kothôu)* erfolgt mit einem zugespitzten Holz, dem Grabstock *(chôth*, Abb. 397).

b) Vom Bergtaro kennt man drei Arten: *moldi, pâdle, file e Aurepik*. Während letzterer vor etwa 50 Jahren (von 1909 an zurückgerechnet) von dem Mann Logalâisâm aus Feis in Mogemog eingeführt wurde, sind die beiden anderen Sorten alteinheimisch. — Für den Bergtaro sorgen Männer und Frauen in gleicher Weise. Die Anpflanzung geschieht wahllos, die Behandlung ist die gleiche wie beim Sumpftaro. Allerdings gedeiht der *file* wesentlich langsamer, wenn seine Knollen auch bereits mit fünf Monaten genießbar sind, so läßt man ihn doch gern jahrelang (!) wachsen, um möglichst große Knollen zu erzielen. Zu den Tanzfesten ist der *file* als Festspeise sehr begehrt.

Von einer geregelten Pflege der Pflanzungen kann nicht gesprochen werden. Felder von Abwesenden dürfen überhaupt nicht angerührt werden und um solche von Verstorbenen kümmert man sich gar nicht. Die Witwen müssen die Kokosnüsse auflesen, da die jungen Männer keine für sie herunterholen.[1]

397. 395a. 395. 396.

Abb. 395. Schildkrot-Hacke (Hamburg 5234II, ¼ nat. Gr.); a = Hackenblatt von vorn gesehen. — Abb. 396. Holzspaten (Hamburg 5151II, Lge. 83 ½ cm). — Abb. 397. Grabstock (Hamburg 159II, Lge. 109 cm).

Landbesitz. Das Land ist in kleine Hufen *(a watšlîš e thêu)*, meist Tarofelder, und in große Hufen *(a pallû e thêu)*, die mit Palmen und Papaya durchsetzt sind, eingeteilt. Die Kinder erhalten die Plätze (Hufen) der Eltern zugewiesen und zwar entsprechend der Fürsorge, die sie den Eltern zuteil werden ließen. Wer seine Eltern gut versorgt, erhält auch viel Land, die andern wenig oder gar keines. Die Mädchen erhalten die Plätze der Mutter; sind keine männlichen Anverwandten da, so erhält der Bruder das Land.

[1] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 236.

Besondere Merkzeichen gibt es für die einzelnen Landstücke nicht; jeder kennt sich darin aus. — Bei der Heirat wird den Ehepartnern Land von den Eltern überwiesen.

Die Verteilung des Landes auf Mogemog war nach Hambruch folgende:

Besitzer	Namen der kleinen Plätze	Namen der großen Plätze
Thāūulū (ein Knabe)	*haōelēdṅ, djdlemār, lūg e lümelūe, u'tēitēi, malagdle fāth*	*luōl*
Tahilumār (ein Mann)	*alithēū*	—
Tahilumār[1] (ein Knabe)	*mdth e gilufēi u mdṅ, mdth e gīl e to fāth, fōge fdṅ, tuōt, fāthirūi*	*djdl ü lūl, lūg e luōl,*
Ejóṅumār (ein Mann)	*rōt, pdiid, molōχ*	zwei *fdl e udl*
Xaūí (ein Mann)	*taūōt, limdt, apelilm*	*fariōu*
Falüerü (ein Knabe)	zwei *lug e luōl, limdt, ta boχdb*	zwei *theleudl*
Ulumódj (ein Mann)	*olumórtš, fāthürūlüs, e pāiilm, luōl,*	*pale e pardṅ, ta boχdb*
Ufr (ein Mann)	*lug e luōl, ta vurdb*	*ulm e lūχ, fdli e lūχ*
Xathāχ (Häuptlingstochter)	*le bāth, udle uōl, djōlu mūl*	*ta bordχ, fdl ū mēi, fdl i logdūēl, hapelilm*
Lāūb (eine Frau)	*taboχdb, lūg e luōl*	*hapelilm*
Oliefēṅ (ein Mann)	*fdl u rdl, uliesōr, magelitūr,* zwei *lūg e luōl, thaludl*	*tha pēuūl, ulewuṅewūṅ*
Talfṅ (ein Mann)	*fdl u lūwe, molōχ, fdl u dl, thūlūs, ūll methdχ, watšltš, mdl a qūl e to fāth, le mūt, to bordχ*	*ull methdχ palfṅ, mār o χōia*
Eāṅ (ein Mann)	*ulumótš, fāthürūlüs, baiejēṅ, luōl*	*alü e pardṅ, ta bordχ*
Tarātš	*fdl i lūe, ta bordχ, ta buōt, lorit,*	*fdl i lo χaūēl*

[1] Sein Besitz wurde Hambruch durch Erwachsene bezeichnet.

Besitzer	Namen der kleinen Plätze	Namen der großen Plätze
(ein Mann)	*elolâl, fâthürâlüs, mallñeltuwôl, odjêl, χapilzûñ, le pâth, lurôr*	
Pôl e mêi (ein Knabe)	*ull le metâχ, ullindt, siloudl, ta borâχ, elolâl, fariôu.*	*fâthînеχ*

Den **Fischfang** lernten die Eingeborenen von Yoñelâp (s. Religion). Das trug sich folgendermaßen zu: Der Mogemog-Mann Thâûumâl schlief im großen Haus, da schickte Yoñelâp den Geist Xâûk zu ihm, der sagte: »Ich will Dir sagen, wie man einen Fischhaken anfertigt und damit einen Fisch fängt. Wenn Du es nicht tust, kommt ein Taifun und zerstört alles, wenn Du aber tust, was ich Dir sage, dann wirst Du viele Fische fangen und Mogemog wird ein berühmter Platz werden!« Thâûumâl gab die Kenntnis seinen Leuten weiter, die nun Boote bauten und Fischhaken machten.

Abb. 398. Angelhaken aus Schildpatt (Hamburg 5205[II], ½ nat. Gr.).

Von den Fischen werden vorwiegend Hornhecht *(thâk)*, Bonito *(edl)*, fliegender Fisch *(mañâr)* und *ethâl* gefangen, der Hai *(bâxo)* wird seltener gefangen. Von Muscheln wird die *thâth* genannte Art (Barbatia fusca)[1] gegessen. — Zum Anlocken der Fische wird zerkaute Kokosnuß genommen.

a) Fang mit Speeren, die zumeist aus Yap stammen sollen, ist üblich.[2]

b) Angelfang (Angel[3] = *bâlu*, Bambusstock = *bâlu* [bis 4 m lang]). — 1. mit flachen Schildpatthaken *(kâûulâl*, He.: *zawûth*, Abb. 398[4]), wird für jeden Fisch gebraucht. Diese Haken sind heute selten und durch zurecht geklopfte und gefeilte Eisendrahthaken ersetzt worden. Die Anfertigung eines solchen beschreibt Hellwig anschaulich im Schiffstagebuch;[5] — 2. mit zusammengesetzten Haken *(pâ)*[6] von der bekannten Form (wie Ifaluk Abb. 92); die Einzelteile heißen:

Hibiscusschnur = *ôll e pâ* (He.: *ôllewâu*)
Blänker aus Meleagrina = *pâ* (He.: *bâ, poâ*)
Haken aus Schildpatt = *matal e pâ*
Fliege aus Fregattvogelfedern = *botjêl e poâ* (He.: *uxûl e pâ*).

Diese Haken werden nicht mehr gebraucht, alte Blänker werden als Schmuckstücke getragen; — 3. *kâi* ist ein einfacher Haken, der früher aus Holz gefertigt

[1] Nach Bestimmung durch das Zoologische Staatsinstitut in Hamburg.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5240.
[3] Eine vollständige Angel Museum Hamburg 3891.
[4] Museum Hamburg 5109, 177.
[5] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 229.
[6] Museum Hamburg 178.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

wurde, jetzt aus einem gebogenen Stück Eisen[1] besteht; an der Bindestelle der Angelschnur sind Kokosblattfiedern befestigt (Abb. 399); er wurde zum Fang vor dem Riff für Hai und einen *eḍḍ* genannten Fisch genommen.

c) Fang mit Netzen: 1. *ʃâl*: Senknetz in der gleichen Form wie auf den SW.-Karolinen.[2] Der Bügel *(châthêl e ʃâl)* besteht an dem von Hambruch gesammelten Stück bereits aus Eisendraht, darüber ist eine Schnur mit Schlinge für den Köderfisch gespannt. Das Netz *(ʃâl)* ist aus Kokosschnur, der Senker *(vâs)* ist ein Korallenstein; — 2. *ârrom*: Dieser Käscher (vgl. Taf. 20)[3]. wird zum Fang des fliegenden Fisches verwendet (Rahmen = *xapêr*, Griff = *capilapêr)*. Der Fang wird vom großen Boot *(uothêl)* aus getätigt und zwar in jedem Monat einmal. Es werden dann aus trockenen Palmblattwedeln etwa 50 Fackeln *(thâl)* gemacht. Mit Sonnenuntergang gehen die Boote in die Passage, dann werden die Fackeln angezündet und zwar stets drei, eine für vorn, achtern und mittschiffs. Die auf das Licht zufliegenden Fische werden mit dem Netz gehascht. Auf diese Weise werden mitunter bis zu 200 Fische bei einer Ausfahrt gefangen; — 3. *âg:* großes Schleppnetz.

Abb. 399. Haihaken (nach Skizze Hambruch).

d) Fang mit Reusen 1. *ûlâm*[4] für kleine *mečâl*-Fische. Eine gute Abb. befindet sich bei Damm und Sarfert 1935 Taf. 14 Abb. 3; — 2. große Reuse wie auf Polowat (s. auch Taf. 20).[5]

Zeremonielle Handlungen sind in Verbindung mit dem Fischen selten geworden. Es werden beim Erscheinen von Fischschwärmen Tänze veranstaltet und Zaubersprüche an Yoneláp, dem Herrn der Fische, gerichtet. Männer und Frauen schmücken sich mit Bändern von jungen Kokosblattfiedern und sagen den folgenden Spruch her:

Thimelê elâth thewarêtharûi	Komm hierher, wir rufen Dich!
Thewêragûm marêl	Wir winden die Blütenkränze für Dein Haupt.
Â ʃethîjagêr thalâp	Komm und schau Dir Dein Land an!
Thâmelijelî elôx	Alle freuen sich, daß die Fische wieder erscheinen
Ajelü pethî pamêm	Wir freuen uns sehr darüber (wörtlich: unsere Magen sind gut)
Ija šoûr!	Hier ist ein guter Platz!

[1] Museum Hamburg 3846.
[2] Museum Hamburg 181.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5233.
[4] Museum Hamburg 5122, 5250.
[5] Damm und Sarfert 1935, Abb. 120, S. 53.

Die Zubereitung der Nahrung ist Sache der Frauen, auch während der Schwangerschaft. Im Kochhaus sind die **Herdstellen:** entweder wird über dem offenen Feuer in irdenen Töpfen *(rāūā)*, die aus Yap (Gitâm) eingeführt werden oder in Cassis-Schneckengehäusen *(mêâl)* gekocht, während zum Dünsten der Speisen der Erdofen *(âm)* dient. Es wird eine Grube *(liâp)* ausgehoben und mit Brennholz angefüllt. Dieses wird angezündet und in diesem Feuer werden Kochsteine *(fath el âm)* erhitzt. Auf die auseinander geharkten heißen Steine kommt eine Blattlage *(âf)* und auf diese das in Blätter eingeschlagene Essen. Darauf werden Blätter und Matten gelegt und das Ganze wird noch mit Steinen beschwert.

Das **Feuer** *(jâf)* wird gebohrt. Der Feuerbohrer heißt *pâṅal*; Bohrstab = *uâl*, der liegende Stab = *ithlth*, das Bohrloch = *lâl*. Man kniet auf der Unterlage. Das Feuerschlagen *(talôdji)* lernte man auf Yap kennen. Feuerstein = *patšš*, Feuerstahl = *parâṅ*, Rauch = *wurâx*, Asche = *palaṅôl*, Flamme = *thawuôl*. Feuerholzbüchsen *(xūluxûl)* sind aus Bambus[1]; geflochtene Feuerfächer[2] *(rūpô)* sind im Gebrauch.

Küchengeräte. a) Schaber, Kratzer, Reiber: 1. *jârr:* Schaber aus Meleagrina, zum Ausschaben der Kokosnüsse;[3] — 2. *kâth:* Taroschaber in Gestalt einer Hacke mit Schildkrotblatt *(čilôl)*;[4] — 3. *uathiṅâk:* Kokosnußkratzer mit angebundener *gurugûr*-Muschel; gewöhnlich mit Füßen *(bodjêl;* s. Abb. 400, 401), neuerdings werden als Kratzer auch Wrakteile benutzt (s. Abb. 402 aus Messing).

b) *kôth:* Kokosnußöffner in Form eines beiderseitig flach zugeschärften Palmholzes.

c) Messer: 1. *str:* Bambussplitter sind noch heute bei dem Mangel an eisernen Messern in Gebrauch;[5] — 2. *thewethšf* (Ha.: *tjlluol):* Schildkrotmesser zum Ausschneiden der Kokosnuß (Abb. 403, 404).

d) Löffel *(tolôṅ lâle uēī;* He.: *gurugûr a lamm)* aus Schalenstücken der Kokosnuß oder aus Cardium-Muschel (Abb. 405); — 2. Sieblöffel *(taxâx)* aus Kokosschale mit Holzstiel (Abb. 406); er dient beim Fischkochen zum Durchseihen der Brühe.

e) Tarostampfer *(jâl)* aus *lewôs*-Holz (Abb. 407)[6], auch dazu werden mitunter Schiffsteile (Abb. 408, ein Marlspiker) verwendet.

f) Kokosnußgefäße. 1. *takôg* (Ha.: *ithithll tjdl):* Trinkschale aus halbierter Nuß[7]; — 2. *kogillâ atjl* (Ha.: *xaūēlh):* ausgehöhlte Nuß, dient als Flasche für Wasser und Palmwein[8].

---

[1] Museum Hamburg 5159.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5271.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5283/84.
[4] Abb. bei Sarfert und Damm 1929, Bd. I, Abb. 162; Museum Hamburg 5179, 197 (lose Klinge).
[5] Museum Hamburg 169—171.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5261.
[7] Museum Hamburg 198.
[8] Museum Hamburg 190—195.

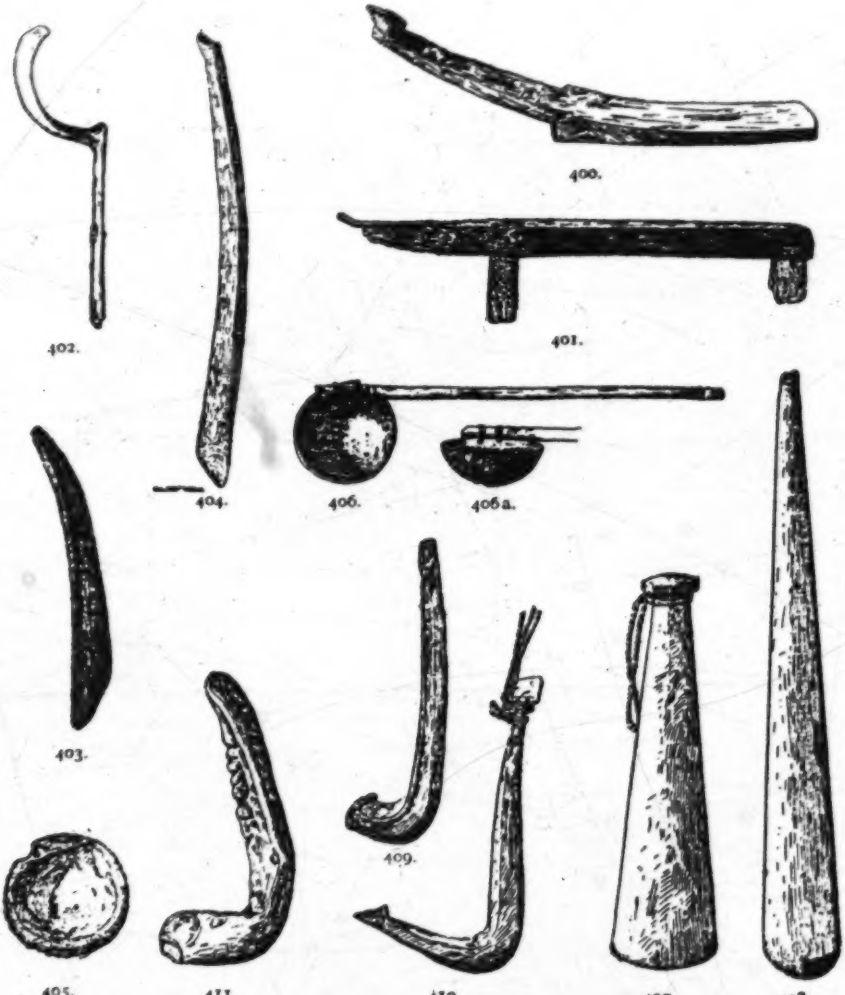


Abb. 400 und 401. Kokosnußkratzer mit Muschel bzw. mit aufgenageltem Eisenband (Hamburg 175^{II} bzw. 174^{II}; $^{1}/_{4}$ nat. Gr.). —Abb. 402. Kokosnußkratzer aus einem Wrakteil (Hamburg 167^{II}; $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 403 und 404. Messer aus Schildkrot (Hamburg 5199^{II} bzw. 160^{II}; ¼ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 405. Muschellöffel (Hamburg 168^{II}, $^{1}/_{3}$ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 406. Sieblöffel aus Kokosschale (Hamburg 5144^{II}; $^{1}/_{6}$ nat. Gr.). a = Seitenansicht des Löffels. — Abb. 407 und 408. Stampfer aus Holz (Hamburg 5261^{II} bzw. 196^{II}; ¼ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 409 und 410. Aufhängehaken aus Holz (Hamburg 5093^{II} bzw. 184^{II}; $^{1}/_{6}$ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 411. Hänger für Flaschen, aus Muschel (Hamburg 5218^{II}; ¼ nat. Gr.).

g) Holzgefäße. 1. *tōvitōf* (He.: *davidēf*): Deckelkästen aus Brotfruchtholz *(mâ)* mit flachem Deckel (Abb. 412) mit mehreren Abteilungen zum Aufbewahren von Utensilien. Unterer Kastenteil = *kolonelâ* (He.: *kolonâl*), Deckel = *atjopâl* (He.: *japâl*), Griff = *tāūōl* (He.: *tawōl*), Falz = *badjōl* (He.: *potâl*), abgeteilte Innenfächer = *tobolâ*.[1] — Die Schüsseln zeigen verschiedenste Form, ohne daß damit immer ein besonderer Zweck verbunden wäre. a) *tâpi lamdlâ*: gewöhnliche Speiseschüsseln aus *âit (âθ)*-Holz mit nasenartigen Griffen *(matâl)*[2], sie sollen in Sorol gearbeitet sein (Abb. 413); — b) *tâpi lo wōl*: große Schüssel für Schildkrötenfleisch, nach Eingeborenenangabe von Lamutrik erhandelt, stammt aber wohl von Truk. — c) *tâpi el tk*: Fischschüssel in eigenartig verzerrter Form mit Füßen (Abb. 414)[3]. —

d) Schüssel in Fregattvogelform (Abb. 415); sie soll einheimische Arbeit sein, während die gleiche Schüssel ohne Füße aus Sorol stammt.[4]

e) flache tellerartige Schüsseln mit Stiel zählen auch als *tâpi*; sie dienen zum Stampfen von Essen (Abb. 416, 417).

f) Gefäße *(lâmm)*: Große Cassis rufus-Schneckengehäuse (Abb. 418) werden seit alters zum Kochen verwendet.

g) Büchsen *(kiâar)*: 1. aus Bambus *(gâl*, Abb. 419, 420) mit Holzdeckel und Holzboden, für Kalk und Tabak; sie sind z. T. verziert; — 2. aus einer Zwillingsnuß *(xôat)* mit natürlicher Zwischenwand (Abb. 421) mit Holzdeckel *(pelitâl)* für Tabak u. ä.

h) Taschen bzw. Körbe zum Aufbewahren von Essen, größere für Feldfrüchte,
α) geflochten: 1. *wōtâū*: aus Kokosblattstreifen, teilweise mit Haarschnurhenkel; einheimische Arbeit (Taf. 31, Abb. 3)[5]. Die besser angefertigten (Taf. 31, Abb. 5) sind aus Yap. Diese *wōtâū* werden gewöhnlich unter den Arm geklemmt; — 2. *tâñerex*:[6] große derbe Taschen mit »Zopf« (Taf. 31, Abb. 4); — 3. *xabâss* (He.: *xobâs*): runder henkelloser Korb (Taf. 31, Abb. 2) für Webutensilien; — 4. *kâθ*: runder Korb aus Pandanusstreifen mit Schnurhenkel[7]. — 5. *hâgits*, auch *ägâtč*: zweiteilige, zusammensteckbare, kleine Tasche aus Pandanusstreifen.[8]

β) aus Kokosschnur geknüpft *(tschô)*: dicht oder weit gearbeitete Tasche mit Ösen zum Durchstecken von Tragstangen[9]; der Rand ist durch Blattrippen versteift (Taf. 31, Abb. 1), derartige Taschen stammen aus Yap.

i) Haken *(tjañillmorôt*, He.: *mädâxôt)* zum Aufhängen von Körben, Taschen und Flaschen: 1. aus Palmfiederschlingen; — 2. aus Holz (Abb. 409, 410); — 3. aus einem Stück Cassis-Muschel (Abb. 411).

k) Betelmörser *(mâ)* aus *xôrox*-Holz (Abb. 422) stammen aus Yap.

---

[1] Museum Hamburg 5115, 5221, 5081, 5096, 5160; vgl. auch Finsch 1914 S. 458.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5107, 5141, 5142, 5143, 5147, 5148, 5219, 5220, 5223, 5237.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5177. [4] Museum Hamburg 5176. [5] Museum Hamburg 5252.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5282. [7] Museum Hamburg 5267. [8] Museum Hamburg 3849, 5103
[9] Museum Hamburg 3850/52.

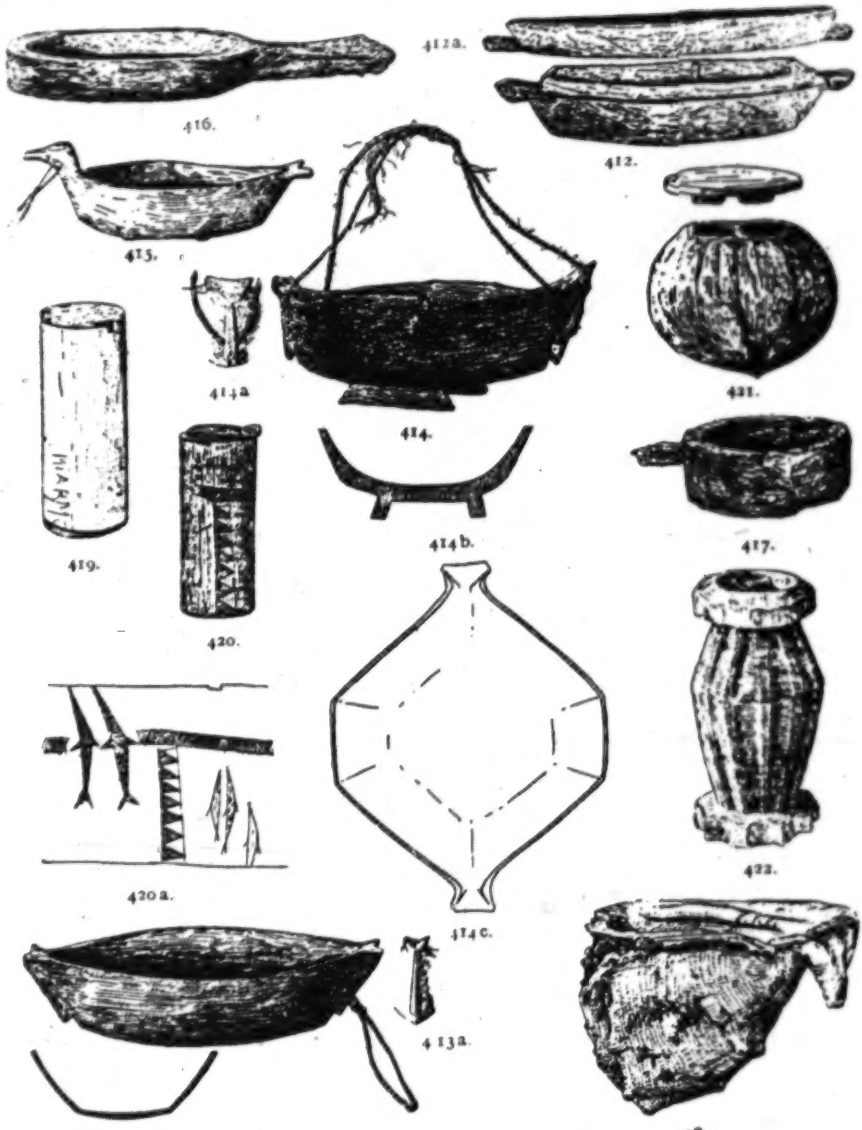


Abb. 412. Deckelkasten (Hamburg 172II; Lge. 63 cm, Br. 19 cm), a = Deckel. — Abb. 413 und 414. Holzschüsseln (Hamburg 5202II bzw. 156II; 1/9 nat. Gr.), a = Form der Nase, b = Querschnitt, c = Aufsicht. — Abb. 415. Holzschüssel (Hamburg 5239II; 1/6 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 416 und 417. Tellerartige Schüsseln (Hamburg 5141II bzw. 182II; Lge. 37 ½ bzw. 22 cm). — Abb. 418. Muschel-Gefäß (Hamburg 158II; 1/6 nat. Gr.). —Abb. 419 und 420. Bambusbüchsen (Hamburg 5256II bzw. 206II; 1/6 nat. Gr.), a = Ziermuster. — Abb. 421. Nußbehälter (Hamburg 5172II; 1¼ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 422. Betelmörser (Hamburg 5150II; 1/3 nat. Gr.).

Die Speisen und ihre Zubereitung. Die vorhandene Flora und Fauna setzt dem Speisezettel gewisse Grenzen. Wenn auch keine paradiesischen Zustände bestehen — die Nüsse fallen nur klein aus, Brotfrucht, Bananen und Taro gibt es nur wenig — so ist doch bei der geringen Volkszahl genug Essen vorhanden, das den Eingeborenen unmittelbar in den Mund wächst. Es kann aber von unseren Insulanern nicht gesagt werden, daß ihre Kochkunst besonders vielseitig in der Herstellung verschiedener Gerichte wäre. Die Zubereitung der einzelnen Speisen ist folgende:

a) Süßkartoffeln: Sie werden gereinigt *(djlri)*, in den Topf getan *(lololôn)* und in Wasser gekocht *(i thagemanâ)*. Sobald sie gar sind, wird das Wasser abgegossen, und die Kartoffeln werden zu Brei zerstampft *(xobôla)*. Nun schabt man Kokosnüsse und mengt das Geschabsel *(thia ge rât eagerâ)* über den Brei, der so genußfertig ist.

b) Sumpftaro: Die Knollen werden geschabt und dann wie die Süßkartoffeln behandelt, jedoch ohne Zusatz von Kokosnuß. Die Taroblätter *(limellm)* werden als Gemüse dazu genossen.

c) Die Früchte des Gurkenbaumes *(eowûdj)* werden halbreif abgenommen und dann entweder wie Süßkartoffeln zubereitet, oder man läßt sie drei Tage lang auf dem Erdboden liegen, damit sie ausreifen. Den Reifezustand erkennt man durch Anritzen mit dem Fingernagel. Die Früchte werden geschabt genossen.

d) Die kleinen Feigen einer Banianart *(xâûdl*, He.: *xâûwdl)* werden entweder gleich aus der Schale in den Mund gequetscht oder im Topf gekocht und mit geschabter Kokosnuß vermischt; das Ganze wird dann durchgerührt und gegessen.

e) Die Früchte der Morinda citrifolia *(lôl)* werden gewaschen und roh verzehrt.

f) Die großen Blätter der Süßkartoffel und die kleinen einer Sedum-Art werden zusammen gekocht und mit Kokosnußgeschabsel oder Palmwein vermischt genossen.

g) Bananen werden roh verzehrt.

h) Brotfrucht wird geröstet oder gekocht.

i) Die Maniok-Knollen[1] werden zunächst geputzt und dann mit dem Kokoskratzer über einer Kokosschale geraspelt. Das Geschabsel wird in Salzwasser getan und unter häufigem Wechseln des Wassers umgerührt. Der Bodensatz wird dann getrocknet und abgeschmeckt. Ist er nicht mehr bitter, dann wird das Mehl mit Kokoswasser gekocht und genossen.

Als Getränke kennt man neben Süßwasser *(tjâl)* den Fruchtsaft der Kokosnüsse und den Palmwein *(atjî)*[2].

An Genußmitteln hat man Tabak *(tomâxo)*, der in Rollenform von Feis

[1] Von Lütke (1836 Vol. III, S. 232) als Tacca pinantifida (= *moggemog*) bezeichnet, er weist dabei auf den gleichlautenden Inselnamen hin und vermutet, daß sich dieser von der Pflanze herleitet.

[2] Die Gewinnung ist die gleiche wie auf Polowat (vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 46).

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

eingehandelt wird; für eine Rolle bezahlt man einen Kegel der bekannten *rdh*-Farbe. — Bereits Lütke wurde von den Eingeborenen mit dem Verlangen *stamakhos* überrascht, und er fragt sich deshalb, ob die Insulaner diese Pflanze etwa seit der Mission Cantova's kennen und dann an die anderen Karoliner weitergegeben haben.[1] — Betel hat von Yap aus Eingang gefunden, spielt aber keine große Rolle.

Die Mahlzeiten werden gemeinsam, meist aus einem Gefäß eingenommen. Die jüngeren Frauen haben für die Alten zu sorgen und sie unter Umständen auch zu füttern. Gegessen wird eigentlich immer zur Zeit des Palmweinschneidens: morgens, mittags und abends.

[1] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 309.

317

III. Technik.

Zur Anfertigung von **Holzarbeiten** (Kästen, Schüsseln, Waffen, Hütten, Booten) benutzen die Insulaner:

a) Äxte (He.: *dallá*, Ham.: *ṗatjugál);* α) mit Tridacna-Klinge *(hl, xf*; Abb. 423, 424)[1]; — β) mit Terebra-Klinge *(lḗn*; Abb. 425); — γ) mit Cassis rufus-Klinge (Abb. 426, 427)[2]. — Hambruch konnte noch eine alte Axt erwerben, die er neu schäften ließ (Abb. 428), die einzelnen Teile wurden genannt: Klinge = *ṗatjugál*, Schneide = *matál* (He.: *naṫḗl)*, Lager = *imá umál* (He.: *nuṫḗl)*, Bindung = *faṗḗl* (He.: *vdvṓl)*, Stiel (Abb 429) = *mál* (He.: *mḗl)*. Jetzt verwendet man statt der Muschelklingen europäische Hobeleisen[3].

b) Bohrer *(burubúr;* He.: *wurewúr):* α) einfacher Stab *(ṫetá)* mit Haizahn-Spitze (Abb. 430)[4]. — β) Drillbohrer (Abb. 431), Stab = *uál*, Querstab *(ṗoṓm)* mit Drillschnur *(eṓl)*, Schwungscheibe = *legatagál*, Spitze *(matál)* früher aus Stein[5], jetzt ein Nagel.

c) Feilen *(ṫa elacáuáχ)* zum Glätten von Holz sind aus einem Stück Rochenhaut[6]; das Polieren erfolgt mit einem Stück *wa*-Muschel[7].

d) Zum Verkitten gesprungener Holzarbeiten wird eine Harzart *(uhál)* genommen.[8]

In der **Herstellung von Muschelgürteln** genoß Mogemog einen guten Ruf, besonders was die mehrsträhnigen *ṗile*-Gürtel angeht; die Muschelscheibchen wurden nicht auf der Insel selbst angefertigt, sondern fertig bearbeitet eingehandelt.[9]

Die **Schildpattarbeiten** kommen mehr und mehr in Vergessenheit, da die Angelhaken aus Eisendraht gefertigt werden.[10]

---

[1] Museum Hamburg 5211.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5231, 5243/44, 5258.
[3] Mogemog lernte das Eisen zuerst durch Yap-Leute kennen, gelegentlich auch durch europäische Schiffe (S. 286), vgl. auch den Bericht des Egui b. Krämer 1917, S. 77.
[4] Stück mit Eisenspitze Museum Hamburg 5077.
[5] Solches quarzitartiges Rohmaterial aus Palau stammend im Museum Hamburg 3854.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5108.
[7] Museum Hamburg 5123.
[8] Museum Hamburg 5082.
[9] Finsch 1914, S. 64, 135.
[10] Genaue Beschreibung bei Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 229.

Die **Kokosschnurherstellung** erfolgt nach dem Klopfen der Faser mit einem Holzschlägel (*eawdi lilogôtj*; He.: *susûloxôt*; Abb. 432) auf zweierlei Art: a) Die Fasern werden quer über den Oberschenkel gelegt und durch gleichmäßige

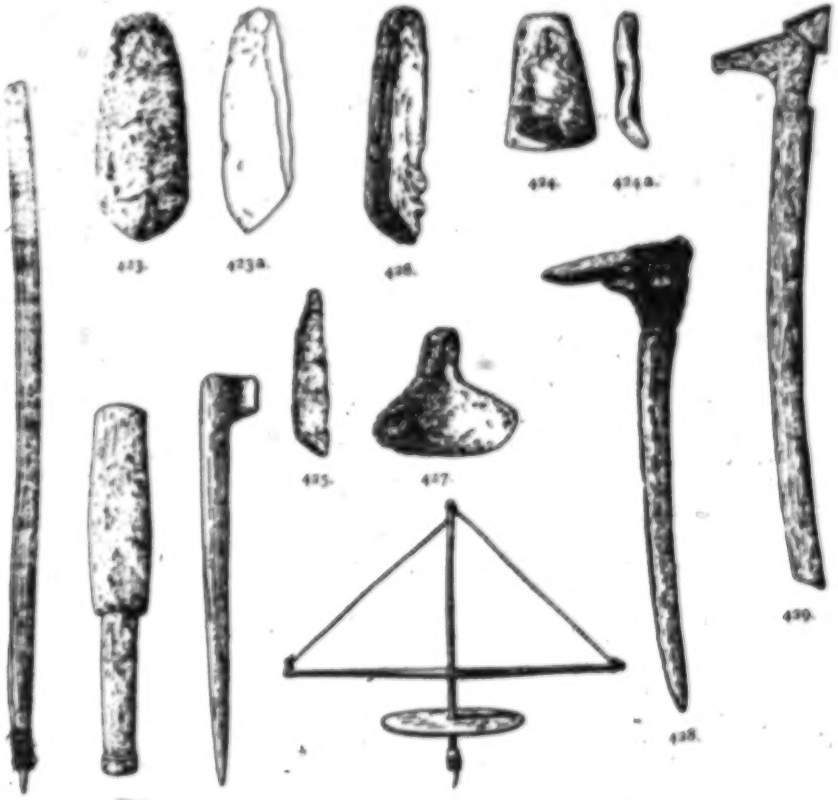


Abb. 423 und 424. Beil-Klingen aus Tridacna-Muschel (Hamburg 5227II bzw. 5178II; ⅓ bzw. ¹/₉ nat. Gr.). a = Seitenansicht. — Abb. 425. Beilklinge aus Terebra-Schnecke (Hamburg 5226II; ¹/₉ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 426 und 427. Beilklingen aus Cassis-Schnecke (Hamburg 5231II bzw. 5228II; ¹/₉ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 428. Beil mit Tridacna-Klinge (Hamburg 5203II; ¹/₉ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 429. Stiel zu einem Beil (Hamburg 3865II, ¹/₃ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 430 und 431. Bohrer (Hamburg 205II bzw. 161II; ⅙ bzw. ¹/₄ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 432. Bastklopfer (Hamburg 5080II; ¹/₄ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 433. Flechtnadel (Hamburg 5096II ⅙ nat. Gr.).

Reibung mit der Handfläche zusammengedreht[1], — b) für stärkere Fäden und Taue benutzt man das bekannte Seilergerät wie auf Tobi, Songosor, Yap und andern Inseln. Dazu gehören drei gleiche Stabkreuze (*udth*; He.: *wdth*) von der

[1] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 237.

gleichen Art wie auf Polowat)[1]. Die einzelnen Teile heißen *tawŏl* = senkrechter Stab, *pdi* = Querstab, *bŭbăl* = Bambushülse, verdicktes Stabende = *xapăl*.

Flechtarbeiten aus Kokoswedeln und Pandanusblättern wurden von Frauen gemacht. Sie bedienten sich dazu einer Flechtnadel *(ĕl)* aus dem Schulterstück einer Schildkröte (Abb. 433). Geflochten wurden Taschen (s. S. 315), sowie große und kleine Schlafmatten *(ŏŏho)* aus Pandanusgeflecht für Erwachsene und für Kinder.[2]

Webearbeiten fielen bereits den Europäern auf, die als Erste die Inselgruppe anliefen[3], auch später noch wird die Inselgruppe als »bedeutende Webereizentrale« gerühmt.[4] Die Erzeugnisse der Weberei sind Lendenkleider für Männer und Frauen, die aus Hibiscus- oder Bananenfaser erstellt und farbig gemustert werden. Die Muster stimmen z. T. völlig mit denen überein, die auf Ngulu üblich sind.[5] Die häufigsten Matten sind solche mit breiten schwarzen oder roten Streifen (Taf. 32, Abb. 1)[6]; ihr Geldwert ist ein Schwein[7]. Rote und schwarze Streifen können auch zusammen in wechselnder Folge auftreten[8]. Besonders kostbar sind Matten mit breiter Querborte (Taf. 32, Abb. 2)[9]. Für die Muster zu Nr. 5164 (Taf. 32, Abb. 3) erhielt Hellwig folgende Namen (von oben nach unten): 1. *baŋ*, 2. *malesŏll* (Zickzacklinie), 3. *luγu ŏumăl*, 4. *mathŏn*, 5. *lothăl*, 6. *terrăja* (Dreieck), 7. *učalălan*, 8. *illigăl dăoŏ* (Rhombenmuster), von nun an wiederholen sich die Muster in umgekehrter Reihenfolge also 9 wie 7, 10 wie 6 usw.

Das Weben ist Frauenarbeit[10]; dazu wird gern trockenes Wetter bevorzugt, denn die Fasern saugen Feuchtigkeit ungleichmäßig auf, was die Arbeit erschweren würde[11]. Das Weben einer Matte soll nach Born[12] etwa einen Monat dauern. Im Gebrauch ist der bekannte Horizontalwebstuhl *(buosŏl; He.: dörr)*[13]. Das Webmaterial wird in einem runden Korb aus Kokosblattstreifen (*xobăs*, Taf. 31, Abb. 2) aufbewahrt. Hellwig erwarb einen solchen mit Inhalt, es befanden sich darin Bananenbast *(gululălj)* in allen Arbeitsstadien, roh, geschabt, fein gespalten und schließlich fertig zu Webfäden verknüpft, ferner Hibiscusbast *(gulivŏl)* in gleicher Art z. T. mit europäischem oder japanischem Rot oder Grün[14], andere nach

[1] Museum Hamburg 5110; Strichproben 3862.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5132.
[3] Vgl. Bericht des de Egui bei Krämer 1917, S. 77, 91.
[4] Finsch 1914, S. 432; vgl. auch Senfft 1901, S. 825f. »Webstuhl fehlt in keinem Haus«.
[5] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 232.
[6] Museum Hamburg 5161, 5163.
[7] Die von Born (bei Finsch 1914, S. 432) gemachte Angabe, der Durchschnittspreis einer solchen Matte betrüge etwa eine Mark in Tauschwaren, dürfte zu niedrig sein und nicht den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen entsprechen.
[8] Museum Hamburg 5162.
[9] Ein solches Stück auch im Katalog des Museum Godeffroy (1881, S. 390) beschrieben.
[10] Auch bei Finsch 1914, S. 432.
[11] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 236.
[12] Bei Finsch 1914, S. 432.
[13] Museum Hamburg 203, 5131, 5276. [14] Vgl. Museum Hamburg 5164.

2: Damm et al. ORZI Woleai

alter Art mit Pflanzensaft (s. unten) schwarz gefärbt. Zum Spalten der Fasern lag eine Muschel bei. Die Namen für die einzelnen Webstuhlteile sind:

Deutsch	nach Hellwig	nach Parkinson[1]	nach Krämer (Diar)
Gürtel zum Festhalten	*dál le dörr*	*tal*	*tadl*
Spannhölzer	*ülth, ilöth*	*ulut*	*eilith*
Knüppel zum Trennen der Fäden	*tapaŋ*	*tapang*	
Schlingstab	*ŋúŋ*	*ngung*	*ngung*
Schwert	*xaupöp, a pöp*	*aupop*	*oböp*
Schiffchen	*xas*	*sap*	
Längsfäden		*ther*	
Durchschlagfaden		*inach*	
Gewebe		*a ther*	
Gestell	*wüsál*		*vithol*
Leib- und Fußbrett	*páp*		

Zum **Färben** *(ligapodx)* benutzt man vorwiegend das gelbe bis zinnoberrote *rán*. Man gewinnt es nach Hellwig aus den Wurzeln einer Ingwerart, die auf einem Stein zerrieben werden. Das feuchte Reibenehl wird in eine sauber ausgekratzte Kokosnuß, die in ihrer Längsachse gespalten ist, gedrückt. Man fügt beide Hälften wieder genau zusammen, umbindet sie und hängt sie in einer frischen Blattumhüllung zum Trocknen übers Feuer. Nach einer gewissen Zeit kann man aus der Gußform einen einzigen Farbkegel herausnehmen, der mit Baststreifen umwickelt wird, damit er nicht zerbricht, denn diese Farbkegel sind Handelsware. Nach Hellwig scheint es davon fünf Größen zu geben[2]:

a) eine große, konische Form in armlangen Holzkapseln = *rán elehlki*
b) größte runde Nuß = *rán bulák* (Wert: zwei kleine Schweine)
c) große runde Nuß } = *rán során* (Wert zweier derartiger Kegel ein
d) mittlere längliche Nuß } mittleres Schwein oder zwei gewebte Hüftmatten)
e) kleine längliche Nuß = *rán ile palák* (soll nichts mit der gleichnamigen Insel zu tun haben).

Die Farben werden in geteilten Holztöpfen *(tapi e lap*, Abb. 416) oder Meerpocken *(tjageök)* aufbewahrt[3].

Zum Schwarzfärben der Hibiskusfaser dienen die Blätter einer Ficus-Art. Sie werden zerstampft und mit dem Saft junger Kokosfasern zu einem Brei verrührt, den man kocht und dann vier Tage stehen läßt. Die gewonnene Farbe wird *podx* genannt.

[1] Parkinson 1907, S. 550.
[2] Museum Hamburg 165.
[3] Museum Hamburg 3857—59, 3979—80.

323

IV. Handel und Schiffahrt.

Der **Handel** war ein Warenaustausch, bei dem die Mogemog-Leute mit *rêñ*-Farbe, Schlafmatten, Schildpattringen und gewebten Matten zahlten. Auf der Inselgruppe gab man für ein Boot etwa zehn Schildpattringe, für zwei Segel hundert Faden Tau oder zwanzig Kleidmatten. — Viele Schmucksachen aus Conus und Spondylus wurden aus Yap eingeführt, wohin man das Rohmaterial dazu verhandelte. Dieser Tauschverkehr mit Yap wurde — ganz abgesehen von den Tributlieferungen — besonders gern gepflegt[1]. Andere Dinge wie große Kokosscheiben wurden z. T. aus Oleai eingeführt, die schönen Leibgürtel zumeist aus Ngulu[2], doch werden sie auch auf der Insel Mogemog selbst angefertigt und gelangen von hier bis nach Oleai. In Schmucksachen besteht ein besonders lebhafter Zwischenhandel von Insel zu Insel.[3]

Wie auf allen westlichen Karolinen standen auch hier die Tributfahrten nach Yap für Yoñelâp im Mittelpunkt des öffentlichen Interesses. Sie finden einmal im Jahr statt und zwar im Monat *thâmur*. Wenn der NO-Wind *(matarâl)* weht, machen sich die Boote (etwa 10—20) fertig. Die Boote sammeln sich am Ausgang der Lagune bei Fatharêl; hier übernahmen (dies gilt für das Jahr 1909) die Kapitäne Pôl und Rumeniâr aus Falalap, nachdem sie vorher einen Zauber gemacht haben, die Leitung über die gesamte Flotte. Die Beobachtungen des Sonnenaufganges und Wellenganges bestimmen den Abfahrtstermin. Während den Seeleuten vorher keinerlei Speiseverbote auferlegt sind, dürfen bei Antritt der Ausreise keine Bananen, kein Seehecht *(dâk)* und *lowâi* gegessen werden, da sie dem Yoñelâp gehörene. Dieses Verbot gilt bis fünf Monate nach der Rückkehr von Yap. Frauen, die keine Kinder haben, dürfen eine solche Fahrt überhaupt nicht mitmachen.

Das Reiseziel ist Gatjapâr (Kr.: Gadjebar) in der Landschaft Gagil im Norden von Yap; hier lebte 1906 noch der alte Oberpriester Bogilrâu. Jede der einzelnen Inselgruppen hat hier etwas Land, wo sie während ihrer Anwesenheit wohnt; nicht selten bauten sich die Mogemog-Leute hier auch neue Boote.[4] Nach der Ankunft bleiben die Boote aber erst vier Tage in Gatjepâr in Clausur[5], erst dann

[1] Kubary 1895, S. 2.
[2] Finsch 1914, S. 64, 135.
[3] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 238.
[4] Krämer 1908, S. 174.
[5] Vgl. dazu auch Senfft 1905, Globus Bd. 87, S. 78f.

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

dürfen sie den Mast niederlegen, d. h. endgültig landen. Ein Mann aus Rfken macht auch sofort einen Zauber *(mattemdtš)*: er nimmt einen Palmwedel und beklopft damit jedes Boot, dann nimmt er eine halbe Kokosschale, füllt sie mit Wasser und zerschlagt sie am Mast. Nun erst dürfen vier Leute den Mast niederlegen und es erfolgt die Verteilung der mitgebrachten Gaben. Dem Gott Yoñelâp liefert jedes Boot als Tribut eine Lendenmatte und eine Flasche Öl ab, der Häuptling erhält 10—20 Lendenschurze, die Gastgeber 20—30 Flaschen Öl. Dieser Tag wird mit einem großen Tanz beschlossen. Solange die Mogemog-Leute auf Yap weilen, werden sie von den Ansässigen verpflegt. Die Boote fahren auch keinesfalls leer nach Hause, sondern nehmen Lebensmittel (Taro, Yams u. a.) mit. Treffen sie auf See ein Yap-Boot, so hat jedes Mogemog-Boot etwas von seiner Ladung abzugeben. — Mit aufkommendem SW-Wind *(melthâl)*, das ist in etwa 3—4 Monaten nach der Ankunft, tritt man die Rückreise an.

Über die **nautischen Kenntnisse** der Karoliner ist bereits im Band Polowat[1] und in den kleineren Arbeiten von Sarfert und Hambruch ausführlich berichtet worden.[2] Was dort gesagt wurde, trifft auch für die Mogemog-Leute zu. Es war jedenfalls nicht so, wie Lütke sagt[3], daß die Mogemog-Leute in der Navigation unerfahren gewesen wären, nur weil ihre Bootsmanöver ungeschickt ausgesehen hätten. An anderer Stelle muß Lütke selbst ihre Kenntnis der Insellage bewundernd zugestehen.[4] Dafür sind die weit ausgedehnten Handels- und Besuchsfahrten das beste Zeugnis. Heute gilt das nicht mehr, es fehlen nicht nur die Mannschaften, sondern es ist bereits seit Jahren keine Seemannstradition mehr gepflegt worden. Auch die deutsche Kolonialregierung hat den alten »Wikingergeist« eindämmen müssen; sie verbot die Fahrten von Mogemog nach Yap (etwa 200 km = Entfernung Hamburg—Leipzig), weil viele Boote aus-

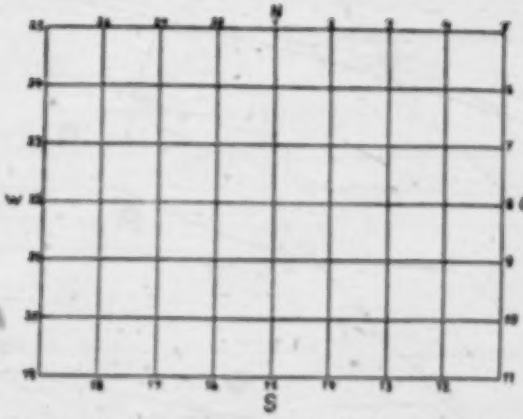


Abb. 434 Strichrose von Mogemog (nach Skizze Hambruch).

[1] Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 83.

[2] Sarfert, Zur Kenntnis der Schiffahrtskunde der Karoliner (Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte 1911, Jg. 42); — Hambruch, Die Schiffahrt auf den Karolinen und Marshallinseln (Berlin 1912).

[3] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 309, v. Kittlitz 1858, Bd. II, S. 418/19.

[4] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 339.

blieben und der Bestand der männlichen Bevölkerung gefährdet war[1]. Übertretungen kamen trotzdem vor[2].

Im folgenden seien einige ergänzende Angaben zur Navigation gemacht: Am Tage wird nach dem Sonnenschatten, nachts nach den Sternbildern gesegelt (s. Strichrose Abb. 434).

Nr. der Strichrose		Nr. der Strichrose	
1	*ulu'ûl jeſdṅ*	15	*ulu'ûl jeûrr*
2	*thagillimâlop*	16	*mari mâtôl*
3	*ologôr*	17	*tholol ûp*
4	*igillûk*	18	*tholol methâri*
5	*moôm*	19	*tholol u thâmur*
6	*marregir*	20	*tholol tharugôl*
7	*ûl*	21	*tholol illiûl*
8	*mâlop*	22	*tholol i mâlop*
9	*thagill illi ûl*	23	*tholol ûl*
10	*thagill tharugôl*	24	*tholol marregir*
11	*thagill thâmur*	25	*tholol i môl*
12	*thagill i matâri*	26	*tholol igillûk*
13	*thagill ûp*	27	*tholol ologôr*
14	*marimâlî*	28	*tholol i mâlop.*

Bei schlechtem Wetter werden die Segel herabgenommen und die Dünungen genau beachtet, dabei ist die starke Ost-Dünung an erster Stelle maßgebend. — Senfft[3] erfuhr auf Yap von angetriebenen Mogemog-Leuten, daß die Schiffskapitäne bereits als Kinder in der Navigation unterrichtet werden, später Probefahrten unter Beteiligung Kundiger zu machen haben und erst, wenn sie diese Prüfung bestehen, ein eigenes Kommando erhalten.

Die Himmelsrichtungen heißen:

Norden	*iſdṅ* oder *jeſdṅ*	Südost	*hothiaſdṅ*
Süden	*jeûrr*	Südsüdost	*alemât*
Westen	*mêlotho*	Südsüdwest	*eaṅdl fa'lepôl eîjûr*
Osten	*mâtaral*	Südwest	*kuthuûr*
Nordnordost	*lothieſdṅ*	Südwestzuwest	*eroô'laf a gitagit*
Nordost	*eſdṅ eleth athôl*	Nordwestzuwest	*are olothôl*
Nordostzuost	*eſdṅ elêp totôl*	Nordwest	*areolothôṅ*
Südostzuost	*lematiaſdṅ*	Nordnordwest	*nothoâr*

[1] Senfft b. Finsch 1914, S. 484.
[2] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 195.
[3] Senfft 1901, S. 42.

Die Mogemog-Leute unternehmen noch heute folgende Fahrten:

nach	Monat der Abfahrt	Monat der Heimfahrt	Fahrtdauer
Yap	*eremōth* Wind: *eothō a ſdn*	*mādīx* Wind: *loothī ūr*	2 Tage
Feis	bei gutem Wetter und Wind, ohne an eine bestimmte Zeit gebunden zu sein.	zurück mit *eothō a ſdn*	1 Tag
Oleai	Wird von Yap aus bei günstigem Winde (SW = *djödjō le mīl o thalu*) unternommen		verschieden

Außerdem segelten sie nach Lamutrik, Elato, Sorol, Ngulu, Palau.

Verschlagungen waren nicht selten und kamen bis in die jüngste Zeit hinein vor, so fischte selbst die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition ein Boot mit Besatzung auf. In zeitlicher Reihenfolge sind folgende Verschlagungen bekannt:

a) die älteste Kunde findet sich in einem Brief des Pater Cantova, wonach am 19. und 21. Juni 1721 mit Mogemog-Leuten bemannte Boote auf Guam einliefen. Sie waren mit anderen von Faraulip mit Ziel Oleai abgefahren und 20 Tage umhergeirrt[1].

b) Erstaunlich ist die folgende »Odyssee«, von der Senfft 1899 berichtet[2]. Der Taifun am 10./11. November 1898 überraschte Mogemog-Boote, die nach Feis segelten. Die Flotte wurde in alle Richtungen zerstreut, fünf Boote fanden sich in die Heimat zurück. Bald darauf fuhren sieben Mogemog-Boote mit 30 Leuten nach Feis, um die noch verschollenen (etwa 120 Personen) ausfindig zu machen. Widrige Winde ließen sie weder ans Ziel kommen noch ihre Heimat erreichen, ebenso versuchten sie vergeblich Yap oder Palau anzusegeln. Als die Nahrung ausging, fuhr man westwärts, um zu den Philippinen zu gelangen. Vier Boote erreichten eine angeblich zu den Visayas gehörige Insel Kiuvan[3]. Zunächst wollte man bessere Windverhältnisse abwarten, als aber zwei Todesfälle eintraten, fuhren die Bootsleute trotz schlechten Windes ab. Dreißig Tage lang sind sie umhergekreuzt, ohne Land zu sehen. Der Proviant war verzehrt, man lebte von Regenwasser, Fischen und einem Brei aus Rēñ-Farbe und Wasser. Nach neunzehn weiteren Tagen erreichten sie Yap, teilweise direkt, teilweise über Ngulu. Ihr

[1] Bei Krämer 1917, Bd. I, S. 103, 105.
[2] Senfft 1901, S. 41 ff.
[3] Ist Samar der Philippinen; Verschlagungen nach den Philippinen waren nicht selten wie u. a. das Erlebnis der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition v. 26. 8. 1909 lehrt (vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 186).

Unternehmungsgeist war noch so stark, daß sie sogleich in ihre Heimat weiter segeln wollten. Der Bezirksamtmann verbot es jedoch.

c) Hambruch erfährt noch von folgenden Verschlagungen: Sieben Boote von Mogemog, Ethór, Falalap und Fatherēi fuhren nach Yap. Es kam schlechtes Wetter auf, man ließ die Segel herunter und die Boote fünf Tage lang mit der Strömung treiben. Sie kamen nicht nach Yap, sondern trieben noch weitere zehn Tage umher. Bei Nacht schlossen sich alle Boote dicht zusammen, während man bei Tag weit auseinander rückte. Der Führer der Flotte, der »große Kapitän«, gab dazu Signale mit dem Muschelhorn. Schließlich war aller Proviant verzehrt, man hielt sich mit wenig Regenwasser und dem an den Booten angewachsenen Tang bei Kräften. Endlich kam man nach Kiuvan (= Samar, Philippinen) und blieb drei Monate hier. Die Mannschaft baute sich Häuser und wurde von den Tagalen gut verpflegt. Das Anerbieten der amerikanischen Beamten, sie mit einem Dampfer in ihre Heimat zu bringen, lehnten sie ab, sie wollten trotz aller Warnung selbst fahren. Sie steuerten Palau an, um Proviant zu fassen. Als sie Delphine sahen, wußten sie, daß sie unweit von Land waren, denn diese Tiere halten sich nur in Landnähe auf. Bei Babeltaob hatten sie noch ein »Abenteuer« mit einem Wal, bei Ngaremlungui liefen sie in die Passage ein. Zehn Tage waren vergangen, als sie Palau erreichten. Hier fand sie die Hamburger Südsee-Expedition im August 1909.

d) Das Expeditionsschiff der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition traf dann wenige Tage später am 25. August 1909 selbst ein verschlagenes Mogemog-Boot, dessen beide Kapitäne Pól und Reféll bereits mehrere Verschlagungen erlebt hatten.

Die Bootsinsassen waren:

Pól, erster Kapitän, etwa 35 Jahre alt;
Reféll, zweiter Kapitän, 55 Jahre alt,
Thfl, 20 Jahre,
Uil e palfñ, 23 Jahre
Uil e watšſtš, 20 Jahre } Söhne des Reféll,
Mālemír, 18 Jahre
Lorés, 45 Jahre, Frau des Reféll,
Alīnamár, 20 Jahre, Frau des Thfl,
Ruót, 10 Jahre
Xāilumár, 10 Jahre } Söhne des Thfl.

Sie waren auf einer Tributfahrt nach Yap unterwegs gewesen und nach Samar (Philippinen) verschlagen worden; von hier hatten sie vergeblich Palau zu erreichen versucht. (Die anderen Boote hatten Palau erreicht, es handelt sich um die Verschlagung c.) Ihr Vorrat war bis auf drei Kokosnüsse und eine Dose Fleisch zusammengeschmolzen. Seit zwanzig Tagen hatten sie Salzwasser trinken müssen.

Die Leute waren seit fünfeinhalb Monaten unterwegs und hatten die letzten 36 Tage kein Land gesichtet; trotzdem waren sie auf richtigem Kurs![1]

e) Der Mogemog-Häuptling Aûlemâi wurde auf einer Reise nach Truk verschlagen.[2]

f) Eine andere Verschlagung, die Pôl und Refêll miteinander erlebten, liegt mehrere Jahre zurück (etwa 1903). Die Boote dieser Kapitäne waren durch einen Taifun auseinander getrieben worden. Schließlich fand Refêll das beschädigte Boot Pôl's zwischen Feis und Mogemog auf. Sie verloren dann beide die Richtung, trieben zwei Monate umher; von den dreizehn Mann Besatzung starben sieben. Schließlich wurden sie von einem spanischen Kriegsschiff aufgenommen und nach Manila gebracht. Hier blieben sie einen halben Monat. Refêll wurde mit Pôl und den vier übrigen Bootsinsassen auf einem deutschen Dampfer nach Singapore gebracht. Hier blieben sie einen halben Monat auf dem deutschen Konsulat, bis sie ein deutsches Schiff über Batavia, Makassar nach Matupi brachte, hier starben noch zwei der Kameraden. Nach sieben Monaten gelangten die übrigen endlich wieder auf einem deutschen Dampfer nach Yap und von da in einem Eingeborenenboot in ihre Heimat.

Von **Antreibungen** nach Mogemog ist eine aus Faraulip bekannt.[3]

Das **Kanu.** Wie das erste Boot entstand, beschreibt folgende Sage: Das erste Boot wurde von dem Himmelsgott Thelâñ gebaut. Er schlug mit seinen Schwestern Falüipaláp und Faroawâi einen */etôñ* (Calophyllum)-Baum um. Thelâñ haute dann mit einem Muschelbeil das Boot auf einem Platz zwischen Himmel und Erde *(imôl)* zurecht. Er brauchte dazu sieben Tage. Das Boot war sieben Faden lang, anderthalb Faden breit (mit dem Ausleger 4 Faden), zwei Faden tief und mit Mast fünf Faden hoch. Thelâñ bestieg mit seinen Schwestern das Kanu, nahm Taro und Kokosnüsse mit und segelte in ein Land, das keinerlei Baumwuchs hatte und nur aus Sand bestand. Es liegt im Südosten von Mogemog und wird vom Geist Elûlûê bewohnt, der vier Augen hat, aber gut ist. Kein Kanu kann dort hinfahren, weil der Geist dort wohnt.

Die älteste Beschreibung eines Mogemog-Bootes findet sich im Tagebuch des de Egui[4]. »Diese Barken (mit Segel) sind nach Art derjenigen der Marianen, mit geringem Unterschiede. Lütke[5] stellte bereits zwei Arten von Booten fest, die einen fand er denen von Oleai vollkommen ähnlich, — sie waren wahrscheinlich dort hergestellt worden,[6] — die anderen waren viel grober gearbeitet und Bug und Heck ragten in die Luft (les extrémités tournées en l'air). — Nun, die Bootstypen sind

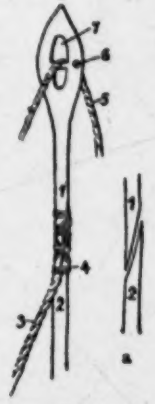
[1] Ausführlich bei Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 195/96.
[2] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 261.
[3] Sittig, Petermanns Mitt. 1890, S. 161 ff.; vgl. auch v. Chamisso in Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 95.
[4] Bei Krämer 1917, S. 93.
[5] Lutké 1835, Vol. II, S. 130.
[6] Vgl. v. Chamisso bei Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 127.

die gleichen wie auf den Zentralkarolinen[1] und stehen in ihrer Wendigkeit diesen in nichts nach[2]. Man hatte 1909 noch *uá watšítš* (kleine Kanus) und *uá lut* (große Reiseboote); vgl. Taf. 29.

Die Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Bootsteile sind:[3]

1. *matel uá* (Bug und Heck), *bár* (Aufsatz)
2. *pägerûg*
3. *erürul e mät*
4. *mesep*
5. *feldra*
6. *fäfe*
7. *feldra atjûg*
8. *bdb*
9. *lära*
10. *toár* (Ruderbank)
11. *fathél* (Kiel)
12. *rüš* (Auslegerbalken)
13. *metal e ferâf*
14. *krâ*
15. *farâf*
16. *uarórō*
17. *fán* (Aufsatz)
18. *fathúdjel*
19. *ua le fán*
20. *thám* (Ausleger), *láth* (Auslegergabel)
21. *rassi ím*
22. *talafith uá*

fáthul = Ruder (Abb. 435)
ím = Ösfaß von der bekannten Form
χós = Mast (s. Abb. 436)



436.

435.

Abb. 435. Ruder (Hamburg 5128II. Lge. 162 cm), a = Seitenansicht der Spitze, b = Seitenansicht des Schaftansatzes, c = Querschnitt des Schaftes. — Abb. 436. Schiffsmast (nach Skizze Hambruch), a = Verbindungsstelle zwischen Mast und Mastspitze.

Die einzelnen Teile des Mastes heißen (vgl. dazu die Nummern der Abb. 436):

1 = sól
2 = χós
3 = ülüol a χós
4 = Bindestelle vafél o χós (vgl. dazu Abb. 436a)
5 = Tau dál
6 = ár rigerſk
7 = tšíretšir

Die Boote werden in Kanuhäusern untergebracht S. 332).

[1] Vgl. Damm und Sarfert 1935, S. 108ff.; Senfft (1901 S. 825) fühlte sich an die Boote von Yap erinnert, die ja den gleichen Aufbau wie in den Zentralkarolinen zeigen.

[2] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 238.

[3] Die von Hambruch angefertigte Skizze ist leider so unklar, daß sie nicht wiedergegeben werden konnte. Die der folgenden Wortliste beigegebenen Ziffern beziehen sich auf die Original-Skizze Hambruch ein Skizzenbuch Mogemog.

Religiöse Zeremonien. a) Bei den Fahrten nach Yap wird ein Geist Falûth angerufen und folgende Handlung vorgenommen. Eine junge Kokosnuß wird geöffnet und auf den Ausleger mit den Worten niedergelegt: »Falûth trink die Nuß und mache unser Kanu gut, beschirme es, wenn wir auf der Fahrt nach Yap sind und gib uns glückliche Heimkehr, Du Geist!«

a

Abb. 437. Wetterzauber (Hamburg 2993[II]; 1/3 nat. Gr.), a = Seitenansicht.

b) Kommt schlechtes Wetter (Regen, Sturm) auf, so faßt man eine janusartige, mit Rochenstacheln bewehrte Holzfigur (gôs; Abb. 437)[1], hält sie gegen den Wind und spricht zu Falûth, doch war der Sinn der Worte den Eingeborenen nicht mehr verständlich.

»Ibuthelethôx thamôl ililuûl opiriêi lañêt metharêithêi
lañêt eûi thawuothôl,
Maluf eûi malugûru upôl eomâ tharûl wogêl uâ ôll,
Euîk bogêl mâl xobolôthîk xobolaipâr a pareparêl,
Thamôl iltulût ilôf thofôth ilôf thilêth ruñdl mâl thîli,
Orôf thebethapôr thouwelôx thouwethôx ithîr fâlegothô,
Ithîr irithû thîkô eolopôf eolopôm orthû,
Eothôu nethôu xolôx i le methâu.«

Ist das Unwetter vorüber, dann legt man die Figur wieder in ihr kleines Häuschen *(barôñ)*, das auf dem Ausleger angebracht ist. Diese Figur ist Eigentum der ganzen Flotte, der Kanuführer hat sie in Verwahrung; ebenso befand sich in dem auf Pfählen stehenden Geisterhäusern ein solches Gerät.

Bestimmte Meidungen der Seeleute wurden bereits auf S. 323 genannt. Hinzu kommt noch, daß auf See der Mann nicht mit der Frau schlafen darf, geschieht es doch, so sterben beide noch während der Fahrt.

[1] Vgl. Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 195.

331

V. Haus und Dorf.

Die ersten näheren Angaben über die Wohnweise der Mogemog-Insulaner finden sich bei Tetens. Als Mitarbeiter des Hamburger Handelshauses Godeffroy teilte er dessen Museumsbeamten mit, daß die Hütten wohl »klein und armselig, aber reinlich und wegen ihrer Rohrgeflechtwände, die den Wind durchlassen, kühl und angenehm sind.« Er besuchte das Gemeindehaus mit dem großen, von Palmen umrahmten Versammlungsplatz und sah auch ein großes Kanuhaus[1]. Der in den Karolinen viel gereiste Bezirksamtmann Senfft[2] stellt bereits die Ähnlichkeit, aber auch die Unterschiede zu den entsprechenden Bauten auf Yap fest, die wenige Jahre später von Krämer bestätigt werden.[3] »Wohn-, Boots- und Kochhäuser ähneln denen von Yap, den ersteren mangelt der solide Unterbau gänzlich (im Vergleich zu denen von Yap), sie sind auch viel flüchtiger gebaut; die Umgebung wird aber sehr sauber gehalten[4], sie ist mit kleinen weißen Steinen bedeckt, die auch als Boden in den Wohnhäusern verwendet werden.«[5]

Hausarten. a) *im* (He.: *jim):* Wohnhaus der Familie[6]. Die Bauausführung ist auf den Inseln des Archipels sehr unterschiedlich. So hat Falalap bedeutend größere und besser gebaute Häuser als Mogemog. — Fremdartig mutete ein Pfahlbau auf einer Steinplattform an; eine Veranda führte um das Haus und gab ihm den Charakter eines Bungalow.[7]

Im allgemeinen ist der Baukörper viereckig und erhält nur durch die beiden vorspringenden und überdachten Giebel, die gleichsam in die Grundbalken projiziert werden, einen sechseckigen Grundriß (vgl. Taf. 25, 26). Die gewöhnlichen Maße sind: Länge 6 bzw. mit Giebelvorbau 10 m, Breite 3½ m. Das Haus steht auf einem viereckigen, flachen Steinsockel. Die Wände sind aus starken, viereckig länglichen Platten, die zwischen den Fuß- und Dachbalken stehen; einzelne von ihnen lassen sich herausnehmen, so daß sich leicht Tür- und Fensteröffnungen schaffen lassen. Gewöhnlich liegen die Türen an den beiden Giebelwänden, nicht selten auch an den Seitenwänden. Sie können durch Gitter aus Holzstäben und

[1] Tetens und Kubary 1876, S. 56; Tetens-Steinberg 1889, S. 322, 370, 371.
[2] Senfft 1901, S. 825.
[3] Krämer 1908, S. 174".
[4] Vgl. auch Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 231.
[5] Senfft 1901, S. 825.
[6] Modell im Museum Hamburg 212 und 318.
[7] Thilenius 1927, S. 233.

Bambus (Abb. 438) geschlossen werden und wahren trotzdem die Luftigkeit des Raumes.

Die Bezeichnungen der einzelnen Teile entsprechen denen des »großen Hauses«.

Hausbau. Will jemand ein Haus bauen — Häuser sind ja nicht käuflich — so schlägt er Brotfruchtbäume, Kokospalmen und Calophyllum-Bäume um. Während man heute dazu eiserne Äxte braucht, geschah das in alter Zeit mit Muschelbeilen und Feuer. Es werden dann alle Hölzer zurecht geschnitten (schneiden = *to p̄as)*. Die Wandplanken werden mit Vorliebe aus Brotfruchtholz und Treibholz angefertigt; dann erst wird das Fundament, die Plattform *(thalʃ)* aus Korallensteinen, errichtet. Das Decken des Daches *(olʼim)* beginnt von unten (!) her. — Das Haus, wird unter Mithilfe aller Familienangehörigen, die es später bewohnen werden, gebaut, die Frauen stellen die Haus- und Dachmatten her. Können die Angehörigen einzelne Arbeiten nicht verrichten, so beauftragt das Familienhaupt jemanden damit und zahlt dafür *rēn*-Farbe, Kleidmatten in größerer Menge u. a. Die einzelnen Familienmitglieder erhalten vom Hausherrn für ihre Mitarbeit je eine Kleidmatte. Ist der Bau fertig, so wird ein großes Essen veranstaltet, an dem das ganze Dorf teilnehmen kann. Dabei wird ein Zauber gemacht, um die bösen Dämonen zu vertreiben. Oberarme und Knöchel der Beteiligten sind mit Kokosblattstreifen umbunden. Mit einem Palmwedel, der nur junge Fiederblätter *(popēi)* haben darf, und an dem einige Blattknoten befestigt sind, wird das Haus geschlagen und dazu folgender Spruch aufgesagt:

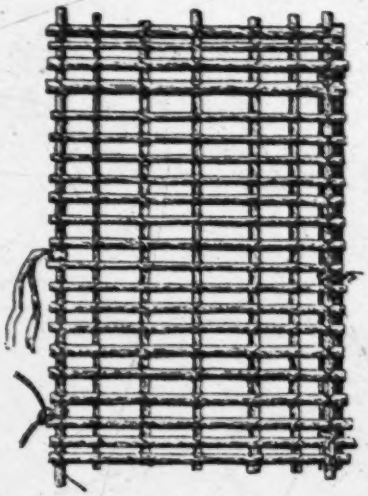


Abb. 438. Gittertür (Hamburg 5224[II]; 1/10 nat. Gr.).

I ʃīl Buūlethī ni ʃilemaāu	Buūlethī bleib nicht im Haus, überlaß es uns!
Ni ʃile maā thūr Lugelēn	Lugelēn verweile nicht!
Ni pāb Tjalthathagiāl	Tjalthathagiāl bleib nicht im Hause!
Eōr sū eōr sū	Bleibet nicht, bleibet nicht!
Xatamōl a xatamōl	Geht fort, *geht fort!*
Thūth a rīa	Böse Geister macht Euch fort!
Palōx a rīa!	Damit wir nicht krank werden!

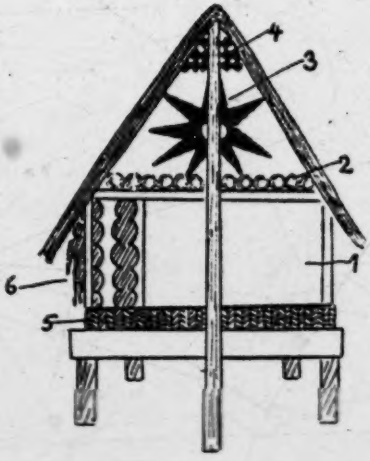
b) *fagīl:* Kanuhaus[1]; es ist gleichzeitig das Schlafhaus für die Männer, hier halten sich auch die Wächter für die am Strande liegenden Boote auf (s. Taf. 27).

[1] Modell im Museum Hamburg 211.

439.

439b.

440.



439a.

441.

Abb. 439. Geisterhaus (nach einer Zeichnung von E. Krämer); a = Muster der vorderen Giebelseite, b = Muster der hinteren Giebelseite (nach Skizze Hambruch). — Abb. 440. Beschnitzter Balkenkopf (nach Skizze Hambruch). — Abb. 441. Balkenverzierung im großen Haus (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Das Innere beschreibt Hellwig in seinem Tagebuch sehr anschaulich: »Die Mattensegel liegen auf dem Querbalken des Hauses und an den Wänden hängen Senknetze, Fischspeere und Körbe, Boden mit Schlafmattfetzen und Kokosblattmatten bedeckt, dazu Palmstammabschnitte als Kopfstützen.«[1]

c) Geisterhaus (s. Taf. 28). Das Haus — es hat sehr unter dem Taifun von 1905 gelitten — wurde einst von Ulurâñ gebaut, der ein großer Zauberer war. Seine Kunst ging auf Talñ über, dieser kann durch Zauber Krankheit und Tod schicken, aber auch das Leben erhalten. In diesem Haus werden die Opfergaben für Yonelap niedergelegt. Das Haus muß dauernd in gutem Zustand sein, sonst werden die Bewohner der Insel krank.

Das Haus ist an den Wänden reich verziert, d. h. die Bretter sind beschnitzt, schwarz und weiß bemalt (vgl. auch dazu Abb. 439). Die Bedeutung der einzelnen Muster ist folgende; Abb. 439a: 1 = pegêl (Muster auf Taf. 28 deutlich erkennbar), 2 = mâr (kein Muster, sondern ausgestellte Opferkränze), 3 = djâl (Sonne), 4 = nôl, 5 = liôš, 6 = aufgehängte Wetterzauberfigur. — Abb. 439b: 1 = liôš, 2 und 3 = djâl (Sonne).

d) *fdl:* »Großes Haus«[2]; es ist etwa 15 m lang, 4 m hoch und 5 m breit. Über die Anlage s. Abb. 442, 443 und Taf. 27. — Die Balken bzw. ihre Kopfenden sind nicht selten verziert (s. Abb. 440, 441).

Zum Grundriß des »Großen« Hauses (Abb. 443); die einzelnen Teile bzw. Räume führen folgende Namen:

1. *thugellñ utjîg*
2. *thurelil tjotjôl*
3. *uâligetam*
4. *thâres thaoä*
5. *thurîligelok*
6. *fâthilium*
7. *hâujôl*
8. *thuritopâl*
9. *kallokdtam*
10. *fdllañ* (Herdstelle)
11. *thurôñ*
12. *thûrôl thavâ*

Die im Längsschnitt (Abb. 442) sichtbaren Teile heißen:

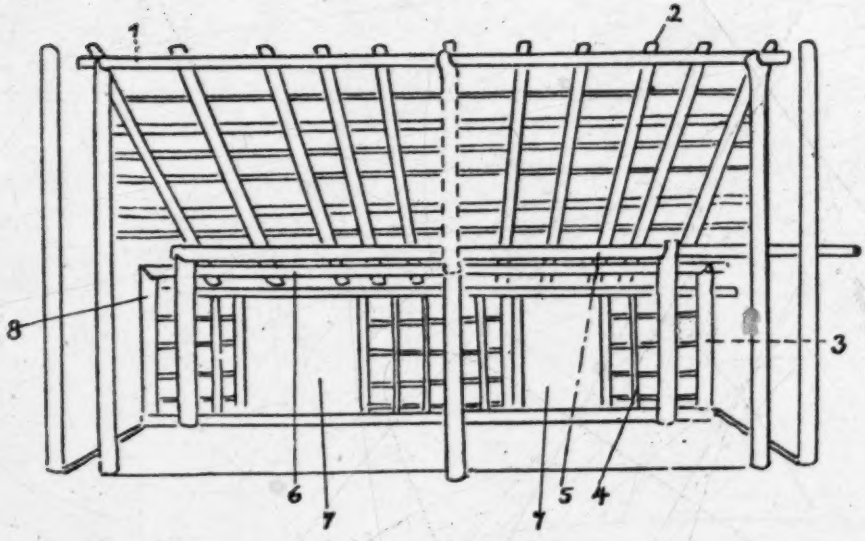
1. *wâm*
2. *ûduo*
3. *irapañdk*
4. *jafên*
5. *thafêl*
6. *lugilôk*
7. *chdtam* (Tür)

e) *malâm:* Koch- und Vorratshaus ist ein einfaches, auf einigen Holzpfählen stehendes Dach.

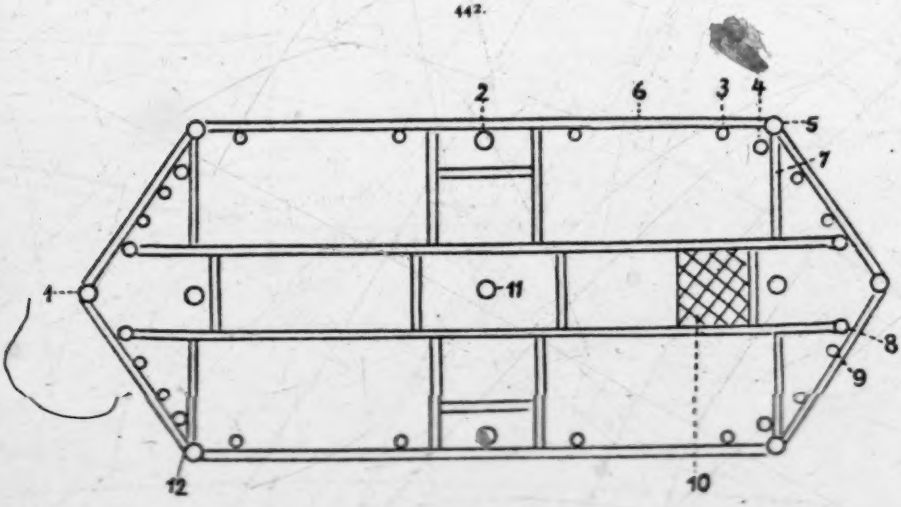
f) Bluthaus: Auf Falalap stand ehedem ein großes Bluthaus, das vom letzten Taifun zerstört wurde; man errichtete dafür kleinere Hütten dieser Art.

g) *djumôl:* Schweinestall; Schweine gibt es zur Zeit nicht.

[1] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 228.
[2] Modell im Museum Hamburg 213.



442.



443.

Abb. 442. Längsschnitt durch das „Große Haus" (nach Skizze Hambruch). — Abb. 443. Grundriß des „Großen Hauses" (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Zum **Hausrat** gehören außer den Wirtschaftsgeräten (S. 313) und Waffen (S. 339) noch Schlafmatten *(trobôi)*, Kopfstützen *(uliu'ûr)* in Form von groben Stammstücken und »Betten« *(thidm me thûr)*.

Regelrechte **Dorfanlagen** *(êra ma têli fêli ufâ)* finden sich eigentlich nur auf Mogemog und Falalap, während einige weitere Inseln nur Weiler tragen (s. S. 295).

Mogemog. Hambruch hat eine Siedlungsaufnahme gemacht, leider ist ihm der dazugehörige Plan während eines Sturmes verloren gegangen. Zeit zur Neuanfertigung fehlte wegen bevorstehender Abreise des »Peiho«.

Platznamen	darauf Gebäude	Bewohner
Limat	Wohnhaus, 2 Kochhäuser, leerer Schweinestall	Häuptling, Frau Lâûb.
Fathü'ulûs	Wohnhaus und Begräbnisplatz	Frau Uérü
Uule'uñebûñ	Wohnhaus und ein Kochhaus	Frau Goliefâñ, die Mutter des Thfl, der z. Zt. als Verschlagener in Yap weilt (s. Schifffahrt), ferner seine Schwestern Xúth und Uthûlumarel
Lugefalû	Geisterhaus und ein Vorratshaus für Kokosnüsse	
Fathü'ulûs	Wohnhaus	Wurde vom Häuptling Uulemén erbaut, der der Bruder des Besitzers ist. In dieses Haus heiratete die Frau Marethál. Die Kinder aus dieser Ehe sind die Töchter Léira, Lemáñ, Thumár und die Söhne Jolóx und der verstorbene Ithupél.
?	Wohnhaus	Der Mann Uâru und die Frau Mañilumár mit einem adoptierten Waisenkind
?	Wohnhaus	Die Frau Farôî i thál und der Knabe Erethiitâx
Fáñ ülü 'elûs	Zauberplatz für Marêthüpâs (s. Religion)	
Fathü'ulûs	Wohnhaus	Mann Ijóñ und Frau Eañîle mit ihrem kleinen Sohn Epoñôithél;

Platznamen	darauf Gebäude	Bewohner
Ga fél eáñ	Männerhaus	
?	Wohnhaus und Kochhaus	Der Häuptling Uér und der Mann Falíñ
?	verfallenes Haus	
Xamageráñ	Wohnhaus	Besitzer ist der Knabe Palüerû; es wohnten hier seine Mutter Láthóp und seine Brüder Thogelû und Erumár
Fál éi gilifóñ	Wohnhaus (»Haus im Hibiskusbusch«)	die Frauen Lemaréteñ und Ethepérûp
Lamethâx	Wohnhaus	die Frauen Lethól und Xarûs
Fál i gelañ	Häuptlingshaus, 2 Vorratshäuser, 1 Opferhütte	die alte Frau Xathâx und ihr Enkel, der spätere Häuptling Tarétš
Waría	Wohnhaus	die Frauen Gathogothéi und Rolüméi
Pilím	Wohnhaus	der Häuptling Râûe und die Frau Solumár
La methâx	Wohnhaus	der Witwer Gíf und seine Kinder Elóa und Tsím
La methâx	Wohnhaus	die Frau Lameliûl, ihr Mann Taliñumár weilte zur Zeit in Lamm.

Die Grabstätten (s. S. 344) liegen im Osten der Insel Mogemog, zwei weitere an der Westseite.[1]

Von *Falalap* hat der 1. Offizier des »Peiho« die Siedlung aufgenommen, aus dem Plan (Abb. 444) sind die Namen der Grundstücke und die Zahl der daraufstehenden Gebäude ersichtlich. Hambruch erhielt folgende Namen für einzelne Hütten: 1 = Ulivál, 2 = Mauvíl, 3 = Ravâñ, 4 = Péi (Friedhof), 5 = Lidél, 6 = Fál, 7 = Lódiél, 8 = Orón, 9 = Ipôl (Bluthäuser), 10 = Bermât, 11 = Olepél (Friedhof).

Nach Tetens und Kubary[2] hat Falalap die größte Siedlung, Velli genannt; sie soll in zwei politisch getrennte Teile, den westlichen Mathillewel und den östlichen Mototar zerfallen.

[1] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 231.
[2] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 36.

Kanuhaus
Versammlungshaus
Wohnhaus
Vorratshütte
Kochhaus, Schuppen
Begräbnisplatz

Abb. 444. Siedlung auf Falalap (nach Aufnahme W. Lorenzen, 1. Offizier des „Peiho").

VI. Waffen.

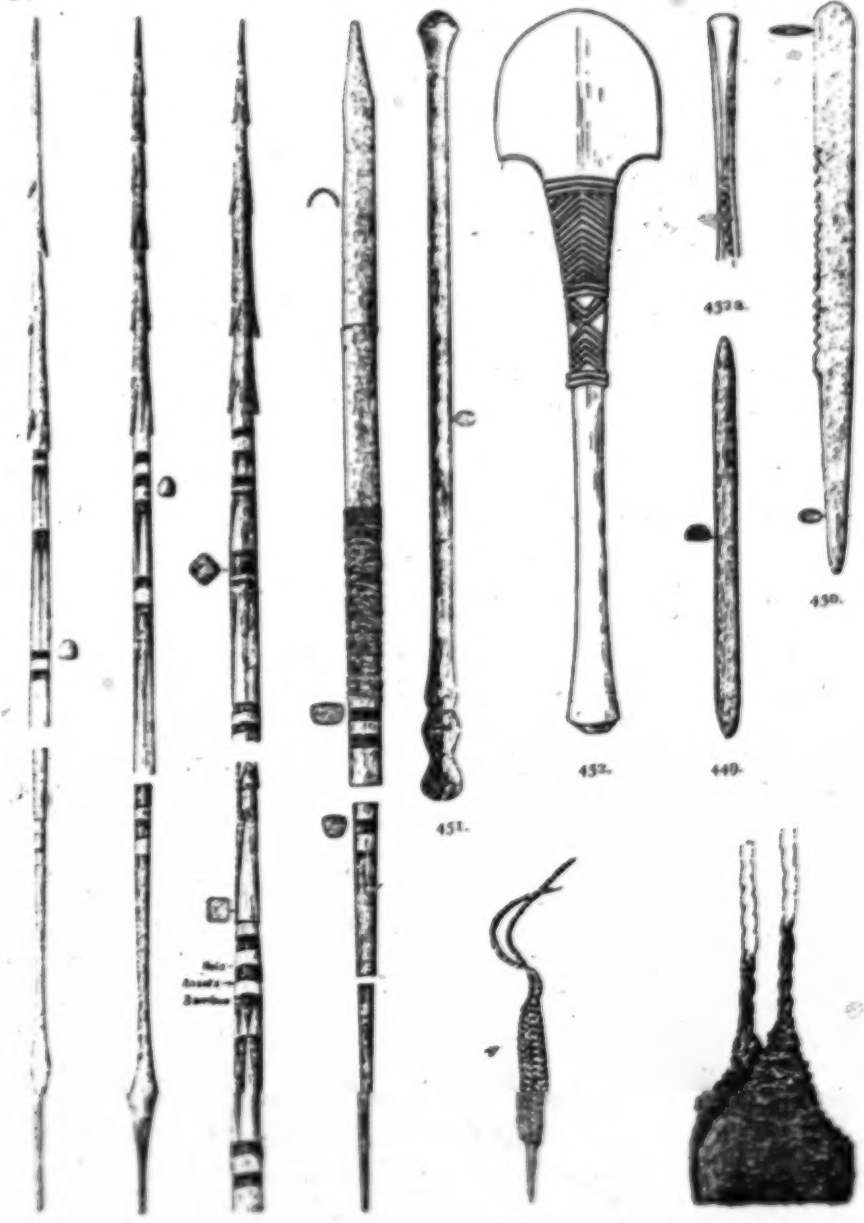
Die Insulaner stritten Hambruch mit aller Entschiedenheit ab, jemals Kriege geführt zu haben; ihre Waffen bezögen sie von Yap und nur deshalb, weil sie nicht wüßten, ob sie an feindliche Gestade verschlagen würden! — So sind die Speere (He.: *gł, kłł*, Abb. 448) mit Bambusspitze typische Yapstücke; die Spitze hat innen einen senkrechten schwarzen Strich und der Schaft unter der Kokosumschnürung schwarze Ringe.[1] Häufiger sind mit kurzen Widerhaken versehene Speere, die das typische Yapmuster tragen (Abb. 445—447). Die Speere dienen auch zum Fischen.[2]

Keulen aus Areca-Holz gibt es verschiedener Art: a) *chŏth* (s. Abb. 449, 450); sie werden auch mit ihrem spitzen Griffteil in die Erde gesteckt, während das zugeschärfte Schlagende zum Kokosöffnen genommen wird; — b) *methefanthĕl* aus Areca-Holz s. Abb. 451; — c) Hellwig sammelte noch eine Haizahnkeule, die aus einem angetriebenen Boot stammen soll, es ist das Stück eines Gilbert-Speeres![3] — d) Einen anderen Irrläufer sammelte Hellwig in Nr. 5174, *solrdn* genannt (Abb. 452); diese Keule soll aus Oleai stammen, doch dürfte ihre Heimat Westpolynesien (Samoa) sein (vgl. Krämer, Samoa-Inseln Bd. II, S. 214 Abb. 80).

Schlagringe[4] *(riserds)* mit Rochen- oder Hornhechtstacheln unterscheiden sich in nichts von den zentralkarolinischen Formen, daneben kommen noch Fingerdolche *(zŏs,*[5] s. Abb. 453) vor, sie werden zum Stoß zwischen 2. und 3. und 3. und 4. Finger gehalten.

Schleuder *(chŏŏn*, Abb. 454) aus Kokosschnur; mit ihr werden beliebige Steine geworfen.

[1] Museum Hamburg 5124, 5139.
[2] Museum Hamburg 5229.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5093.
[4] Museum Hamburg 5079.
[5] Museum Hamburg 5197, 151.



445. 446. 447. 448. 451. 452. 449. 450. 453. 454.

Abb. 445–448. Speere (Hamburg 5139[II], 5126[II], 5127[II], 216[II]; Lge. 209, 228, 233, 288 cm). — Abb. 449 und 450. Keulen auch als Kokosnußöffner verwendet (Hamburg 189[II], 147[II]; Lge. 69 bzw. 90 cm). — Abb. 451. Keule (Hamburg 148[II]; Lge. 137 cm). — Abb. 452. Keule in Samoa-Art (Hamburg 5174[II]; Lge. 75 cm). a = Seitenansicht. — Abb. 453. Finger-Dolch aus Rochenstachel (Hamburg 5137[II]; ½ nat. Ge.). — Abb. 454. Schleuder (Hamburg 153[II]; ⅓ nat. Ge.).

341

Soziale Verhältnisse und Geisteskultur.

VII. Soziologie.

An **Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen** nennt Hambruch folgende:

Großvater (väterlicherseits)	*tomôi tšilôi*
Großmutter (väterlicherseits)	*tomôl* (?)
Großvater (mütterlicherseits)	*tšilôi ma tomôi*
Großmutter (mütterlicherseits)	?
Eltern des Vaters	*bathil e tomei*
Eltern der Mutter	*bathil i tšilôi*
Vater	*tomôi*
Mutter	*tšilôi*
Bruder	*bŭthi*, auch *wŭthi*
Schwester	*elŏl*
Sohn	*lŏl u mŏl*
Tochter	*lŏl a feffl*
Vaterbruder	*u wŭthi tomŏl*
Vaterschwester	*lŏl u e wŭthi.*

Familie. Über die Empfängnis haben die Insulaner keine rechte Vorstellung. Sie glauben, daß ein Geist das Kind schaffe, wenn Mann und Frau zusammenschlafen, und zwar läßt der Geist das Blut der Frau gerinnen, woraus dann das Kind entsteht. Da sich beim Mann kein Blut wie bei der Frau zur Zeit der Menstruation absondert, so kann er keine Kinder zur Welt bringen. Nach Auffassung der Eingeborenen sondert der Mann nur »Wasser« ab. — Eine Frau kann auch ein Kind bekommen, ohne mit ihrem Manne zusammen zu sein. Das Kind stammt dann vom Geist Lugelén, der auch Zwillinge *(libuêl)* macht. Hambruch's Dolmetscher glaubte, daß der Geist das Kind in die Frau hineinsteckt. Bei der Geburt *(thadim'gelôl)*, die im Bluthaus vor sich geht, sind nur Frauen, keine Männer zugegen. Die Kreißende hockt auf einem Hola, Frauen stützen sie im Rücken und geben ihr Hilfsstellung. Sie sprechen ihr Mut zu: »Sei stark, dann kommt Dein Kind! Bist Du es nicht, dann stirbst Du! Sei stark!« — Totgeburten kommen vor; nach Eingeborenenansicht hat der Vater dann etwas Übles getan, es kann auch der Frau das Leben kosten. — Die Frau bindet nach der Geburt

ein Tau *(tharŏl)* um den Leib, um die Bauchdecke zu stützen. Die Nabelschnur *(mutŏl)* wird mit einer Muschel abgeschnitten, die Nachgeburt *(pds)* wird eingegraben. Die Mutter bleibt noch etwa drei Monate im Bluthaus, dann hält sie sich noch einen Monat im Kochhaus auf, ehe sie endgültig ins Wohnhaus übersiedelt.

Der Vater darf das Kind zunächst nur von weitem sehen, er ruft ihm zu, es solle wachsen und nicht schreien. Die Kleinkinder liegen in einem Hängenetz mit Pambusrahmen.[1] Sobald das Kind laufen kann, darf der Mann wieder mit seiner Frau geschlechtlich verkehren, hält er sich nicht an diese Sitte, dann würde das Kind nicht gedeihen.

Menstruation. Mit Eintritt der ersten Mensis erhält das Mädchen seinen ersten, zumeist selbst gewebten Schurz von der Mutter umgelegt. Es bleibt 14 Tage im Bluthaus, während die Frauen dieses nur zehn Tage aufsuchen.

Geschlechtsleben. Solange das Mädchen den Blätterschurz *(lŏl)* trägt, darf es mit Männern keinen geschlechtlichen Umgang haben, dagegen ist er ihr mit Knaben erlaubt. Sie wird für ihre Hingabe mit Kokosnüssen, Fischen und dergl. bezahlt. Abortivmittel sind unbekannt. Während der Schwangerschaft bestehen keinerlei Speisetabu.

Heirat. Der Mann muß zunächst das Einverständnis des Mädchens haben. Dieses spricht dann mit ihren Eltern und berichtet ihrem Zukünftigen darüber. Doch ist es notwendig, daß auch der Mann mit seinen zukünftigen Schwiegereltern spricht; sagen diese »nein«, dann darf nicht geheiratet werden, doch kann ihm das Mädchen als Geliebte angehören. Im andern Fall müssen die Verwandten des Mannes den Schwiegereltern Kokosnüsse, Fische und dergleichen als Geschenk bringen. Nach etwa drei Tagen erwidern die Schwiegereltern diese Aufmerksamkeit und bringen dem Schwiegersohn Essen aller Art. Mit einem großen Schmaus und Reigen *(xofārŭx)* findet dann die Hochzeit ihren Abschluß.

Solange das Paar (Mann = *mdl*, Frau = *fĕfil*) kein eigenes Haus hat, wohnt es bei den Eltern des Mannes oder der Frau; doch sorgt jeder dafür, recht bald zu einer eigenen Hütte zu kommen. Für alle Bedürfnisse des jungen Paares sorgt die Mutter des Mannes. — Bei schlechter Behandlung darf die Frau den Mann ohne weiteres verlassen. Bei Ehebruch der Frau kann sie ohne weiteres fortgeschickt werden.

Arbeitsteilung. Die Männer verrichten alle Holzarbeiten (Häuser, Boote, Kästen), stellen Netze her, erklettern Palmen und holen Früchte herab; die Frauen bestellen Felder[2], kochen und weben.

Tod und Begräbnis. Mit Eintritt des Todes wird die Leiche zunächst gewaschen und zwar ist das Sache der Frauen des Hauses. Die nächsten Fami-

[1] Museum Hamburg 5149.

[2] Die Angabe Senfft's, nach der Mogmog-Frauen nur kochen, aber keine Feldarbeit verrichten, ist falsch (1901, S. 814).

lienmitglieder (Witwe bzw. Witwer und die Kinder) sitzen dabei, weinen und singen einen Totengesang, deren es sehr viele gibt. Hambruch schrieb folgenden nieder:

Athülëi mdleu orën onulelâ apëi thimôn	Mit Blüten vom Baum und mit *rën* schmücken wir dein Haupt,
Lâlü olâ mdrëi	Legen dir um den Kranz.
Tëi ü mathël nei uathlri	Alle Leute sind im großen Haus,
Tëi ü mathël nei uathlri auall	Alle Leute sind im großen Haus.
Fëfël igëi eolôx	Frauen gehen ins Haus und klagen.
Pllo lôi eithûr re oalü nalâ ethôx	Ich bin arm, mein Sohn ist verschieden.
Striue rert e mdt	Zwei Söhne hatte ich, der eine ist tot.
Xramt lelaliûx emdn	Sie lebten bei mir, nun fehlt der eine.
Xrôi ertë lelëx ferôx	Um meinen Sohn traure ich,
The uellm meitetlr	Stets werde ich traurig sein,
Itherl gathl gathûx	Rastlos wandre ich hin und her,
Fëli xaëi iolôx	Gehe hierhin, gehe dorthin.
Mâ pllo lôi erethûr	Die Leute sind im großen Haus
Ra oallñ aleûx rethôx	Und ich bin traurig, wie von Sinnen.
Tomll lëi i ma e rdlu	Mein Sohn ist nicht mehr im Haus.
Mll erewathl eathôx	Oft und viel werde ich an ihn denken.
Fox xôi â jomâ mdirëi	Traurig bin ich, traurig über den Kranz,
Na tomll eâ erdlu	Der nun nicht mehr im Hause ist.
Mll ert uathl eathôx	Oft und viel werde ich an ihn denken.
Thëri llux mëi erôi	Kinder hatte ich zu beiden Seiten.
Re therâ uâ moiûx	Ich soll schlafen und ich vermags nicht.
Mll erë wathl eathôx	Oft und viel werde ich an ihn denken.
Ferôx xôi ûjômu mdirëi	Traurig bin ich, traurig bin ich über den Kranz.
Iert llm mëi erôi	Beide Kinder saßen zu meiner Seite.
Thathûri uôi i mdlür	Ich soll schlafen, aber ich schlafe nicht.
Nëi tëi uolopôx	Ich wälze mich hin und her.
Tëi χathalâ matâi	Ich vermag nicht müde zu werden.
Roalâ le illle rd roflm	Mein Sohn ist verschieden, er ist weit fort,
Buge lôi ik taliû mâl thûk	Sie graben ihn ein, ich darf nicht hinschauen.
Nathuellm malë uerdñ matriëi.	Blüten vom Baum, *rën* im Gesicht.

Dann legt man den Toten mit dem Gesicht nach Westen auf eine sehr große Matte *(maxrôs)*, die nur diesen Zwecken dient, und bemalt ihn, wie das im Klagelied angedeutet wurde, mit *rën*-Farbe (Abb.455). Mitunter werden dem Toten

auch einige Haare abgeschnitten und als Andenken in einem Körbchen aufbewahrt. So bleibt der Verstorbene ein bis zwei Tage aufgebahrt, dann wird er völlig in Totenmatten eingehüllt und vier Männer der Familie tragen ihn auf den Armen zum Friedhof *(oli pêi)*, deren es mehrere unweit des Dorfes gibt.[1] Den Zug eröffnen die Träger mit dem Toten, dann folgen die Mutter und die nächsten Familienangehörigen und schließlich unter fortwährenden i huhuhu-Rufen die übrigen Dorfbewohner. Auf dem Friedhof heben die Träger das Grab aus und betten den Toten hinein, es wird ihm nichts mitgegeben. Die Gräber *(lügûlo mêth)* machen den gleichen Eindruck wie auf Yap (s. Taf. 30). Die aus starken Korallenkalkplatten bestehende Steinkiste, in der der Tote eingebettet ist, steht auf keiner Plattform, sondern ist in den Boden eingelassen. Zum Teil sind die Gräber von einem Steinkranz eingefaßt. Derartige Begräbnisplätze wurden auf Mogemog (einer im Osten, zwei im Westen der Insel) und auf Falalap festgestellt. Während für den Witwer keinerlei Bestimmungen bestehen, hat sich die Witwe das Haar abzuschneiden, zu weinen und zu klagen. Sie bleibt dann einen Monat lang im eigenen Haus, das sie nur des abends zur Verrichtung ihrer Notdurft verlassen darf. Sie lebt vollkommen abgeschlossen für sich, selbst ihre Eltern dürfen sie nur von weitem sehen. Nach Ablauf dieser Trauerzeit kann sie frei leben oder sie wird die Frau ihres Schwagers.

Abb. 435. Totenbemalung (nach Skizze Hambruch).

Die Namen der verstorbenen Eltern dürfen nicht genannt werden, was die Aufstellung von Stammbäumen unmöglich machte.[2]

Der Staat. Die Inselgruppe befand sich, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, in einer gewissen Abhängigkeit von Yap, die in regelmäßigen Tributlieferungen ihren Ausdruck fand. — Die beiden am stärksten besiedelten Inseln der Gruppe wurden von Häuptlingen regiert, die Hambruch von 1909 rückwärts in folgender Reihenfolge aufzählt:

Mogemog	Falalap	Mogemog	Falalap
Râûe	Sebón, er wurde 1909 durch seine Frau Ategeluôl, die auch auf Ponape gewesen war, vertreten	Tagóu	Thôx
		Tarûr	Âsûx
		Jümâx	Uôl śemâl
		Tâûuwé	
Thârêx	Moliefân	Ulupâp	
Thûâr	Thamés	Puñ e sâû	

[1] Chamisso (bei Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III, S. 135) erwähnt die Erdbestattung nur mit wenigen Worten.
[2] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 238.

Hellwig[1] erwähnt außerdem noch einen Mogemog-Häuptling namens Aúlemâl, der »vor langen Jahren auf einer Reise nach Truk verschlagen und auf der Heimreise Lamutrik anlaufend hier verstarb.« — Zur Zeit des Cantova soll baschattel „Herr von Mogemug" gewesen sein.[2]

Die Angaben Hambruch's über die soziale Gliederung der Bevölkerung sind leider sehr dürftig. Der Hinweis in der älteren Literatur (bei Lütke und Tetens) auf zwei gleichzeitig regierende Häuptlinge ist noch ungeklärt. Oder sollte die Notiz bei Tetens und Kubary[3], daß die Siedlung auf Falalap in zwei politisch getrennte Teile Mathillewel und Mototar, die von Distriktsvorstehern verwaltet werden, eine Erklärung dafür geben können? Nach einer anderen Beobachtung von Tetens[4], daß nämlich der »König« die ihm von Tetens gemachten Geschenke nicht annahm, sondern von seinen Häuptlingen auf einer Matte ausbreiten ließ, scheint die eigentliche Herrschaft von einem Oberhäuptling geführt worden zu sein, dem Distriktsvorsteher als eine Art Unterhäuptling ähnlich wie auf Sorol zur Seite stehen.[5]

Der gute Ton verlangt, daß man vor dem Häuptling niederhockt und nicht aufsteht. Will man mit dem Häuptling sprechen, so tritt man in gebückter Haltung herzu, in der gleichen Weise geht man auch an ihm vorüber. Kommt ein Boot von einer andern Insel zu Besuch, so erhalten die Insassen Schlafstätten im großen Haus angewiesen, ebenso haben sie freie Verpflegung, Frauen sind davon ausgenommen. Von den Fremden erwartet man, daß sie dies mit Gaben für Yoneláp (Matten und Tabak) vergelten, die der Häuptling an sich nimmt. Wird das Gastrecht von den Besuchern verletzt, so gibt es nicht selten Kämpfe, an denen sich aber der Häuptling nicht beteiligt. — Begegnet ein Fischerboot einem Reiseboot, so gebietet es die Sitte, daß es diesem einen Fisch abgibt.

Will man jemandem, sei es Mann oder Frau, seine Zuneigung beweisen, dann führt man die Hand des andern an die eigene Nase *(naldi poón iwéth thoúbi)*.

Es war bereits davon die Rede, daß es die Pietät verbietet, die Namen der verstorbenen Eltern auszusprechen, sollte dies versehentlich geschehen, so erfordert die gute Sitte sofortige Trauer- und Schmerzbekundungen durch Weinen und Klagen aller anwesenden Frauen.[6]

Rechtsverhältnisse. 1. Diebstahl. Stiehlt jemand einem Dritten Nüsse oder Taro, dann nimmt man einen Kokoswedel und befestigt diesen am Hause des Diebes. Dieser darf dann nicht eher sein Haus wieder betreten, bis er den Ge-

[1] Bei Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 261.
[2] Chamisso bei v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III, S. 125 Anm.*
[3] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 36.
[4] Tetens 1889, S. 371
[5] Vgl. dazu auch die von Chamisso (bei Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III, S. 133) geschilderten Ergebenheitsbezeugungen.
[6] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 238.

schädigten durch Zahlung einiger guter Kleidmatten ausgesöhnt hat. Mißachtet der Dieb dieses Zeichen und betritt trotzdem sein Haus, so wird die Dorfschaft zusammengerufen und der Dieb getötet. — 2. Mord wird durch Blutrache vergolten; Frauen- und Kindermörder werden erschlagen. — 3. Ehebruch. Der betrogene Mann nimmt dem Ehebrecher das Kanu weg, andernfalls kämpfen die beiden miteinander. Wird der Betrogene dabei getötet, so wird der Ehebrecher sofort erschlagen, falls er nicht seinen Grundbesitz an die Witwe und ihre Kinder verteilt. — 4. Blutschande kommt nicht vor. — 5. Kanubeschädigung. Zerstört jemand mutwillig das Kanu eines andern, so hat er seinen Grundbesitz abzutreten, falls er kein eigenes Boot als Gegenwert geben kann. — 6. Brandstiftung als Rache von Frauen kommt vor. — 7. Körperbeschädigung wird durch Wegnahme von Haus, Boot und Landbesitz bestraft. Bei Verlust eines Armes oder einer Hand wird der Täter in gleicher Weise von den Angehörigen des Verletzten verstümmelt, ferner wurden ihm Boot und Haus weggenommen. Der Verlust eines Auges oder beider Augen wird durch die gleiche Verstümmelung gesühnt, außerdem durch Wegnahme von Land geahndet. Ausreißen der Ohrläppchen mußte durch Zahlung von *rẽñ*-Ballen gebüßt werden, Verlust der Nase durch Hergabe von Boot oder Haus, Verlust eines oder beider Beine durch Landhergabe, bei Verstümmelung des männlichen Gliedes wurde der Täter von der Dorfschaft erschlagen.

Schimpfwörter sind: du hast mit deiner Mutter geschlafen = *talẽla xamethîr mela thîl;* — du hast mit deiner Schwester geschlafen = *talẽla xamethîr mela mẽñal;* — beschlafe deine Schwester = *thâ fẽ mẽñal!* — beschlafe deine Mutter = *thâ fẽ mela thîl!* — beschlafe alle Leute in deinem Hause = *talẽla fêr djôl bogutâl!* — O, du alte Suse = *mela mẽñal rematâle!*

347

VIII. Zur inneren Geschichte.

Über die ältere Geschichte der Inselgruppe wissen wir nichts. Hambruch erfuhr lediglich eine Erzählung durch den Merir-Mann Maleilêṅ, die von einer starken Übervölkerung unserer Inselgruppe spricht, was Abwanderung zur Folge hatte. Maleilêṅ berichtet: Es waren drei Boote, die über Yap nach Sôngosor kamen, zwei von ihnen mit den Kapitänen Pelâû und Mareteifêṅ blieben hier, das dritte unter Führung von Dâûgepît mit drei Frauen und zwei Männern kam nach Merir. Da Pelâû Songosor beanspruchte, fuhr Mareteifêṅ weiter und kam nach Bur. Von Dâûgepît weiß man, daß er wieder in seine Heimat zurückfuhr, um seine Mutter zu holen. Auf der Rückfahrt schlug das Boot um und die Frau starb, dagegen gelangten die übrigen Insassen, darunter Dalabêth und die beiden Schwestern des Dâûgepît, wieder nach Merir und wurden von dem durch den Tod seiner Mutter betrübten Dâûgepît nach Tobi abgewiesen.

Über den wichtigsten Abschnitt der Geschichte von Mogemog, den Beginn der Missionierung und ihren tragischen Ausgang berichtet Krämer ausführlich in seiner Entdeckungsgeschichte.[1] Im Mai 1722 fuhr Pater Juan Antonio Cantova mit einigen angetriebenen Mogemog-Leuten nach der von diesen bezeichneten Heimat. Nach vergeblicher Suche strandete das Schiff auf einer der Philippinen-Inseln. Als einziger rettete sich Cantova und erreichte am 6. Juni Manila. Am 11. Februar 1731 wagte er nochmals die Fahrt in Begleitung des Pater Victor Walter und eines der vielen angetriebenen Mogemog-Leute. Am 2. März 1731 wurde Mogemog erreicht (s. Entdeckungsgeschichte), auf Falalap wurde die Niederlassung gegründet. Bald waren 127 Kinder getauft, die älteren Insulaner fanden sich zum Unterricht ein. Als nach drei Monaten die Lebensmittel ausgingen, wurde Pater Walter nach den Marianen geschickt, er wurde jedoch nach den Philippinen verschlagen und erlitt auf der Weiterfahrt nach den Marianen angesichts des Zieles Schiffbruch. Er konnte sich retten und trat am 31. Mai 1733 in Begleitung von Pater Schrevel und 44 Soldaten die Reise nach Mogemog an, das in neun Tagen erreicht wurde. In der Zwischenzeit war das Unglück über die Mission hereingebrochen. Die Eingeborenen hatten Cantova und seine Begleiter (8 Spanier, 4 Filipinos und einen Sklaven) ermordet und die Station zerstört. Die Mission wurde erst in viel späterer Zeit wieder aufgenommen.[2]

---

[1] Krämer 1917, S. 105ff.

[2] Vermutlich beziehen sich die von Chamisso gemachten Angaben aus dem Munde des Oleai-Mannes Kadu auf diese Zeit (bei v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 123).

Ulupâp ging nach Yap und starb dort. — Unter Tarûr ging ein Taifun über die Insel, der jedoch keinen allzu großen Schaden anrichtete. — Unter Tagóu strandete ein großes Schiff, von dem die Eingeborenen ihr erstes Eisen holten. Das Schiff war gekentert, über das Schicksal der Mannschaft wußte man nichts. Möglicherweise ist Tagóu identisch mit dem »Tasso« des Kapitäns Lütke. Als dieser die Gruppe anlief, machte er die Bekanntschaft mit den »beiden herrschenden Häuptlingen« Tasso und Thyg, außerdem erwarb er sich die Freundschaft eines weiteren Häuptlings namens »Eloubouot«[1]. Die von Lütke gebrauchte Bezeichnung »Häuptling« kann nach dem oben Gesagten kaum stimmen, vielleicht handelt es sich um Distriktsvorsteher (s. S. 345).

Unter Thûar war der Wasserschout und Händler Tetens auf der Insel; dieser Häuptling muß also um 1870 gelebt haben. Tetens spricht in seinen Berichten von den beiden »regierenden Häuptlingen Giurr und Rönnemé«[2]; ersterer kann nur mit Thûar identisch sein. Die Angabe von zwei Regenten kann in ähnlicher Weise wie bei Lütke (s. oben) erklärt werden. In dieser Zeit liefen häufig japanische Schoner die Gruppe an.

Tharéx erlebte den schweren Taifun von 1907. Das Unwetter kam in den Morgenstunden von Westen her, knickte die Palmen und sonstigen Bäume um und zerstörte die Hütten. Eine Flutwelle ging nicht über die Insel. Um die Mittagszeit flaute das Wetter ab und drehte nach Westen, am Nachmittag ging das Wetter nochmals über die Insel, um dann am Abend endgültig vorüber zu sein. Nun kamen von allen Inseln Boote zu Tharéx und bestürmten ihn, er solle Yonelâp bitten, sie zu schützen. Tharéx machte einen Zauber und es kam Regen. Man lebte damals von abgefallenen Nüssen und Kürbis, die sehr stark gebaut wird, kümmerlich dahin. Der Dampfer »Germania« nahm Eingeborene auf ihren freien Entschluß hin mit nach Yap und Saipan, so daß eine Hungersnot nicht eintrat. Tharéx starb später auf Yap, seine Frau war Urûx, beider Tochter Xathâx führte die Regierung und zwar noch solange, bis ihr Bruder Râûe, der in Yap mit Lolumâr verheiratet ist und eine Tochter namens Foróiethâl hat, heimkehrt. — Sollte Râûe sterben, so wird sein Bruder Eân Nachfolger; sofern er kinderlos sterben würde, gelten die Söhne der Xathâx als Anwärter.

[1] Lutké 1833, Vol. II, S. 312, 345.
[2] Tetens 1873, S. 36; 1889, S. 321 f.

349

IX. Zur Religion.

Die Erhebungen über religiöse Fragen sind zwar etwas ergebnisreicher ausgefallen als auf sozialem Gebiet, geben aber kein abgerundetes Bild über die Vorstellung vom Weltall und all die überirdischen Wesen, die es beleben. Hambruch schreibt in seinen Aufzeichnungen nicht ohne Bitterkeit: »Nach dreistündiger Unterhaltung ist das Resultat, die Leute hier wissen nichts; die einzigen, die darüber Angaben machen könnten wie Marafél, vor allem Pôl und Rûx sind in Palau und Yap. Das Bezirksamt in Yap hat mit der Transportverweigerung der Verschlagenen der Expedition einen bösen Streich gespielt.«

Über die Schöpfung der Inselgruppe s. Sagen.

Die Zerstörung dieser Welt droht durch Taifune und diese entstehen dann, »wenn ein Stern entzwei geht«, das geschieht ohne irgendwelches Zutun von dritter Seite. Sternschnuppen *(ellûth)* entstehen nach anderer Version dadurch, daß ein »Geist« von einer Stelle des Himmels zu einer andern fliegt. Es kann dann nach Eingeborenenansicht auch Elueláp, der Himmelskönig, nicht helfen. Besonders gefährlich ist die Zeit, wenn der Abendstern *(therôbol)* nahe am Horizont steht (August, September).

Über **Himmelsbewohner** konnte man nur folgende bruchstückhafte Angaben machen. Der Mond hat eine Frau Lamelûl; sie brachte eine ganze Reihe Kinder zur Welt: zuerst Palôolôp, dann Lugelêñ, Yolufâth, Rupeiû, Kubureliêl, den Regenbogen Regûm und die Wasserhose Olthawêx. Sie wohnen in einem Hause namens Olemethañ. Der angesehenste von diesen Kindern ist Yolufâth, er ist ein »großer Zauberer«. Über die Jugend des Yolufâth, des bekannten Olifat der Zentral-Karolinen, berichtet folgende Erzählung:

Yolufâth wurde geboren und lief seiner Mutter sogleich fort. Er lief in den Busch und schnitt sich die Nabelschnur ab. Er blieb immer im Busch und sah hier häufig kleine Knaben. Mit dem einen fing er Streit an. Da sagte der Geist Mâi: »Laßt uns Yolufâth töten, der immer mit den Knaben Streit anfängt!« Er faßte Yolufâth und band ihn an einen Pfahl. Die Mutter suchte aber ihren Sohn und fing zu schreien an, konnte aber ihren Yolufâth nirgends finden. Ein Mann erzählte ihr dann, daß Yolufâth an einen Pfahl gebunden sei und zwar auf dem Platze des Geistes Mâi. Drei Monate suchte die Mutter ihren Sohn, bis sie ihn endlich fand. Da sagte sie zu ihm: »Warum bist Du denn im Busch?« — »Was willst Du denn

machen, alle Leute haben mich ja angebunden.« — »Sieh, Du hast stets Streit mit ihnen gehabt, Du hast sie bestohlen, was kannst Du dann anderes erwarten?« Die Mutter band nun ihren Sohn los und schärfte ihm ein, nicht wieder in den Busch zu gehen. Yolufáth erwiderte: »Du kannst jetzt nach Hause gehen, ich komme bald nach!« Yolufáth blieb noch einige Zeit auf dem Platz des Maí und kehrte darauf zu seiner Mutter zurück.

Dagegen ist die folgende Mythe nur mit Vorsicht zu bewerten; der Gewährsmann scheint die Rollen der handelnden Personen vertauscht zu haben, denn die Mythe ist im Aufbau die gleiche wie auf S. 202.

Yolufáth kam vom Himmel nach Losióp. Hier heiratete er eine Frau Thāwûx. Eines Nachts nahm er das Tatauiergerät und tatauierte sich. Als die Sonne aufging, nahm er einen Schaber und legte ihn in eine Bambusdose, damit ihn niemand sehen solle. — Seine Frau brachte einen Knaben zur Welt, es war Lugelén. Yolufáth sagte: »Wenn Lugelén Kokosnuß trinken will, während ich im Himmel bin, dann gibst Du ihm das Wasser in einem Blatt zu trinken!« »Doch Lugelén machte ein kleines Loch in die Nuß und trank. Wie er den Kopf in die Höhe hielt, um sich das Wasser in den Mund laufen zu lassen, sah er seinen Vater in den Himmel steigen. Lugelén rief: »Komm Yolufáth!« Er rief so laut, daß die Mutter herbeikam und ihn fragte: »Warum schreist Du denn so?« Lugelén sagte: »Ich trank eine Nuß und da sah ich den Vater!« — »Willst Du denn zum Vater?« — »Ja, ich will nicht hier bleiben, ich will zum Vater!« — »Gut, bring alle Kokosschalen herbei!« Er brachte eine Menge Schalen herzu. Die Mutter sagte: »Zünde sie an und mache ein großes Feuer!« Die Frau warf darauf eine *(felá)* Medizin ins Feuer und der Rauch stieg senkrecht zum Himmel empor. Lugelén setzte sich auf den Rauch und dieser trug ihn zum Himmel empor. Lugelén kam nicht wieder zur Erde, er ist der Abendstern.

Lugelén ist Zimmermann; er baute das erste Boot für die Himmelsbewohner, es hieß Limatotšíx. Über ihn und seine Brüder berichtet uns die folgende Sage. Der Bruder von Lugelén, Palōolóp mit Namen, hatte aus dem Himmel eine Frau, namens Ilthabugelfl, mitgebracht, mit ihr lebte er in Mál auf Ponape. Ihre Kinder hießen Ligāvés (♀), Fārouá (♂), Gilegí (♂), Eoním (♂), Zivós (♂), Thegúru e láń (♂), Ganéa (♂). Als die Kinder groß waren, bauten sie aus dem *fetóń*-Baum (Calophyllum) mit Muscheläxten ein Boot. Der Baum wurde auf zwei Rundhölzer gelegt und behauen. Die Seitenteile wurden abgeschlagen. Dann wurde ein zweiter *fetóń* gefällt und daraus zwei Bretter für das Auslegergeschirr gemacht. Als das Kanu fertig war, wurden zwei Blöcke (mit einer Kerbe in der Mitte) unter das Boot geschoben. Dazu wurde ein Zauber für Lugelén und für den Geist Thelán gesprochen, der den Leuten beim Bootbau hilft. Das Segel machte Paluolóp (Vater und Sohn haben denselben Namen); der Sohn kam in einem steinernen Kanu vom Himmel nach Ponape. Der Vater zeigte ihm das Segelmachen, und

so wurde der Sohn auch der Erbauer des ersten Segelbootes auf Ponape. Der alte Paluolóp weihte dann seine Söhne in die Geheimnisse der Schiffahrtskunst ein. Sie segelten darauf von Ponape nach Nitíts, kehrten zurück und fuhren nach Xugunós, dann nach Muxóts. Auf allen Inseln zeigten sie den Insulanern den Bootbau, unterrichteten sie in der Nautik und über Bootszauber, dann suchten sie Truk und all die andern Inseln auf und unterwiesen die Mogemog-Leute und zuletzt die Bewohner von Yap.

Bemerkenswert ist die Vorstellung, daß Lugelén mitunter die Frauen schwanger macht, ohne daß sie mit einem Mann Umgang gehabt haben. Der Dolmetscher meinte: Er steckt das Kind in die Frau hinein.

Über Kubureliél hat man eine besonders eigenartige Vorstellung, er hat keine Knochen und besteht nur aus Haut und Fleisch, so ist er zu keiner Arbeit fähig. Er schickt jedoch den Menschen die Brotfrucht.

Dämonenglauben gibt es noch, wenn auch die Eingeborenen nicht mehr so recht an derartige Unholde glauben wollten. Hambruch wurden von Sebón noch folgende Dämonen genannt. Mâi (s. auch die Sage S. 349) haust in der Erde, häufiger jedoch auf hohen Bäumen. Wird ein solcher Baum umgeschlagen, so macht er die Betreffenden krank. Ein anderer Baumgeist ist Marélan. Die Leute haben keine Vorstellung von ihm. Er selber ist »wie der Wind«, jeder große Baum auf den Plätzen *lebâu*, *burâth*, *erelogûi*, *pigirêk* gilt als sein Haus. Deshalb dürfen auf diesen Plätzen keine Bäume gefällt werden. Das Betreten dieser Plätze war jedoch erlaubt; Kokosnüsse durften ebenfalls auf diesen Plätzen gepflückt werden, dagegen war schon das Abreißen von Blättern verboten.

Eletidjét ist besonders gefürchtet, denn er zieht die Menschen ins Wasser und schlachtet sie. Um ihn zu versöhnen, schlagen die Eingeborenen sich gegenseitig mit Kokosfiedern und singen dazu einen Zauberspruch (Hambruch konnte den Text dazu nicht erfahren). Dieses Schlagen mit Kokosfiedern scheint eine besonders zauberische Bedeutung zu haben, denn sie wird verschiedentlich z. B. beim Haus- und Bootbau angewendet vgl. S. 324, 332.

Abb. 456. Tapu-Zeichen an Kokospalmen (nach Foto Hambruch umgezeichnet).

Sebón wußte noch folgende Buschgeister zu nennen; sie werden mit bestimmten Krankheiten in Verbindung gebracht. Elufáu geht im Bluthaus um und macht die Frauen krank. — Ealán läßt Diebe von Nüssen an Pocken erkranken, das trifft aber nur dann zu, wenn die Palme vorher besprochen und durch Umbinden mit Blattfiedern geschützt worden ist (s. Abb. 456). — Xrét macht Diebe von Kokosnüssen ringwurmkrank. — Liép bringt die Elefantiasis. — Rónela und Maltaféi fahren in die Menschen und machen sie irrsinnig. — Ipethét bringt Erkältungskrankheiten. — Ilefilumár bringt besonders schwere Krank-

heiten. — Thareliôr veranlaßt Kopfschmerz. — Thülûr verursacht Fußausschlag. — Liâr verursacht Schüttelfrost.

Rētēsûf ist ein Regengeist, der mit folgendem Zaubervers angerufen wird:

Fathâ thepathôx Retesûf	Du Regengeist Retesuf!
Vilê te ferâl hoatjü lâṅ elê.	Ich mache meinen Zauber, damit kein Regen in mein Boot kommt.
Xôthelethôx themôl ijê thagorû	Alle Leute sehen mich, ich will keinen Regen im Kanu haben,
I bâle xaṅelogôr	Meine Gefährten frieren sonst.
Lemûth ijê xalamotôṫ i jêl	Geist im Himmel trink das Wasser, das nicht kommen soll!
Mâ ue leijûe eusâm, emusâm	Regen sei zu Ende, komme nicht!
Trōjâ uijâ pugelomâl	Regen komme nicht, du bist ein schlechter Regen!
Xobulê thî	Komme nicht über uns!
Xobulê fôr	Wir frieren!
Paṅelês xobules thepâl	Bring uns in einen Raum, wo es nicht regnet!
Panelê pethogûr	Komm nicht, wir sind sehr müde.
Hobolhîthi šepe thepêu	Wir klappern mit den Zähnen vor Kälte.
Pugêl pethogûr	Geister im Himmel, bleibt von uns fort!
Malôṫ ûlu methû ne malôx	Maloi ulu geh nicht von uns fort!
Methâu olôx	Geh auf die hohe See!
Falü ülü i gâx	Regen komm nicht mehr zu uns!
Te âṅe pî	Sonne komm wieder!
Tha râte menê i serâl!	Bescheine unser Kanu!

Yoṅelâp.

Über die Herkunft und Abstammung dieses Gottes, als dessen Wahrzeichen Hambruch die Sonne bezeichnet wurde (vgl. die Muster am Geisterhaus Abb. 439), gibt es verschiedene Versionen. Hambruch erfuhr auf Yap (!) im Dorf Gatšapâr von dem Priester Ruepôṅ und anderen folgendes. Die Frau Mâregêigi und der Mann Mâralâûgk sind die Eltern des Yoṅelâp[1], der in Goutšâm, einem kahlen, baumlosen Platz bei Gatšapâr geboren wurde. Seine Geschwister sind die Wesen Mâregorgôi in Tomil, Uitherêi in Nolôk, Temaîr in Toru, Âth (= Rauch) in Arôth, Nâl in Mâki, Aberîk in Gilefith, Baîl (= Hai), Molâûp (= großer Vogel), Tšôi (= Pandanus), Garegâr (= ein Vogel) und Liomuiôr. Vgl. auch die Sagen S. 359.

[1] Bei Chamisso (v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 128) als Engalap angegeben.

Auf Mogemog erhielt Hambruch folgende Angaben. Bagâû, die Erschafferin der Inselgruppe Mogemog gebar hier einen Knaben Yoñelâp mit Namen. Sein Vater hieß Yolâñ (Eolâñ) und lebte auf Yap. Während Bagâû in ihrer neuen Heimat blieb, ging ihr Sohn nach Yap zurück. Hier wies ihm sein Vater Tomfl, das damals mit Gatšepâr eins war, als Wohnplatz an. Ferner erhielt Yoñelâp von seinen Eltern die Inseln (nach Osten zu) Mogemóg, Fêis, Soról, Euripík (Aurepik), Añáñâî (Oleai), Ifalûk, Fathalôp (Faraulip), Gunemerâû (Olimarau), Eolâth, Namerík, Fêeiû, Pugelír, Thetuâl (Satowal), Pugelôt, Poluâs (Polowat), Thûx (Truk), Woolôp, Thamethâm (Tametam), Uololôt, Peserât, Mogûr, Faloból (Ponape), Rûo, Lamuíl, Feowês, Murelâû (Murillo), Losap, Límo, Gatšelûx, Limelûx, Githû, Eotâl, Moxôt, Nugunótš, Nuguór, Nutšíg, Piñelâp, Gatšâû (Kusae), Taroa (Tarawa), Rathâk, Epón, Parák, Urâx, Imâl, Mathaliôl; (nach Norden) Saiipín (Saipan), Luotâ (Rota), Tšiliôl, Uón; (nach Süden) Buñât, Merír, Toxóbi, Pûn (Pur), Soñetšól (Songosor).

Das »Bereich« des Yoñelâp erweist sich damit als weit größer als es z. B. von den Polowat-Insulanern angegeben wurde. Auf den genannten Inseln soll Yoñelâp bekannt sein und von ihnen Tribut erhalten haben. Wie es zu diesen Tributlieferungen kam, kann die folgende Erzählung erklären.

Mogemog ist der Platz Yoñelâp's. Er kam zuerst nach Feis, dann nach Losiop und Falalap. In Losiop blieb er eine Weile, als es ihm nicht mehr gefiel, begab er sich nach Falalap. Auf allen Inseln war nur Sand, er mochte daher die Inseln nicht leiden und begab sich nach Mogemog. Als er hier ankam, pflanzte er eine Kokosnuß, die er aus Yap mitgenommen hatte. Die Nuß keimte und eine Palme wuchs empor, die viele Nüsse trug. Als die Nüsse reif waren, öffnete er sie, trocknete das Fleisch und legte die Stücke zwischen Kokosschalen, um das Öl auszupressen. Dann nahm er das Öl und begab sich nach Gatšapâr auf Yap. Hier wohnte er in Numaûi. Eines Tages wollte er auf Mogemog nachsehen, wie es um seine Palme bestellt sei, aber die Leute von Gatšapâr sagten: »Du bleibst hier, Du gehst nicht!« — »Ich will aber gehen, meine Mutter ist in Mogemog, ich muß sie besuchen!« — »Du bleibst hier!« — »Wer will von Euch meine Mutter besuchen?« — »Demnächst werden einige sie besuchen!« — Es gingen dann einige Leute nach Mogemog, um Bagâû, die Mutter des Yoñelâp, zu besuchen. Bagâû weilte noch auf Mogemog; sie machte Öl, Segel, Schlafmatten und Kleidmatten. Sie sagte zu den Leuten aus Gatšapâr: »Wenn Ihr zurückgeht, dann nehmt Öl, Kleidmatten, Segel, Schlafmatten und Tauwerk mit, es soll dem Yoñelâp gehören!« So geschah es auch. Yoñelâp sagte: »Was Ihr bringt ist gut. In zehn Monaten fahrt Ihr wieder hin und holt alles das ab, was meine Mutter gemacht hat!« Yoñelâp gab den Leuten für seine Mutter *rêñ*-Farbe, Taro und anderes Essen mit.

Jetzt müssen nun die Mogemog-Leute all die Sachen, die die Leute von Gatšapâr holten, nach Yap bringen, denn Bagâû, die Mutter des Yoñelâp, ist böse und

schlecht. Halten die Insulaner die Tributlieferungen nicht ein, so würden sie alle krank werden, alle Pflanzen würden verdorren, die Fische wegbleiben und die Boote würden verschlagen werden. Hin und wieder sucht Yoṅelâp die Inselgruppe Mogemog auf und zwar schließt er sich heimkehrenden Tributfahrern an. Wenn solche Boote zurück erwartet werden, säubert man alle Hausplätze, bestreicht die Hütten mit *rên*-Farbe, damit Yoṅelâp zufrieden ist. Man pflückt Kokosnüsse, fängt Fische und legt sie zusammen mit Matten, Öl, Tabak und Kränzen in das reich verzierte Haus Fathüülüs (Taf. 28)[1]. Hier wohnt Yoṅelâp, wenn er auf Mogemog weilt, außerdem wohnt hier auch sein Enkel Liogefalû (s. Sage) und der Geist des verstorbenen Mogemog-Mannes Maréthûpar. Im Monat *mâl* wird ein eintägiges Fest *(erelû)* mit Schmausereien für Yoṅelâp veranstaltet, es nehmen daran alle Inseln der Gruppe teil. — Ein eigentliches Tanzfest *(kapâlidl)* hat man nur im Monat *tumûr*, wenn Oleai-Leute anwesend sind. (Eine Erklärung dafür gibt Hambruch nicht.) Außer diesen nehmen auch Feis- und Yap-Leute teil. Der Tanz heißt *ganâthôk*.

Yoṅelâp wird in der Not angerufen, vor allem wenn Hungersnot droht, sei es, daß keine Fische gefangen worden sind oder die Pflanzen welken und keine Früchte tragen. Ein solches Gebet heißt:

Ma pilln galôx ge Yoṅelâp	Ich rufe Dich, Yoṅelâp!
Uêr itothôk, thêu ualû ädle mêm	Gib wieder Nüsse an die Palme, die wir essen!
Ko falû xomêm itothôk	Gib uns zu essen, damit wir nicht sterben.
Themdl iχ ualemêm.	Gib Fische, die wir essen.

Tetens hörte auf Mogemog zwei Traditionen, die sich um »Loropp und die Wunderangel« und »Isserie und das Wunderbeil« ranken.[2] Darnach wären religiöse Anschauungen und Furcht Grund für die Abhängigkeit von Yap. Es scheint jedoch, als ob die Yapleute diese bewußt zur Stützung ihrer Macht gepflegt und betont hätten. Da beide Sagen an wenig zugänglicher Stelle veröffentlicht sind und Hambruch nur wenig positives Wissen auf religiösem Gebiet unter den Insulanern vorfand, sollen sie wörtlich zum Abdruck kommen.

Loropp und die Wunderangel.[3]

Vor langer Zeit existierte auf einer Insel Losiap eine Göttin, Loropp genannt, welche drei Söhne hatte. Der jüngste derselben, Mathikethik, war der Liebling der Mutter Loropp. — Eines Tages gingen diese drei Brüder aus, um zu fischen, da sie aber nichts fingen, kehrten sie unverrichteter Dinge wieder nach Hause zurück und wurden daselbst angenehm überrascht, indem sie eine Menge Lebens-

[1] Chamisso (bei v. Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 129) spricht von „eigenen Tempeln" und meint damit wohl das oben genannte Geisterhaus.
[2] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 53/55.
[3] Vgl. dazu die Sage auf S. 360.

mittel in der Hütte vorfanden, die ihre Mutter daselbst gelassen hatte. Da zu dieser Zeit auf der Insel Losiap nur Kokosnüsse zu finden waren, wurden die Brüder neugierig zu erfahren, woher die Mutter die Lebensmittel hergeschafft, und beschlossen, daß der Jüngste Mathikethik zu Hause sich verstecken sollte, um das Treiben der Mutter zu beobachten. Als daher die Mutter Loropp wieder in der Hütte erschienen war, folgte ihr der jüngste Sohn in der Entfernung und sah, daß sie an den Strand ging, dort bis vier zählte, worauf sie augenblicklich unter dem Wasser verschwand. Nun folgte er ihr nach zur Stelle, wo sie so rätselhaft entwichen war, zählte fünf, dann drei, aber vergeblich, wie er zuletzt nur bis vier zählte, ward er sogleich unter Wasser gezogen. Er kletterte dort im Grunde auf einen Baum, Bulk genannt, um sich den Blicken seiner Mutter zu entziehen, die er dort sah. Diese bemerkte seine Gegenwart, aber erkannte ihn nicht und wollte denselben fortjagen, behauptend, dieser Ort gehöre ihrem Sohne Mathikethik. Er gab sich ihr nun zu erkennen. »Wenn solches der Fall«, antwortete sie nun traurig, »muß ich noch heute sterben, und dieser Platz hier, auf den Baum weisend, ist mein Grab und von jetzt ab in Deinem Besitz, erzähle aber nie Deinen Brüdern, wo dieser Ort ist.« Nach diesem Gespräch kehrten Mutter und Sohn nach Losiap ans Land zurück, wo die Göttin alsbald starb und von dem Sohn ihrem Wunsch gemäß begraben wurde.

Nachdem dies geschehen, kamen die beiden älteren Brüder nach Hause und fragten sogleich nach der Mutter, der Göttin, worauf Mathikethik ihnen erzählte, daß sie gestorben und von ihm in dem Meere begraben worden sei. Über diese Nachricht waren dieselben sehr bestürzt und blieben drei Tage zu Hause, den Tod der Mutter betrauernd, bis endlich der Hunger sie wieder zum Fischen hinaustrieb.

Die beiden älteren Brüder hatten jeder seine Fischleine und Angel, nur dem Jüngsten fehlte beides. Er verfertigte sich daher eine Leine aus Bast und eine Angel aus der harten Kokosnußschale. Also ausgerüstet fuhren alle drei in einem Kahne nach ihrem gewohnten Fischgrunde.

Die beiden ältesten Brüder fingen jeder nach dem ersten Wurfe gleich einen Fisch, der Jüngste zog aber einen Korb voll Feldfrüchte hinauf. Beim zweiten Wurfe fingen die anderen gar nichts, der Letztgeborene hingegen eine Bananentraube, ebenso beim dritten einen Korb voll Ignamen, nach diesem einen weiteren mit Taro-Wurzeln. Als er aber wiederum seine Angel herabgelassen, schien sie sich am Grunde festgehakt zu haben. Er zog daher aus allen Kräften an seiner Leine, so daß der Kahn umzustürzen drohte und die Brüder, ängstlich werdend, ihn baten, damit nachzulassen. Sich nicht an ihre Bitten kehrend, arbeitete Mathikethik weiter, bis das Ende einer Insel auf einmal über die Oberfläche des Wassers kam. Wie dies der älteste Bruder sah, sprang er gleich vom Kahne auf dieses feste Land und erklärte es als sein Eigentum. Immer weiter hob Mathikethik, bis auch das andere Ende der Insel hervortauchte, welches nun der zweite

Bruder in Besitz nahm. Wie endlich beim weiteren Einziehen der Angelschnur die Mitte der Insel sich über Wasser hob, erklärte sich Mathikethik selbst zum Herren derselben. Da dies aber der beste Teil der Insel geworden, so machten die neidischen Brüder ihm denselben streitig, worauf dieser eingedenk der Bevorzugung, welche die gestorbene Mutter für ihn gezeigt, vorschlug, daß Loropp den Streit entscheiden möge. Hiermit einverstanden, riefen die älteren Söhne ihre Mutter herbei, aber alles blieb still, nun ließ auch Mathikethik seine Stimme erschallen: »Loropp o oo Loropp!« Da erklang mit dumpfem, fast brüllendem Tone ein Wahrspruch aus der Tiefe, der folgendermaßen lautete: (folgt Eingeborenentext ohne Übersetzung). Mit dieser Antwort war aber der Streit der Brüder geschlichtet und sie lebten fortan zufrieden auf dieser neuen Insel, die sie Fais nannten.

Über das weitere Schicksal jener merkwürdigen Angel erzählt die Tradition ferner, daß nach einiger Zeit die drei Brüder die Insel Falalap auf Ulithi besuchten und auf dieser Reise dieselbe mitnahmen, aber unglücklicherweise dort verloren und ohne solche nach Fais zurückkehrten. Die Angel wurde in späteren Zeiten von einem Eingeborenen Falalaps gefunden und von diesem nach Yap gebracht, wo sie ihm nach Erzählung der wunderbaren Geschichte, die sich daran knüpfte, ebenfalls abhanden kam. Eine Frau von Gassapar, einem kleinen Orte auf Yap, die mit einem Häuptling von Eil-eil verheiratet war, fand dieselbe und brachte sie nach Gassapar. Die Erzählung von der fabelhaften Kraft des Fischhakens verbreitete sich rasch über die Insel, so daß die Häuptlinge von Gassapar ihren Göttern ein Dankopfer brachten, in den glücklichen Besitz dieses mächtigen Hakens gelangt zu sein. Noch heutigen Tages ist ein solcher Haken dort aufbewahrt und erklären die Priester, daß mit dem Untergang desselben, auch der der Insel Fais verbunden sei. Um einer Zerstörung derselben, mit welche Yap stets drohen kann, vorzubeugen, sind die Bewohner von Fais allen Wünschen der Yaphäuptlinge gehorsam, so stark ist noch der Glaube an diesen Mythus.

Eine ähnliche Sage knüpft sich an die Göttin Isserie und an ein Beil, das auf Yap vergraben liegen soll, bei dessen Ausgrabung die Ulithi-Inseln in der Gefahr stehen von der See verschlungen zu werden. Mit diesem Glauben hält Yap auch jene Gruppe in fortwährender Tributpflichtigkeit.«

Totenreich und Seelenvorstellung. Die Eingeborenen glauben, daß nach erfolgter Beisetzung (S. 342) der »Geist« des Toten noch vier Tage am Grabe weilt. Er begibt sich dann nach N'gaûr (Palau), wo er eine Waschung vornimmt, und steigt zu Lugeilên in den Himmel empor. Das Haus Foltumân dient den Totengeistern als Wohnung, doch werden sie nicht ohne weiteres eingelassen, denn am Hauszaun stehen zwei Posten *(rumân)* und ebenso am nahen Wasserloch, sie heißen *mamô*. Kommt nun ein Totengeist, so wird er von den Posten festgehalten und muß sich erst durch Zahlung von Muschelgeld loskaufen, kann er das nicht, so wird er ins *lôu* gesperrt.

Zauber. Unheil droht von den verschiedensten Kräften her, besonders gefürchtet sind die Dämonen, denn sie bringen Krankheiten. Zur Zeit der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition gab es noch einen Medizinmann, der sich auf Krankenheilung verstand. Es war Talfñ, er bediente sich dazu des Totengeistes Ûlûrañ, eines auf der Fahrt nach Yap umgekommenen Mogemog-Mannes. Talfñ nahm im Falle einer Konsultation eine Kleidmatte und sprach folgenden Zauber:

Imelê Ûlûrâñ, i forô ratht	Komm Ûlûran, ich bin traurig.
Uolûtharê rûa mâl	Mach den Kranken gesund, zwei Menschen (= Vater und Mutter)
Re mdathôt tanindl	Rufen und schreien. Die Sonne geht.
Thewô le ferâ a fêl	Laß ihn schlafen, er ist zu krank.
Referô ra atht	Sie sind sehr traurig,
I thoê ralêñ a sâûorû!	Mach ihn gesund und geh!

Der Kranke ist während dieser Zeit mit dem Medizinmann allein und hat ihm als Honorar *rên*-Farbe, Kleidmatten und dergleichen zu zahlen.

Folgender Spruch wird gegen Schwäre angewendet:

Thaguithêth xâxô	Thaguiethêth geh fort!
Haralû Meralû	Auch Haralû und Meralû
Legetourdl vâl lamôni	Bleibt nicht bei dem Kranken!
Perâs neremdth	Geht ins Meer, hinters Riff!
Lôge le methâu!	Und kommt nicht wieder!

Gegen Irrsinn sagt der Medizinmann folgenden Vers her:

Ubuê limî Marêlañ	Nuß trink Marêlañ!
Xo buêthû moûwol ere mataloî	Geh Du fort von dem Mann!
Xo loxbûge tômi le momâ thepîni	Geh Du in Dein Haus, das ist gut, sei zufrieden!
Ubûe limî Marêlan	Nuß trink Marêlañ!
Ueloxûge tômi le momâ.	Geh in Dein Haus, das ist gut!

Bemerkenswert ist auch das Auftreten von Propheten. Als Tetens auf der Gruppe weilte und seine Geschenke vor dem »König« ausgebreitet hatte, »erschien ein sog. Hoherpriester, der nach dem Glauben der Insulaner von irgendeinem Geist beseelt, in seinem wahnsinnigen Zustande die verschiedenen Fragen des Königs beantworten mußte.«[1]

Über Wetterzauber s. S. 330.

Über Hauszauber s. S. 332, dazu wird ein Kokoswedel *(popêi)* mit Blattknoten verwendet.

[1] Tetens-Steinberg 1889, S. 371.

Amulette zum Schutz gegen Krankheiten gibt es in verschiedener Form: a) *beliiteremál* aus einfacher Kokosschnur;[1] — b) *chamillalall:* Korallenstein mit Seetang (Abb. 457). — c) *tavál e messi a lák:* aus Kokosblattstreifen (Abb. 458, 459), es soll besonders gegen Syphilis schützen.

457. 458. 459.

Abb. 457. Amulett aus Stein mit Seetang (Hamburg 183[II]; ¼ nat. Gr.). — Abb. 458 und 459. Amulette aus Blattstreifen (Hamburg 186[II], 476[4II]; ⅓ nat. Gr.).

[1] Museum Hamburg 166.

X. Sagen.

357

Sagen um Yoṅelâp.

a) Wie Mogemog entstand: Bagâû aus Yap war irrsinnig; sie nahm Sand, ging nach der Ululsi-Gruppe und streute hier und da den Sand aus. So entstanden all die Inseln: zuerst Falalap. Als alle Inseln da waren, blieb sie auf Mogemog. Der Geist Xâṅko, der in der Passage Thâû e lûx haust, brachte einen großen *idl*-Fisch zur Bagâû nach Mogemog. Der Geist erhielt dafür kleine Kokosnüsse. Dann brachte er ihr Wasser, das sie nötig brauchte, damit die Pflanznüsse gediehen. Bagâû sagte: »Ich werde das Wasser nach Djalṅ u mâr bringen.« Da brachte Xâṅko das Wasser dorthin. Schließlich brachte er ihr eine Schildkröte. Sie gab ihm wieder dafür Kokosnüsse. Dann brachte er ihr wieder Fische *(e isâl, e iôp* und *go gûs)*. Stets erhielt er Kokosnüsse dafür. So ergänzten sich die beiden, der eine Teil erhielt Fische zum Essen, der andere Kokosnüsse zum Essen.

b) Eine andere Version zu diesem Thema ist die folgende Erzählung. Liomarâr (Yap) und Ilabulûe (Mogemog) sind die Schwestern des Yoṅelâp. Sie wohnen beide in Numaṅi. Eines Tages fangen sie eine Schildkröte, die sie zubereiten. Alle Hausbewohner lassen es sich gut schmecken, nur die Frauen werden gering bedacht, sie erhalten etwas von den Flossen. Sie können nur schwer ihren Ärger darüber verbergen. Am nächsten Tag fangen sie wieder eine Schildkröte. Wieder essen alle, aber die eine der beiden Frauen, die gerade im Haus anwesend ist, bekommt wieder sehr wenig. Da nimmt die Frau eine Kokosnuß, schabt sie, nimmt eine Schildkrötenflosse, eine Kokosschale und ein wenig Geschabsel. Damit begibt sie sich an einen Platz zwischen Gatṅapâr und Oneṅṅ. Sie füllt die Schale mit Sand und begibt sich zu Fuß hinaus aufs Meer. Sie geht so weit, bis sie Yap nicht mehr sieht, dann streut sie den Sand aus. Da kommt Land zum Vorschein, eine ganze Inselgruppe. Nun preßt sie das Geschabsel aus, die Milch läuft über das Land; auf diese Weise kommen die Speisen ins Land. Sie besucht nun alle Inseln, zuerst Mogemog. Sie nahm dann die Schildkrötenflosse und ging nach Eôr und legt sie hier auf den Sand. Seitdem besitzt diese Insel viele Schildkröten. Die Frau ging darauf nach Mogemog zurück.

c) Yoṅelâp und der Vogel *gareglr*. Yoṅelâp sagte zum Vogel *gareglr:* »Fliege nach Mogemog und schau nach meiner Schwester!« Der Vogel tat es und ließ sich auf dem Sande zwischen Mogemog und Thoroloṅ nieder. Dort gebar er ein Mädchen,

2: Damm et al. OR21 Woleai

Liogefalû. Das Mädchen wuchs in kurzer Zeit heran. Da sagte der Vogel zu ihr: »Ich fliege jetzt nach Yap, ist wieder Wasser, dann begebe Dich nach Mogemog, dort findest Du eine Frau, bei dieser bleibst Du, sie soll Deine Mutter sein!« Der Vogel flog nach Yap zurück und sagte zu Yoneläp: »Ich habe Liomarâr gefunden.« — Liogefalû ging nach Mogemog und sah dort Liomarâr. Da sagte die Frau: »Bist Du ein Geist oder ein Mensch? Wie heißt Du?« — »Liogefalû!« — »Dann bist Du meines Bruders Kind!« — Liogefalû erhielt das Fathüülüs[1] als Haus und kochte für Liomarâr. Sie durfte wohl kochen, aber nicht mitessen. Eines Tages bereitete sie wieder das Essen zu und kostete etwas davon. Liomarâr merkte es und sagte: »Du hast von meinem Essen genascht! Jetzt mußt Du allein bleiben und ich gehe nach Yap!« So ließ sie das Mädchen allein. Diese bekam einen Knaben Tsegêb, der sehr schnell heranwuchs. Er stieg morgens in den Himmel und kam am Abend wieder herab, um zu kochen, dann begab er sich wieder in den Himmel. Eines Tages kamen zwei Geister von Medân und die beiden Frauen fürchteten sich sehr. Sie gingen zum Riff und machten mit einem Stein einen Zauber, der verwandelte sich in ein Boot. Da setzte sich der Knabe hinein und fuhr zu seiner Mutter nach Yap. Im Livinâu-Kanal liegt noch heute das große steinerne Boot. Sie begaben sich nach Gatšapâr in das Haus Maâu.

2. Wie Fais entstand.[2]

(Erzählt von Refel.)

Unten im Meer wuchs eine Frau auf, die hieß Loróp, sie hatte weder Vater noch Mutter. Es war eine Frau, aber ihr Kopf war eine Koralle, ebenso waren Augen und Zähne spitze Korallen, dagegen waren Nase und Ohren, Arme und Beine wie beim Menschen. Sie stieg aus dem tiefsten Meer empor und begab sich nach Losiop, wo es damals noch keine Menschen gab. Die Frau rief: »Eins, zwei, drei!« Aber es kam niemand. Drei Monate später bekam sie ihren ersten Sohn und nannte ihn Fathûx, er sah ganz wie ein Mensch aus. Nach zehn Monaten gebar sie den zweiten Sohn Thepflumal und nach weiteren zehn Monaten ihren dritten Sohn Mâtîx.

Loróp suchte häufig ihren Platz auf dem Meeresgrund auf. Hier gab es zwar kein Haus, aber viele Taro; sie schlief dann in einem großen Calophyllum-Baum. Hier lebte sie allein, während die Söhne oben auf dem Land blieben. Ihnen brachte sie oft Taro und andere Nahrungsmittel hinauf, denn auf Losiop gab es nur Kokosnüsse. Die Söhne wußten nicht, wo die Mutter hauste, schließlich bemerkten sie es doch. Eines Tages schlich der jüngste Sohn hinter der Mutter her, ohne daß die Frau etwas davon merkte. Sie sagte: »Eins, zwei, drei!« und

[1] Identisch mit „Geisterhaus", vgl. S. 334.
[2] Vgl. dazu die Sage auf S. 334.

ging dann ins Wasser. Der Sohn tat dasselbe und gelangte auch ins Wasser. Die Frau sah ihn, drehte sich um und sprach: »Nun muß ich sterben! Du sollst mich hier begraben!« Nach zehn Tagen starb die Mutter. Da sprach der Jüngste zu seinen Brüdern: »Wir müssen die Mutter begraben!« Der Älteste sagte: »Ach, was! Wir werfen sie einfach weg!« Der jüngste sagte: »Gut!«, doch grub er die Mutter unter ihrem Calophyllum-Baum im Meer ein. Als die Brüder nach einigen Tagen zum Fischen fuhren, zog der Jüngste Taro und Bananen empor. »Ache, sagten da die beiden andern, »Du hast das, was uns fehlt, emporgezogen!« Und so fischten sie vier Tage in derselben Weise und jeden Tag mit demselben Erfolg. Als sie nach einigen Tagen wieder fischen gingen, befestigte die Mutter Loröp daran den *dö*-Baum. Da sagte Mâtfx: »Mein Haken sitzt an einer Koralle fest!« Seine Brüder sagten zu ihm: »Schneid' ihn ab!« Er aber antwortete: »Der Stein ist wohl schwer, aber er kommt nach oben!« Da brauste das Wasser auf und das Boot mit den dreien saß plötzlich auf dem Trocknen. Der Stein war gehoben; es war ein großer Platz, in dessen Mitte das Boot lag. Der Älteste sagte: »Das ist mein Platz! Er heißt Fais!« (Denn die Mutter hatte einst gesagt: »Wenn ich sterbe, nennt den Platz Fais und in der Mitte will ich wohnen!«) — Mâtfx erwiderte: »Nein, das ist mein Platz!« — »Was, ich bin älter und der Häuptling!« — »Neine, sagte der Jüngere, »es ist mein Platz!« Und so stritten sie sich hin und her. Da sagte der Jüngste: »Wo ist die Mutter?« — »Wir haben sie doch fortgeworfen.« — »Wir wollen aber die Mutter aus dem Geisterland rufen!«

So taten sich alle drei zusammen und riefen. Der Älteste rief, nichts rührte sich, der Zweite rief, nichts zeigte sich, da ließ der Dritte seine Stimme ertönen: »Loröp, Loröp!« Da antwortete die Mutter: »Hmmm!« — Der Jüngste sprach: »Wem soll das Land gehören, Loröp?« Da antwortete die Mutter: »Das Land gehört nur dem Mâtfx!« Da sagte der Jüngste: »Also bin ich der Häuptling!«

Später kamen drei Geister, man weiß nicht woher. Diese vertrieben die Söhne der Loröp von Fais und zwar nach Mogemog. Die drei Geister Temagûr, Sonsonmâl und Marôa mit Namen, blieben dagegen auf Fais.

3. Wie Fais zum Taro kam.

Als die drei Geister (s. oben) auf Fais wohnten, gebar dort eine Maus ein Mädchen, namens Teninfntho; die drei Geister wußten nichts davon. Eines Tages fanden die drei das Mädchen. Dieses erschrak heftig. Da sagte der Geist Marôa: »Warum ängstigst Du Dich? Ich will Dich zur Frau haben!« Sie sagte ja und blieb bei ihm. Bald wurde sie jedoch traurig und hatte Sehnsucht nach ihrer Mutter. Da sagte der Geist: »Wo ist Deine Mutter?« — »Meine Mutter ist eine Maus!« — »Komm, zeig mir Deine Mutter!« — »Du darfst sie nicht sehen. Gib mir einen Fisch; ich allein darf sie nur sehen!« — »Welchen Fisch willst Du denn haben?« —

»Den Haifisch mag die Mutter am liebsten.« — Der Geist fing einen Haifisch und gab ihn seiner Frau, die ihn ihrer Mutter brachte. Diese gab der Tochter dafür hundert Körbe Taro. Als ihr die Tochter noch eine Schildkröte gab, erhielt sie von der Maus noch zweihundert Körbe Taro für den Geist. Der Geist fing nun einen Wal und sagte: »Der ist für Deine Mutter!« — »Der ist zu groß! Nur die eine Hälfte bekommt die Mutter, die andere behalten wir!« Der Geist schnitt deshalb den Wal zwischen den Flossen entzwei und gab die eine Hälfte, den Schwanzteil, seiner Frau und diese gab ihn an ihre Mutter weiter, die dafür tausend Körbe Taro hergab. Die Frau gebar nun eine Tochter Ferethûm mit Namen. Als sie zehn Monate alt war, wurde sie dem Geist Temagûr zur Frau versprochen. Dieser hielt sie zunächst wie seine eigene Tochter und als sie groß genug war, heiratete er sie. Temagûr ging oft fischen und gab die Fische seiner Schwiegermutter. Diese brachte sie zur Maus und sagte: »Ich habe von meiner Tochter viel zu essen bekommen.« — Die Maus gab für die Fische dreitausend Körbe Taro, denn sie hatte zwanzig Haifische erhalten. Teninfûtho bekam noch eine Tochter, sie gab ihr den Namen Torumâl. Diese heiratete den Sonsonmâl, der machte es ebenso wie Temagûr. Torumâl bekam eine Tochter Luelerâm und Ferethûm einen Knaben Lulâk. Die beiden Kinder heirateten einander und hatten eine Tochter Leâd, zu der sich noch viele Kinder gesellten. Sie fischten häufig und gaben dann von der Beute der Maus ab, die ihnen dafür Taro schenkte. So hatte Fais stets Überfluß an Täro.

Chamisso[1] gibt eine Erzählung aus dem Munde des Oleai-Mannes Kadu wieder, die auf Mogemog spielt und einen Diebstahl zum Inhalt hat.

[1] Bei von Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III S. 134.

363

XI. Spielzeug, Musik und Tanz.

An Spielzeug kennt man:

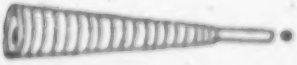
1. Spielboote *(ud murrufdi* oder *a pellr)*[1];
2. Windrädchen *(le ganedjäredjur)* von der gleichen Form wie auf Kusae[2];
3. Blattflechtereien z. B. Tabakpfeife *(fogdla)*, fliegender Fisch *(manär)*, Flöte u. ä. (s. Abb. 460—462);

464.

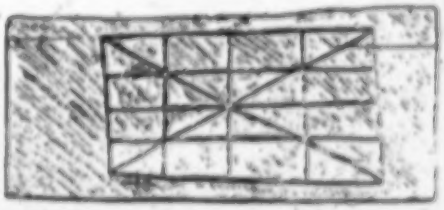
460.

463.

461.



462.



465.

Abb. 460—465. Blattflechtereien (nach Skizze Hambruch). 460 = Tabakpfeife, 461 = fliegender Fisch, 462 = Flöte. — Abb. 463. Brettopfel (Hamburg 20411, 1/6 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 464. Spielmaske (Hamburg 32791, 1/4 nat. Gr.). — Abb. 465. Spielscheibe (Hamburg 32661, 1/6 nat. Gr.).

---

[1] Museum Hamburg 5145.
[2] Vgl. Sarfert 1919, Bd. II, S. 496.

4. Brettspiel *(pâp)*, das wie auf Ngulu gespielt wird (Abb. 463);
5. Spielmaske *(mêlle metâu)* aus Kokosbast für Knaben (Abb. 464);
6. Spielscheibe *(tagâl)*: dieses Gerät (Abb. 465) soll in Falalap gemacht sein; Hellwig glaubt jedoch, daß dieses Stück zum Geisterhaus gehört und eine Sonnendarstellung ist.

Musikinstrumente im eigentlichen Sinn des Wortes hat man nicht; man benutzt das Muschelhorn aus Tritonschnecke *(tâui)*, jedoch zum Signalisieren.[1]

Tänze haben mit denen auf Yap Ähnlichkeit[2], der Tanz mit dem Tanzstab *(xaûu·âl)*[3] ist bekannt.

[1] Museum Hamburg 5094.
[2] Vgl. Senfft 1901, S. 826.
[3] Museum Hamburg 5232.

365

XII. Lieder.

Die Gesänge sind mit dem phonographischen Apparat aufgenommen worden; die Walzen lagern im Museum für Völkerkunde zu Hamburg.

1. Gesang: von einem jungen Mann namens Olieſâñ vorgetragen.

Gâ the bosôu i aṅ i mômc	Alle Leute fahren, gut ist der Wind.
Xêl mêle ŋâma dûô	Ruhig ist die See, wir fahren gen Yap.
Namê melt ue mâle e mô	Ruhig ist die See, in der Luft schwebt ein Vogel.
Ne šâlôp thêpâmen xotâûlr	Er freut sich, aber den Platz,
Nolâ̂ no udr igelâp	Den er sieht, er erreicht ihn nicht.
Ne xo kathî o polô̂ ne ſâhie	Im tiefen Wasser sieht er einen Fisch,
Ijethêx mogôueli pololô̂	Er fragt, wo ist das Land: vor dem Fisch, hinter dem Fisch?
Ragâu ilull côdj, ragâu ilull thîlîk	Alle Leute fahren, das Kanu erreicht das Land.
Ra bugebâx uôt djuṅdî	Es kommen die Leute mit Beilen an den Strand.
Ncâux taliṅuê e djûx	Sie schlagen die Haltetaue des Mastes entzwei.
Pogô osâ fathîl mull liôdj	Wie Haifische fallen sie mich an.
Eadja loûm mâ̂ eât	Wie Blitze eilen sie an das Kanu.
Ra malaxagâ ragldj na vêṅ esâr	Die Insassen gehen ins Wasser,
Na rê ualê ragadjâ madjê	Alles trifft sich nahe am Kanu,
Mei edṅ vôlô môdj.	Sie lassen das Kanu im Stich und gehen an Land.

2. Gesang: von einem Mann Matudjêl aus Falalap vorgetragen.

Oro mâthuuêla fithî uôro mârct	Ist das Spiel zu Ende, kommt die Frau zum Mann.
Redjâ momô̂ elulmal	Schon früh am Morgen bei Sonnenaufgang;
Thi i talê thupâl	Sie wollen sich nicht trennen

Thememôliâr	Auf Thememôliâr (Platz im Busch)
Irêthumêth thi e pât	Beide haben Angst.
Thelâi uerâr marîs	Ein kleines Mädchen sieht die beiden.
Ma pelân mê tleriâx	Die Tatauierung der Frau ist sehr schön.
Redjîri me thelôx	Beide gehen an einen anderen Platz,
Re thelêi loilêi i mâl	Im Wasser waschen sie sich.
Ealân thethêipal	Beide sind schlau und klug.
Thiuâl tê uthithâx	Die Frau zerbricht dem Mann den Penis,
Lâne lumâl fethê uâr mâr êti	Der Regen kommt. Zum Stelldichein dreht er den Kranz.
Fithibân e thupâl.	Fithipân ist klug.

3. Gesang: vorgetragen von dem jungen Oliefân. (Das Lied dichtete eine Frau aus Thorolôi.)

I bôth e thixêx filê thithôx	Junge Kokosblattfiedern sind um die Oberarme gebunden.
Uôi e liûm Mogirân	Sie gehören dem Mogirân.
Thelne mudân meuîlsi	Die Frauen mögen ihn leiden und wollen ihn haben.
E mâl egâi Mogirân	Im Kanu wollen sie Mogirân sehen,
E fâi erâi uruldn	In den Busch gehen sie und tanzen den Reigen.
Felân pôlr e thâiân	Es hebt der Mann die Hände, wie schön.
U githêthi magêiiâl	Die Frau erblickt den schönen Mann,
Legourû matêi mêtî	Zwei Frauen sagen: »Sieh den hübschen Mann!«
Teitâi iandx.	Sie bleiben stehen und sehen ihn sich an.

4. Gesang: vorgetragen von drei 9—13 Jahre alten Mädchen.

Re uelegâ moân rûlû umâl	Jede Frau liebt etwas.
Uelês theulige xôle mellt toêjôx	Den Beischlaf liebt sie nach Sonnenuntergang.
Thakîi mâthûgurfîth	Die Tatauierung der Frau ist sehr schön.
Uerîx mâl e gôiân	Ein Mann schaut sich nach einer Frau um.
Elîch îjê ater û mâdj	Die Knoten im Tau, sie zählen die Anzahl des Beischlafs.
Eêr oim melîân	Der Verstand ging ihr verloren.
Felê alê ile mâl	Sie flicht schnell eine Matte und legt sich hin.
Neâ êr thoiûldal	Der Mann schaut zu, er will sie beschlafen.

367

Eolôx makâth llup	Sie bittet, sie sogleich zu beschlafen.
Fân e rüthâ ne thatâl	Nun hat sie Angst vorm Samen und will fort.
Ueli logô nêi.	(Es spricht der Mann:) »Nun ist mir leichte und geht weg.

5. Gesang: vorgetragen von dem Mann Elañumâr.

E mârathe rê foijâtî	Ein Mann und eine Frau unterhalten sich
I thêi matâk u thuthâx	Weit vom Dorf entfernt.
Re fêl mâr ougîthi	Sie schlafen. Es deckt der Mann die Frau auf.
E mâr ougîth re fêi	Doch er beschläft sie nicht.
Te gê fâli u mâr îl	Einen Kranz setzt sie ihm auf das Haupt;
E fêl irê ubelêlôx	Die Blüten sammelte sie selbst am Baum.
Ualâ e môx u mâl	Ihm schenkt sie die Blüten. —
Tha umeiên uiejôr alâ.	Nun wartet der Mann und die Frau kommt nicht.

6. Gesang: Vorgetragen von zwei 12—13 Jahre alten Knaben.

Idû i fêl mâk momâ e rolôx	Mann und Frau schlafen, der Wind weht.
Xolaxê maligâl the ƥman	Beide unterhalten sich.
E tê u mâtî fole lôtâ le geſti	Und der Mann will die Frau beschlafen.
Thithê mo oll lôt ûrû	Sie entfernen sich aus dem Dorfe;
Thithê leſti tale xâtî	Sie begeben sich an den Strand.
Eve thûlâx tue gêl e rauâr	»Hier sollst Du mich beschlafen!
Mâre e mâm erâk urû fân e tîlx	Ich schenke Dir einen Kopfkranz!«
Erâk ûrû mâle ei ûrâl eôr le fâth	Der Mann beschaut sich die Tatauierung der Frau.
Thâl a fol mâ i lâl	Nun beschläft er sie.
E rârthorôr ma rindî	Die Augen der Frau glänzen vor Wollust,
Nolô tewel tiidn	Schnell beenden sie nun den Beischlaf.
E oglîthi fân e mâm	Er betrachtet die schönen Schenkel der Frau;
I ƥligiri fân e tîlx	Er salbt die Schenkel mit Öl.
I tjâl le thâk bogâk uli	Nun nimmt er Abschied, begibt sich zum Kanu.
Urâ leiâk fithî u werbi thipâl	Er setzt das Segel. Er ist zufrieden.
Hm, hm! Hbi, hbi!	Hm, hm! Hä, hä!

7. Gesang: vorgetragen von drei Knaben im Alter von 12—13 Jahren.

I jõ ãũ mãr e mẽm	Allen gehört der Kranz.
xuluthãl thavẽ̃ lili ua le mõl	Gut riechen die Blätter, gut munden die kleinen.
Mãr e momã̃ walẽ e olõx	Von Thorolõ̃ kommt der schöne Kranz.
Mõ̃ i gũ talethãx thewu taledù	Die Frauen von Thorolõ̃ fürchten nicht die Frauen von Mogemog.
The te ma tĩlx e agĩli e	Hier ist man friedlichen Sinns; kommen die Frauen hierher,
O vẽi lĩ i wulanã̃ mẽi mãle	Werden alle sie schätzen wissen,
Ue mõlũ mõna xatĩãx	Werden alle sie gut bezahlen.
Sigãl lirã̃ butĩl	Unter jungen Palmen sitzen sie.
Thamẽ resã̃ me fe lail	Und werden warm und schwitzen,
Xalẽs thitherõù	Sie sollten ins Wasser gehen.
Fegithithãr thamuſãl	Drei Männer folgen der (!) Frau ins Wasser.
Lali kalĩth	Sie haben nichts Arges im Sinn.
Thitherõu fogĩ.	Alle setzen sich hin.
Thitãr le rĩl ũ li mathãù	Sie mögen sie leiden und schwatzen.
Uvẽi giligeldù	Sie blicken auf die helle Haut
Tha fithi gĩi re rõoù	Und die leichte feuerrote Kleidmatte
Eth taliu gutĩã̃ i mẽm	Gut riecht sie wie Taro.
Ne tõuur le methãù.	Heim geht die Frau nach Thorolõ̃.

8. Gesang: vorgetragen von zwei Mädchen und zwei Knaben im Alter von 9—13 Jahren.

E modno nethãù nõlo dirak	Im Geiste sieht ein Mann eine Frau,
Mẽi thiũe uru lõno lipĩi	Es sagt der Mann zur Frau,
Ĩli mavẽ̃ momã̃ e	Sie solle in den Busch gehen und wohlriechende Blumen holen.
Ónо tligĩ mãù e rĩn	Die duften wie die *ónо tligĩ*, die *mãù e rĩn*
Thelolãl thamirẽs	Und wie die *thamirẽs*.
A eorõr mãli elẽ nesẽ werĩxua	Er überlegt sich, was er der Frau sagen will.
Tall elthe mãle tlall fãle	»Ich sehe an Deinen Beinen die Fische.«
Mõlo malẽ initĩige methẽ	Er salbt mit Öl die Tatauierung
Ligõu mavi kinẽ nodr lãgu	Mit Fasern vom Platz Thorolõ̃.
Elẽ tõle nodr mãmi	Hübsch sieht die Frau aus.
Drie dart tãle bolõu walẽ	Er setzt sich zu den Füßen der Frau.

Eđle e rân̄ lolô ulû eôro
Era egê mâli eđle soûr
Raûr urû eolôu era urû

Ńeêi xathe rou ſân̄e le
Mêle xulü ſâle tâü uwô

Filł matšâ neñâx.

Die so schön ist wie ein Kanu.
Mit *rân̄* reibt er sie ein, sie sieht gut aus.
Die Frau singt ein wenig und flicht ihm aus *era*-Blüten einen Kranz
Und er sitzt nahe bei der Frau
Er zaubert, daß sie ihm ins große Haus folgt,
Denn diese Frau mag er gern leiden.

370

XIII. Verschiedenes.

Kunst. Wenn auch alle Gegenstände des täglichen Bedarfs von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen (S. 316) unverziert sind, so wäre es falsch, daraus auf ein Fehlen jedweden ornamentalen und plastischen Schmuckes zu schließen. Die erstgenannte Art ist in den üppigen Tatauiermustern und an dem reich verzierten Geisterhaus hinreichend vertreten und letztere kommt, wenn auch nur selten vor z. B. beim janusartigen Zaubergerät.

Medizinische Kenntnisse sind den Familienmitgliedern, die auch die Krankenpflege übernehmen, nicht fremd. Man wendet sich gern auch an alte Leute, die auf diesem Gebiet über eine besonders reiche Erfahrung verfügen. Kranke umsorgt man in jeder Weise und auch Sterbenden läßt man bis zur letzten Minute liebevolle Pflege angedeihen. In der Krankenpflege lösen sich die Familienmitglieder gegenseitig ab. Eine Heilung kann jedoch nur eintreten, wenn der Zauber nicht vergessen wird.

a) Knochenbrüche werden ebenfalls behandelt. Einige Leute verstanden sich darauf, Brüche zu schienen. Die Knochen wurden aneinander gepaßt, geschient und gewickelt; dazu wurde ein zerquetschter Pflanzenbrei *(xoalú)* als Paste aufgelegt;

b) gegen Frambösie *(ijelaú)* werden *úúth, vát, witéi, lúx, xiaúb* verabreicht;

c) gegen Rheumatismus wird der Absud von *ethuúth* und *karáx* getrunken, oder man reibt den Körper mit *arifát* ein;

d) gegen Buschmucker *(mái)* helfen die Medizinen *túrtür, xóól, djídjí.*

e) die Treibholzkrankheit *(xo péipéi)*, dadurch hervorgerufen, daß die Fischer dem »heiligen« Treibholz zu nahe kommen, kann durch jedes Mittel geheilt werden;

f) bei Ringwurmkrankheit *(faguthír)* hilft *xáttr*, das eingerieben und getrunken wird; ein weiteres Mittel besteht darin, daß man Blätter von *tholegúl* zwei Monate hindurch auf die Hauptstellen bindet und dies alle vier Tage erneuert;

g) Schwären *(marágús)* werden zunächst mit einer Muschel ausgekratzt und dann mit *livos* eingerieben;

h) Pocken *(methinau)* werden folgendermaßen behandelt: eine alte Kokosnuß wird über dem Feuer geröstet, dann bricht man den Inhalt heraus, trocknet ihn, rührt ihn mit Kokosmilch an, wickelt ihn in Bananenbast und legt ihn auf den Ausschlag;

i) gegen Schuppenringwurm *(gil thebô)* wird *thôlepul* angewendet, was jedoch wenig nutzt, so daß die Krankheit als unheilbar gilt;

k) gegen Durchfall *(thêr)* hat man kein Mittel, man läßt den Kranken viel essen;

l) Verstopfung *(pilâd)* wird dadurch gebessert, daß man etwas vom Hauspfosten *(tabethûm)* und vom Schwimmer seines Kanus abschabt, die Pulver in Kokosmilch anrührt und das Ganze trinkt.

m) gegen Schnupfen *(mañerôth)* hilft das Einatmen des Geruches geschabter und zerstampfter Papaya-Wurzel;

n) bei Augenentzündung *(djodjêl i matâl)* wickelt man kleine *thâth*-Beeren zwar je vier Stück in Bast und legt diese Päckchen auf die kranken Augen;

o) gegen Zahnschmerz *(uarêx e ni)* hat man kein Mittel;

p) gegen Kopfschmerz *(thareliôr)* wird blühender Ingwer zerrieben, in Wasser getan und aufgeschnupft;

q) gegen Schüttelfrost *(liâr)* wendet man aromatische Blüten an.

Als »unheilbar« werden angesehen Dysenterie *(pogothâ)*, Auszehrung *(thêi omerîñ)*, Elefantiasis *(methulôp)*, Influenza *(misilipîg)*.

Eine **Schrift**, wie sie einige Zentralkaroliner benutzen, haben die Mogemog-Leute nicht gekannt, jedenfalls berichtet Hambruch nichts darüber. Dagegen hat man Knotenschnüre[1] aus Kokosbastfaser: die einzelnen Knoten bedeuten tragende Palmen.

Zeiteinteilung. Zur Tageseinteilung notierte Hambruch folgende Ausdrücke: Tag = *thabûñ*, Morgen = *ualethû*, Sonnenaufgang = *thataôt eâl*, Mittag = *thaû'leâl*, Sonnenuntergang = *thathuedl*, Nacht = *thâm methûr*. Das Jahr *(thatîr e marâm)* zerfällt in die Regenzeit *(thawuthôx u ûth)* und Trockenzeit *(toaguthôx)*, die Rechnung erfolgt in Monaten *(thartêra e marâm)*. — Mond = *marâm*, Neumond = *e ulût*, erstes Viertel = *eotûx*, Vollmond = *ulerîñ lâp*, zweites Viertel = *eotûx metarâl*.

[1] Museum Hamburg 214.

372

XIV. Zur Sprache.

Die Mogemog-Sprache steht der von Südwest-Mikronesien (Merir, Pur, Sonserol, Tobi) nahe und weist nur dialektische Unterschiede auf. Es konnte sich, wie ein Beispiel zeigte, ein Merir-Mann sehr gut mit einem Mogemog-Mann unterhalten.[1] — Bei den Sprachaufnahmen ist zu bedenken, daß es die ersten sind, die Hambruch auf der Reise vornahm, hinzu kommen noch technische Schwierigkeiten, auf die schon Pater Clain hinweist.[2] Ein kurzes Vokabular der Mogemog-Sprache hat Tetens zusammengestellt[3], der Wortschatz ist verschiedentlich zum Vergleich neben Hambruch's Material gesetzt.

Personalpronomen.

ich	*ṅdṅ*	wir	*paṅdtš*
du	*kēl*	ihr	*χamdm*
er	*aīr*	sie	*tīr*

Hambruch hat noch weitere Formen notiert, jedoch dazu bemerkt, daß er sicher nicht richtig von den Eingeborenen verstanden worden sei; diese Formen sind wegen ihres zweifelhaften Wertes deshalb nicht angeführt worden.

Possessivpronomen.

mein	*iēi*
dein	*edm*
sein	*edl m'mateléi*
ihr	*feſēl e keléi*
sein	*ealēl lūdtš*
unser (inkl.)	*edl itēi*
unser (exkl.)	*edl e pdṅ a lerimdt*
euer	*ear o thokeléi*
ihr	?

[1] Thilenius usw. 1927, S. 187. — Größer ist der Unterschied zu den zentralkarolinischen Sprachen; Lütke (1835, Bd. II, S. 350f.) geht darauf näher ein.
[2] Bei Kramer 1917, I. Bd., S. 27, 29.
[3] Tetens und Kubary 1873, S. 56ff.

Zahlworte nach:

	Hambruch	Tetens
1	*thêo*	*johs*
2	*ruaû*	*ruo*
3	*thellû*	*jall*
4	*faaû*	*vang*
5	*ilimaû*	*limm*
6	*oloaû*	*oll*
7	*fithû*	*viss*
8	*oalû*	*vall*
9	*tivaû*	*diu-ser*
10	*thîg, thêg*	*sek*
11	*thêg ma thêo*	—
12	*thêg ma ruô*	—
13	*thêg ma thellû*	—
14	*thêg ma faaû*	—
15	*thêg ma ilimaû*	—
16	*thêg ma oloaû*	—
17	*thêg ma fithû*	—
18	*thêg ma oalû*	—
19	*thêg ma tioaû*	—
20	*ruêig*	*riak*
30	*thêlig*	*selik*
40	*fâêig*	*fak*
50	*limmêig*	*limag*
60	*oloêig*	*ollag*
70	*fithîg*	*visak*
80	*oâlig*	*wallak*
90	*tioêig*	*thouak*
100	*the bogû*	*seboukith*
200	*rû bogû*	*rialboukith*
300	*thellû bogû*	*selliboukith*
400	*fa bogû*	*faboukith*
500	*ilm bogû*	*limboukith*
600	*ole bogû*	*ollaboukith*
700	*fithi bogû*	*visseboukith*
800	*oal bogû*	*wallaboukith*
900	*tio bogû*	*theolboukith*
1000	*thên*	*sangrass*

	Hambruch	Tetens
2000	*ruân*	—
3000	*thelîn*	—
4000	*fân*	—
5000	*limoân*	—
6000	*olôn*	—
7000	*fithîn*	—
8000	*oalîn*	—
9000	*tioân*	—
10000	*thelôp*	—

Längenmaße. Das größte Maß ist die Spannweite mit seitwärts gestreckten Armen (= Länge der ausgestreckten Arme und Brust) = *thanâf;* Handspanne = *thugefith;* Handbeuge bis Mittelfinger = *thopôth a lîm;* Daumen bis Mittelfinger = *riân;* Elle bis Mittelfinger = *thôrethepâi.*

Adjektiva.

alt	*malalâp* (Tetens: *tommei, loclüp*)	krank	*thatemâi*
		kurz	*watšîtš*
blau	*egararâu*	lahm	*thathepîr*
blind	*thamethîr* (Tetens: *kametovoss*)	lang	*lalêilâleleêi*
		mager	*homothûl*
braun	*faleſêl*	naß	*tâla, thalulôi*
dunkel	*euthâu*	rein	*maměi uběl*
dumm	*thawûtš*	rot	*etâta*
feige	*thiametâš*	rund	*pâp*
fett, groß	*fâl, epalîn*	schlecht	*teukôf*
gelb	*erânerân*	schmutzig	*epoñâu*
gesund	*toreân*	schwanger	*thathiêl*
grün	*emâu*	schwarz	*erutupôn*
gut	*thamomâi*	stumm	*thawûtewut*
hell	*tharâl*	tapfer	*emalâth*
hoch	*tagît*	taub	*taliñeuôt*
jung	*tarumâl, tarân*	tot	*thamêth*
kalt	*fôi*	trocken	*thapâl*
klein	*motûtš*	warm	*ekôreâl*
klug	*natîl, erepî*	weiß	*euwôt*

Adverbien

a) der Zeit:

gestern	*lâlâ*	morgen	*uđ lthi*
heute	*rđu*	übermorgen	*uđ taldṅel*
jetzt	*ate'rûk*	vorgestern	*taldṅel talâ*

b) des Ortes:

rechts	*m'thothu*	auf	*atđχo pa'pŏm*
links	*gilim'merđ*	unter	*tithî uŏl'totâl*
vorn	*teledŏχ*	unten	*uŏl'totâl*
hinten	*tagûn*	außen	*lugûl*
hier	*igđ*	innen	*lâl*
dort	*igelđ*	ja	*â* (Tetens: *eorr)*
nahe	*earêp*	nein	*mâla*
fern	*eathâu*	nicht	*dŏr*
dorthin	*χolŏχ*	mit (in Begleitung)	*thāu uđi thialŏχ*
dorther	*wuthŏχ*		
vorwärts	*aterâχ*	mit (vermittels)	*thithŏχ e thâla*
rückwärts	*memeđṅte*	durch	*thouṅâli*
oben	*ulurâl*	in	*lâl*
über	*ol'tomûm*	um, herum	*towaltli*

Verben

arbeiten	*endṅ*	fallen	*itêthi mulurâl*
atmen	*thāatûχ etûχ*	flechten	*fathâi*
aufstehen	*thiagebûṅ*	fliegen	*mâl* (Tetens: *kakingok)*
berühren	*eđṅethi*		
binden	*horŏṅ*	fließen	*m'leluîl*
blasen	*ûgu*	sich freuen	*mamêithapal*
bleiben	*marothî*	fühlen	*gilêthi*
brennen	*tethâu ulî'lʃ*	fürchten	*emalâth*
bringen	*athî* (Tetens: *ola, saeka)*	gähnen	*thiagathîl*
		geben	*nalēŏχ* (Tetens: *gnalli)*
defäzieren	*thalŏχ*		
denken	*thapēījû* (Tetens: *yoredâppo)*	gebären	*thathîl*
		gehen	*thia melŏχ uŏl'ʃelâi* (Tetens: *etui)*
drehen	*atul'logâ*		
ertrinken	*thiamîth*	greifen	*thōrōwî*
essen	*thia moṅŏṅ* (Tetens: *mangei)*	hören	*oχorŏṅeroṅ*
		hungern	*thiagelŏχ*

husten	*ethå ſageſåχ*	schlafen	*thia methîr*
kauen	*lülûth*	schlagen	*uâthi*
kommen	*mêï mêïga* (Tetens: *mega*)	schleifen	*thorowûi*
		schnarchen	*thathâr edṅ laṅâr*
kriechen	*labûth*	stehen	*euôl*
lachen	*mamâl*	stellen	*thia pereſ*
legen	*têlʼullôch*	stoßen	*tugûi*
lieben	*eaſêth egepôtš*	tatauieren	*faleſêl*
liegen	*eolôχ*	töten	*thôu*
machen	*faʼarûi*	trauern	*tharetâṅ*
niesen	*mêthi*	trinken	*uʼtiûl*
pfeifen	*χāmôl*	umkehren etwas	*ugithî*
piepen	*habûth*	urinieren	*thawuthôχ*
reden	*malêlî*	wachsen	*thia palêṅ*
riechen	*ethaṅûi*	weben	*logoṅlôl*
rudern	*fathêl*	weinen	*thiagetâṅ* (Tetens: *satan, dann*)
rufen	*fathaṅui*		
sehen	*komaχâu*	werfen	*pethalôχ*
sitzen	*marôthi*	wollen	*thapêi*
sich setzen	*thuthâχ* (Tetens: *omiliga*)	zählen	*eôth*
		zeigen	*familiâî*
singen	*kamaṅâl*	ziehen	*thêïχ*.

Zur Grammatik notierte Hambruch folgendes:

ich bin groß	*i palîṅ*
du bist groß	*χo palîṅ*
er ist groß	*erematalâî e palîṅ*
wir sind groß	*paṅâth ithe palîṅ*
ihr seid groß	*χamâm ha palîṅ*
sie sind groß	*thokelâî e palîṅ*
ich bin ein Mensch	*ṅâṅ eremâî*
du bist ein Mensch	*χîl eremâî*
er ist ein Mensch	*thamêl eremâî*
wir sind Menschen	*etholôp eremâî*
wer bin ich?	*ṅâṅ iti?*
wer bist du?	*χîl iti?*
wer ist er?	*iſâî i thâm?*
wer sind wir?	*thiwîl e rât?*
wer seid ihr?	*χâmi obuleuât?*
wer sind sie?	*regagât?*

ich sehe das Haus	*i ŋâk kamarôi ŧm mele*
ich sehe das Haus nicht	*goto e ŋâk kamarôi ŧm mele*
siehst Du den Baum?	*gog kamarôi i rå le?*
sah er das Schiff?	*erematalâi e pâla kamâro bârko lâlo?*
sieht er das Schiff?	*erematalâi e pâla kamâro bârko lâlo?*
bringt ihr die Nuß?	*thithôk tšoulêi?*
bringt ihr die Nuß nicht?	*χotûe râsi tšoula?*
bringt die Nuß nicht!	*χôla thithôχ tšoulêi?*

kurz *elalâi*, kürzer *ɛmotšûtš*, am kürzesten *imotšûtš*

Truk ist groß	*Ruχ a palîŋ.*
Palau ist größer	*a Palâu χo palîŋ emôi*
Doktor ist am größten	*Doktor a palîŋ emôtš*

Die Ente ist klein	*nâŋei e watšîtš*
Die Möve ist kleiner	*χâmnâu a watšîtš e ʃâl*
Die Fliege ist am kleinsten	*lâŋ e ethugetôʃ*

Yap ist schön	*Uâp a mômâi*
Palau ist schöner	*Palâu a mômâi e momâi*
Mogemog ist am schönsten	*Mogemog a mômâi le mômâi le mômâi*

378

Literaturverzeichnis.

(Der **Fettdruck** in Klammern mit der Jahreszahl bezeichnet die Abkürzung, unter der im Text auf die betreffende Quelle verwiesen ist.)

(Brigham 1900) Brigham, W. T.: An Index to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean. Honolulu 1900.

(Chamisso 1821) v. Chamisso, Adelbert: in Kotzebue 1821 Bd. III.

(Cheyne 1852) Cheyne, Andrew: A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, north and south of the Equator. London 1852.

(Damm & Sarfert 1935) Damm, Hans und Sarfert, Ernst: Inseln um Truk (2. Halbband: Polowat, Hok und Satowal), Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908/10. Hamburg 1935.

(Eilers 1935) Eilers, Anneliese: Westkarolinen (1. Halbband: Songosor, Pur, Merir), Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908/10. Hamburg 1935.

(Finsch 1914) Finsch, O.: Südseearbeiten. Hamburg 1914.

(Girschner 1911) Girschner, Max: Die Karolineninsel Namoluk und ihre Bewohner (Bäßler Archiv 1911 Bd. 2, S. 123—215; 1913 Bd. 3, S. 165—190).

(Gulick Ms.) Gulick, L. H.: Micronesia (Nautical Magazine). London 1862. [Diese Arbeit war mir nur in einer Abschrift zugänglich, der jedoch die Seitenangaben des Originals fehlten.]

(Hambruch 1912) Hambruch, Paul: Die Schiffahrt auf den Karolinen und Marshallinseln (Sammlung „Meereskunde", Heft 66, Berlin 1912).

(Hunter 1793) Hunter, John: Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island with the Discoveries, which have been made, in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean. London 1793.

(Hunter 1794) Hunters historische Nachrichten von den merkwürdigsten Ereignissen auf Port Jackson und den Norfolk-Inseln. (Bibliothek der neuesten Reisebeschreibungen Bd. 19, Nürnberg 1794).

(Kittlitz 1858) v. Kittlitz, F. H.: Denkwürdigkeiten einer Reise nach dem russischen Amerika, nach Mikronesien und durch Kamtschatka. 2 Bde. Gotha 1858.

(Kolonial-Lexikon 1920) Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon, herausgegeben von Heinrich Schnee. Bd. III. Leipzig [1920].

(Kotzebue 1821) v. Kotzebue, O.: Entdeckungsreise in die Südsee und nach der Beringstraße zur Erforschung der nordöstlichen Durchfahrt. 3 Bde. Weimar 1821.

(Krämer 1908) Krämer, A.: Studienreise nach den Zentral- und West-Karolinen. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten Bd. 21, 1908 S. 169—186.

(Krämer 1917, 1919, 1926, 1929) Krämer, A.: Palau. 1.—4. Teilband (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition II. B. Bd. 3, Hamburg 1917, 1919, 1926, 1929).

(Krämer 1928) Krämer, A.: Der Taro und die Naßkultur (Petermanns Mitteilungen, Gotha 1928. Bd. 74. S. 165 ff.).

(Krämer 1932) Krämer, A.: Truk (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition II. B., Bd. 5, Hamburg 1932).

(Kubary 1895) Kubary, J. S.: Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinen-Archipels. Leiden 1895.

(Lütke 1835) Lutké, Fr.: Voyage autour du monde sur la Corvette „Le Séniavine" dans les années 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829. Partie historique. 3 Tomes. Paris. 1835, 1836.

(Meinicke 1888) Meinicke, Carl, E.: Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans. 2 Bände, 2. Ausg. 1888.

(Miklucho-Maklai 1877) Miklucho-Maklai's Reisen im westlichen Mikronesien (Globus Bd. 31, 1877, S. 295—296).

(Müller-Wismar 1917) Müller, Wilhelm: Jap. (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908/10), 2 Bde., Hamburg 1917, 1918.

Literaturverzeichnis

(Plischke 1922) Plischke, Hans: Der Fischdrachen (Veröffentl. des Städt. Museums f. Volkerkunde zu Leipzig, Heft 6) Leipzig 1922.

(Robertson 1876/77) Robertson, Russel: The Caroline Islands (Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan 1876/77, Bd. 5, S. 41—63).

(Sarfert 1911) Sarfert, E.: Zur Kenntnis der Schiffahrtskunde der Karoliner. (Korrespondenzblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte. XLII. Jg., 1911).

(Sarfert und Damm 1929, 1931) Sarfert, E. und Damm, H.: Luangiua und Nukumanu. (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition II. B. Bd. 12, Teilband 1 und 2. Hamburg 1929, 1931).

(Schmeltz und Krause 1881) Schmeltz, J. D. E. und Krause, R.: Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg. Hamburg 1881.

(Sarfert 1919) Sarfert, E.: Kusae (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1908/10, 2 Bde.). Hamburg 1919, 1920.

(Senfft 1901) Senfft, A.: Kanufahrten der Eingeborenen auf den Karolinen (Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1901, Bd. 12, S. 41—42).

(Senfft 1901) Senfft, A.: Über einen Besuch des Uluti-Atolls (Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1901, Bd. 12, S. 824—825).

(Senfft 1904) Senfft, A.: Reise des kaiserlichen Bezirksamtmanns in Yap nach den Westkarolinen. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1904, Bd. 15, S. 12—14.

(Senfft 1905) Senfft, A.: Religiöse Quarantäne auf den Westkarolinen (Globus Bd. 87, 1905, S. 78/79).

(Senfft 1906) Senfft, A.: Bericht des kaiserlichen Bezirksamtmannes Senfft über seine Rundreise durch die Westkarolinen und Palau-Inseln. Deutsches Kolonialblatt 1906, Bd. 17, S. 281—284.

(Senfft 1906) Senfft, A.: Die Bewohner der Westkarolinen. Globus 1906, Bd. 90, S. 279—283.

(Sievers 1910) Sievers, W.: Die Schutzgebiete in der Südsee („Das deutsche Kolonialreich", hg. von Hans Meyer, Bd. II, Leipzig 1910, S. 301—496.)

(Singer 1899) Singer, H.: Die Karolinen. Globus Bd. 76. 1899, S. 37—52.

(Sittig 1890) Sittig, O.: Über unfreiwillige Wanderungen im Großen Ozean. (Petermann's Mitteilungen, Gotha, 1890, S. 161—166, 185—188).

(Sommer 1928) Sommer: Baukonstruktive Betrachtungen über Hausbauten in NW.-Central Celebes (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Bd. 60, 1928, S. 374—375).

(Tetens und Kubary 1873) Tetens, A. und Kubary, J.: Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nach den Mittheilungen von —. (Journal des Museums Godeffroy, Hamburg 1873).

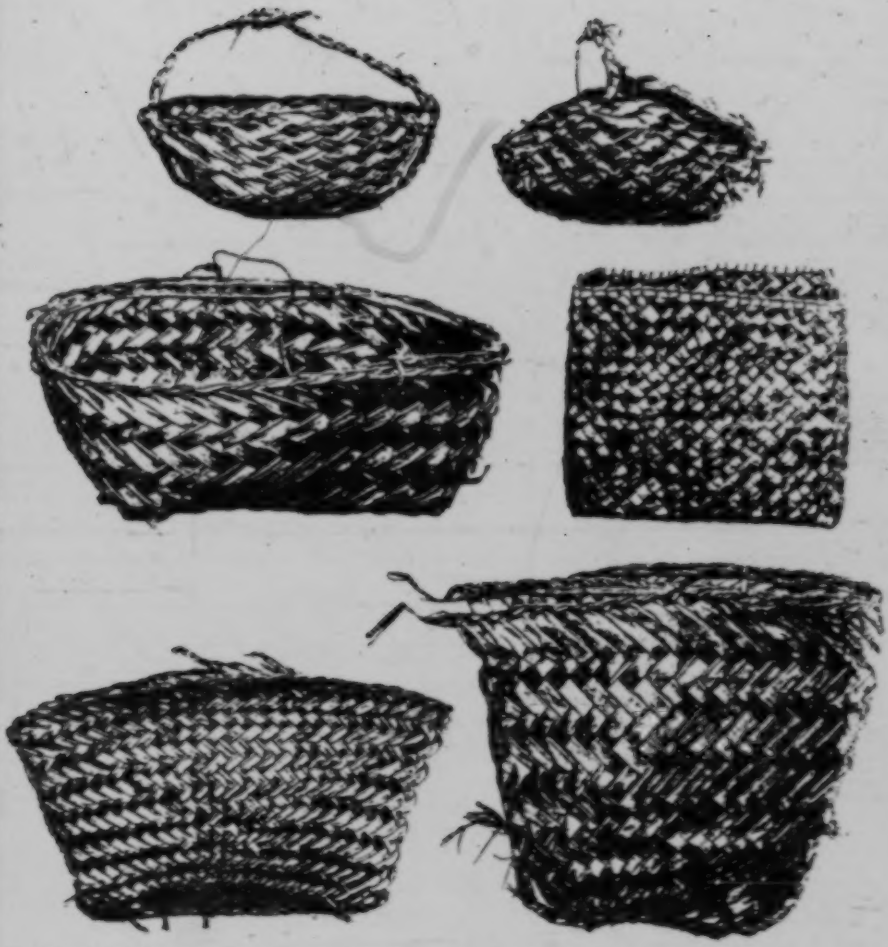
(Tetens und Steinberg 1889) Steinberg, S.: Vom Schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Capitäns Tetens. Hamburg 1889.

(Thilenius usw. 1927) Thilenius, G. Hellwig, F. E....: Allgemeines. (Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition Bd. I, Hamburg 1927).

(Wilson 1799) Wilson, James: A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the Ship Duff. London 1799.

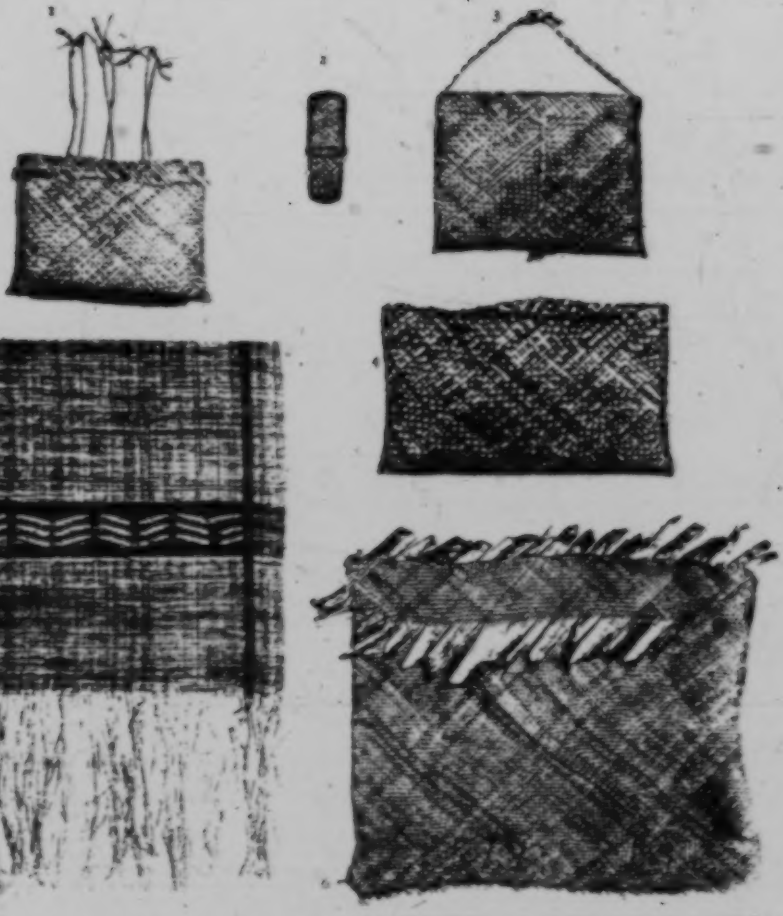
(Wilson 1800) James Wilson's Missions-Reise in das südliche Stille Meer. (Mit Anmerkungen von Canzler.) Berlin 1800.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel I



Italuk: Körbe und Taschen (oben: Hamburg 1843[II], 1933[II], Länge 31 bzw. 31.5 cm, Höhe 14 bzw. 18 cm; — Mitte: Hamburg 1834[II], 1831[II], Länge 28 bzw. 46 cm, Breite 18.5 bzw. 34 cm, Höhe 23.5 bzw. 15 cm; — unten: Hamburg 1829[II], 1828[II], Breite 50 bzw. 48 cm, Höhe 27 bzw. 37 cm).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 2

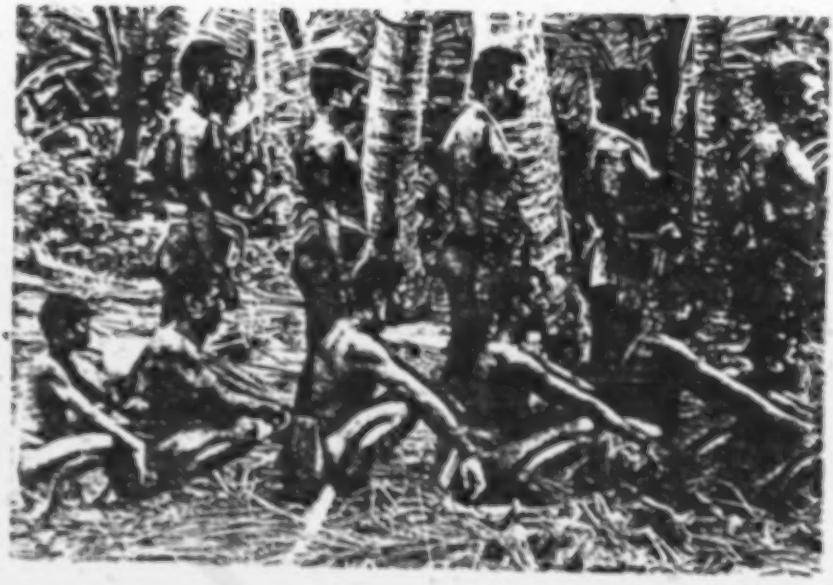


Ifaluk: 1. Tasche (Hamburg 1841[II], Breite 26 ½, Höhe 19 ½ cm). — 2. Zweiteilige Tasche (Hamburg 1830[II], Breite 5 ½, Höhe 13 ½ cm). — 3. Tasche (Hamburg 3186[II], Breite 18, Höhe 22 cm). — 4. Tasche (Hamburg 1869[II], Breite 39, Höhe 23 cm). — 5. Gewebter Lendenschurz (Hamburg 3870[II], Länge ohne Fransen 193 cm, Breite 94 cm). — 6. Matte (Hamburg 1869[II], Länge 56, Breite 48 cm).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 3

Hahnk. 1. Vogelnetz (Hamburg 1794[II], Länge 141 cm). — 2. Reuse (Hamburg 1794[II], Länge 83 cm). — 3. Korbaal-Kokosleerreuse (Hamburg [illegible][II], Länge 57, Höhe 15 cm). — 4. Netztasche (Hamburg 1812[II], Breite 63, Höhe 42 cm). — 5. Netztasche (Hamburg 1805[II], Breite 85 cm, Höhe 32 cm).

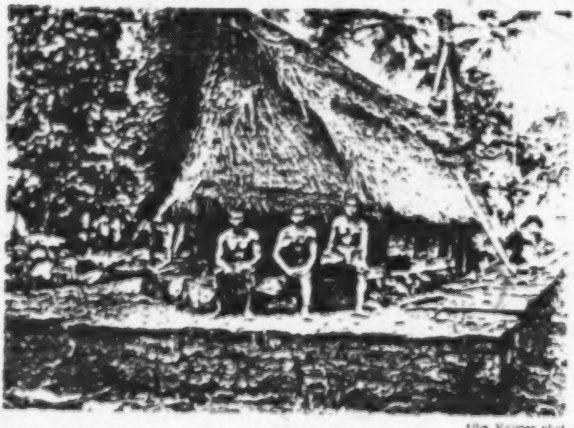
H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 4



Aurepik: Männergruppe in Seiten- (oben) und Vorderansicht (unten).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 5

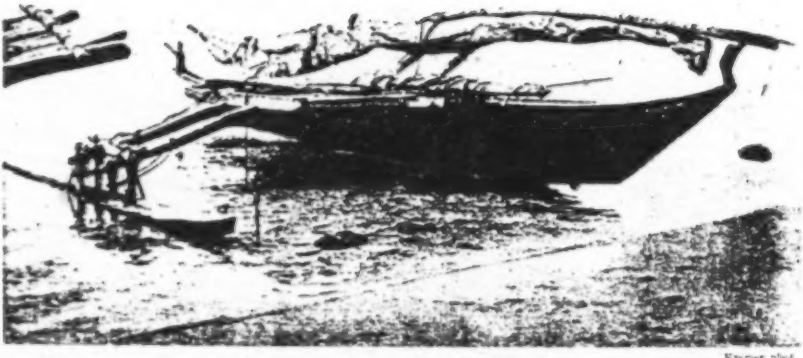
H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 6



Alle Kramer phot.

Aurepik. Oben: Die nördlichste der drei Häuptlingshütten auf hohem Steinsockel. — Mitte: Die mittelste der drei Häuptlingshütten. In der kleineren Hütte wurden Garne zum Weben hergestellt. — Unten: Die südlichste der drei Häuptlingshütten.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 7



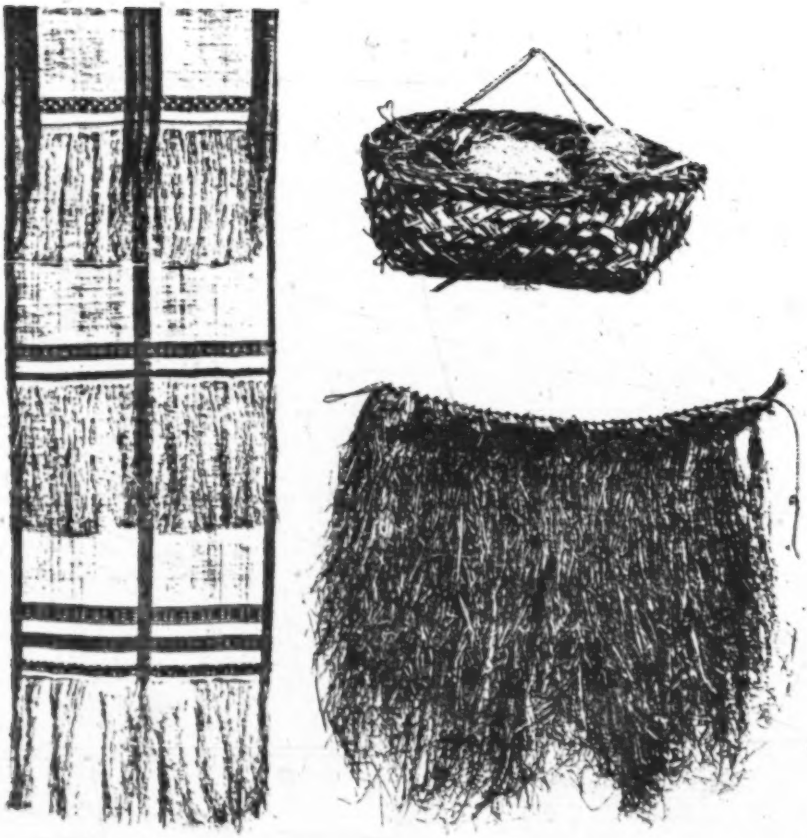
Kramer phot.

1. Aurepik: Segelboot am Strand.

Mambrüch phot.

2. Aurepik: Pfahlhütten am Lagunen-Strand.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 8



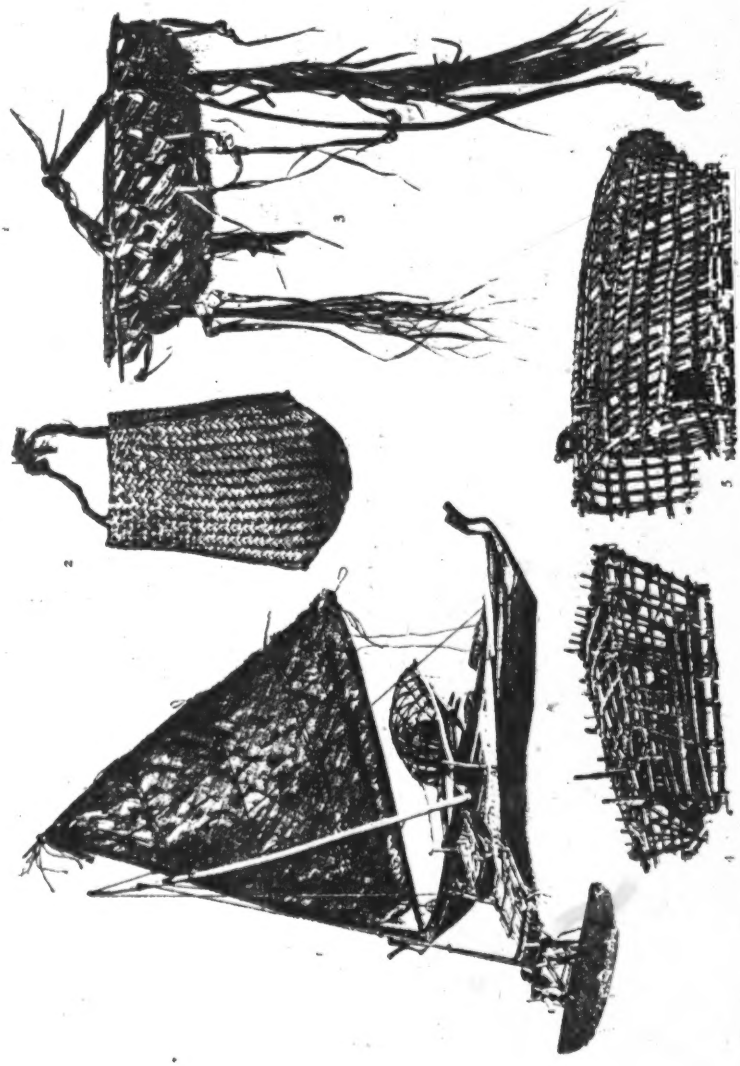
Aurepik: Links: Gewebte Lendenschurze (Hamburg 3031[II], 3029[II], 3030[II], Länge 143, 164, 172 cm, Breite 32½, 56½, 55½ cm). — Rechts oben: Korb mit Webmaterial (Hamburg 5334[II], Durchmesser 40 cm, Höhe 15 cm). — Rechts unten: Faserschurz (Hamburg 3018[II], Weite 86 cm, Länge 60 cm).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 9

Auswahl: 1, 2 und 3. Feuerfächer (Hamburg 3021[II], 3020[II], 3019[II], Länge 33 ½, 47, 40 cm, Breite 19, 21, 21 cm). — 4, 5 und 6 Körbe (Hamburg 3014[II], 3012[II], 3017[II], Höhe 42, 24, 19 cm, Breite von 4 = 27 cm, Durchmesser von 5 = 15 cm, Länge von 6 = 58 cm).

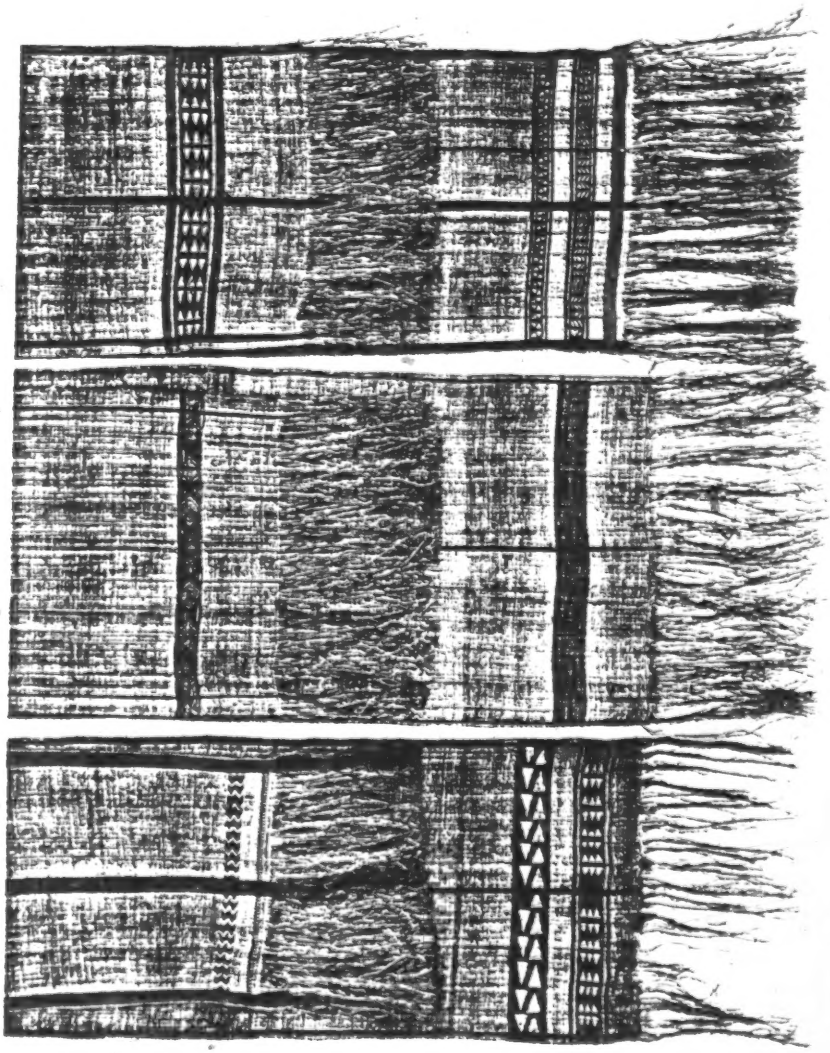
Faraulip: Männer in Vorder- und Seitenansicht. Hamburch phot.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel II



Fangkörbe. 1. Modell eines Hebelnetzes (Hamburg 2641). — 2. Tragkorb (Hamburg 2801). Höhe 32 cm). — 3. Krankheitsamulett (Hamburg 2611). Länge 25 cm). — 4. und 5. Fischreusen (Hamburg 2960 und 2971). Länge 33 und 50 cm).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 12



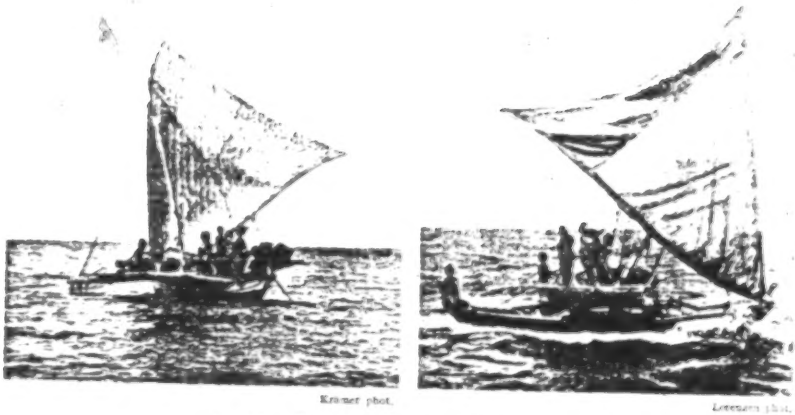
Faraulip. Gewebte Lendenschurze, obere Reihe: 214II, Länge 146, Breite 45 cm; 308II, Länge 183, Breite 54 cm; 307II, Länge 103, Breite 51 cm — untere Reihe: 313II, Länge 292, Breite 52 cm; 258II, Länge 198, Breite 58 cm; 257II, Länge 194, Breite 50 cm.
(Alles Museum Hamburg.)

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 13

Hambruch phot.

Faraulip. Oben: Königsmatte. — Unten: Am Webstuhl.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen. Tafel 14



Kramer phot. Lorenzen phot.

1. und 2. Faraulip. Boot beim Segelmanover.

Hambruch phot.

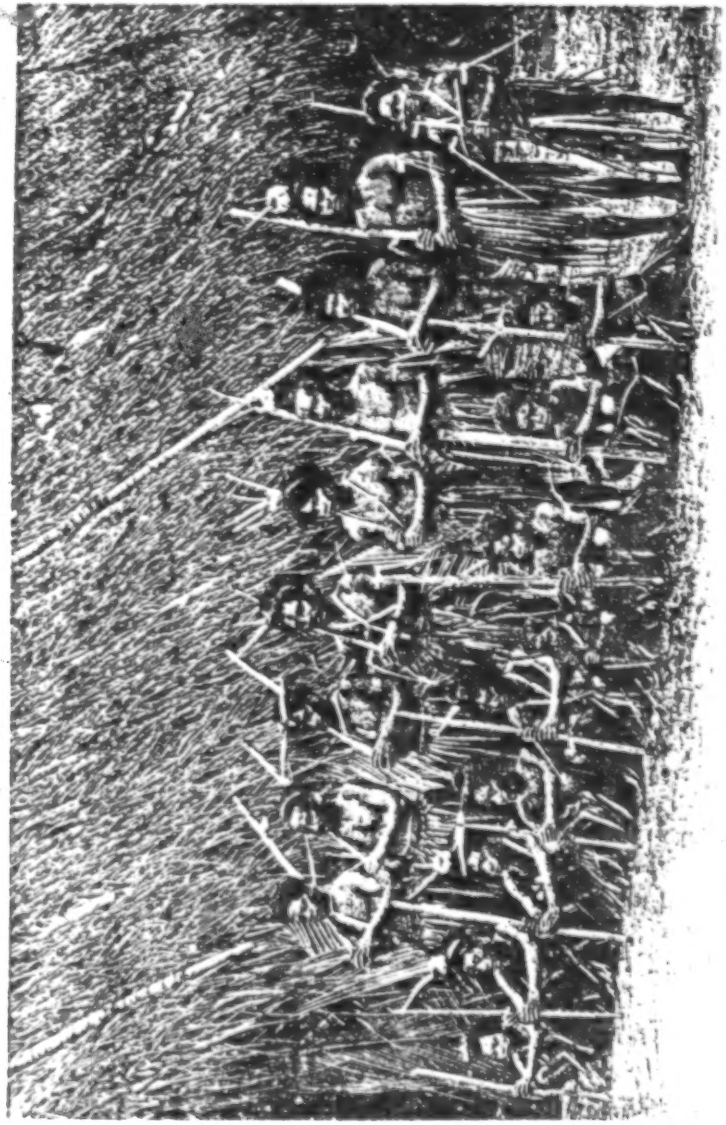
3. Faraulip. Zusammengebrochenes Bootshaus mit Reusen und kleinem Boot.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 15

Aus Hambruch phot.

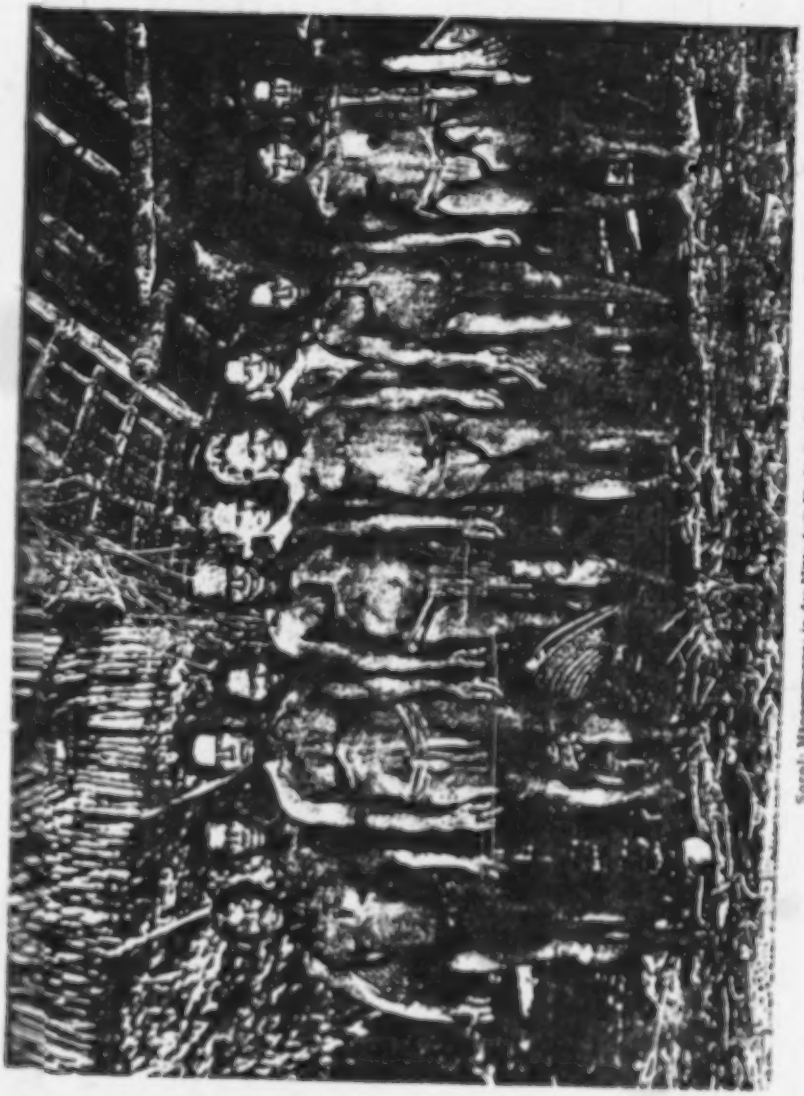
Tafel 15. Oben: Häuptlingshaus mit Geisterhütte auf Pik. — Mitte: Bothäuser unter einem Banyan-Baum. — Unten: Dorfszenerie bei Regenwetter.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 16



Faraulip: Männer zum Tanz angetreten.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 17



Sorol: Männergruppe in der Mitte (mit Korb) der Gründungsfrau

1. Sorol: Wohnhaus, davor Pfahl mit Muschelstopfen und Tasche.

2. Sorol: Bootshaus.

3. Sorol: Innenraum vom Männerhaus.

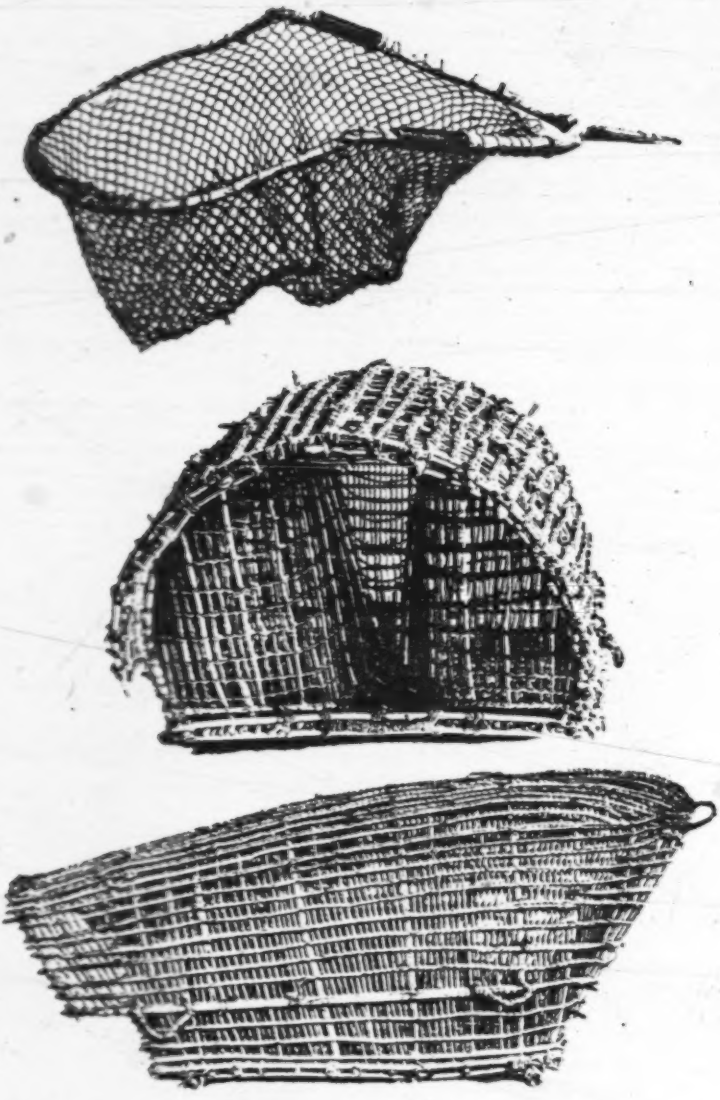
4. Sorol: Innenraum vom Männerhaus.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 19

1. Sorol: Kanu am Strand.

2. Sorol: Tarofelder im Busch.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 20



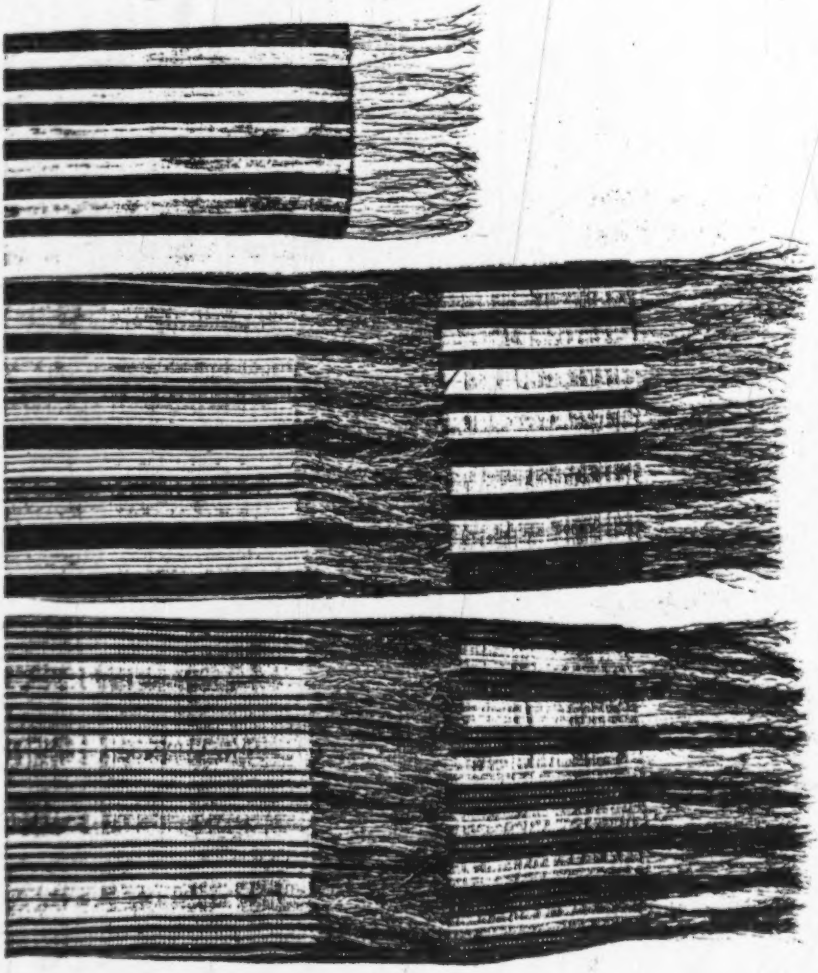
Sorol: Netz (Hamburg 1734[II]; Rahmen 74 zu 40 cm) und Reuse (Hamburg 1695[II]; Länge 184 cm, größte Breite 82 cm, Höhe 45—74 cm).

Sorol: 1. Korb (Hamburg 1718[II]; größte Breite 62 cm, Höhe 22 cm). — 2. Tragtasche (Hamburg 1713[II]; größte Breite 31 cm, Höhe 16 cm). — 3. Geflochtener Behälter (Hamburg 1709[II]; Höhe 12 ½ cm). — 4. Geflochtener Behälter (Hamburg 1711[II]; Höhe 13 cm). — 5. Korbtasche (Hamburg 1715[II]; größte Breite 68 cm, Höhe 29 cm). — 6. Korbtasche (Hamburg 1716[II]; größte Breite 62 cm, Höhe 22 cm).

2: Damm et al.

OR21 Woleai

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 22



Sorol: Gewebte Lendenschurze, obere Reihe: 1697II, Länge 145, Breite 58 cm; 1700II, Länge 143, Breite 53 cm; 5307II, Länge 147, Breite 35 cm; — untere Reihe: 1701II, Länge 148, Breite 58 cm; 1699II, Länge 130, Breite 54 cm. (Alles Museum Hamburg.)

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 23

Krämer phot.

1. Mogemog-Mann.

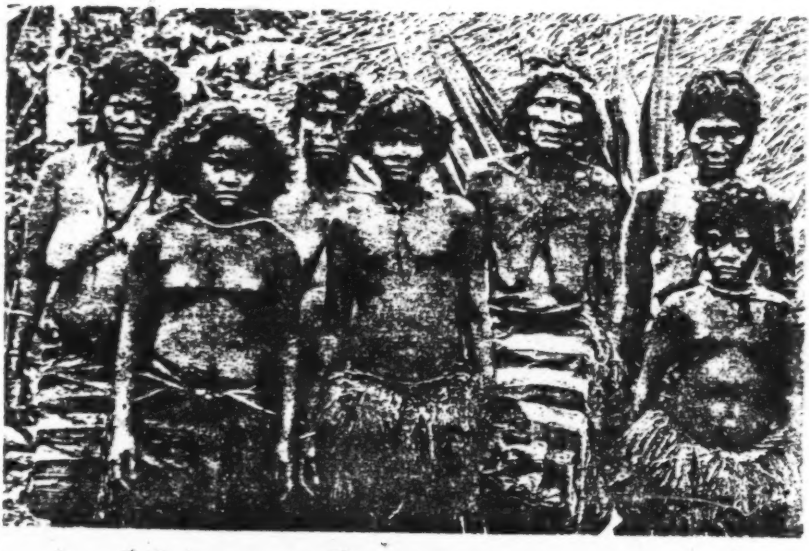
Krämer phot.

2. Mogemog-Frau Loßitheg.

Krämer phot.

3. Mogemog-Mann Maralu.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 24



Hambruch phot.

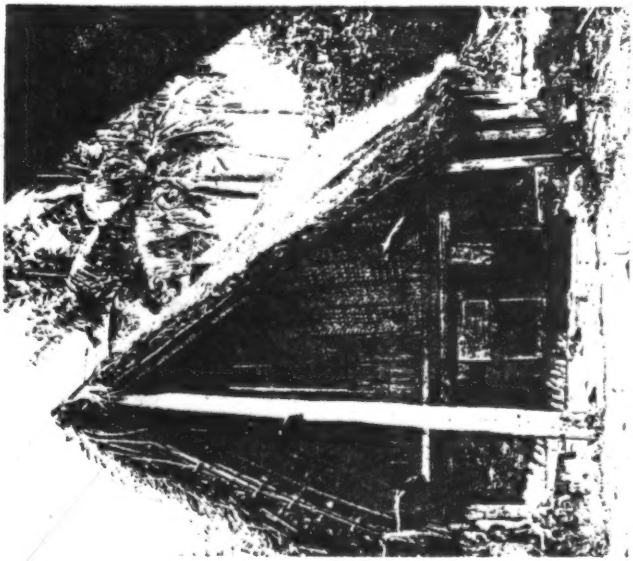
Mogemog. Oben: Frauen in alter Tracht. — Unten: Männer (Oliefang, Toling, Ngulu, Taradj) in alter Tracht.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 25

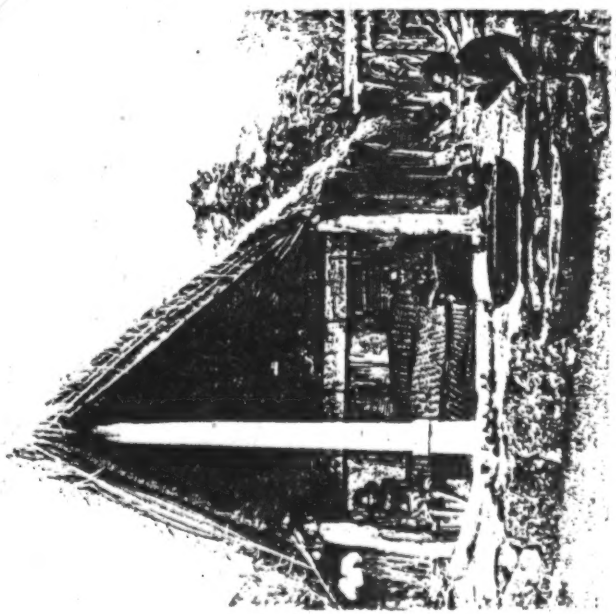
1. Mogemog: Wohnhaus. Hellwig phot.

2. Mogemog: Vorbau eines Wohnhauses. Hambruch phot.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 26

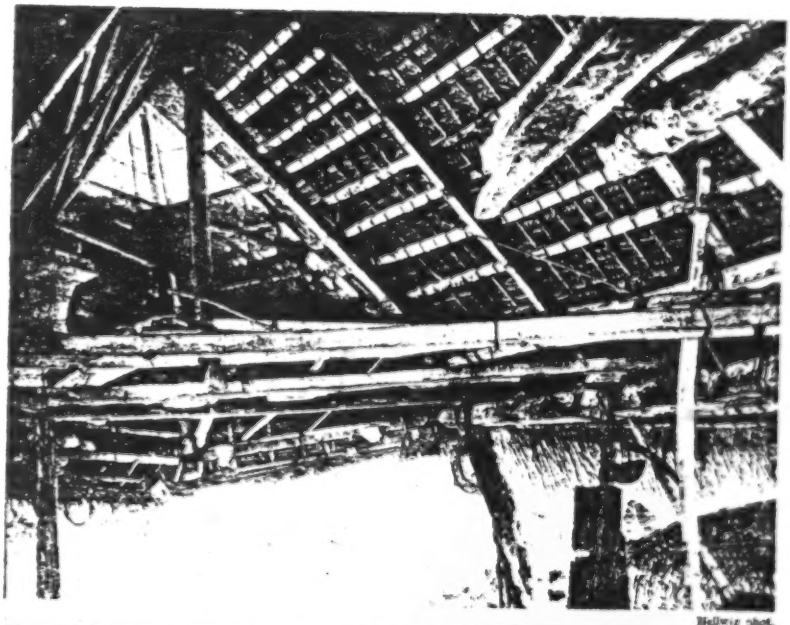


2. Watoyai: Haus zu ebener Erde mit hochgestütztem Giebel.

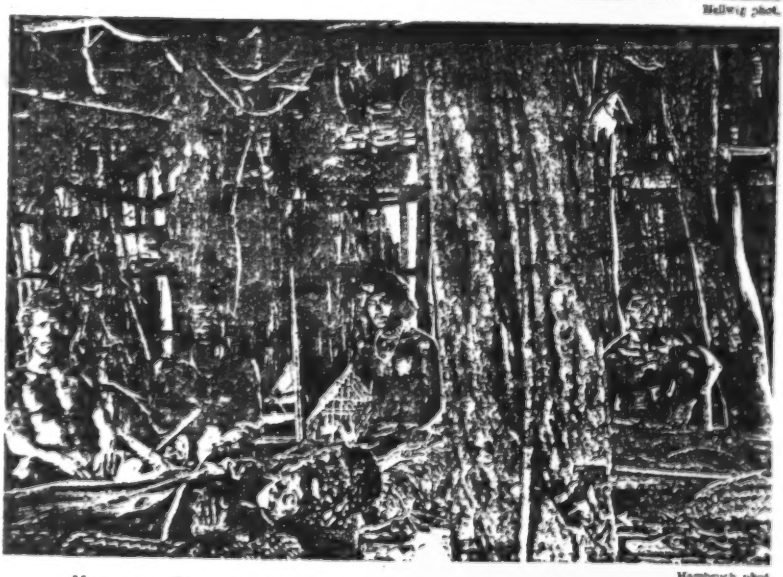


1. Watoyai: Haus auf Steinsockel mit hochgestütztem Giebel.

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 27



Hellwig phot.



Hambruch phot.

Mogemog. Oben: Dachkonstruktion des Bootshauses Fasüwan auf Watoyai
Unten: Blick ins Männerhaus

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 28

Heltwig phot.

Heltwig phot.

Mogemog. Geisterhaus mit bemalter Vorder- (oben) und Rückseite (unten).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 29

Hamburger phot.

Mogemog: Segel- und Ruderboote

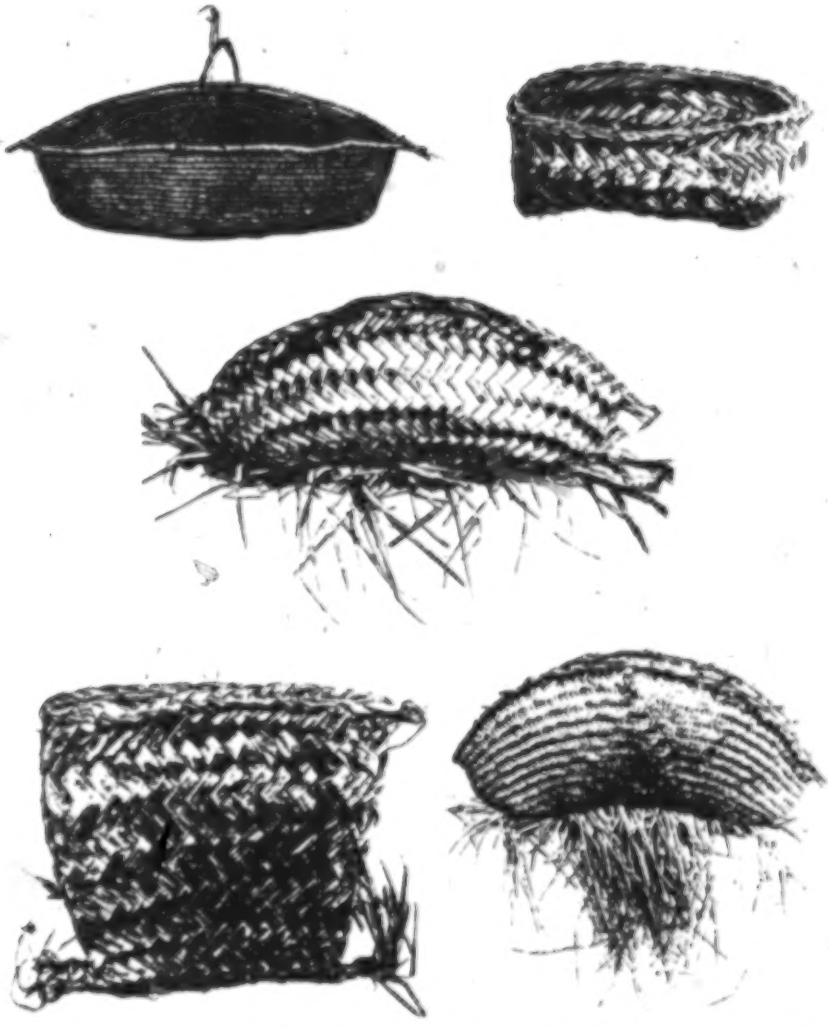
H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 30

Heilwig phot.

Heilwig phot.

Mogemog: Begräbnisplatz auf der Hauptinsel (oben) und auf Falalap (unten).

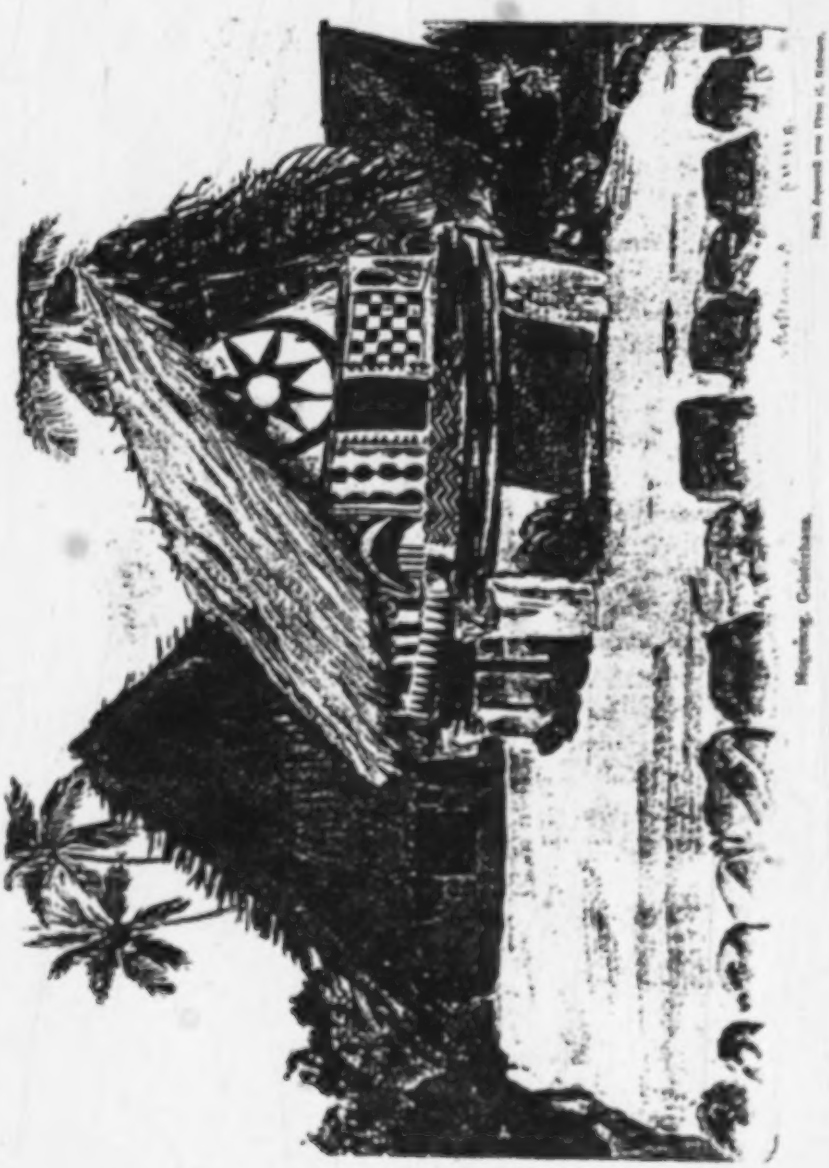
H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 31



Mogemog: Körbe und Taschen (obere Reihe: Hamburg 5089[II], Länge 45, Höhe 11 cm; 5132[II], Länge 32, Höhe 12 cm. — Mitte: 5113[II], Länge 38, Höhe 23 cm. — Untere Reihe: 5230[II], Breite 45, Höhe 39 cm; 3853[II], Länge 46,5, Höhe 23 cm.

Bogenmag: 1., 2. und 3. Gewebte Lendenschurze (Hamburg 386/II, 23—15—1, 1364/II, Länge 128, 150 bzw. 143 cm, Breite 45, 46 bzw. 36 cm). — 4. Mädchenschurz (Hamburg 150/II, Länge 46, obere Weite 63 cm). — 5. Kinderschurz (Hamburg 203/II, Länge 36, Breite der einzelnen Teile 10 cm).

H. Damm, Zentralkarolinen, Tafel 33



3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians 1-4
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oäo, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear...The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 302 Aurupik

The slightly waved hair is in most cases cut short with the exception of the part above the forehead; several women had their hair somewhat longer and parted, and a few waves were hanging over the forehead.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361 Aurupik

The inhabitants live in two farmsteads, Valiâureg and Rongali, where there are but a few well-built and neat houses... The house of the chief is built on a stepped stone-foundation which is ca. 2 meters high. On a...well-cultivated place, neatly covered with coral gravel, Hambruch discovered a house with a grave nearby.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aúrepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--250-251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 731, 261 Woleai

Hellwig went over to the island of Wolé́a, the western part of which he visited first. The devastation caused by the typhoon (March 28, 1907) was to be seen everywhere.

....Several varieties of taro and sweet potatoes in well-kept fields showed that agriculture and food conditions had improved. Coconuts were scarce and swine were lacking completely so that the population will have to live on meager rations for years to come. As on Mogomog and Aúrepik, here, too, the menu was made complete by a series of forest plants....several chickens had survived the typhoon flood, and their offsprings had increased considerably since....Hellwig was told...that the typhoon had not struck at night, otherwise the entire population would have been killed. When the waves had grown higher and higher and when the flood had become imminent, ropes had been fastened around the strongest trees, and the inhabitants had tried to cling to them.... Of the 6-700 inhabitants of the island group about 200 were said to have died. There was loud wailing, and it did not cease during the subsequent period of famine, when the fruits of the fields, with difficulties recovered from the mud- and stone-covered ground, were soon eaten up, and when the fish supply was low and had to be eaten raw, since the fishing implements had been lost and there was no dry wood around to make fire with. Even today when, on occasions, the women again become conscious of the consequences of the catastrophe, [251] a general loud lamenting sets in.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 562 Woleai

The natives Hellwig had to deal with were friendly and courteous, and the children were by no means shy. The visit of the whites was a rare event and due to this event everybody seemed to be stimulated into a good mood. It became apparent that the women were allowed a great deal of freedom. It did not matter that a white man was sitting alone with a [native] woman in a hut, or that a woman sold her property to the white on her own accord. They joked and laughed... and on every occasion they mixed songs, recited or sung, into the conversation or with business, and sometimes these songs were accompanied by rhythmic dance movements. The information which was given about a weaving loom on which a mosquito net of Hibiscus fiber was woven, was constantly and in the most funny manner interrupted by an old lady. Her flow of words had been acclaimed by the women with laughter even before the woman had squeezed herself in through the low door opening. She seemed to be a popular "jestress." In front of the narrow door of another house another gray-haired woman sat weaving so that Hellwig was unable to enter. In her stoical calmness she remained unimpressed by the persuasion of either Hellwig or the female occupants of the house. Finally, Hellwig pushed the old woman aside and went into the hut; with a little gift he atoned for his tour de force, and, after that the old woman became the friendliest person of all.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--252 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 103 Woleai

[AN: According to our native informant] the name Woleai (Wolea, Wolaa) is applied to the entire group by foreigners only, who name an island or an island group after the name of the village which they either visited first or most frequently - in this case, the island of Wolea -. The natives themselves, however, use just as often a second name for the group, namely, Falálap.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The Watoai natives endeavoured in every way to make the stay of their guest a pleasant one....As was the case on Máriam and Wolea, here, too, a pathway, lined with stones run in west-easterly direction through the whole length of the island.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253-254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 262, 241 Woleai

On that point where, during the last typhoon (1907), the sea had flooded over the south coast, a pond was formed, 300 meters long; framed with woods, it offers now an idyllic sight. The surrounding swamp-taro plantations thrive quite well, just as on several humid places in the proximity of the houses. Two more taro varieties and sweet potato fields in the dry ground along the pathway and in the neighborhood of houses yield an ample supply. On the other hand, there are only a few papaw trees, and, at present, there is not a single fruit-bearing breadfruit tree on the whole island....[254] Coconuts, the chief article of food, are still in abundance for the small population. On each farmstead supplies of drinking and eating nuts can be seen. As it is customary on most of the Caroline Islands, the sap of the palmtrees is collected one to three times a day for the preparation of the favorite fermented drink. Many fruit trees have escaped the devastation... Three lizard varieties were so frequent that, standing still in the bush, one could sometimes find oneself surrounded by up to 10 lizards. Sometimes a plentitude of heavily populated formicaries could become a bother. In a saltwater hole (diameter: 1 1/2 m., depth: 1/3 meter) on the farmstead Mauxean, Hellwig was shown a fish of dark-green-bluish, almost black color; it was about 30-40 cm. long; its caudal fin was placed horizontally, and it also worked in this direction. Two years ago, the typhoon had thrown this fish into this waterhole, and since then, it was said, nobody had fed the animal. Never before had the natives seen such a fish, and we felt justified in assuming that it belonged to regions which are beyond the reach of fishermen...

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 342 Woleai

The north-eastern section of the island. . .is part of the Pūyod region which belongs to the chief Mătewerit who is in Elato at present. There are eight farmsteads in this region.

Adjoining to the south-west--the boundary line runs across the middle of the inland lake--is Lūyapūdam (Lī́yab pídăm) with five farmsteads; this region belongs to Wučliyar (Uélīyar); Tăwoxāb, the south-western end of the island with its six farmsteads belongs to the chief Iyĕrimar. Each one of these three regions has two canoe houses, and several farmsteads consist of work- and cook-houses or sheds. Ghost- and menstruation-houses could not be seen. The wooden walls of these houses consist of planks which were vertically inserted between frame-beams.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Woleai 1-2

The counting of the palm-trees... revealed that there were 9480 palms on the island (several hundred very young palm trees and seedlings had not been counted). The three chiefs owned 3430 big palm trees; 5 "minor chiefs" own 3600 pieces; 40 pieces were the property of the unmarried sister of a man from Watoai who though he is living here does not own a single palm tree; he is, however, married abroad. According to the rule of inheritance, palm trees as well as landed property of men who had died without sons or brothers are said to become the property of the chiefs of those who had died. Evidently, however, women, too, could become heirs to their husbands; for each one of 2 widows owned 300 and 850 palms respectively.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 163 Woleai

A survey of the island's settlement conditions...brought the following result: 21 dwelling houses, 27 men, 29 women, children under 12 years of age: 6 boys, 11 girls; a total of 73 persons.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--256-257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians -1-2
116, 535 Woleai

[AN: A lively crowd had gathered in front of the canoe house where dancing and singing were in full progress.]....It was a marvellous sight...to view this column of some twenty young, well-built men who, clad in foliage-skirts and adorned with flowers on the breast and on the head, accompanied their singing now with graceful, and now with brisk motions; they often emphasized the rhythm by striking with their hands more or less loudly the parts of their bodies; each dance was terminated with a final stanza which was marked by wild yelling and clapping and which was appended with an additional "a hăka"-cry. These column-dances, many of them of an erotic nature, alternated with sitting dances and with dances with a stick (nauru). Hellwig was surprised to find here dances with a stick, since he had been told on Wolea that since the typhoon this kind of dance was not practised anymore. And here he saw not only the neatly worked dance sticks, but he witnessed also the rhythmic accuracy of beat which indicated considerable practice.... the first two sections of the dance could not be seen clearly. In the third section each one of the two groups of dancers of 8 and 10 men respectively formed two concentric circles which moved around a common point in opposite directions. This made it possible for the dancers who met after a few steps to stop and to beat stick against stick, thereby alternately turning the hands up and down: click-clack, click-clack; thus four blows sounded before the circles moved on. The fourth section was similar to the third one, but the four small circles had united into two large ones each, and the tempo had been increased, while a chorus of small boys was singing a frequently repeated text to the

accompaniment of the click-clack-rhythm... The sitting dances had an amazingly large selection of texts and movements. Immediately after the final cry "a hăka" which concluded each of the generally quite short sitting dances, one of the dancers proposed another text in a loud voice, and this proposal was instantly accepted and carried out. Two boys, 3-4 years of age, were the most fervent ones: they attended to their business ardently; they did everything more accurately and more carefully than the grown-ups, they made proposals and provided humorous incidents, for instance by singing faster toward the end and by gesticulating, so that they might come to the end eariler than the others, and this always made a very comical effect for, at the end, they always sang at the top of their shrill voices. [257] The evening before, Hellwig and especially the old people had been diverted by these two droll youngsters who had entertained them with solos and duets....Another specialty was offered by seven little girls. They had seated themselves behind the column of dancers and at first they accompanied several pantomimes with their clear and loud voices, afterwards they accompanied motion-dances during which the dancers jumped and turned so briskly that they were dripping with perspiration. Later on, during the sitting dances, they seated themselves at the side of the row of dancers and were able to bring a wonderful contrast and yet harmony into the tone-color (timbre) in a manner which cannot be described. Around midnight the spectacle was over.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 533 Woleai #2

A native from Wolea informed Hellwig that various lyrics had been quite new to him [LEM: in the spectacle on Utagal], and he went on explaining that new songs were constantly springing up and that just as many would be forgotten again due to the preference given to those tunes which were liked best, due also to the death of the composers in case they did not have any male relatives. Occasionally, one of the many old, forgotten songs was recalled and studied again; he himself [the Wolea man], like any other man, knew several songs since his days of youth, and these airs were studied anew, so that certain songs had a long life, though, frequently, they were not understood anymore since the acting persons and the basic events had become unknown.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 177, 441 Woleai

[AN: Considerable increase of ethnographic material noted by Hellwig].... There were many similarities to Truk culture, and we found material proof of the earlier direct relations with the remote Truk group. Many ornaments had come from Aúrepik and the rather distant Ngulú and Poloot (Puluwat) groups. A Spanish and a Japanese merchant, who before the typhoon had trade stations on the group, are said to have imported special ornaments of Spondyl shell. To this Japanese, the natives apparently owed the iron kitchen pots and the other European implements that could be found in every household.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 . Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ...Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 784, 423 Faraulep 1-2

A taboo-sign which had been posted by the owner of the island [LEM: of Eat], the chief Sauerū, debarred the inhabitants of the sister-islands from entering Eat; at certain times only they were permitted to collect there coconuts, turtle-eggs, or tobacco-leaves.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik 1-3

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elā, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wólea, Lámutrik...and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk ....Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 755 Elato

In one of the houses [LEM: on Elato Island] there was a sick man, and the sorcerer was ready to exorcise the devil. For that purpose he made use of a great mat-fan which was placed in front of the house, and he also drank the contents of a coconut bowl which stood in front of the fan and which was decorated with wreaths of flowers. When he had emptied the cup he hung magic medicines, wrapped up in banana leaves, on the wall of the house.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 131, 137, 484 Elato

Elato is the largest of the four islands which rest upon the reef that extends itself in a north-southern direction. Elato, situated to the north, is densely covered with forests; breadfruit trees and coconut palms predominate.... The natives [AN: who had come in canoes with trading intentions] did not look very trustworthy. They were importunate and begged constantly for tobacco... Trading attempts were made, but the prices were too high and consequently only a few objects could be bought.... On certain stretches the breadfruit trees reminded us of a German forest. On other places attention was drawn to thickets of Hibiscus which supply the textile fibers for mats and waistcloths.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--261-262 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 165, 177 Lamotrek

At present, many inhabitants are affected by influenza; in recent times 14 people died of it, and children may die within one day. [626] In addition, dysentery has killed victims. Thus the probability that diseases are spread by the voyages of the natives is much greater than the alleged importation of all kinds of diseases by the vessels of the whites. Only for venereal diseases the whites may be made responsible.....In earlier times the population of Lamutrik amounted to 1000 persons; twenty years ago there were only about 300 left, and now there are only ca. 220.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 162 Elato 1-4

There were on Elato 26 farmsteads with 19 permanent dwelling and sleeping houses and a number of primitive mat-houses. The population consisted of 87 persons. In addition there were two Wólea families whose members lived alternately in Elato or in Wólea, and there were finally 180 typhoon-refugees from Wólea.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Prior to the typhoon the islanders had been in close contact with Wólea, Aúrepik, Poloot (Poloat), Sátuwal, and the near island of Lámutruk; with Truk, however, they stood only in loose contact.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 867 Elato

The natives were courteous, but the women displayed at first a certain shyness which was due to the presence of the five whites and their colored company.... We noticed the good behaviour of the children on the islands which we had recently visited; they obeyed older persons willingly.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 164, 755 Elato

On Elato much ethnographic material could be acquired though an influenza epidemic had impaired our work. Many patients had been quartered in the four large canoe houses, and their relatives surrounded and nursed them. The "King" had taken precautions against the spread of the disease; the preventive measures consisted of exorcism ceremonies, dances, and songs. Several times a day mussel-horns were blown.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--271 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 424, 438 Lamotrek

Certain songs are, as it were, family-property; they are bequeathed to the son only, but may be imparted to others if suitable return is made for it. The intercourse with Yap is rather intense. From Yap even the red paint is obtained which, made durable by an admixture of breadfruit tree sap, is used for coloring the outer sides of the canoes .....

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--350 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 276, 438 Lamotrek

The natives almost begged for tobacco, and Krämer made high offers; but they rather denied themselves the pleasure of tobacco and kept their good articles for themselves. Krämer offered, for instance, 6 pounds of tobacco for a good Aúrepik belt, but without success.

4: Krämer-1 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 12
116, 131 Lamotrek

1. Notes from the Sailing Directions Südsee-Handbuch and British Pacific Islands Pilot (1933).

Position: Lamotrek in the middle approximately at Lat. 7° 27' N. and Long. 146° 23' East, and Elato exactly at Lat. 7° 29' 30" N. and Long. 146° 19' East; The Pacific Islands Pilot gives it as 7° 28' and 146° 24'.

Südsee-Handbuch, page 34: The Lámutrik Islands (Lamotrek, Swede) are located approximately 42 nautical miles west of Sátuwal on a triangular atoll. The corner of the triangle in the southeast is the island of Lámutrik, and in the north the island of Puch, and in the west the island of Falaite; the latter two are uninhabited. In the center of Lámutrik, we have a swamp, where taro and sugar-cane grow. On Lámutrik there is a trading station of the Westkarolinengesellschaft which is directed by a white dealer.

There are several entrance passages into the lagoon. The best is the passage southeast of Puch; the channel further to the southeast and closer to the island of Lámutrik is dangerous owing to the cliffs in the lagoon at that point. In the south of the atoll there are a number of inferior boat passages in addition to one good one.

There are anchorages in the lagoon.

4: Krämer--1 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 731 Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Natives: Lámutrik has a population of no more than 200, who may be looked upon as new arrivals. Sixty years ago the tidal wave of a typhoon had in part destroyed the population and in part had forced it to emigrate to Truk, Jap, and Saipan; later on some of them returned to their home islands.

4: Krämer--1-3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, page 34]: The wind and weather are similar to conditions on Jap: from May to September calms and indefinite winds prevail, but mostly they are those of the southern quadrant; from December to May, on the other hand, the northeastern monsoon is dominant. *

*It would more accurately be called a trade wind instead of a monsoon, because the true monsoon season--such as it occurs in the Indian Ocean--is lacking.

In 1903 the northeastern monsoon blew from January until the middle of April; from then on until November eastern winds prevailed, but the air currents were irregular and southwestern winds were frequent. Between November and January the wind blew principally from southeast to northeast. Typhoons on the whole are rather rare, but the depopulation of the islands around the year 1845 is explained by just this type of natural catastrophe. The violent typhoon of March 1907 also wrought devastation on these islands. [3]

Rain falls during all months, but hitherto limited measurements have shown that 1,540 millimeters or 56% of the total are to be attributed to the five months from April to August. The driest month is February with no more than 52 millimeters of rainfall. January, February and March with 331 millimeters receive only 12% of the total.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato 1-6

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: The Elato Islands, approximately 5 nautical miles from Lámutrik, are located on a reef extending north-south and having a length of 4 nautical miles. The group consists of four islands of which Elato in the north is the largest.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

The Südsee-Handbuch on page 5 after Hans Meyer Das Deutsche Kolonialreich gives rainfall measurements for Lámutrik, lat. 7° 26' W, long. 146° 30' E.

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	144	52	135	294	236	342	327	341	153	264	208	244

Total: 2,741 millimeters

Following these statistics is a treatment of the winds.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 731 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: In 1903 the population [MR: of Elato] amounted to 90 heads; probably it has decreased even further through the typhoon of March 28, 1907.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Taos and Uler are located south of the Elato Islands on a reef separated from that of the others.

In this connection see the special plan on map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903, in the upper right hand corner.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: The entrance passage to the [MR: Elato] lagoon is in the east; it is approximately 90 meters wide and the water is 9 to 11 meters deep.

Anchorages: The British warship "Sphinx" threw anchor in February 1862 in the lagoon in a depth of 20 meters. The anchoring place was located about 1/2 a nautical mile south of the western tip of the island of Elato. Here the ship stayed for 10 days and cut firewood. Water was provided by digging pits.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Olimarao

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch p. 34]: The Olimaráu Islands (Hambruch: Olimaraue, story 2 of Füs) are located northeast of the Elato Islands; they are uninhabited. To this group belong the two islands of Olimaráu and Falipi. The former is located in the northeast and the latter in the southwest of the same reef.

4: Krämer--3-4
116, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. I, page 504: The Lamotrek Islands, approximately 5 miles east of the Elato Islands consist of 3 weeded islets on a triangular atoll. The island of Lamotrek, with an elevation of 107 feet (32.6 meters) up to the tops of the trees, is located at the extreme eastern tip of the atoll. The passage approximately 3/4 of a mile south of Puguet Island, the northernmost of the islands, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon. During the time of the northeastern winds the high seas set through it into the lagoon and special care is necessary. There is an entrance in the middle of the south side of the atoll; it has a width of about 2 cable lengths. This entrance is hard to find but is good when the winds are strong. Westward of the latter there is another entrance which is approximately 1-1/2 cable lengths in width. All the other entrances are narrow. [4]

Off the western side of Lamotrek (Lat. 7° 28' N and Long. 146° 24' E.) there is an anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but it is reported that when westerly winds are blowing the sea may become rather high. Landings are possible on the sandy beach at the western side of Lamotrek Island. In 1930 Lamotrek had a population of 165 including one Japanese.

The islands of Pugue and Falaite were uninhabited. There is little fowl and few pigs, but fish are abundant.

4: Krämer--4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Elato 13

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]: The Elato Islands, approximately 20 miles southeast of Olimarao, consist of two atolls. There are four islands on the northern one of the atolls and the largest of them is Elato at the northern end. Its elevation is 101 feet (30.8 meters) up to the tops of the trees and the ground is sandy.

On the eastern side of the atoll, approximately one mile southwest of Elato there is an entrance to the lagoon; it is about half a cable length in width and has a depth of 5-6 fathoms (9.1-11 meters). In February 1862 H. M. S. "Sphinx" sailed into the lagoon and anchored in a depth of 11 fathoms (20.1 meters) approximately 1/2 mile south of the western tip of Elato. In 1930 the population numbered 72.

The southern atoll with the islands of Toas and Uler on its southeastern side is separated from the northern atoll by a passage about 1-1/4 mile wide. A narrow passage through the reef is found about 2 cable lengths north of the island of Taos [sic]; all but small boats have trouble steering through it.

In this connection see the special plan on map 772 of the Admirality made after that of Japan. Map of the year 1925.

4: Krämer--4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Olimarao

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]; The island of Olimarao is located on the northern side of the atoll-forming reef approximately 95 miles south southeast of the island of Gaferut; it is covered with coconut palms and other trees. Around the entire island the ground is steep and ill fitted for landing purposes.

On Falifi at the western extremity of the atoll trees grow luxuriantly, but there are no coconut trees included in the lot. . . .

There are irregular depths at the northwestern side of the atoll, where the reef is marked by breakers at all times; there is no entrance to the lagoon on this side. On the southern side there are two shallow entrances; the eastern one is one half mile in width and the western one three cable lengths. It is reported that the depths in the lagoon are regular with no dangers (map 772).

4: Krämer--4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161 Olimarao

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]: The atoll [MR: Olimarao] does not have any permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Elato.

Meinicke, on page 358 says: "Lamotrek (Lamurec, Namurek) was discovered in 1797 by Wilson and was called Swede, Haweis and Lew." (Krusenstern, Haweio).

In my book Palau I, pages 14, 15, and 180 it is related that the names of the islands of the Lamotrek group had been told as early as 1696 to Peter Clain on Samal (Philippines); some Carolinians had been cast adrift, who had used the names of Puc and Falait...for Lamurrec and Ylatu (Elato) and Lamuliur. On Clain's map (Palau I, page 17) of 1706 Falú or Lamuirec is given with Taramit (Falait?) and at the top of the map, separated from it, there are the two islands of Olutil (Oletel) and Falipe (Falipi) instead of Elato, and for Lamolior the two islands of Tauas (Toas) and Olor (Olor), and next to them in the west is Olimarau (Olimarau). At the same time it is claimed that Lamurrec was the largest of the islands and that the king of all the islands lived on it (Palau I, page 15). Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, III, page 99 states that in 1800 the sovereignty had been passed on to king Toua of Oleai....

Wilson's report indicated that the group was known to whites before 1797; Wilson was received here as capitaine. Thus it is possible that French ships had called previously. One of them under Capitaine Le Gentil de la Barbinais had visited Guam in 1715 on the way from Peru to the Marianas. When the French ship took its course WNW after its voyage through the Ralik-Ratak north of the Carolines it had reached Guam. Most of the Spaniards who sailed around the globe took the same course (see Palau) and that is the reason why the Central Carolines were discovered so late.

After Le Géntil Bougainville 1766-69, La Pereuse 1780-90, and d'Entrecasteaux 1791-93 sailed through the Pacific; but they kept their course south of the equator. It was not until 1780-81 that Maurelle once more reached Guam, and he was followed by Marchank 1790-92 on his voyage from Hawaii (1828). There is no mention or indication in their reports that they went southward into the region of Lamotrek and Oleai. It is probable that on Guam they met some Central Carolinians; the latter in any case must have been well informed about the whites due to the fact that they had drifted ashore on the Philippines. But they should really have used the word capitano and thus the French use of the term remains unexplained. [6]

Captain James Wilson of the ship Duff was coming from the south and reports as follows (page 293ff.): October 1797: "On the 25th we sighted a shallow boat in W to N and soon afterwards observed some boats taking their course towards us. About 8 A. M. one pulled up alongside without the slightest fear or hesitation which led us to the assumption that they must previously have had some contact with Europeans; their frequent mention of the "capitaine" substantiated that idea. This first group was followed by several others who exchanged their fishhooks(made of shell) and their fishing lines and coconut fibers for anything that we chose to give them. When several of them were allowed to come on board they showed inclination to refrain from stealing for a considerable length of time. But the natives in the canoes soon gave us reason to change out good impression since

they stole the rowing rings, which the skillful Tonga islanders had tried in vain. One boy was caught as he was trying to pass a pump into his own canoe. Since we were used to this sort of thing we merely drove them off the deck for these first plunderings; but when we were busy in the cabin eating we heard them at work trying to chop the belt-head off the rowing ring; when the captain noticed this activity he fired a few little shots in the direction of the islanders whereupon they immediately fled. At this very time William Tucker and John Connelly were discovered swimming under the stern of the boat with the intention of escaping to the boats; their hesitation proved that they were afraid that they might also become the objects of the shots. The captain, as in the past was furious at their ingratitude and their attempt at deception, but was willing to put an end to the latter and told them that if they wanted to leave they should go ahead and do so; he would not fire on them. Connelly answered: "Thank you, Sir" and both swam to the boats and were received by wild shouts of the natives. Soon afterwards when a breeze from northeast arose, we continued on our course and left the two men behind. (On Elato the natives told Hambruch that they remembered Anari because he had always quarreled when he was the helmsman.) Connelly we had removed by force from Tongatabu because he threatened the missionaries. During his stay on board he had been quiet and in the ship's reports was listed as a good seaman who was satisfied with his position until his last action proved him to have been a pretender.....[7]

The spot in which the two men had chosen to spend their last days is a small island

at the bosom of the deep; it has a circumference of no more than 2 to 3 miles. The comforts and necessities of life are so scant that we must assume that their means of subsistence were limited to fish and roots, coconuts and possibly some breadfruit.

The natives do not belong to a strong race. The color of their skin is dark copper, and they are lively. We did not see any women. Their boats were different from all those we had hitherto seen, because they rose high at both ends and were painted red. They have outriggers and may sail with either of their two ends in front. Their sails are made almost in the same fashion as the sailing canoes of the Tonga Islands. The location of the island is at Lat. 7° 22'N. and Long. 146° 48' E. We called it Tucker's Island after the member of the crew who had run off.

Carried by light winds from the northeast we continued on our course having left Tucker and his companion behind to think about the poor choice they had made. . . .

October 26, 1797. When we had advanced approximately 10 leagues westward we sighted another island* in the north and at 4 A. M. two more appeared in the NW; soon after that, at daybreak, we could count six of these small islands, their extreme tips oriented from NW to N to NE to E: we took our course towards the southernmost of these islands (Lamolier) and soon the boat was surrounded by a large number of

*Lamotrek group

canoes. [ER: Here one of the members of the crew went ashore to live among the natives.] [8]... The natives of this island group, their boats, utensils and their desire for iron are the same as on Tucker Island. The afternoon was cloudy and rainy, but this was by no means of concern to the canoes; many of them followed us until their island was out of sight. When we noticed them stopping in a bay in the north we came to the conclusion that they wanted to visit a village in that part of the island region.

27. At 10 A. M. we sighted another low island in the southwest and changed our course in order to sail south of it. When it was to the west of us it appeared as if there were two islands. Once more many natives approached us and traded with us just as the others had done. One peculiar and noteworthy thing we had observed on our voyage through this island region was that we had not seen any women; this fact led us to believe that either the men were more jealous than their eastern neighbors or that they held their women in higher esteem. Possibly some time ago they may have had to protect them against some over-anxious visitors. The latitude of these sister islands is 7° 14' N and Long. 144° 50' E (Ifaluk). At 4 P. M. the latter lay E to N at a distance of 2 leagues. Just before dark we saw another island WNW at a distance of 3 or 4 leagues. We took our course with the intention of sailing south of it and thus more easily to avoid all danger along the route; around midnight the island lay to the NNE.

28. At 4:00 A. M. on the 28th we discovered other islands and by means of our night instruments we could distinguish the ones closest to us from WNW to N to W. At this

time a calm prevailed which continued for some time. At daybreak we counted six areas of land which according to their size deserved to be called [9] islands and 7 islets or keyes; all of them together we called by the name of "13 Islands" (Oleai).

4: Krämer--9 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 12
116, 175 Lamotrek

In line with the procedure of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius on October 26, 1797, Lamotrek was called Swede Island,.....At that time Ilematip... seemed to have been chief of Elato, as Hambruch learned.

According to Espinosa (see Palau I, page 175) an American frigate, "La Lidia," in 1801 came to the Carolines and passed Iselook (Ifaluk) and Lamursek. But the discovery does not seem absolutely sure and nothing was reported on the islands as far as it is known.

In 1828 Dumont d'Urville passed the location of "Lamoursek," but did not see anything. Cheyne (see Palau II, page 364) gives Swede Island (6 islands)...

The English warship H. M. S. "Espiegle" under Captain Ryle is said to have visited the group. For unknown reasons this man is said to have felled the breadfruit trees on Elato.

On April 5, 1880 the Englishman Lewis, after adventurous voyages around Australia and Samoa reached the group and became the first trader. He lived on Lamotrek for about 11 years and married a Chamorro woman (daughter see source Plate 3d), whose sister was married to the trader Friedländer on Yap; Lewis himself later went to Yap but there lost all his money so that he returned to Lamotrek around 1900.

4: Krämer--9
116, 133

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Ifalik

Sëteval (Sätewal) in the east of Lámotrek is at a distance of only 37 nautical miles from the latter, which is approximately the same as the distance of Ifaluk from Oleai. On map 93 a shoal is marked ten nautical miles NNE of Ifaluk...and it is said that it is covered by 12 meters of water; but a note is added which reads "supposedly even more shallow." Naturally this shoal is well known to the natives. On Lamotrek I learned that it was called Fas (=stone?) and that it lay dry at low water. The waves come together in this spot so that water columns shoot up to such a height that sometimes they may be observed from Ifaluk.

After 1900 government representatives have rarely visited the remote island. The Deutsche Kolonialblatt 1906, page 263, records one visit; the main reasons were the scale insects of the coconut palms and the prevention of the consumption of toddy. The visit lasted from December 1-3, 1905 (see Oleai).

A. and E. Krämer stayed here from November 21 to December 10, 1909; Hambruch was on Elato from November 20-25. [10]

The fact that, making the voyage with my wife, I did not use the ship of the expedition but the mail steamboat "Germania" for my crossing to Truk, indicates that Lamotrek at that very time was included in the main service lines. It is true that the boat only called for copra. The island was not yet visited by whites.

4: Krämer--10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Lamotrek / 1

The inhabitants [MR: of Lamotrek] are light brown Central Carolinians. The pictures show that some refined types are represented. The hair of the natives in a few cases... is curly, but the faces do not have negroid features. Even big beards occur as the face of Ikisera shows [MR: see source, plate 2b]; his face may well be aligned with some European types. Noses are well formed and do not have the Malayan upturned forms. The latter is a little more pronounced with Bóesu and Urúpo [MR: see source, Plate 1a] but Sukurang of the same family does not have it; in his case we observe a more projecting zygomatic arch, which is enhanced by the thinness of his face. Also the girls... have very pleasing forms and agreeable features; the same is true of the woman on plāte 3c [MR: see source] with her wide face. In the case of the half-breed Bessie Lewis [MR: see source, Plate 3d] the British mixture does not appear to an advantage.

4: Krämer--10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Elato

We heard that no more than 220 natives were left on Lamotrek; it is said that in 1890 they still numbered 300 and that in former times the figure was a high as 1000. These statements are in line with the information received by the shipwrecked who reached the shores of the island in 1787 and who gave the population as 1400. Freycinet on page 101 says that Lamoursek had 2000, Elato 1200 and Ulor 180 inhabitants, and that 170 people lived on Puk and 130 on Falati; his figures would apply to the time around 1800. Even on Goulimarao (Olimarau) the natives were supposed to have numbered 225. During our stay on the island there were many cases of influenza and dysentery so that we may assume a further decrese in the population figures. The Pacific Islands Pilot (page 4) says that in 1930 there were no more than 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek and 72 on Elato.

Accordingly in 1800 when the king of Lamotrek ruled over almost all the coral islands, the population was undoubtedly very large and possibly we were dealing with overpopulation which later was reversed (see Oleai).

4: Krämer--II (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 194 Lamotrek

[ER: Hambruch and the trader Lewis have made studies of the language of the natives of Lamotrek.]

With reference to the consonants it must be said that l is very commonly used for n; that means that Lamotrek is to be read for Namotrek, wherever the latter appears. Furthermore alus is used instead of anu "spirit"; Wilson earlier had complained that l and n often could not be distinguished.

It is noteworthy that the Englishman Lewis usually used r's for the sound dj; similarly he preferred n to l, although l was definitely predominant on Lamotrek.

th is formed similarly to the English, but in the back of the palate is subject to a gutteral stop.

The frequent opposite alignment of good and bad on Lamotrek is expressed by the words starting with ila and tip; the meaning is that of good and evil thoughts.

ilālang	in heaven	tipenlang
ilālal	on earth below	tipelal
ilafalū	on land	tipelifalū
ilafang	in the north	tipélifang
ilāeaur	in the south	tipeliaur
ilagóteu	in the east	tipeligóteu
ila ilitou	in the west	tipelilitou

Other good characters are:

ila mellau	life
ilafegér	attentive, honest
iladjóafidj	industrious
ila talingafi	obedient
ilagotŏdjig	saving, benevolent
ilamamai	good natured, noble
ilagŏggo	loving, peaceable

Bad characteristics, on the other hand, which nevertheless also begin with ila...are the following: [12]

ilamēs	death
ilangau	bad thoughts
ilāmau	harsh
ilamodjog	thievish
ilatalingeai	inattentive, not hearing
iladjorau	lazy
ila gatŏlap	scornful, proud ...

Elisabeth Krämer listed the following:

What is your name?	iffa itom
Yes	ngao
no	eopŏē
none	tore
I want to	i te perri, igotjui
I don't want it	i dē th iperri, I do not like it, i gangova
come here	kai buitoch (t=d)
go away	djümēi gira
don't be afraid	tore mettach

I am not afraid	i tai mettach
from where are you coming?	ko buitoch meidja
where are you going?	ko boll aidja
later	feidgott
wait	uatti, gattullug ko
I shall come to-morrow	leu inga dja buitoch
well, good	mamuai
bad	ingau
where is the path to	iffa ennape
pronounce	kabetta
go	gies ĕ maruemal, shi bulĕ loch
this	iĕle
that	i gelale
that man	matalale
I like to eat	i amon ni mongor [13]
show me	kavoring ĕ lie
I want to see	i bue pipi
come with me	bui togorei
buy	boibogadjau

4: Krämer--11-13 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 192 Lamotrek

What do you want?	metta go teperri
What do you give me?	metta go bogannẽai
get for me (from a distance)	gagato
sit down	matẽ tū
get up	suthach

4: Krämer--14 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 797 Lamotrek

There is no [MR: mission] station on the island [MR: of Lamotrek] but influence is extended from Truk and from the west.

The largest and at the same time the principal island of Lámotrek does not have a special name, but is called after the lagoon, at the eastern end of which it is located. From S to N it is approximately 1250 meters long and in the middle it is a little over 700 meters wide. From south to north it becomes narrower in form. The northern cape is called Lugliong. In the west of the northern half, at the inland water, there is a bay which serves as a landing place. Here the village is located. A sketch map of the island was made between November 20-26, 1909 by the First Officer of the "Peiho" [MR: see 4: Krämer 15]. It showed the relative depths of the bay; its southern cape is [16] called Paliauei, whereas the northern corner is known as Uŏlebugui, "at the corner." [MR: see house 30 on map 3. 4: Krämer 18]

A sandbank separates the bay from the approximately 30-meter-deep lagoon; the sandbank from north to south has depths of 9, 3, 7, 12, 14 and 16 meters; inland from the sandbank the depth is 19 meters, which quickly decreases towards the land. This depth is called Mólog as the plan of the settlement on map 3 shows; southward it ends in a boat canal tauali vá. Thus conditions are similar to those of the eastern basin of the Onoun atoll at the island of Pisaras, except that the latter is much smaller than Lámotrek and projects eastward out of the line of the encircling ring.... The settlement is located inside the western bend [MR: of the bay] in a wide swinging arch. Inside the latter, in the

south, there is a small additional bay; it is less obvious on map 3 but is definitely shown on plate 1b [MR: 4: Krämer 413, Plate 1b]. Here the boathouse Aboi in which we stayed is located. Southward the bay ends in the wide sandy beach of cape Paliauei, where the Faktaipu and the house of the trader Lewis are located.

In the east: a. Lamotrek. . . or Namotrek, correctly Lamodjek. . . from lámo or namo, "the lagoon"; it is called trek, tjek, "small," although it is the largest of the three and longer (7 nautical miles) than Oleai which has a length of only 5-1/2 nautical miles. But it is shorter than well known Mokemok in the west, which from south to north measures about 20 nautical miles. Sometimes it is said that rek is the same word as rak, the season, i. e. the season, because the weather is always good; in that case it remains unexplained.

b. Falaite. . . in the west of the atoll; more correctly called Faleit or in former times Faleitabut; the word is derived from feiabut "unlucky child," because in the past the people on the island were wild; at the present time Falaite is uninhabited.

c. Puch. . . Pik small island in the north of the ring and usually pronounced Búiug; the word is derived from buik "boy" (Palau) and also sounded like it. Puch is uninhabited. In the east of the island is the good entrance Taualibúiug and in the west the boat passage Metaliár. Between Pik and the main island there is another entrance which on map 93 [MR: of the Reichsmarineamt 1903] is called the "dangerous entrance" [MR: 4: Krämer 2] [17]

Sailing southeast in the lagoon on the reef east of this entrance and on the southern side one comes to a projection of the reef which is covered with sand. It is the sandy cape of Mongalepi. If one draws a line from here southward which crosses the inland water and

reaches the southern reef--formerly at the rock Faisar (which disappeared in the last typhoon)--one gets the sósor boundary. . . which is the western limit of the district of the island of Lamotrek. East of the line no taboos need to be observed, but west of it one must fast if one sails early in the morning westward across the boundary. Smoking, too, is forbidden under such circumstances.

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Elato 1-2

Elato, sometimes simply pronounced Elat, because that is the word used for the seaweed after which the atoll and the main island are called; the latter is located in the north of the reef. The reef is reniform and has a bay opening to the east with a boat entrance into a small lagoon, which occupies only the northern part (Japanese map [MR: of 1925 on which the Admiralty map 772 was based]). In the southern part, which is separated from the northern, there seems to be little inland water. At the southern end the sandy island of Falipi is located; in the center (East). The island of the German map [MR: map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903] in the middle (w)Oletel (Hambruch: Oletul). Kari (Hambruch: Kare Reef) and Tamas are not given on the Japanese map. Hambruch, in addition, mentions Merekang "sharp point," Toeirul "calm quiet water" and Oilipi "on the sand."

Lamolior is uninhabited and located 2 nautical miles south of the atoll of Elat. "Lagoon of the south" with the islands of Toas and Olor (German map: Ulor).

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 161 Olimarao

4. Olimarau is uninhabited*; the name is derived from vol "opposite the blue sea" (Truk: madau). It is located 26 nautical miles northwest of Elato. The natives visit the island for turtle fishing, Hambruch learned that the last native of Olimarau had died in 1899 on Lamotrek.

* According to Freycinet Goulimarao around 1800 had 225 inhabitants

4: Krämer--17-19 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361 Lamotrek

The settlements of Lámotrek. Study of 1909.

The large village...is located at the western shore of the lagoon and mainly in the bend of the bay.... The uninhabited part of the island is called gápilam (see house 19).

A unit of buildings with its surrounding land is called bókut or búkut (illustration 51 page 109 [MR: in source]).

A building unit comprises a living house, supply house, cooking house and a menstrual lodge.

The village is divided into the "south" Jaur, where the fal canoe houses a. Faletaipu and b. Jalói (abei) [MR: 4 Kramer 413 plate 16], which is beautifully decorated in the interior (see color plate II [in source]) are located; [19] in addition there are here properties 1-12. In this section there also stood the house of the trader Lewis which was called Ngalangisét "near the sea" and south of it on cape Paliauei the burials of lot 5 were found. On the land of the headchief Sukurang stood the fal'lap Marólipei, the house of the spirits.

In the "center" Lúgalap there were the canoe houses c. Lúgal and d. Kulong, and properties 13-20. This is also the location of the grove with the house of the spirits fal'lap Lématak (or Lámetag)which in 1890 already lay in ruins. Dense virgin forest like cordia shrubbery was found here [MR: 4: Kramer 413, plate 46].

The "North" is called Jefang: it comprises the canoe houses e. Falemára, f. Gatia rákes, g. Vorietag, and h. Gauárag (or Gauósag), i. Falemáreg, and k. Uelibugui, lots 21-30. The boundary of the land is called róros.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Lamotrek

List of chiefs

Lámotrek

1. Súkurang...
2. Angareisuk "the hair of Sukurang made curly by extensive fishing"
3. Teliméra or Itelimé́ra...
4. Uamop
5. Gogoiaim

Elato (Hambruch)

1. Mailipue 1909
2. Fetal e tauuo
3. Lŏngarăle
4. Mangilé́i
5. Laremā̃t
6. Molī́t
7. Laliigŭr
8. Ilematĭp [MR: Hambruch learned that he was chief at the time of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius in 1797]
9. Feiemelâu* or Oroéihâu

* At this time the first whites are said to have come (probably 1797 on the "Duff")

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-2
Lamotrek

Lamotrek: Since the first three of the chiefs are brothers we are dealing only with approximately three generations and no more than 100 years. Nothing more was reported than that in the past the chiefs had been very powerful, which is quite in line with the information by Clain [4: Kramer 5-9, p. 5] It is possible that at the time of Lütke Gogoiaim was in office. Cantova mentions Mattuson as head chief in 1722.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato 12

Hambruch lists 9 chiefs (pimóon tamŏl) for Elato. It has been impossible to establish how far the ninth of the series dated back.

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 343, 423 Lamotrek

The Canoehouses and their owners are:

fal	Owner	House
a) Faletaipu, former lot of the chief on which no one was to transgress.	Sukurang and Selābo	24a
b) Aboi (also called Eaboi and Ieloi) plate 1b and 9c, ill 53.	Bóesu	4
c) Lúgal plate 1b.	Lólit	5
d) Kulong	Faragaus	1
e) Falemara	Sukúlubo	14
f) Gatia rákēs "near the calophyllum"	Meisor	24a
g) Voriē tag or Boerieitug	Urupo	10
h) Gauárag (also called Gauosag) "spot of grudge"	Ikeséra	25
i) Falemareg		
k) [sic] Uélibugui or Uōle		30

List of Houses on Elato

In the main they are primitive huts since no real reconstruction work has been done since the typhoon of 1907.

1. Etsatiù, bush hut
2. Kŭ ŭei, birth hut
3. Cooking house, măl ŭm, which at the same time is used as sleeping quarters for menstruating women.
4. House for women in childbed, im a fătsŭ...
5. Ilaroéi, visitors from Oleai
6. Bŭŏl i bŭgi, visitors from Oleai
7. Tsŭiĕrăs, visitors from Oleai.
8. Fazefăl, 1 ♂ (♀. died)
9. Faliŏp, 3 ♂, 3 ♀, --, 1 girl
10. Im mo gitigit
11. Legóŭria, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
12. Făl e gílĭau, 1 ♀
13. Gitoŭ, 4♂, 2♀, 2 boys. It is owned by Oleai islanders from Uazagor, who also have property and a house there, and who at times live on Oleai and at times on Elato
14. Pâùūĭl, 3 ♂, 4 ♀, --, 1 girl

The cooking house is built from the hut found on deck of a ship-wrecked boat.

Stone foundation of the former " great house" maifŭrz.

Remnants of the former "great house" --eâur e lăp.

15. Olegešārs, 5 ♂, 5 ♀, --, 1 girl
16. Nogŭr, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
17. Lugăl; Japanese trading station, now deserted
18. Uŏlĕl, people from Pâu i ĕl come here
19. Kătogālū, 2 ♂, 2 ♀, 1 boy and 1 girl
20. Kolūng, 1 ♂, 1 ♀
21. Uŏlipār, 4 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, --
22. Kŭsorŏlo, 4 ♂, 4 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
23. Kăti e făl, house of the chief, 4 ♂, 1 ♀, --
24. Rolegorăl, belongs to 23

On the house there is a drawing of a vulva, māk e boār.

25. Matal ie eăl, is inhabited only at the time of the mosquito plague since then a fresh wind blows there
26. Merekam. Birth hut, house for women in childbed and menstrual lodge of the visitors from Oleai. [31]

4: Krämer--30-31
116, 361, 162

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

Property units: 13 ♂ 41
Buildings: 26 ♀ 32
boys 7
girls 7
total 87

The true old Elato natives are about to die out.

Only the people settled on Elato have been included in the enumeration. Not listed are the Oleai islanders--numbering about 180--who since the typhoon of 1907 have found shelter, and who live very closely together in miserable huts. They intend soon to return to Oleai.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565, 558 Elato 1-7

Families, ge i leng

On Elato there live four families of which always two and two intermarry; in addition there are two families which constitute the lower class.

The nobles:

1. Mailupūe
2. Gemairēng
3. Mańau li fùs
4. Zau fēle

The lower class:

5. Ali ti lia
6. Zau üil

In the past No. 2 ranked higher, but in the course of time it has been replaced by 1. The first chief on Elato is a member of the family Zau fēle.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 585 Elato

The marriage contract takes the form of an exchange of two baskets of food, (nuts, taro, mar). That is all there is to the ceremony. At the wedding the man announces his wishes and the woman hers; the relatives of the couple prepare food, which is exchanged. Nor are payments made upon the birth of a child.

4: Krämer--3f (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565 Elato

All men may marry into the highest ranking families, although they themselves may come from the lowest.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 591, 428 Elato

The woman is the owner of the house. When he marries, the man goes to live in the house of his wife (see Truk); an exception to that rule may be that he continues to live in his own house, which upon his death is inherited by the next oldest man of the family of the husband. The children are the heirs of the mother. The eldest son leads the list and then follow the younger boys, who have first claims before their sisters.

4: Krämer--31
116, 643, 428

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

In the case of the chief his brother is the heir, then follow his nephews, and the sons of the sisters. His own son does not have any power. The brothers claim the inheritance according to age.

4: Krämer--31
116, 604, 593

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Mother-right exists. It has resulted from the right of work and duty, for the man does little. The husband does not have anything to do with the family; it is the brother of the mother who does.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 423 Elato

awŭăr cucumber tree. They are common property and the fruit is distributed to the various houses.

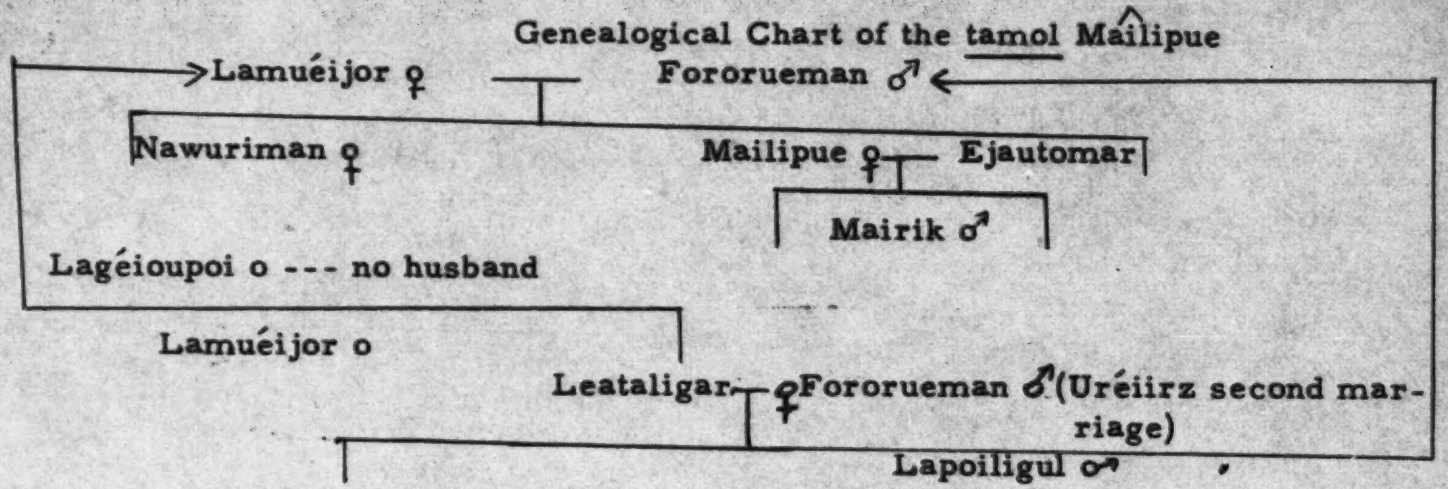
4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato 1-3

Motéijamâu ♂ and Hawŭm ♀ were the first to come to Elato. They came from Lamutse after having produced a boy and a girl on that island and in Pig, Pikelōt, and Setūān; the two children are looked upon as the predecessors of the people on the respective islands. On Elato Lóii ♂ and Lemau ŭ răle ♀ are thought of as the original ancestors; Lóii is the 1st chief. Ifalŭk, Faroilip, etc., were not settled by the same couple.

4: Krämer--32
116, 173

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato



4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 167 Elato

At the time of Ilematip the first whites came to Elato.

In the old times chief Teiar came from Truk with his people subjected Elato and ruled over the island. When he was in office the natives of Ifaluk came over and killed all the inhabitants of Elato. Elato was settled anew by the people of Ifaluk. Mŏz was the chief. At that time all the natives of Nămeliaur were also slain and those of Lamŭtsik were greatly decimated. Elato is a colony of Ifaluk.

4: Krämer--33
116, 132

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek
Elato

On December 12, 1900 a light typhoon is said to have hit the [Lamotrek] islands. Southwestern winds in January are looked upon as bad omens. In 1907 the typhoon of Oleai did not hit the Lamotrek group quite as hard.

4: Krämer--34 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

European dress is not seen [VMM: on Lamotrek]

The costume of both sexes is similar to that of the natives of Truk and the surrounding islands. The men wear the G-string and the boys go naked; women wear their plaited mats, and growing girls like to cover themselves in front and in the back with bunches of leaves. This protection is known as titi; it is the same word that is used on Samoa for the girls' apron.

Girls' skirts are made in the following manner: fern leaves are dried in the sun and then the stalks are chewed (Elisabeth Krämer: nürei) until they become soft. Then two of the leaves are tied with two others and two new ones are placed on them from both the right and the left and the stems are plaited into a braid while the tips are held between the knees. On Plate 3b [MR: see source] one can well see the stems sticking out on top and the picture shows very well the type of ornamentation that the girls put on. Parinarium nuts were named as scent; they had drifted ashore and were hung up on women's houses. Elato: aiss.

4: Krämer--34-35 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

The natives wear flower wreaths, headbands, earrings, and necklaces of coconut rings (Hellwig: éffirre) and little slabs known as dagág or as madja, if they are made of white shell; [35] in addition they like little perforated slabs of conus shell, which are called mat and vul, and small rings of red shells, which are called faibar (faubar, Truk).

1.2

4: Krämer--35 (1909) 1937? Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

Exaggeration in ornamentation such as is usual in the region of Truk, neither occurs on Lamotrek nor farther west; it gradually decreases in the direction of Palau, where ornamentation no longer plays any part and of which the telau, an ornament of two little balls (Palau III, page 21, illustration 12) is reminiscent. [MR: in source.]

(=fish tail) and known by the name of pera lig; 2224 burai, 2135 borói, which are large rings of tortoise shell (Truk: bodj) that are sometimes worn as breast ornaments; 2233 tortoise shell rings boral lágelag, which is also another name for the tortoise shell arm rings which are otherwise known as lagál; 2260 and a necklace of 80 coconut beads with a few scattered faubar; 2319 is a red cockle shell.

Necklaces are not worn very much; they are called marremarre and are made of three to seven strands of coconut beads [36] (Hellwig; 2158 billigorru); in the latter case a piece of shell (lure) is attached to one of the tying ends. Hellwig 2280-6053 remarks that it comes from Ifaluk. Also triangular pieces of faipar serve as ornaments similar to those that are worn as earrings (see Oleai-Feis). A simple necklace (Hellwig 2260-6035) has only a few coconut rings plaited into the necklace at certain intervals from one another (Hellwig: éffirre); the plaiting material is made of banana fibers.

Arm rings: see above, the section on ear ornaments. See also Plate 3b [VMM: see source]; they may be made of tortoise shell (very small ones are worn in the ears) and trochus.

We had occasion to see some charming flower wreaths that are worn in the hair; among them was a green and white one of premna leaves and umbels of the fragraea (a); another one was green, white and yellow and made from the white blossoms of the salt water shrub scaevola and yellow buds of the Trionfettia procumbens (b)....; here the two are represented on drawings, figure 1 [MR: see source].

A native gave me a strange head wreath. The end of half a coconut frond is bent into the shape of a circle, and small cylinders are fastened to the pinnae that are removed from the area of the leaf; the cylinders are supposed to be young breadfruit. [See source, figure 2.] Young breadfruit are very precious on all coral islands and are the objects of taboos so that it is not likely that the islanders pick them without good reason. Either we are dealing with some sort of breadfruit magic about which we could not learn anything or a branch of young fruit had broken off.

Ears: Earrings, suasua, are worn in the elongated earlobes: the ornaments may take the form of rings and little chains of coconut shell, tortoise shell and conus, but we do not find them in the same abundance in which they occur on Truk. Rings resembling watch wheels and tebau occur. The beautiful ear ornaments in Müller 25, Figure 19 do not come from Oleai but from Sovol.

Hellwig mentions various names for the ornaments: 2162 udjaudj of coconut beads and conus shell in four sections; 2194 marrigiau or madsi... with pteroceras knobs; 2199 large coconut rings called lelle mangar (watch wheel: leli mangal); halfmoon shaped

4: Krämer--34-37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Elato

[VVM: For a discussion of ornaments worn, see 4: Kramer 34-37]

The natives generally wear their hair short; they do not give special attention to hair-dress even in case their hair is long. Figure 5 shows the weaver Dailemar [VVM: see source] who wore her hair particularly short. [37]

According to Cantova, page 312, the chiefs of the Western Carolines grow long beards in order to enhance their prestige.

Combs are used as ornaments, but they are neither as frequent nor as varied in form as they are on Truk. Plate 10a shows a wide comb with three finger-like teeth; for a single pronged decorative comb with a frigate bird and cock feathers see illustration 6; a similar one (Hellwig 2333) is the only one that could be picked up.

For depilation, shell tweezers are used (Figure 7 [VMM: see source]; they are called kúm'u see kom. The two shells close very well and tightly and are connected by a cord of hair; the shells are taken from the species Tapes litterati kum.

4: Krämer--37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

Belts are called gabidj (Hellwig: xapéss, worn--tetár) and are usually made up of three strands. I was told that the name for one of the three strand belts, which was said to have been imported, was tagágapaki; paki or pake are the little bridges that hold the strands apart and in place, and which have previously been discussed in Truk page 109, where they were called fëken. They are made of white shell or of leang (Truk: Leangeéo Pteroceras) or of mother-of-pearl or tortoise shell. The strand of the belt are generally made up of little pieces of coconut shell, or beads, and more rarely of tortoise-shell as is the case with the fine, precious and beautiful belts of the Western Carolines, the taral of Oleai.... Whenever these more elaborate belts are worn it is certain that they have been imported. Plate 3b [VMM: see text] shows such a belt, of seven strands, worn by the girl on the right, while plate 3c shows a woman wearing the more ordinary belt of three strands; see also Figure 8 [VMM: see source]. The girl on the left of Plate 3b has a single strand for holding up the titir...and another one of this type is shown on photo 372 (Plate 3c) [VMM: see source]. Usually they are twisted from human hair like the handles of the baskets in Fig. 42 [VMM: see source]. These hair belts are known as toradja djiem. (Hellwig: tetáre sim of Elato.)

4: Krämer--38 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304, 531 Lamotrek
1-2

It is noteworthy that on Lamotrek the Mons veneris is ornamented with the black triangle puáre, which also occurs on Ponape, but was not observed on Truk. Hambruch noticed it on Elato where it was used as house ornament Mák e boár [VMM: it is illustrated on page 30--see source.]

4: Krämer--38 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304, 531 Lamotrek

Tattooing and painted ornamentation on the island are not, or rather, no longer subject to the strict rules of the West Carolinians; I say no longer, because Lütke shows that 100 years ago it still at least partly existed on Lukunor. The truth of this thought seems also to be expressed by Kittlitz. But by now definitely inscribed patterns are no longer in effect and ornamentation is confined to groups of it on the legs--examples of it are given in the illustrations--; the patterns of women are more elaborate. Men, on the other hand, wear little or no ornamentation of their legs, but instead have designs on their arms; see Figure 9 [VMM: see source] of two insides of arms, which show numerous rows of patterns one above another and among them apparently spear heads rastim (Figure 9b [VMM: see source]): The outer sides of the thighs [VMM: see source Figure 10a-d] usually have only two vertical pattern rows of shark teeth or fish; the favorite species are the pup and the küe. These patterns are included in the ornamentation of the women, Fig. IIa, b [VMM: see source] (the woman Netailemoar) and Fig. 12, and rank next to the many other patterns which are presented in Figure 79 [VMM: see source], The illustrations mentioned show the arrangement that on the woman Loalimul (Figure 13 [VMM: see source]) is particularly elaborate. In this instance we see ornamentation on the side and extending forward from the seat so that it occupies the space over the hip bone; from here a wide decorative stripe runs down the outside of the thigh to the knee, where a few rings--open to the side--encircle the entire leg. Around the back of the leg there appear a few unconnected patterns.

In the discussion of ornaments (Fig. 79 [VMM: see source]) we might add that the species of fish mentioned with the same name occur on Truk, but that in the latter instance the fish are dolphins, but not in double form. Another feature identical with Truk is the shark tooth that is so common. But the other patterns are usually different and the same is true of the names. [41]

With the exception of those mentioned above, no interpretation is possible for the many types of ornaments given in Figure 79 [VMM: see source]. An ornamented house gable (as is known, for instance, on Palau) is called tabau and the fact of the existence of the term proves its occurrence.

4: Krämer--41 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 531, 386 Lamotrek

No details are available on the subject of painted ornamentation. Turmeric is acquired by trade transactions and is thus available like on the other islands, but it is rarely used. The red paint of the canoes has its origin in red earth, lap, from Yap or Truk; that of Yap is considered better in quality. From it the expression tabbi en lap, paint bowl, is derived and the word for paint brush is golelië.

No details are known concerning the method of tattooing. The instrument used is a pick which looks like the tool used to open ulcers. (Fig. 134 [VMM: see source]). Soot for the black color is not obtained from savani nuts but from drifted sap, hurú, which is placed over a small fire and then is covered up with a coconut shell; the coconut, in turn, is isolated by a layer of leaves. The soot settles inside. Also paraffin rās or matiga (= fat, because the natives thought that it was fish fat) drifted ashore but was not used for the same purpose.

4: Krämer--41 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 415 Lamotrek

To cook--um. The container for flint and steel is called gaigers and is No. 2210 in Hellwig's catalogue; it is also known as gulegul.

The cooking snail, Cassis cornuta (Hellwig: maiále, méal, on Truk: moéal), in the past was very commonly in use for cooking and today is in favor as a water container.... [42] Opener for coconut husks--kóăt (see spade); wood-kaingi.

The coconut grater is very simple and two-legged; Figure 15 [VMM: see source] (Hellwig: waigin or wegang; seat of breadfruit wood). It is 67 centimeters long and 20 centimeters high. Hellwig 2319 for blade material uses a red shell called belig* (Truk: perri Venus m.). But most often a piece of coconut shell is used as a grater, metál, and it is held fast by lashing (gāgā Hellwig 2092).

A spatula in the form of a fish is called falalio (Hellwig 2252: itik eü le wong) and is made of the armor of a turtle belly; the specimen in Figure 16a [VMM: see source] is 17 centimeters long. In Figure 16b [VMM: see source] it is rihshaped, has an ear and a length of 21 1/2 centimeters and is used to grate food. The knob of the instrument is known as arrepél. Hellwig has a specimen of pearl shell....

The word for spoon is itĭt. (Hellwig: 12 centimeters long.) The type represented in Figure 17 [VMM: see source] is made after the Palau fashion by means of a wood press. Hellwig lists the following terms: handle--erál, brim--narél, concavity--lăl, bowl--

*Hellwig 2113: pelig, the end of a coconut is used for grating: the tip is known as topälle.

lúgul. A Sorol man who came as a visitor to the island introduced the spoon. Previous to that spatulas had served as spoons.

Pounders of coral stone (Hellwig: vai lu pó (a), vairúpo) are not as beautiful as those of Truk, but they are characteristic since they are stepped and have caps at the ends; the specimen pictured in Figure 18 [VMM: see source] has a height of 15 1/2 centimeters. Most of them are of wood (Hellwig: wood--kil tia mangle?) they have cylindrical heads as in Figure 19 [VVM: see source] or they are cone-shaped and have perforated ends as in Figure 20 [VMM: see source]; the height is 20-23 centimeters....

Ikisera made himself a large mortar (75:65 centimeters); the word for mortar is annif. Figure 21 [VMM: see source].

Tongs made from coconut frond stalks (Hellwig: umăr).

Fire fan (Hellwig: saipe, on Truk: sĕiva).

The word for knife is ser; for the type made of pearl shell see Figure 40 [VMM: see source,] the fiber grater, djĕle, resembles the instrument in Truk. The blade of the knife, the tangitangi lü djĕle is peculiar and is made either from the larynx of a turtle or of coconut fibers üdi.

Drinking tubes (Hellwig: mangauru) are bamboo tubes used to suck up water from pits with dirty top water at the time of water shortages.

4: Krämer--42 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241 Lamotrek

The cultivation of taro resembles that on Palau. Work in the field is called gelligel. Taro is usually grown in swamps, which are known as buorŭ. The general term for a field is bol, and a single unit is buonnŭ djemalū, whereas a complex is called bonnap.* When the taro is ripe, the following steps are taken: digging up--ŭiŭi (uot), gebuá (bullok), cutting, djarŭ, of the leaves (=shoot--bagŭ), scraping off the mud from the fruit --uiŭegarre, and washing--djiri. Fertilizing by means of green leaves (as on Palau) is called uállŭ uot, i.e., the leaves are spread out after they have been removed from the plant--go uallŭ--and are gathered in baskets--djuge; the mud (Leberkässchlamm?) is scraped off and this is known as djioie medjaro. Then the young shoots are planted. The best species of taro needs about 6 months; it grows lateral shoots--tŏallag o li uot; burak and fillë need longer; it is said that fillë is good even before the forest blossoming and still shortly after it, or about nine months after it has been planted.

*The following distinctions are also made: a field is composed of a large piece of land which is called djeadjŭval, a small piece of land ádjalo and eabellüngüpei, and a very small one eagullung.

4: Krämer--42 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 192 Lamotrek

lū	coconut palm	figs	gouall
mei	breadfruit	crataeva	gavudj (Truk: abut)
uidj	banana	sugar-cane	uóu
uot	finest kind of taro	plant	fatogi

fille big taro (Truk: forest taro) resembling burak, bullok (Truk: pula and and mulek).

Hambruch mentions:

Edible plants

swamp taro	uŏt, file	papaya	papuâi	
mountain taro	bulăk	sugar-cane	uâu	
breadfruit	mai	sweet potato	gamŏti	
banana	uĭs	pandanus is not eaten		
fig	faliap	coconut palm	liu	
cucumber tree	awŭs (Krämer gavudj)	chicken	măluk	animals
		dog	gălăgo	animals
pumpkin	kălăvăs			

...[45]

The coconut palm claims first place as a source of food, but breadfruit, mai, is very important. For that reason, the taboos which the breadfruit god Sauaur imposes are of special importance. In September one tries to find magic and an oracle for the voyage to Guam and to discover which boats are good and lucky. Then the period of the breadfruit taboos sets in. During that period no trees may be felled, no bulis extracted, no wooden bowls and wooden boxes must be made and no nets may be woven (no handle nets may be made either). Cords must not be twisted, clay cannot be fired and sails must not be made of pandanus leaves. The end of the breadfruit harvest comes in July and is known as the eamóimai.

Then follows a solemn banquet, the iles, which is held in the evening and which is mainly given for returning fishermen and navigators who have fasted up to this time. At the banquet a prayer is said in order to avert evil.

On the island, breadfruit dough, mār, is prepared in the same manner as on Truk; it is said to be especially good when it is eaten together with tak, Belone fish.

Breadfruit dough is prepared for preservation on Elato and is known as mār (Hambruch)

4: Krämer--46. (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 251 Lamotrek

When the breadfruit is ripe, it is picked; the bark is scraped off; it is placed in baskets and soaks for five to six hours in salt water; after that the salt water is left to evaporate. The fruit are put into shallow pits, lined with leaves and are covered with earth. They must stay in the pits for twenty-four hours until the fruit has become very soft. Then the soft mass is thoroughly kneaded together with leaves and packed into deep, lined pits; the holes are covered up with stones and the breadfruit preparation keeps in them for many months and years.

For immediate consumption, one part mar is mixed with three to four parts of water and the resulting mass is thoroughly wrung out in an old dress mat; then it is baked or cooked and is said to be a nutritious, though not very delicious dish; in the main it is eaten together with fish.

Elisabeth Krämer studied the preparation on Lamotrek and reports on it in the following manner; unripe breadfruit is peeled and the pits are removed; it is filled into a basket which is placed in stagnant sea water for half a day. Then the fruit is changed into another basket which is lined with fillē leaves and which is hung up for twenty-four hours. Once more the fruit is changed into another basket, lined with breadfruit leaves, which is hung up for a week. A hole one meter deep is dug and lined with a thick layer of breadfruit leaves; on this foundation banana leaves are placed and on them the breadfruit; then there is another layer of breadfruit and banana leaves. Instead of breadfruit, gull leaves may be used which last even longer. But in the course of a year the leaves are renewed every three months. Too much rain makes the mar rot. When the dough is taken out it is washed in fresh water until most of the acid has gone out of it; it is cooked once more before it is eaten, but only as much as is needed for one meal is prepared at one time. One of the dishes is called lūggum melli mare: the water of two old coconuts is kneaded into the mar; half a nut is grated; one part of the dough is mixed with a little water and cooked and the other part is kneaded with more water and mixed

with the mar. The latter type of dough is placed in layers on piles of leaves; on every layer some of the first part, and cooked coconut milk are added, and altogether there are about three layers. Then it is tied with coconut fibers, filled into approximately four breadfruit leaves and one banana leaf and cooked in the oven.

Word List--Cooking

oven	um
to dig a hole for an oven	earüe um
fire wood	saffi
fire	eaf
stones for the oven	faiül um [47]
hot	apuósch
lay out hot stones	räggu puori
scraping of taro*	faletti uot
wrapping of taro	tüggutuggu uot, ifferi uot
leaf	drö (droa--ripe coconut)
cover leaves	üff el um

A large amount of taro is cooked with expressed coconut milk when special feasts are

*With the shell pelligelli eralet

held, e.g., on the occasion of food presentations, pailügogo to the people who have helped with a funeral.

rouari uidj, green bananas are peeled and cooked in a pot together with water and expressed coconut milk.

The alu Saulal* is responsible for many of the fishing taboos. He has close contact with the ocean into which, deep down, he was banned because of his evilness; to him come the souls of the evil after their death. He has three servants: Alusitét, who is thought of as his son, who comes whenever someone breaks a taboo and Pónerol and Lepériperúodj (from périper "to cut"=falafal see the discussion of boat construction, and uodj "reef" which would give it the meaning of "reef cutter"); they are sent to help the humane beings. Soulal gave mankind the turtle which he made hard and strong. But if men want to get the benefit of his deeds they must obey his taboos; e.g., a man must wait for 10-20 days after having had sexual intercourse before he is again allowed to go out fishing; he must not touch the lure pa which is used for bonito fishing during one month, and by no means before the next new moon; in the case of the flying fox fishing, the fisherman must wait for two to three months before he may return to his house.

The fisherman must not touch the water holes in which coconut fibers are soaked; if he does he must wait for 4 days and for the same length of time may not eat any bonito in case he has beaten coconut fibers; the same taboo applies to any person who has touched excrement. The regulations apply also to women; they may not eat any bonito at all as long as they are in the imatamai, nor for three months after they leave. When a woman has been in the imafatiu she must wait for ten days.

*He is thought of as the elder of the two brothers of Aluelap.

We have reported on the taboos west of the sósor boundary; sósor is the word for the fishing ground in the inland water mainly west of the mentioned boundary. If one wants to go fishing in that area no fire may be lit in the village after 10:00 o'clock at night [48] and no food may be eaten at that time. The boats that sail to the spot must first call at the islands of Puik (Búiüg) and Faleit before they may get started on the actual fishing trip. If the taboo is broken, legs and abdomen are believed to swell.

Among the sacred activities is the killing of fish with the ceremonial axe tellé i lolomai which is also used for the boat construction.... Taboo for women on Elato are the gorurĩap, sonmalot sóu (mackeral) and the skipiia which is held sacred on Satoan and before whom the natives must bow.

4: Krämer--48-50 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-14
116, 226 Lamotrek

Reef Fishing; guis Catch.

The holes on the reef are marked by pebbles that lie next to their entrance. By means of a long, thick stick two to three meters in length one investigates whether anything has been caught in the hole. The octopus comes out and is speared. The following are some of the native terms used in connection with this form of fishing: bow--liketáfedj, arrow--eâuten which is a very simple instrument; fishspear Hellwig: tolig, wood--vas, prongs--rûmul, obailitóto lig of coconut wood, tip--metale obai, end--sabille.

Hook fishing,

The fishhooks used in the west have previously been discussed in connection with fishing on Lukunor. A few illustrations 23a, b, c, [VMM: see source] show big lures and hooks that are pressed down; hooks used on Lukunor on the other hand, like those of Ralik (see there) are turned up more (cf. Hambruch: Nauru); the length of the hooks used in this area is about six centimeters.

Keeping of the hooks in boxes--sóp. The original hook was cut from a piece of coconut shell as it is pictured in connection with Feis, which is said to have been pulled up with a hook of this type.

Fishing lines are mainly made of fibers of coconut husks. . . . Hellwig's catalogue has some from the island of Elato and calls them by the name of djaluig. . . . Also fishing rods are known and used.

For kite fishing gedjeg, a thin line known as dja luga and made of aroma fibers is

necessary; new kites are always made of an artocarpus leaf; [49] for bait goilul lu baggo is used and the garfish locks its teeth into it.*

Fishing with a Hand Line from a Boat

The best bait on the hook is octopus. The hook with its bait is tied to a stone with a slip knot and the stone is carefully dropped into the water. When it has fallen to the bottom of the ocean, the fish gradually push down in order to get at the bait. When the first stirring of the line is felt, it must be pulled in with one sudden movement. If the hook has caught the fish, the fish is pulled up, although it frequently happens that sharks catch it as it is on its way up to the surface of the water; there seem to be sharks in the waters around Lamotrek. If that is the case, the sharks must be caught first if the fishermen want to get their prey and to recover their fish hook. But after no more than half an hour, the fish has been digested in the stomach of the shark to such a degree that

*Catching is also done with the loop lóma pãgo with the purpose of later making strings, gúiluil, from the skin and of using them for tag fishing (Belone); the lines made from this skin are as thick as pencils and are often one to two feet long.

it can hardly be recognized. For that reason a black shark modjog, is feared greatly.

lukapá hooks (Hellwig: pa sar, see figure 23a of source) are used for fishing of gali and etam which are principally caught at night. The etam red surmullet swims around the region where the waves run high in the calm water of the reef opening at night; at low tide it stays inside and at high tide it goes out. Lure of pearlshell is called a passär, faipar, or sárrurod. Hellwig has a pearlshell lure with an iron hook without barbs; Krämer has nine hooks of tortoise shell, one of which has a barb rom, near the tip on the outside; the lures were black or reddish of meleagrina. The paluk (Figure 23b [VMM: see source]) is used for etam fishing which is done during the night. Figure 23c [VMM: see source] is used for the same purpose with a brown shiny lure of cowrie shell (cypraia), which is called upuil. For flies, the feathers of chickens or frigate birds are used (Elato) or else grass, búgor, as is the case with the pa wai hook of black mother-of-pearl, wai.

Hooks of tortoise shell are called gŏbodj, and one specimen is given in Figure 24 [VMM: see source], (Hellwig: ă bors, alü daidjau), They are used for larger fish, daidjau, and have a width of about five centimeters. The tips are strongly bent inward and are called lámagap. In the year 1910 they were no longer in use.

Fishing of flying fish, mangar, is done with an angle hook (see Krämer, Palau, III, page 77, Figure 62) in the month of December. On Sëtowal it is continued later in the season when the boats have returned from Poloat. Then the fishermen go into the

canoe-house and the sorcerers begin to sing their songs. [50] [ER: some of the songs are given in the German text, but are omitted here.]

The fishing line with float called pil which is similar to the one pictured for Onoun, is now made ready ... The angle shaped hook is cut from coconut shell and tied as float to the coconut bottle that is stopped up. Of course, it is a piece of a young coconut kernel, which is scratched out of the shell with a spatula and which is given the shape of an octopus by means of a bamboo knife; the bait is tied to one end with a fine banana fiber. Then the angle with the float is laid out and observed from the direction of the sun.

Customs in Fishing

Later on there followed further taboos and magic and fishing at night to the illumination of torches.

Fishing of flying-fox starts in December and continues almost through the entire season of the trade winds. When the fishing period is finally over, the fisherman, after an additional waiting period of four days, may return to his house.

Fishing (búil) of bonito, garangap is still practiced. The fish is considered sacred only if it is caught with the lure pa (bā) on sea; this is quite in line with the Polynesian customs. We have already discussed the taboos; they are exceedingly strict.

Soon after a fish is caught, it is cleaned of all dirt with an ear branch. The catch is greeted with a special exclamation. A fisherman, who comes home feeling cold is the object of mockery. The men who have not caught anything are not in favor with the women. Fasts are prescribed for the time of the trade winds but are not necessarily observed from March to September. With reference to the banquet, iles...

After reaching the shore one carefully lays down the fish with their heads facing inland. They are seized by the tail and carried. Fish may not be swung to the sides as they are carried. If the person who carries them meets someone on his way he must not stop. When the fish is laid down by a house, it must be placed alongside the building with the head pointing in the direction of the sea. Then the stove, um, is started. When the fire is lit and the stove is getting hot, the fish may be cut. The animal is laid on its back and

the bamboo knife (not an iron knife) is held in the right hand. The stalk of a coconut frond may be used. One cut each is made lengthwise and across and then the fish is peeled out with the first finger and the skin of the belly together with that of the throat is removed, is whirled in the smoke of a fire that is lit on a coconut frond róurou, wrapt in breadfruit leaves, magárigar, and put in the stove. [51] The insides of the fish and particularly the roe are eaten raw, after they have been waved through the smoke for just a little while; the heart is given a similar treatment. The other insides are cooked. The head which is cut off, the shoulder pieces, the tail without bones and the back pieces are all laid out on leaves, wrapped and cooked on hot stones. The dress for the karangap fish is called magárigar. That finishes the taboos.

If a fisherman has broken the taboo and been near women and is taken sick after his fishing trip, Alusitét is thought of as the originator of illness and a sorcerer addresses a prayer to him while he stands holding two bunches of coconut leaves in his hands.

4: Krämer--58-59 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 789 Lamotrek

I present here some poems in their original text although they are said to have come from Oleai; but Agupelior of the latter island was not familiar with them.

[ER: The songs are omitted here. Their subject matter includes the following:

1. Songs sung on fishing trips.
2 Song to drive away rain.
3. Song to drive a wind spout away.
4. Song against sharks.
5. Canoe song sung when passing a shoal.
6. Song sung when a boat starts out on a fishing trip.
7. Fish song.
8. Catching of the Bonito.
9. Bonito song.
10. Song about turmeric leaves. [59]

This is followed by a breadfruit prayer, the gatóketok ali mai which refers to the growth of breadfruit. At the time when the prayer is uttered crushed ongorik leaves are shaken up and scattered.

4: Krämer--59-60
116, 226, 286

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-3
Lamotrek

Nets djauo, djrou.
Float--úgopēs, sinker--faurem.

The nets are made in the usual manner (according to Hellwig) with the netting needle, djaf, which must have the width of the mesh metal ("his eye") which is held secure by the knot búgabug. The yarn is wound around the shuttle kadjap; the split ends of the shuttle are known as ewále or kadjap.

The netting needle is generally of arur wood, but the shuttle is of bamboo, buái, which comes from the west (Yap).

The yarn, gologól, is made of the husk fibers of young coconuts, which must soak in water for three to four months before they may be treated with the fiber beater, the pelai or komang. Then they are twisted into thin cords, mut, on the thigh (or by a special mechanical device); [60] two or, more rarely, three or four mut constitute the gologól.

Made from coconut yarn.

garom	mesh is as thick as a pencil and is square; the net is approximately two meters long and one meter wide and is held by two men.
ugali vomei	the mesh is as thick as a finger (vómei--deep water)

ugalei — mesh of the thickness of four fingers.
ieting (aating) — mesh of the thickness of six fingers.
gal — a net made in the Ifaluk manner. It is a net bag attached to three handle cords, by which it is hauled in. Into the netting, at the bottom, a live fish is placed. The diameter of the net is two to two and a half feet. For bait, ro and gidjegidj are used. The fish caught are mainly scarus species; often five to ten varying in length from a half to one foot are hauled in at a time.

swimmer above
uápes
sinker below
baurem

ū til (tin) is used for catching the small (5-8 centimeters long) til fish which resemble our sardine. gosi met a til is to be translated as "catching the eye of the til" and is the name of a song, which the women start singing on the fourth day after fishing has begun, and which ends with a general scream; for the first four days no til may be eaten, especially since at the start the returns are rather poor. til is eaten with its bones; the head is put into the mouth first; otherwise fishing will be unsuccessful. The net is a long sack held open by two parallel rods. A third stick lies across the two like a handle. Counts up to one billion (see Feis at the end) indicate the nature of catches of this fish.

ugalei (like garom above) serves as a net sack which comes handy when by means of rul lines--which are called rob here--a funnel is set up on the reef platform at low tide; through it the fish are driven into the net. The ugalei net is often laid out in a semicircle. In place of a second net often a basket u le moróuel (see above) is added; in the

case of garom they are mainly modj, márafas, etc.

A frame net, djrou soiloile is shown on Plate 5a [VMM: see source].

The frame is called atil, the fork ekan, the wooden section underneath the lashing básebas, the lashing vövò, the mesh metál, the knot bugabug, the tips of the net fangál, and the handle komásu.

Hellwig calls the fishing net djrauŏ, the front part of the frame gatille, and the back part viabále.

Hellwig: fishing net djrauŏ, frame atil.

Plate 5b [VMM: see source] is a net for catching the souls of Ikelur, which is called djrou i alus, because with it evil spirits may be caught that have been driven away.

A large fishing net was another specimen picked up.

Fish Baskets u ul marauel (moróuel)

Angular baskets are not emptied by being turned over, but by means of a bent rake, tangak. [61]

Driftwood with Fish Baskets (gabeibei).

In the past driftwood trunks were looked upon as the welcome bringers of fish, which gathered around them. When the natives are out searching for floating logs and when they find them the natives take off their hats; they must not stand up in the boat, because alu Tautup might resent it. Before they tie the baskets to the logs they sing a song to Tautup. [ER: one of the songs sung on this occasion is given in the original text, but is omitted here.]

When the singing is finished, the fish baskets, ū le morouel, are tied to the side of the tree trunk. A few of them are in one line, with the bottom of the baskets up and the opening in the back on the leeside. The basket furthest aft is considered best. Then the tree trunk is fastened and taken in tow. The most common fish caught in this manner is the bream, rell.

Tying of the baskets to the drift wood is considered a task not without all danger, because sharks swarm around the logs. The natives tell that recently a shark bit a fisherman who had a fish in his mouth.

Fish baskets are submerged in the inland water, let down to a depth of 1-2 fathoms. The natives remember the distance from the land and then have no trouble recovering

their traps. Handing in of the baskets bue or pio, is done with the kafáigo lifter. The word pio has given the name to the basket u lepio, which is otherwise known as ū le fato. (Then there is a rake tangak in Hellwig's catalogue with which the fish are taken out of the basket.)

At the entrance and further out towards the sea, baskets are dropped down to a depth of 7-8 fathoms and occasionally to a depth of 20 fathoms. The stones that weigh down the baskets, the faipăs, must be large and heavy. These depths are chosen only during the months of March and April when the current is slight and when the water is at low tide. Generally the natives know the exact spot where they have cast their baskets; they search for them with the hook, heave it up a little and let it drop back down so that the hook may find a secure position before the basket is hauled up. The following are additional types of baskets: [62]

ūs'sõ for catching the sand mullet. No bait is used to attract this fish but sand is piled up around the opening. In spots where seaweed, pom, floats around off the sandy beach, the baskets are placed in it instead of in the sand.

ū le pam is used to catch small sand barbels uorik, which are attracted by a bait pa (=pa lure) of rakum or raking le bëap; of land crabs. The opening is called úasig.

ulam are small baskets with which boys go fishing in shallow water, and which have bait in them. They are round in form.

4: Krämer--62 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 412, 372 Elato 1-2

The pump drill is known as burabüra and comes from Elato. The wheel is of tortoise shell and the tip of the drill is of sharks' teeth. See Figure 134e [VMM: see source] for the hand drill.

4: Krämer--62 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 412 Lamotrek

I was able to pick up an axe blade, ëtiligi.

Hellwig: tridacna--djim (Truk: sim).

Hellwig 2114 5891 is an axe made of conch shell called korolimang; on Elato it occurs made of lëang shell.

Hellwig's catalogue has a shell axe from Elato, marăli délla (blade--délla), terebra--talingawat, blade joint--rodjăl ĕ (rosăl e), neck of the handle--apirri güle, handle--erälle, lashing--vava, wood--djálo. The ceremonial axe is called tellë i lolomai.... The word for blade, chisel is pérogol, and the blow of the axe is tellë i falefal; apúnga sillë is the sound of the blow.

Coral stones, faiürr (Truk: fauir), ray skin (Hellwig: gillivai) or pumice stone miūr, mür, which drifts ashore... are used to smoothen the rough surfaces of the wood.

The fiber beater is called kománg; the wood is kaini and the tool comes from Pik.... At the end of the handle there is a knob, see Figure 94 [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--62-63 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 322 Lamotrek

Main products of manufacture: wooden bowls, houses and boats, small idols, and birds (Color Plate 2) [VMM: see source]. Among the small special objects there is a chair which Ikesera imitated from the model of a deckchair that he happened to see on the ships. [63] Photo no. 1026 shows Ikesera sitting on the chair (Figure 25) [VMM: see source].

Vessels tëbbi (Hellwig: tapi), Plate rölig.
(cf. Plate 7.) [VMM: see source]

These vessels are made of wooden blocks or boards; see Plate 8b [VMM: see source]. bóati--lugs are found on them as the illustrations show (the same as on Truk, Palau etc.). Bowls may vary in shape: the foot may be roundish and raised; the total height is 13 centimeters, and the width of the bowl amounts to 32 centimeters. The brim of the bowl is often almost hexagonal, as the specimen in Figure 26 a [VMM: see source]; the base sometimes is two-legged (b). The round bowl in Figure 27 (Kramer 452=3207) has two high feet which stand on a base and which facilitate eating; the entire height of the bowl is 25 centimeters, and the length of the roundish bowl amounts to 24 1/2 centimeters (Hellwig 209k: foot--perël).

The bowl in Figure 28 shows a somewhat lower foot, for the latter is only 6 1/2 centimeters in height; it is actually a low stool with four legs on which rests a longish bowl which has a length of 21 centimeters and a width of 13 centimeters. Hellwig 2336 is similar in shape.

Figure 29 [VMM: see source] shows a tray for eating fish which does not have a high base; nevertheless, we may notice a slight elevation at the right of the illustration. The plate is oval and pointed at the ends, 42 centimeters long and 22 centimeters wide and has a low molding along the edge, which in effect seems to be [64] a little fence; there is a hole in it at one side for the suspension cord.

Hellwig 2226•6006 is called tapi lemálu wulól; it is longish in form but is not painted red and does not have any inlay of mother-of-pearl.

There are three bowls in the Linden museum in Stuttgart which are said to come from Lamotrek: one is flat and oval, one is round and flat and shallow, and one is deep and oval in shape and has two bird heads instead of lugs; in the latter case the foot is low and represents a closed square.

Bowls with lids. The box in which the fish hooks are kept, the sóp is such a chestlike vessel; see Figure 30. The length of the specimen pictured is 12.4 centimeters and the width may vary from 3.8 centimeters, while the height is 4 centimeters; Hellwig has a bowl with a lid which he calls sáp; for the box itself he uses the word bassobasso, the lid is gárebal, the knob bóatil, the brim nadjel, and to open is sugi.

A peculiar bowl is a specimen with a lid and a decoration of Greek figures; one of the figures is represented seated on the long side whereas a person is shown standing on the short side. It is said to have been made by the Spaniard Gulio, who happened to be on Lamotrek at the time of the typhoon of 1907; the box is 77 centimeters long, 27.6 centimeters high and 27.5 centimeters wide. Figure 31 [VMM: see source].

The bird bowls resemble those from Truk. Kramer 493•3247" has a horse-shoe shaped base formed by the two feet of the bird as in Figure 32 [VMM: see source]. The length of the bowl is 37 centimeters, and its height is 20 1/2 centimeters. The model

must have been a frigate bird; Hellwig calls the bowl tapi a gataf and says that it is meant to hold the color substance that comes from Yap. Krämer 453-3208 is called tapi e lāp; it does not have a foot and for that reason is suspended; it is 48 centimeters long and has a piece of wood which is used for painting since the bowls are used for paint. One specimen is pictured in Figure 33 [VMM: see source].

A bowl very similar in form to the one last mentioned is in Berlin, and one with a bird hiding its head and a pointed head and forked tail comes from Elato; it is 50 centimeters long.

Among the vessels we must also count coconut shells; one of them, known as dagág a lūl, is set on a round base as in Figure 34 [VMM: see source], and has [65] a handle. It is said to have been invented by the boy Malüvit, when he was between 7 and 8 years old; this boy is credited also with having started this type of vessel in trade. Naturally we are in this instance dealing with foreign influences or else we must interpret it as an old Indonesian motif since bowls on stands and some with handles occur in West Indonesia. It is used as a drinking cup for water or garri (palm juice) (13.5 centimeters wide).

Containers of coconut are called ware; their shape may be that of a nut as in Figure 35 [VMM: see source] where the length is 15 centimeters and the width 8 centimeters; in other instances they have lids (pelipelal) and bottoms; Hellwig 2246-6023 Figure 36, has a height of 7 centimeters. Purpose: for keeping fish hooks, medicine etc.; they are also used as containers for fire wood, gulegul. In addition there are containers of

bamboo which are decorated in the same manner as in Indonesia. [66] Hellwig 2228-6008 Figure 37, has on it arepél e bulugale "tails of the b." and shark's teeth, and the patterns are arranged in six rows. Hellwig 2330-6099 Figure 39 shows various ornamental patterns, e.g., 9, 11, 22, 33, 43 and the pup-like little men of 23; they are either half or double. Hellwig 2118 has a scratched decoration of tirigi points.

In Berlin there is a bamboo stick with many designs scratched into it including birds, crosses, suns, teeth; it is similar to the specimens that have come from Oleai,

4: Kramer--66
116, 411, 721

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 1-2
Lamotrek

Due to the peaceful attitude of the population, clubs and spears are nonexistent. Hellwig collected a knuckle-duster--radjeras, with fish spines--ig e valeval.

4: Kramer--66
116, 804, 192

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Measures

gat, sigat	length of a finger = 3 inches
ruagát	length of two fingers = 6 inches
siligat	length of three fingers = 9 inches
fægat	length of four fingers = 12 inches
ang, siang	1 span
ruang	2 spans
siliang	3 spans etc.
rolibos	1/2 Elle [ER: an elle equals about 0.7 yards]
gopa	1 Elle
sipap	from the finger tips to the middle of the chest
singaf	1 fathom
sigip	1 foot

Plaiting feifoi or feifeu
to split--gassiet

Pearlshell baura (?) used to smooth the pinnae and to scrape the fibers; Figure 40 [VMM: see source] (especially used for the treatment of banana fibers; the shell has not been pictured previously).

a. Mats

Mats, coconut fiber mat, girre, made of two parts (on Truk: kinni or kiri).

Hellwig 2278=6051 Figure 41 [VMM: see source] is called gilli and is a small mat of coconut pinnae which is used for water drainage; in rainy weather some of the ground maybe washed away at the wall of the house, and the water may enter the interior of the building. With one movement the mat is pushed into the breach at the house wall so that the water may be diverted. Hellwig observed its use in house 24a which is known as Imeilap (size of mat 30 centimeters).

Hellwig 2258=6033 is a mat of coconut pinnae, ülaf, for the protective huts on the canoe platform (Ifaluk man). Like all pandanus plaiting, the pandanus mat kiĕki is made exceedingly well on the coral islands; this is also true of Truk although, in fact, it is only the population of the reef island of Pis that knows a great deal about this work.

b. Baskets

Some of the baskets from Lamotrek and Elato are here pictured on Plate 5 [VMM: see source]. First we shall mention the bags made of pandanus, the containers with lids

that look like our étuis, and the open bags.

Containers with lids.

Plate 5c: this container is called sigerára; the same term is used for the strips of pinnae of the measuring line tal i felefel.

c. Open Bags

Plate 5 l, illustrates gaigérs from Lamotrek; Hellwig collected an identical gaigérs from Elato. Plate 6 m gaigérs with handle. Hellwig lists [68] another bag of this type, gaigérs. The pandanus leaf strips that are plaited into it are known as faivoi; those pointed down are the ealle and those pointed up are the ifak. Hellwig, uses the word gaigerre* whereas I have noted gaigadj for Plate 6 [VMM: see source]. The r of Hellwig's points towards the dj sound, cf. Truk and Djuk.

Plate 6k gatofadj, is more coarsely plaited and is used to carry food. m. gaigérs, f. gaigadj and k. gatofadj have a handle; in the case of f. it has two legs on both sides at the point of joining. k, and m. have the handle joined to the basket at the corners of the bag-shaped basket, but the four legs of f. are in the middle of the sides, which, however, appear as if they are open.

The same is true of the baskets of coconut pinnae. Plate 5n, büro and 5e gad, which are used on the occasion of wedding banquets; and they seem to be somewhat coarse and

*Hellwig 2III 5888 gaisérse or gaigerre djelū with an inner compartment djelū; with a hair cord.

more careless work as compared with the pandanus plaiting. The word gad or gadŏ (Hellwig: kad) was not heard on Truk.

On Oleai, a basket is called gad or kaporro (Hellwig: kaporro, a small basket plaited from coconut pinnae coming from Lamotrek) gad-gado appears above (k) in the word gatofadj; the analysis of the word would give us a gato of pandanus fadj and indicates that the gad basket is made of pandanus and therefore is finer and better; it is probable that fadj is hidden in gaigadj in 6f.

A bag djotuárĕ (Hellwig: drottŭare) from Elato has an opening ewálĕ and rings talinal.

No. 5e gad show the two ends of the bag pointed up whereas the three handleless coconut baskets g, h, and i are pointed exactly in the opposite direction, namely down.

These are the baskets which are called the wotau; one of them, plaited of pandanus, it resembles the one here given on Plate 6e [VMM: see source] which above was called gaigers (gaigadj). The coconut fiber basket is called boddou (Hellwig bóatau and bodau); Hellwig has the same type from Lamotrek where it is known as watauro with the handle djale; that means that a basket of the form pictured both of coconut pinnae or fibers is called wotau or boatau.

In the collection the following baskets are included which are plaited from coconut pinnae: Plate 5g is called votau; Plate 5h also known as votau tied with a hair cord from which hang some snails. Plate 5i Hellwig 2267-6041 watau; also Hellwig 2202-2976 has a hair cord; in the latter instance the following comment is given: the basket can be

tied three times by [69] means of hair cords sīm and snails tigere (Elato). Hellwig 2321 6091 is such a hair cord, which is shown in Figure 42 [VMM: see source] and which occasionally may be seen worn as a bracelet; it is 75 centimeters long and the snails resemble dolia.

Since the process of plaiting a wotau basket was not included in the Truk volume it shall be treated here. The first four plaiting stages a-d are given in the Truk volume, page 172.

[ER: The discussion of the technique of basket making is omitted here.] [72] We should add that the round basket, Hellwig 2109-5883 which is called kapéas or apéase, occurs; it has been discussed in Kramer where it is known as abéas.

Finally there is the fan, saipe (Truk: áliba or saiba); the point is known as botili á lipe (Truk: áliba), and the handle as eráll (e). A gáliba fan (Truk: áliba) is used for magic practices (see Figure 68). [VMM: see source]

4: Kramer--72 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 283 Lamotrek

Rope Making.

The hand movement in twisting is a continuous change of up and down, with the right hand (gel) and the left hand golemong (mong--left). The gologol [VMM: twisted cord] elastic; a bunch of three loops called vóngalima is used to catch the float that is detached from the boat. The cord has a thickness of 3 millimeters. The native term for cord strand is mut, roll Hellwig 2108 baidjórro...

The golomong is a rope twisted from four strands that are turned to the left and is used for rigging; it is twisted by an up and down movement of the hand. The rope is called pelitél.

Rope spinner Hellwig 2140 5920 waitilidja from Elato, 2297 6067 bait; thus the first word is to be broken down into bait ili djo "twister for the ripe nut"; it was not used on Truk but on Póloat (Figure 44 [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2297 6067 shows the bait and its parts: stick--kalaniál, transverse beam--paile, of wood--nga, bamboo tube--ngat, knob at lower end--korodjol (Hellwig).

4: Krämer--73 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 164 Lamotrek

"We," [VMM: says Elisabeth Krämer] "arrived on the island of Lámotrek on November 22, 1909 immediately after a great epidemic which had resulted in a large number of deaths and had killed men, women, and children."

4: Kramer--74 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 286 Lamotrek

That weaving is very important on the island is indicated by the many ornamented looms, or looms of types that we have not observed on other islands of the Carolines (Figure 45h-l). [VMM: see source]. Their wooden frame work serves to receive the warp and as a foot rest for the women weavers. Figure 46 [VMM: see source]. Setting up of the (continuous) warp is done, as on Truk and Tobi and most of the other islands, on pegs that have previously been described. They are driven into the ground at certain distances from each other and the continuous warp thread is wound around them in a prescribed manner. As everywhere in the South Seas mats are woven from Hibiscus and banana fibers.

a. Preparation of Hibiscus Fibers [VMM: for mats]

One takes switches of bush hibiscus or preferably some from the tree-like species which is rarer; the bark is removed in as big strips as possible. [75] For four to eight days these strips of bark are soaked in salt water or in the taro swamp; when they are taken out, the fibers are separated from the land, outer bark so that they become flexible. When these fibrous pieces have been washed in sweet water and all juice has been rinsed out, they are dried, cut, split into thin threads which are knotted together and thus provide the material for the warp. Their natural color is a light yellowish-grey but they are sometimes dyed black.

b. Banana Fibers.

The effect of these fibers [ER: as compared with hibiscus fibers] is lighter, finer and more silky and in the case of many of the mats of women they constitute an interesting contrast to the paler hibiscus fibers.

For use, the outer seven to eight leaf shafts are taken off a banana trunk; the ones that are left, the inner ones, are too soft to be useful. Each one of these meaty shafts is placed over a round piece of wood and is treated with a pearl shell which has been ground so as to have a concavity at one end (see Figure 40 [VMM: see source]). All the flesh of the leaf is scraped off, and the treatment is continued until most of the fibers appear; then the latter are washed, dried, cut in a certain length and thickness, knotted and thus give the banana yarn.

uidj	banana yarn
gassäi uidj	separate banana shafts from the trunk
ligâtang	side edge of every shaft
raruidji and ra ri uidji	scraping (of the shafts)
puai	pearl shell with ground edge
bigugal	banana yarn dyed black
gilifer	hibiscus fibers
tafä engang	split with a nail (hibiscus yarn)
litelli moei	loose material for knotting torn threads on the loom.

4: Krâmer--75-76 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 386, 285, 531 Lamotrek

c. Dyeing [VMM: of fibers to be used in mats]

Both gilifer hibiscus fibers and uidj banana yarn are dyed black when special designs are to be brought out in the textile. The yarn is first dyed in a greenish juice which is brewed from crushed terminalia leaves and water. Then black pumice stone with water is scraped on iron and young coconut husks are thrown into the liquid; a special greasy type of soil that drifts ashore is added; the fibers are put in this liquid with its coloring substance for twenty-four hours. Then they are rinsed and dried. In more recent times occasionally red threads have appeared in mats; they have been dyed with artificial dyes --red, green, blue, and violet--that must have been acquired through trade and are not readily available on the island. [76]

An example is Krämer 518, a mat with three red stripes, which resemble Krämer 519 (najelle malu galapal with small stitches gukudj); Krämer 460 dõr peig...has three green stripes and the same applies to Krämer 520; Krämer 521, paliälüf, has a red stripe along the edge and three stripe patterns--1 red between two green ones (similar to the mat on Plate 7e [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2272 along the edge has two green and, in the middle, three stripes--green, black, green--; Krämer 515 is similar; it has spotted stripes and red transverse ornaments which are known as galut ma dab.

First Type of Mat

(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

The following types of striped mats are known: marŭp made of gilifer with five or six stripes; it is a coarse, plain weave which is often dyed with traded dyes. The black, green or dark blue stripes are broken by white, red or other colors and the intervening sections appear uniformly light. I did not see these mats in the unfinished state while work was done on them; they occur identically on Sëtoval and thus it is possible that they have been traded on that island. They look very modern; I learned that on the surrounding islands of Sëtoval, Pollap and others no weaving had been done, because it was taboo. [77]

I shall now go on to describe the characteristic mats with three stripes; additional ornamentation of them are the black patterns which are produced by fibers introduced in the direction of the weft, which constitute the transverse bands at the beginning and the end of the mat. In the course of weaving black gilifer fibers are sent through the warp threads between every weft by means of a little wooden rod; they are fastened and held secure by the following weft. This is plait weaving known as dab.

Second Type of Mat.

The peig mats have three stripes and are woven of fine, white uidj fibers with narrow black marginal stripes and a wider black stripe in the center* and very narrow red threads may be used in the center; Plate 6a-f [VMM: see source].

*Plate 6b [VMM: see source] has three wide stripes peig na tas.

We must add in the case of the majority of the peig the dab pattern, latitudinal stripes at the beginning and the end of the mat, which are very delicate in these fine mats.

The black stripes in the longitudinal direction may either be weaves of uidj or gilifer; the dab patterns are always made of gilifer fibers, which in their dull blackness contrast very nicely with the glossy, light uidj.

My studies of native weaving were greatly aided by the assistance of Bessi (Plate 3d [VMM: see source]), the half-breed daughter of the English trader Lewis. . . . In order that I might become familiar with the various dab patterns, she wove for me an exceedingly beautiful, abundantly ornamented mat (Plate 7d [VMM: see source]) with a great variety of latitudinal designs (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). It has the name najile malugelep al--dab o fasch and belongs to the group of the three-striped peig alali pelach (with plain weave). The wide stripe in the center is broken by two white, and one red, lines. In the plaiting work, dab, red and green threads have been used in addition to black ones and this variety is a concession to modern times. The patterns however are of the true old type and have names and significance. Some of them are said to have originated on other islands. [VMM: see source Figure 47, for illustrations of the following designs.] When one begins at the upper end, one comes first to

1. A. uasslich pattern for the beginning of the mat
2. B. langodab a very narrow border which serves to outline a pattern

and which appears immediately above C.

3. C. sepasse iliuil — canoe sails of several boats that sail together.
4. B. langodab — see B, directly underneath C.
5: D. uadj — neck tattooing of a man
6. B. langodab — see B. [78]
7. E. fäsilümat — eye (from Faraulap)
8. B. langodab — see 6. B.
9. D. uadj — see 5. D.
10. F. uägüpä — unexplained
11. G. garrach — plant design from Ifaluk
12. H. ngingi — neck tattooing of a man
13. J. bub (pup) — a fish (see Truk, page 150 X) [79]
14. K. päülümel — a flying bird
15. J. bub — fish, see 13.
16, C, kusae — pattern from Kusae
17. M. fäülümat — eye, from Ifaluk (see 7)
18. C, kusae — see 16
19. N. gogotjub — see 12
20. O. pöulul — "round thing"
21. P. ngilipaggo — shark's tooth (Truk, page 188 b).

22. Q. ligongare Ifaluk pattern
23. R. B =Bessi, the plaiter
24. S. fatarigavŭong small animals of the sea lined up

The majority of these plaiting patterns definitely have a left side, but there are some among them which look alike on both sides. If the latter are used for a fine peig mat, and if the decorative stitches appear alike in the black longitudinal stripes on both sides, then we are dealing with a rare and valuable mat, which is called peig galut.

It has been mentioned above that peig also exist without dab patterns; they are shown on Plate 6d and f [VMM: see source]. Finally we want to refer to the lugŭllŭ uidj, mats of coarsely split banana fibers, which may be compared to the peig, except that they are much coarser. As in the case of the peig, there exist various sub-types: 1. completely white without any ornamentation, 2. with black stripes along both sides and with or without dab (Plate 6h [VMM: see source]) 3. with a central stripe in addition to the stripes along the edges, which makes the mat three striped, 4. three-striped and ornamented with dab, having at both ends coarse, simple patterns of black gilifer fibers (Plate 6c [VMM: see source]). All these mats have plain weaves. In addition to the local weaving products, one sees mats imported from Truk; especially men are fond of the plain, white banana fiber mat, which is called aliel; a yellowish type is known as garite. ngŭremus and pagutiu are two types of mats for women that come from Truk.

4: Krämer--76-79
116, 285, 531, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-5
Lamotrek

Words:

fisudab	lattice weave (of dab pattern)
djuidab	needle used for the lattice weave
famalúdab	pattern of the dab

The Technique of Weaving
Winding the Warp

Pegs are called maiuel. For winding the continuous warp, five pegs are used which, here, as everywhere in the region of the South Seas, are driven into the ground at a certain distance from one another. I measured 4 1/2 hand spans from the first to the fifth peg (Figure 48).

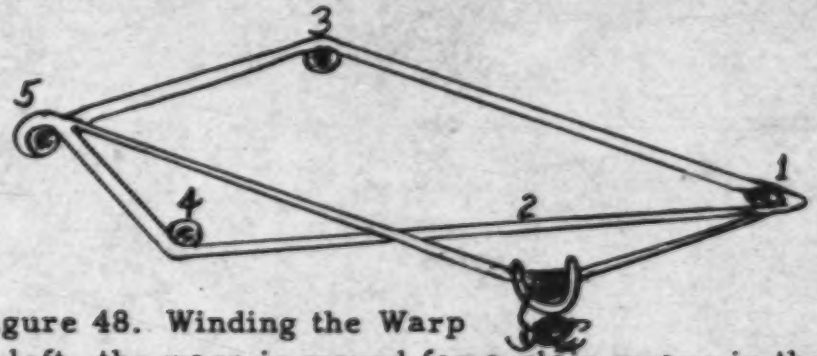


Figure 48. Winding the Warp

[80] Counted from right to left, the warp is wound for a plain weave in the normal manner so that the heddle threads are introduced at no. 2, no. 5 is the cross, no. 3 the cloth beam (transferred to the warp beam) and no. 4 the shedding stick.

The two sheds of the plain weave on the warp are prepared by a double tour. 1st half: the warp thread begins in front of 1 and runs in back of 2, in front of 4, and from behind

around 5; then it crosses and in back of 3 runs back to 1, 2nd half: in back of 2 (warp threads laid around it) and 4 and 5 and back to 3. These double tours always remain the same, with the one difference that the heddle threads hold the warp threads alternately right and left of peg 2.

Two double tours can be expressed in the following manner by numbers; only the peg which remains in front of the thread is mentioned. 1, 2, and 5 are always alike and therefore are not mentioned. Wound from right to left the system is:

```
                2
4       L       2
                2
4               2 L x
```

If the color of the thread is to be changed, for instance from white to black, then the old thread is cut immediately behind no. 1 and the black thread is knotted on at this point (x to the right of 2).

For the fine white uidj threads in the black stripe only one half double tour is needed; thus one winds 2 1/2 double tours in black, 1/2 in white uidj, and once more 2 1/2 black. In the finished textile, e.g. the striped mats of the men, white threads will appear in the black stripe.

In the women's mat described, first thin single threads in the black stripe alternate with decorative stitches; for this 2 white uidj threads are necessary and are wound in

one double tour. In order to produce this effect two more shed formations are necessary. They are not considered when the warp is wound, but are added later on when weaving has begun.

When the warp of the width of the mat to be has been wound around the pegs it is taken off by two women; they go about their job in the manner prescribed and very carefully transfer the warp to the loom and straighten it out. To straighten out the warp is known as gaporette. Two flat sticks and several thick fibers are woven in; they serve as shedding sticks and around them the warp threads are distributed and moved in such a fashion that they are finally arranged in the desired [81] width of the mat. Weaving is begun with a shed held open by the shedding stick and one produced by the heddle; both are maintained until the very finish of mats of plain weaves.

Then there are the gasuitiĕb mats with black decorative stitches. The sheds necessary to produce this pattern are formed after weaving the mat in a plain weave has progressed to about the width of a hand. The sword is sent through the shed of the heddle, most of the decorative threads of the warp (the black threads) are on top, whereas on the other side the black threads run under the sword and over the shedding stick that is moved back. A flat piece of bamboo, the gasuitiĕb is sent through the warp in back of the shedding stick in such a manner that it covers only the black threads that are meant to produce the decorative stitches (those that lie next to the white uidj threads) whereas all the others are over it. (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). After the stick has

been inserted it is used in the next shed together with the shedding stick, so that the threads which it covers up cannot come to lie on top, but must remain underneath where they produce the black stitches on the lower side of the textile. The next weft in the heddle shed leaves them again underneath and it is not until one comes to the third shed that the stick is pushed back so that the threads may reappear. That means that they have been covered up three times and thus formed the stitches on the back side of the mat.

Manner of treading:* shedding stick with gasuitiĕb
heddles
shedding stick
heddles
shedding stick with gasuitiĕb, etc.

In this manner weaving is continued until almost at the end, at a hand's width from it, one changes back to the plain weave used at the beginning. The final product is a mat with loose stitches on one side. The wrong side becomes the right side of the mat. It has three shed formations. If the mat is meant to look the same on both sides, a second heddle thread is added [82] which holds the same black threads as the former and lifts

*A technical expression taken from the plain weave loom; it denotes the sequence of shed formations.

them together with the heddles so that the decorative stitches are also brought out on the right side of the mat.

Treading method: shedding stick with gasuitieb
heddles
shedding stick
heddles with 2 heddles
shedding stick
heddles
shedding stick with gasuitieb, etc.

In this manner loose stitches result on both sides, and the threads which otherwise remain underneath because they belong to the shed are lifted so that for three turns they remain uncovered by the weft.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 574 Lamotrek

Trade is carried on principally with Truk. Attention is given to the question of tribute paid to Yap. I learned the following story in this connection: a woman, Lefagemai from Lamotrek drifted west and reached Yap, where she was hospitably received by the chiefs. When she was ready to sail back home she received presents of turmeric (reng) for herself and for all the chiefs of the islands, who in turn were obliged to make tribute payments.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 651 Lamotrek

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: Yongelăp (the oldest and highest god) stays on Yap, and tribute payments must be sent to him there. The Lamotrek islanders and natives of Sëtowal do not take their goods directly to Yap but only as far as Oleai; from the latter island they are taken west and are landed in Gatspar. Natives of Ifaluk, Fáraulip and Aurepik undertake this voyage and everybody meets on Oleai. The voyage is by way of Sorol, Uĕjü and Mogemog.

4: Krämer--82-83 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 484 Lamotrek

From early times on, the Lamotrek islanders have undertaken voyages to Guam with the purpose of trading ropes, fibers, mats, shells, etc. The goods which they wanted to trade they took to Poloat and exchanged them for turmeric (rang) and red shells (faibar) although this fact did not keep the natives of Poloat from undertaking their own voyage to Guam. But, as it were, they asked for permission to sail their ships from Lamotrek, which ruled over the sea as far as Poloat and Ifaluk.... With reference to Yap the following ought to be added: they sent their trade goods to Oleai, to Vótagai, for they feared the Yap islanders, thinking that they had at their disposal more effective mádjemadj magic for typhoons and illness. [83] The things of Lamotrek belong to the chiefs Ruébong and Inefel; Ruébong is the head and Inefel is his assistant.

When the trader Lewis came to Gogilrau* and reproached him for spoiling the children on the island he answered: it is not us, but their own gods who spoil them, because they have broken the old taboos; Aluelap gave them women for natural use, but they abused them.

* Another name for Agupelior on Oleai?

4: Krämer--83-84 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek a frame house of timber which stands on the level ground is predominant; it is shown on almost all photographs. Its parts are best seen in Figs. 52 and 59 [VMM: see source]. They show the upper and the lower frame work, walls of wooden boards, and in them a door both on the gable side and the long side of the building (see Fig. 51 [VMM: see source]) . [84] The gable is covered with a grating and coconut pinnae or mats over it. Fig 72 [VMM: see source] clearly shows the gable side of the house Lemar from the outside; on this picture we may also observe the growth of young ubud leaves, because the house has been subject to magic. Usually the lower longitudinal beams stick out beyond the side of the gable, so that one can place a plank on both ends and thus make a seat (Plate 8c [VMM: see source]): Pillars may rest on the ends of the beam (Plate 8a [VMM: see source]) or another beam may be laid across them on which the king post stands in order to support the ridge piece which is also projecting (Plate 8d, [VMM: see source]), the result is a porch which may be open or covered over as Plate 9a shows. All these features of buildings have already been discussed in relation to Lukunor, which is the easternmost of the islands on which these frame constructions occur. Sometimes a hipped roof is added to the gable and is untidily supported by a few thin posts.

4: Krämer--84-86
116, 342, 504, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

On Elato there may be a semi-conical roof so that the gable slopes; here the lower part of the house, the wall, is made of coconut mats (Figure 12a [VMM: see source]). Sometimes coconut fronds are hung directly from the ridge, and their stalks are pointed up.

Such semi-conical, sloping roofs may also be observed on the canoe-houses (Figure 53 [VMM: see source]) which are open all around, e.g., they do not have any walls. In this case, the lower frame beams do not exist [86], but only the upper framework is there and consists of square roughly worked beams (Plate 9c [VMM: see source]). They are often elaborately ornamented and the same is true of some of the square purline (Color Plate 2 and Plate 4a) [VMM: see source].

Many of the small houses stand directly on the ground and the eaves almost touch the ground (see Figs. 50 and 51 [VMM: see source]) or on stone platforms. A storage house erected on a foundation is shown in Fig. 54 [VMM: see source]. On the other hand, coral stones are frequently scattered around the house; more rarely the houses have a stone enclosure (óror), Fig. 68 or as a low log fence (Fig. 52 [VMM: see source]). In the case of the im, the eaves of the roof are often 1-1 1/2 meters above the ground.

The hexagonal houses in Fig. 55 [VMM: see source] which are more common on Oleai and are described in that connection, often have ornamentation on their gables underneath the overhanging roof; two examples of this kind are given in Fig. 56, a and b [VMM: see source]. The designs of the ornaments are fish, lozenges, sharks' teeth, etc. Details of arrangement are given in the section dealing with Oleai. One might be inclined to assume that [87] we have here an instance of borrowing from Oleai, if it were not for the love of decoration which may be observed elsewhere, e.g. on the canoe-house Aboi; Elisabeth Krämer has made a water color painting of the latter (Color Plate 2 [VMM: see source]) in order to convey the correct impression. The ornamentation which decorated the inner sides of the beams of the framework and the rafters is rendered in detail in Fig 57 [VMM: see source]. We did not observe anything similar on Oleai, nor did we see on the latter island the beautifully decorated looms which were shown in the chapter on weaving. [89]

Types of Houses.

fal lap	"large houses," probably a sort of temple
fal	the canoe-house, house for visitors
im	the living-house
meripann aie, imepō	the storehouse (planks in Fig. 51 [VMM: see
malimes, malum	the cookhouse (hearth--nim, lim) source]
fëlang	for the place of fire, reminiscent of the
im ali pel and im fatiu	the menstrual hut falâng (1009 Krämer 221)
imareipel	house for pregnant women
imutamái	birthhut
imaligat	house for the child (Sëtoval: im alipel)
imalifam and im ale gogóbong	
im ali bólebol	house of magic

[ER: A list of the parts of houses is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--90 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

House Construction*

In the construction of houses, a strange device is used; it is a scaffold which represents some sort of beam lifter (Fig. 58 [VMM: see source]). Hellwig 2305 6071 is a model 72 centimeters high. Hellwig noted the term ligāse rumrum for the beam raiser; its frame is called wusal, and the top piece with its transverse poles is known as vaip. The lifter is used to raise the heavy beams into position. Crab-bars from both sides are brought into a position of leverage between the rungs of the scaffold and the ladder; the beam placed on the top part and lashed to the cross poles is lifted. For new construction on a fairly large scale (canoe-houses) they used beam lifters of different sizes. The initial lift of one beam end from the ground by crab-bars ended with the placing of the end on the lowest rung of the lifter; for the purpose of hauling it up to the next rung the whole framework is moved closer and the same system was followed to the top rung. Most commonly this mechanical device was used for the renewal of poata, sul, in the canoe-houses, but it was always constructed in adjustment to the beam height of the building in question. It is said that for years this sort of apparatus has been out of use.

Housedoors may be quadrangular frames, filled by gratings of parallel poles and 90:50 centimeters in size.

---

* The builder is called séllap...

4: Krämer--91 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 352 Lamotrek

Interior of houses (Fig. 59) [VMM: see source] usually empty.

In addition to wooden hooks, taumi on which baskets, etc, are hung (objects of Fig. 25 ff.) [VMM: see source] there are gratings of bandanus wood (=suspension grates) which are called váng and on which small objects are kept. We even found an armchair, li-masa (Fig. 25; [VMM: see source]) which Ikisera had made for himself in order that he might be able to sit like a white man.

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-7
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

On Palau the felling of the tree from which a canoe is to be made is a sacred action, but on Lamotrek it does not involve any kind of ceremony. Felling of a breadfruit tree is called komádj ali mai, and transporting the felled tree is urur ali mai. Everybody lends a hand in the latter. The trunk is hauled to the beach where the rough work is to be done. In order to be able to move the tree, the trunk which is lying on the ground, is surrounded by coconut fronds and their pinnae are plaited together. Both the tree trunk and the stalks of the fronds are notched and fastened by tying, so that they may not slip as the tree is dragged away. This system makes hauling ropes unnecessary and the weight of the tree is somewhat lightened. The roughest work on the tree is done in the bush itself in the spot where it has been felled and is under the supervision of the god Simalegodjúat.... When the trunk has finally been transported to the beach, the actual construction work begins with rough-hewing with an ax. On this occasion the ceremonial ax sometimes is displayed...

The work on the beach is begun by instituting a fast. Women may not come to the place of construction but otherwise no special taboos are imposed. After the fast is over, the juice of young coconuts is drunk and their meat eaten. Cracking of the first nut, the giligel, is a solemn action; the term includes the word for stick got, and because it is an action it is made into molegot. The nut is placed in front of the person selected to crack it and the spirit Tautúp, the giver, is invoked.

[ER: a short prayer is said before the coconuts may be eaten, but it is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

[93] Then follows the first blow of the ax, the kakilet... and the rough work on the canoe is done before the line is used.

Now is the time for further work on the breadfruit tree trunk which in the songs is simply called mai. The explanation of the second song by Faragau (house 1) revealed that in earlier times the tree trunks were soaked with oil inside and outside and charred in order to simplify the later treatment with the adze. But the work of the ax, the first blow, and the first steps at least were always important and done in as expert a fashion as possible. Another important step taken without special ceremony was

1. the laying of the keel known as tilegab (solegab, "the keel"). The keel is roughly worked.... When the keel is laid, the workmen fast all day long and may not touch any food but coconut juice; this fact is most strictly enforced when the line (Leine?) the tal e fálefal has been laid. It is not until the evening that food may be taken and then the banquet, iles, is held. On the second day, the day after the laying of the keel is the time of
2. the gapileval, which means the "keel of the bush." It refers to the measuring of the trunk in order to determine the length of the hull of the canoe, the bul, which is done with the line talefélĕfel.*

*There are four different types of measuring lines, tal: a, tal i motaisam (spirit of the 1st sib.... b. tal i ngulu c. tal i gedj (connected with it is the 4th song of the canoe construction collection.... d. tal i gudj (with it the 2nd canoe construction song). For every measuring line a song is necessary; similarly the taboos change with them.

(Fig 60 [VMM: see source] which may not be used for anything but canoes. If the line tears, it is a bad omen for it may not be knotted. First the entire length of the canoe is measured off and then the line is folded and the halves are determined by finding the center, the lug. (Fig. 61a) [VMM: see source]. In a similar fashion the quarter sections are measured and marked off. Straight underneath two of these quarter section marks there are the two ends (fétang, Oleai; fátang) of the lowest keel, gapiálei. From the fétang ends the keel rises a little bit on both sides in the longitudinal direction and to the further end, gom; the part between the two ends, fétang and gom (Oleai: falegóm), is called gapiléisap and the section from the gom end to the bow with the figurehead is known as faisap (Oleai: fatob) (Fig 61a [VMM: see source]). It is important that the fétang end be laid correctly and that the keel between [94] the fétang is straight so that the canoe will not yaw. On both sides of the upper longitudinal line, a red line is painted on with a brush... for measuring the length; the paint must not be black because it would strangle the spirits. In a vertical cross section through the middle of the hull of the canoe, through the lug, the following lines appear: the keel, gapiálei, and above it the hollow djölifadj, which looks like a pandanus leaf; and above it as the upper margin the edge, úlut, which has been indicated in the longitudinal cross section in Fig. 61a [VMM: see source]. The úlut line in the interior is the boundary line

of the bilge. Above it is the side of the hull known as órol which at the upper end is thickened, lugulepal; on this edge rests a wooden pole serving as gunwales, mesep (papa le vá) which is fastened by a string, ngareliva. Special care is taken when the bilge, the space above the keel is hollowed out. (Hellwig: niua). The bottom, lauâilol grating, is divided by means of coconut frond stalks into three sections similar to the space of the deck which has three red lines. Then the space is hollowed out and the bulkheads, the kábong, are not forgotten in the process. The line is used on the orol side. Attention is given to the thwarts, to:

1. tolefatefat
2. metangór often with failo reinforcement (Truk, page 229: fauílo)
3. tipalefang
4. ti válim
5. sáragio
6. fatamat with the lower bail seat

All this is taken care of on the second day. Then the measuring line is rolled up. While the hull of the canoe is dug out many mats are often laid out as a sign that work is under way. The people who pass the spot are greeted with the greeting of fâiro, in order that they may not spoil anything by their possible evil thoughts. [95]

3. velap. The work of the preceding days is improved and the exact sizes of the areas are determined. The uppermost line indicates the boundary for the

work. Everything underneath it is sacred work and everything above it does not matter. That is to say that attention is concentrated on the lower búl section of which as much as possible is left standing. Then the planks are cut and the figureheads for both bow and stern; their lower parts are called padj and the term applies to the section where they are fitted into an echelon-like groove above the gom, and then they constitute the section called faisap. Like a thigh they extend to the knee, borolemet, where the wood turns to the inside so that the heel, monga Selang... changes into the foot pointing to the outside or the forked metál i va, the "ship's eye". The two prongs of the fork are called mongarëdj and the upper sole of the foot seapolimet.

4. vëdjik. A day of taboos because the finer work is done on the keel section. Everything is checked and finished, including the planks. The god Meseiseit supervises this work....
5. póufar. It is not until this day that the boat rests on the keel. It is another day of taboos, no rough hewing may be done, but only detailed work on the superstructure. The planks that were previously cut are put in place but for the time being they are only temporarily fastened with hibiscus fibers (gilifau) and provided with wedges, djib or kadjór, which necessitates strict attention and supervision. One prays to Bórumai* "rising water," bor, and "good,"

*Belongs with Semalegóror...

mamai, i.e., good tide; [ER: a song, lulur, is sung on this occasion but is omitted here.] The canoe is filled up with coconuts and food for the god. Now the construction head may dismiss his assistants. In the final placing of the planks, coconut husks are utilized (pal ali va), they are laid down after artocarpus sap, bilis* has been put on the wood. The sap may be applied after the planks have been moved into place; in this case a smouldering leaf-sheath is held close to the stick with bilis. Now the péret approaches; the sewing on of the figurehead, padj, which is known as bau ipadj, is very difficult. Stitching through the holes with the gólemong cord...is known as yógeyog. [96]

6. kabukio with taboos. In order that the kio, the outrigger beams may be fitted in, kabuk, notches úoș, must be cut. One tries to do the fitting as tightly as possible. The kio on the leeside rest on the geligeaá and on the weatherside on the faramoe. In order to allow lashing "holes," ngata le olotráol, (Fig. 61c [VMM: see source]) are drilled underneath the uós. The drill resembles a chisel; in recent times it has been made from a piece of iron, búrubur, which

*The juice of the breadfruit tree trunk, the ralimei...is collected in coconut shells. One allows the milk to settle, pours off the water and washes the deposits in salt water; then they are filled into coconut sheaths and are kept in this condition; juice treated in this manner is called bilis.

usually is used only for the making of coconut slabs...in the past it was a piece of madrepore which had to fill this purpose. As the drill pierces the material, magic is made. It attempts to chase the evil spirits away. This is done by shouts of all present; eho! eho! eho! The calls are followed by a great deal of noise, more shouts and beating of the arms, etc. Then everything is lashed on temporarily or permanently. The sórang are made for it, the cuts between the holes through which the lashing is put.

7. votap. The hull is set up, the keel placed on longĕs beams; the longĕs are short wooden beams with grooves into which the keel is to be fitted. If it is impossible to fit the keel exactly, the error of cutting is repaired by coconut husks. If the canoe stands well and correctly, it is easier to do the work. At this point everything is done with a veiw to permanency. All shaping is done well and accurately because the wood shrinks as it dries. Now all small pieces are added.
8. kámor with taboos. The main job on this day is the smoothing of the hull of the canoe. Stretching out the line reveals the irregular spots; wherever wood is left standing high it is chopped down, but this work is done most carefully, a little at a time. This is known as the kalúl ali metál e boédj "the beautification of the face of the cement." For the caulk used on the canoe, the cement, boédj ali va, "cement for the boat," is prepared from burnt clay, which is mixed

with a great deal of coconut wood coal and is mixed with the liquid gained from young coconut husks. This caulk is pressed into the holes and cracks and any residue is removed by means of calophyllum leaves. Caulking may not begin until it is certain that the boat will not be a subject to future strong movement and the "beautification" must have been finished. [97] In this connection ray or shark's skin may be used, or corals. "Scraping" is called fe'r; see faiür.

After the caulking, the painting is done. But before this step may be taken, the outrigger must be provided with the float, tam; this action is known as the fai eám (connected with the taboo val e vē', the "bush magic")....And the stanchions ám must be fastened to the outrigger boom kio. At this time the men fast, for anganga sórosol, "work in the early morning," is necessary.

Painting of the Canoe

Now the painting may begin, but usually is postponed for some time. After cement has been applied, bedjë vā, on both sides of the hole, the boat is lowered into the water after at least four days have gone by. At this time the ceremony, gafē'fei, is held; the canoe is decorated with young coconut pinnae, úbudj...all the fishing canoes that happen to pass throw fish over so that after a little while there are quantities of it large enough to provide for a banquet. And indeed a great banquet is given by the owner of the new canoe to the sellap and his assistants, and gifts to the gods are not forgotten on this occasion.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-9
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

At that time, the rigging and sails are still lacking, but their names will soon be given.

Then follows the tárabos song...as a dedication ceremony and the last step before the canoe starts sailing. At this time all the taboos are ended.

4: Krämer--97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-3
116, 396, 386 Lamotrek

Unless the canoe has been painted earlier, now is the time for it; the lower part of the hull, le djól le va, is painted black and so are the upper edge, mated, and the laterally sloping parts, lellap; above this area is the longitudinal band, far, and below it the hull is painted a shiny red (1010 Kramer, Color Plate 2).

The red color substance, lap, comes from Yap... and the painting itself is known as madjagoi (from dja red). Red earth is mixed with water in the paint bowl, tabbi lap, and is applied with the brush, gololie, of the coconut sheaths. If one is dealing with large areas, one uses the husk of a coconut. When the paint has dried, it is covered with artocarpus milk, ralimei, which has been mentioned above in a different connection,

The black paint, rel, made from hibiscus wood (marafai) or coconut husks (not coconut shell) is also mixed with water. It is fixed with a preparation of scraped skin and the juice of crushed Ipomoea, djaival; Ligadjelap is the god of the painters.... When the black-red coat of paint is applied, the boat is ready for the big voyage ahead of it. Paint bowls and paint brushes must not be misplaced.

4: Krämer--97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 552, 396 Lamotrek

The name of the boat is chosen after the tree whose trunk was used, or the land on which the tree stood.

4: Krämer--97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 465 Lamotrek

The boat builder and his assistants receive their payment upon completion of the work; the former receives 10 or 20 or 30 pieces of trade goods depending on the size of the boat.

[ER: A glossary of canoe parts follows in the text, but is omitted here.]

[100] The Sail

The sail, ua, (longaliu two long poles on which the sail rests) is hoisted on the mast with the halyard (Fig. 61d), úrur, which is fastened to the yard by means of the timber hitch, kolliva (l); there is also an auxiliary halyard, sós (d). The sheet, moél (d), is tied to the boom, lim; next to it towards the neck there is a loop, talitor (d), a piece of rope fastened by both ends and hanging down like a bow so that the tackle can be attached and ease the sheet. At the tip of the boom there are two more cords or small ropes, ápiteg (d), used for lashing the sail to the notched end, gobur, of the yard or the bow (cf. Kramer, Samoainseln, Volume II, page 258, Fig. 29). The gobur end is like the handle of a knife; it becomes thinner towards the yard and is dagger-like in shape and this part is lashed on in order to lengthen the yard; fefe is the word for the lashing together of two wooden parts. As a matter of fact both the yard and boom show several lashings which serve to fasten the sail and which are called mop; the various rings are connected by means of longitudinally extending pieces of rope (i), vl (see Kopfschlage (?), kat). Soon after completion the sail is fastened to the mop of the yard but not to that of the boom, in order that the latter may yet be removed and the sail fitted to it. The latter consists of the "dresses" sail, salil, ruiel, the mat strips screw together in the shape of a triangle by means of the seam góruseg (see Plate 17d); [VMM: see source] the horizontal seams all end with a bow, gakit (Fig. 61h) [VMM: see source] and the

sewn strips are stretched between these bows. When the wind is very strong, a rope taligakit, is sent through them which is fastened to the two upper cringles [101] and serves as a substitute for the lacking wooden support on the third side. In order to straighten the dresses little rods, djifel, are used; stretching is known as gameil and the cracking that accompanies it is called sangarenger.

In order to give firmness to the sail in a fresh breeze* about 62 telap ropes (d)t, are used extending vertically down from the yard one rope each runs through two mop rings (Figure 61e [VMM: see source]), whereas below on the boom they have free ends (d); every end is fastened to the line vatelap (e) vt (not shown on d); the rope ends, tabotelap are twisted like a cord, turned together and laid along the vatelap on the bolt rope, dautel. The edge of the whole triangular sail is reinforced by a rope, the so-called bolt rope, dautel (see Kramer Samoaianseln, II, page 258, Fig. 29), which like our leech

*In a strong wind the sail is shortened; this is done by untying the mat-sail from the yard and boom to about the spot of the halyard, urur, and the sheet, moél. The end of the sail that is thus freed and hangs loose is folded back towards the neck, and, if possible, is held here by a net in order that the sail does not bulge too much, because it would send the canoe too far over on the luff side. Naturally the sail area is also limited by taking in the reef; talitarak is the term for the reef line (the same as in Ralik).

ropes are used to fasten the sail to the boom and yard. Since the mat is rather fragile as compared with our sailing lines it is turned in, the bolt-rope is treated in a similar manner and the ends are used up (f). But on top two ropes are lashed on as may be seen on e and f, The vatelap vt and the valifarafar vf; the former, as mentioned, the telap ropes are fastened below; but the valigafararfar serves to connect the sail to the lashing of the yard and boom (i) and its connecting lengthwise rope is also known as valiga f fárafar (vl). The ends of the bolt rope and vl are fastened to the fork of the boom (d lower right) and vt is tied to the yard-arm and boom since it is non-existect on the third side which does not have any wooden reinforcements; here the bolt-rope and vf are also known as tali metalu.

lalebógol	the rope used to lift the halyard close to the mast and the eangelap in the course of paying out the sail-rope.
tal e rúopin*	rope filling the same purpose, with the one difference that the two ends are free and gird the mat and halyard.
talitarák	reef line (like Ralik)
paddle	fatúl; as is the case further east paddles with knobs occur
rudder	fatul e bupo (on Truk: fedil a bú), fatul ulul; storage space fo; bulkhead, gábeung; bail, gámat; lower thwart, iselimát,

*djukupin is the term for canoe on Yap.

for "to bail," gamát.)

The figurehead is the well-known forked tail with the fork seapolimet; at its foot it becomes narrow and the narrow spot is called mong a Selang "forehead of the Selang" after the god of that name who is considered the inventor of the figurehead. [102] The two prongs of the fork are called mong a redj, "forehead of the seabird redj"... third day.

4: Krämer--102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-2
116, 533, 396 Lamotrek

There are many canoe songs, because the principle is that everyone should invoke the gods' assistance in his own particular way in order that the canoe may turn out to be beautiful, luck may be with its passengers on their voyages, etc. In particular, every measuring line has its own song....

[ER: The native texts and translation are given for some of the canoe songs, but are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--102
116, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

On Oleai the prongs of the fork [VMM: of a canoe figurehead are also known as mongo Sëlang; it is actually the notch of the fork which is known by that name of gilimel and the rabbet extending from the outside from the notch to the keel is the falegilimel (fale="below"). Inside, in the direction of the hull a small quadrangular slab, nalimat, is found lying underneath the prongs and the sloping area further down is known as ataúlibodj. The points of the fork prongs are called móngoros. I learned all these terms on Oleai.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-4
116, 592 Lamotrek

As on Truk, we have very pronounced matrilineal rights.... The woman owns the house, etc.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Lamotrek

The sorcerer...stays on the lot next to the house of the pregnant woman; in his hut he prepares medicines. All people around here may only drink the juice of coconuts and no other liquid. Once a month, for three or four months, the sorcerer makes the tafei i lólomei...as a precaution against loss of blood, for the liquid of the broken stalk of the plant is red like blood. Fasting is prescribed for all as the magic is practiced. The sorcerer, vak, has an ax similar to the one used in the construction of canoes; with it he shapes a djep fish, a Caranx, takes a wooden bowl, lifts it four times and then starts his magic. The fish is tied to a fishing rod, (Fig. 62 [VMM: see source]) and placed on the abdomen of the pregnant woman with the head pointed up. Then the sorcerer takes the ax in his right hand and with it beats the fish three or four times; then he lifts up the fish on the angle rod as a symbolic expression of removal of the illnesses. djep is the term for "to leap" from which the Caranx, as a leaping fish, has derived its name. The action is meant to have the effect of making the child jump out; first comes the water, djal.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 857, 881 Lamotrek

No initiation ceremonies are held.

Young girls early go out to gather fire-wood and they also take care of the hearth, cook, etc. When they are ten years old they are sent into the taro fields. For the sake of solemnity at the time of puberty, gabuitiu, a little banquet is held and taro, bananas, etc. are served; the men occasionally contribute young coconuts, fish and pigs. For three or four days the girl is bathed three or four times daily and is rubbed with the yellow turmeric color substance known as rong. The women at that time often perform dances....

4: Krämer--107 (109) 1937 Woleaians
116, 844 Lamotrek

According to Elisabeth Krämer, Ilolumai is an old medicine-man who was the first to have prepared the medicine (taffe). Payment for the efforts of the medicine-man are 1-2 mats. When labor pains have set in, the taffi ale ngërak prepared by the husband takes place. In order to hasten labor and the birth of the child, the taffi ali gauli ali medak is used. jitengi, to press.

Midwife, vãle malãu.

4: Kramer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841, 881 Lamotrek

The women stay in the menstrual hut im a fatiu for four days. No ceremonies are involved in the first menses nor the attainment of puberty (see Pollap).

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Lamotrek

The navel is underbound, gogoi budj. The child is nursed right away and soon is given palm juice, coconut milk, etc.; after about three or four months it is fed fish and taro. Sometimes infants are nursed until they are three years old. The afterbirth, pai, is buried, and the woman goes bathing in the sea. Some resort is taken to exercises, jüjü, in order that the women may become thinner.

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 854 Lamotrek

Infants are laid in cradles consisting of a square wooden frame and filled with a net on which lies a mat (see photo 7 [VMM: see source]).

4: Krämer--108
116, 847

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Infanticide is not known.

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533 Lamotrek

[ER: The text of some of the songs sung on the occasion of the confinement of important women is given but is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--110 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-3
116, 595 Lamotrek

The word for marriage is rŏle kannei, from rŏlim, the member of the house and kannei, to give, because the man receives everything from his wife. In connection with the description of the village, it was mentioned that usually the man moves into the house of the woman. For that reason polygamy is rare.

4: Kramer--110 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 587 Lamotrek

Thus all relationships in the sense of blood relations are matrilineal. According to Cantova... the levirate does occur.

4: Krämer--110 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 582, 836 Lamotrek

Girls marry as young as ten years and up, whereas the men wait until they are grown up. The parents simply express their consent or disapproval when the question of marriage is put to them without any further ado. Close relatives do not marry. Before marriage, there is complete freedom. Faithfulness in marriage is a rare occurrence. Marriages between close relatives are possible if this relationship is on the side of the man, in the sense of the totemistic matrilineal right. It has been mentioned that marriages may not take place between members of one gailang, one clan; in the same way it is possible within the first clan, but only between members belonging to different ones of the three branches.... That means that as close relatives as cousins may marry, if they do not derive their relationship through two sisters, but rather from a brother or sister, or best from two brothers.

4: Krämer--110-111 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 585 Lamotrek

No special marriage customs are observed. The families of the man and the woman usually [111] exchange presents of food after the man has slept in the house of the woman for two nights; this food exchange is called autéli got after the contents of the basket, got, which by the way, is expected to be new.

4: Krämer--111-112 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-1
116, 846 Lamotrek

As on Tobi, we found special birth-huts on Lamotrek; they are called imu or imatamái and are included in the plan of the village. It was mentioned that the im no. 30 is frequently used by the women of the leading families; here they spend a few days of the tenth month before they move into the imatamai for the actual confinement. Here especially women who are giving birth to their first child receive their medicine, the tafei ilólomai, which is generally given to them once a month...Naturally magic, bólebol, is involved in the practice...and for that reason the im no. 30 is also known as im alï bólebol. As long as they stay in the im, the women may not have any visitors; at the most their mother and sisters are allowed to see them and, of course, the servants who pick up the food that the relatives put down on the boundary, róros of the lot. All the fruit trees on the grounds of the house are taboo. Generally the woman stays away from her normal living quarters for one month (Elisabeth Kramer: ten to twenty days). The word for month is aliulang; but there are also little months, aliulang a ket, which last only ten days and constitute the minimum period of absence. There is a difference in the regulation affecting the wives of the chiefs and the ordinary population....

If a child is born when the moon is not visible, that is to say at the time of new moon and up to two days before and after it, the woman in childbed stays in the birth-hut for only 10 days...But if she gives birth when the moon first appears, e.g., on the second or third day after a new moon, then the mother must wait until the 26th day, the

romálefal... and in this case we are dealing with a "long month," aliulang e lap. If, on the other hand, the child is born [112] after the romálefal, the waiting period is a short month. Upon leaving the imatamai the mother is cleansed with a magic bunch of ferns and coconut pinnae, which is known as eafuju lubobo, Figure 63 [VMM: see source])... The separation of husband and wife after birth lasts for three or four months. Divorces are rare. The children stay with the mother.

[ER: A magic song of purification is given in the original text, but is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--112-113 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 586 Lamotrek

A separation, moemoe, is initiated by the family of the husband which tries to free him by presents. To absolve someone from a marriage or to break it is known as moemoe; unless this is done well and the issue is absolutely settled, it may happen that [113] years later one party is punished by the other when a new marriage is to be contracted or even in the case of death; then they may confiscate canoes and take similar steps. The man is not free until a real separation has been effected.

Poor women, the ordinary people, remain in the im ale gogóbong for four days to "fill the nights" for purification; during that time their name must not be pronounced and not until that period is over do they return to their living quarters. On them lies the sëgë bõbõ, the taboo of the chiefs. The evening of their departure from the imatamai the wives of the chiefs subject themselves and their servants who have been with them, to the ceremony of the frond of legát; then they go directly to the im. After the birth of the first child the wife of a chief moves as soon as possible into an imalifam (see Oleai), which is located far out on the beach on the weatherside; at night a fire is always kept burning in order that the child may be kept warm and the spirits may be scared off by the flames and smoke which they fear. The husbands do not work in the taro fields during this period of time and all fruit trees are considered taboo; the cutting of toddy is allowed as the one exception. The woman stays away from her house for four months. During the first month she may not go to the waterhole and during the second month she may go out into the taro field but may not do any work. After the fourth month the child is gauák and may be taken away. The cradle of the child is a square frame with net; the type we observed in use is shown in Figure 64; another specimen is in Stuttgart no. 41250 see above photo 7 [VMM: see source],

The woman Ledjelimar of house 10 knew how to practice conjuration of the spirits and the purification of the women after they have left the birth-hut imatamai. Elisabeth

4: Krämer--113 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 565, 846 Lamotrek

Krämer noted the following: Generally several women together leave the hut as the moon is waning completely and with their mats and food assemble around the menstrual hut of one of them. Here the female conjuror sits and makes four elulape, magic knots from coconut pinnae out of ferns (see Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and a bunch of them ealus uru poepoe* which she slowly moved in a circle; [ER: her action is accompanied by special magic words, which are omitted here].

*alus, the spirit, böe, the oracle knot... sometimes knots are made of young coconut pinnae; cf. above sarüjü lü böbö.

4: Krämer--114-115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 614 Lamotrek

The Clans, gailang.

1. Mongaulifadj, on Truk: Mongulufadj; it comes from Poloat (see Oleai), on Pollap is is given as no. 2 but is not represented on the other eastern atolls. As for the origin, it is said that it must be traced back to the north of Eap to the island of Gáferudj--probably Sëpen--which on clear days was visible from the northern tip, from Rumung. The entrance was winding, like a snail. It is said that the island of Sëpen still existed in 1830 and occupied the position of the Hunter Reef of the maps. The word Gáferudj probably means "end of land" and is supposed to be the stem of the word Fároilap. On the island grew many coconut palms and also a large pandanus tree, fadj, with three branches:

1a. The middle main branch was called ngolifadj and to it belonged the head chiefs Sukurang and Joseph (see house no. 24a page 26); with their deaths, the branch came to an end.

1b. The head is Urupo (see house no. 10); furthermore there are Sopong (house no 11), Volimar (no. 24b), Somar, Rangemai (no. 24b), Sukulubou (no. 14) and Ikisera (no. 25).

1c. The head Boésu (no. 4), Tilipou (no. 14), Gasepabau (no. 9), and Alefamal (no. 26).

It is said that the two heads Súkurang and Boésu are descended from two sisters and that that explains the formation of the two principal branches 1a and 1c.

Members of the three branches may marry, but inter-marriage within one of the branches is not possible. The spirit, alus, of the clan is Mótaisam, who in his lifetime was a powerful chief; his father Uâisam is the spirit of 3. This clan is represented on the island of Sëtoval by the branch of Katamáng (see 1009 Kramer 260 31: Ketemang). [115]

2. Saúfadjik is not represented in the east. It is said to be a branch of 1 and therefore everything mentioned applies in this case; on Ifaluk Gofalü is supposed to be in second place, whereas on Soról it is no. 1; and here Mangaufadj is listed as no. 2.
3. Sâuel on Truk: Soualei; Uâisam see above. On Sëtoval: Volira.
4. Boll extinct; on Truk-Póloat: Boël; Pollap: Boal.
5. Sorr, see 1009 Kramer 258 10 etc. The spirit is Lebá which really applies to all.
6. Gailang ali oléa see Oleai; on Sëtoval: Falemei, see 1009 Krämer 263, no. 32: Sou Oley.
7. Uisúsu, Pollap 8. Spirit the same as for no. 1.
8. Rak; on Truk: Rek, spirit Gabós on Ifaluk no. 5.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-2
116, 643 Lamotrek

The Chief, tamol.

Cantova, on page 312, talks about the tamol, the different positions of sitting on the throne, approaches with stooped walk, foot and hand kiss, and long beards....

The list of chiefs...is not long, which means that traditional information in this respect is limited. In daily life the offices of the chief and his powers do not play an important part. For instance, the chiefs do not receive a larger share of food than anyone else. Nevertheless they are held in respect. One form of respect is the custom of not setting sail, mótog, on the bank, but of paddling on until the canoe is clear of the shoal. A report of Father Clain of the year 1697, shows that they may exert considerable power, especially during war time, and that Lamotrek at the time was considered the ruler of the Carolines (probably only of the central parts from Murilo to Feis.) Thus it is likely that in early times a kingdom was established in this region.

The chief calls the islanders to assemblies. When they are called, the natives come in rank and file arranged according to age and position. They carry baskets under their right arm and the left hand grasps the back of the right. Thus they move along in a slow procession.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 622 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: two chiefs rule over the island, the head chief, tamŏl oi i lap, Mailipue and the assistant chief, tamŏl i gitegit, O'Mairang; after him follows the ou rongäre tamŏl; previously it was the deceased Saporóu, but now it is his brother Djigedjügol.

4: Krämer--115-116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Lamotrek

The head chief gives orders for general work to be done: clearing of the bush, work on the palm trees, in the taro fields, the construction of houses and canoes, fishing, etc. The assistant chief is the speaker who transmits the orders, fadjoual, of the head chief to the people. The third chief passes on the orders of the [116] second and supervises their execution. Occasionally the men hold council, fagilili e tö and discuss the affairs of the present. Succession is handled in the same manner as on Faraulip. If the family of the first chief dies out, the second moves up to the place of the first. The third chief remains the third chief and a new second tamol is chosen from the family of the second.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-5
116, 685 Lamotrek

Punishment, gária, especially for theft is the tying of the thief to a post and blackening his face.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Lamotrek

Cantova, page 313, tells us that the severest punishment for criminals is exile.
The head chief has the right of imposing sentence unless the people themselves handle the affair.

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 684 Lamotrek

An adulterer is deprived of all his belongings, bowls, canoe, and even his sleeping mats.

The natives will stand insults against their mother, but not against their sisters.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 721, 174 Lamotrek

War is said to have been introduced by Olifat.

Warfare is rare among the natives of the island group, and therefore weapons...are most limited. But it must have been different in the past, at least as far as outside affairs were concerned, when the king of Lamotrek...ruled over extensive territories. We heard that not too longago Ifaluk had attacked the people of Lamotrek because the latter had killed the crews of two of their canoes.

bailigógo*	fixing up the dead
bailikelik**	to take the dead out to the sea
bailigóifar	carrying of the dead (áfar, shoulder)
bai li róro	lifting of the dead to the shoulder
bai li djup	holding of a dead child in the arms
kábong	the farewell, goodbye to the dead.

The first death of a new moon is mourned by a work taboo of four days.

Some families, who were close to the dead, gather many thousands (20-30,000) coconuts; this may take many months or even as long as an entire year. All the coconuts are piled up in front of the canoe-house and as soon as possible are distributed among all the islanders, including the children, in honor of the dead.

The same procedure is followed with taro; 200-1000 taro are collected in one spot and then are distributed. When the bai taboos are over, all the natives who have brought mats receive coconuts and the same is true of the women who cover (angefüllt=stuffed?) the dead with reng, yellow turmeric powder. Some of the persons, who have given

*pai legogo, payment, pai, for the fastening, gogo: first banquet for the assistants in the preparation of the body, held as soon as possible.

** likelik, leaving, throwing away of the body, pai, payment-food, often together with the pai legogo.

special attention to the dead are awarded for their efforts by food payments.

Beloved relatives are washed with the water of young coconuts and then the water is drunk. Mummification was practiced in the past; frequently mummies were hung up on the ridge-piece of the canoe-house and were buried after they had been there for some time. High ranking chiefs were laid out on stretchers, and wooden bowls were placed underneath them to catch the water of the body. The terrible smell caused the relatives to stick lavender (uārong) in their noses, which had to be pierced for that purpose. Lewis had seen a dead child laid out in this fashion. We saw the body of a child which was painted yellow and ornamented in an elaborate manner; Figure 65a and b show it [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 766 Lamotrek

The importance of the chiefs is expressed by the taboos declared upon their death, which are called tap, and the most important of which is the bai (bei); the bailimas is the taboo imposed on the land in the possession of the deceased which is extremely indicated by the fastening of coconut fronds....

Death of a Child
by Elisabeth Krämer

For some time I has heard the weak cries of a child; when it had left the birth-hut with its mother it lived very close to our own dwelling. It was whining a great deal of the time. The house in which it stayed was not very solidly built and during the night there was a downpour.

The following night all of a sudden we heard loud dirges; in the distance torches became visible. Soon many voices joined in the lamentations which continued all night long. The next morning I found the dead child in the hut surrounded by two women who were mourning loudly in a penetrating and ugly way. The child was painted with some reng (turmeric color substance) and somewhat ornamented. [119] During the time I stayed in the hut, the parents picked up the child and added some more paint and ornamentation. Many gifts were brought in--faubar chains, arm-rings, belts, fishhooks and especially a large number of mats. The child was laid on a seven-striped, yellowish black mat and a young taro shoot was placed on each side of it (a). The father had a very sad expression on his face, but the mother soon lit a cigarette, while the mourning women picked up the child and continued their lamentations. The mother took little part in the weeping and the other women and children of the house maintained absolute silence. The child was not to be buried, but to be kept in the house, as it is the custom on Truk. The rumor

circulated that the mother was responsible for the death of the child because at one time she had become very angry at poor food given her. This anger had gone into the milk and the child had been taken ill. The custom prevailed of wrapping the dead into a large number of mats; occasionally bodies were buried in the ocean....

4: Krämer--119
116, 775, 764

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

4: Krämer--119-120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 764 Lamotrek

Burial

Figure 52 [VMM: see source] shows a house to the right of the house on piles; this is the burial hut of Saualik who was connected with Sopi and on the extreme right there is a hut over the tomb of Sopi's mother who had adopted him....

On the grave of Rólimei there stood a hut áruat (photo 9d [VMM: see source]). This photograph shows that a small saddle roof was supported on two roof columns; the cornerposts cannot be made out accurately and of the framework only the transverse gable-beam is seen; it is connected with the column and the apparently leaning corner posts by diagonal poles. The gable ends in vertical sticks which are connected with each other by three cords in an awning-like fashion. Below the burial hut is surrounded by coconut mats.

The navigator Rolimei intended to sail from Yap to Mokemok, but missed this island group and finally reached Poloat; when he wanted to return home from this island he drifted to Lamotrek where he died.

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

For that reason the dead are frequently wrapped into mats and the bundle with the body is weighted down with a stone and dropped into the ocean.

Ocean Burial

The spot for ocean burials is south of the island of Lamotrek, 100-150 meters off the

shore, at a place called Taualiva; this is the same name as that of the canoe passage in that region (map 2 [VMM: see 4: Kramer 15]). The dead is wrapped up in woven mats.* The mourning relatives of the dead stay in the death house until the fourth day. Then the eldest of the family makes a long garland (mar) from [120] blossoms and leaves, and his people take it down to the spot mentioned on the ocean; as they move down in that direction they invoke the gods Aluelap, Saukal, etc. and request good fortune and protection from death by prayers. Then they toss the garlands into the sea. When this first group of people returns, the more distant relatives leave the house of the dead; only the very closest family remains there until the moon has reached its fullness. During this entire period of time work is not permitted.

After five to six months, the fi is held: the belongings of the dead are washed in the juice of young coconuts, and then the juice is drunk.

When the body is thrown into the ocean, some people dive after it as a final gesture.

Then the spectators of the burial quickly paddle back to the shore. They all make a blanket with a hole for the head (Truk, page 92) out of a sleeping mat, lúgelug, and cover themselves with it; they also cut their hair.

*When Lewis came from Yap he saw many strangers die of hunger on Lamotrek; because of a shortage of mats they were wrapt in simple coconut-plaited materials.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-2
116, 764 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato...

The dead is laid out in the house and buried the very day of the death. The body faces south. It is sewn in mats, ornamented, weighted down with stones and dropped from the canoe into the ocean outside of the lagoon. Four days after this sort of sea burial, a big banquet is held, and all the people who have contributed mats and other things attend.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 764 Lamotrek

A short time ago the man Säperóu died. His brother was Zigĕlŭgŏl. 11 women provided mats (dress and sleeping mats) for the funeral; they were women of the clan of Saperóü and five were members of his closer family:

Zagabăs ♀,	roligaléa (Gattin)				
Tănewaga ♀,	măneai (sister)				
Leigomâu ♀,	fazrloāl (daughter of Saperóŭ)				
Tamilimôi ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Eoleiijĕn ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Loiifit ♀,	"	"	"	"	

Takŏf ♀
Păn̆ĕlioa ♀
Wŭimăr ♀
Elóubut ♀
Năn̆afelitip ♀
lagapéiumār ♀

Contributed the mats

Lagajüümāl o
Lagaleŭmār o
Lagatoiilŭl o
Lizéineŭzăk o

The older women on the other hand, are subject to the death taboo, ŏlelimĕs (...bailimas), while they stay with the son of Saperóŭ in the "Great House." The taboo is declared by the chief. The woman must stay in the great house because here Saperóu is laid out. After four days the women may return to their homes.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-4
116, 768 Lamotrek

Saperóū has gone to heaven.

Saperóū owned two houses, coconut palms, taro and a canoe. This property is distributed in the following manner: his brother receives the houses and the palm trees and all the other possessions and, in exchange, he must also take the widow and the son. After his death, the property passes into the possession of his sister and not until after her death is it returned into the hands of the son of Saperóū.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 765 Lamotrek

The members of the clan of the dead are subject to taboo for four days, and the closer relatives until the end of the month. Garlands of coconut pinnae are hung up at the house in order to avert the spirits.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Lamotrek

Cantova, on page 315, tells us something about the dances of the West Carolinians, e.g., that the chief holds up a beautiful mat at the end of the performance which becomes the property of the person who manages to seize it first.

Müller, in Yap, page 309 says that Lugëlëng is tamë rang ko toru, the dancing sorcerer of heaven; the situation is similar on Lamotrek...

The word for dancing rod is gurrugurru, Wood, songo; knob, olále; piece by which it is hung up, tawólo.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Lamotrek

Play and Sport, ur.

Hellwig 2132 =5912 is a small loom which children set up to play and work.
Hellwig 2133 =5913 is a toy canoe, vá, with paddles for children.

yarn game	gafif
ball game	ǧárefa (see Feis)
pinwheel	gadjogoiá, four ends
catching game including throwing into salt water	tūgūrik

livōvō, breadfruit blossom; to throw it at one another. The point is to duck in order not to be hit by it because the person hit must get out of the game.

porettetiu buai, "not allowed laughing": the players form a circle; in the middle stand one or two persons who try to make the others laugh. Anyone who laughs is thrown into the water.

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 3
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

In connection with the canoe...it has been mentioned that Alúluei is the god of the navigators.... There he is referred to as the son of Paluelap and is called Alului, whereas on Truk he is thought to be identical with Aluelap. In other instances it has been claimed that he is identical with Paluilap. I learned that in addition to five gods there existed seventeen auxiliary navigators. Their names are:

Gods:

Alúelap	Olofat
Lugeileng	Alúluei
Eidjal	

Auxiliary Navigators:

1. Alulápelap	7. Sābug
2. Maselëlog	8. Fágara
3. Tarailemetau	9. Olopëlipen
4. Vórieng	10. Madjebol
5. Faludj	11. Lëbútobut
6. Gapiumolefádj	12. Uman
"Pandanus fruit"	

Carpenters:

Legedjilab	Sëlang

4: Krämer--122
116, 776, 502

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-2
Lamotrek

Semèligóror Meseiseit
Semeligodjúat

The large number of spirits is to be explained by the fact that every navigator has his own spirit, whereas Luluei is common to them all.

4: Krämer--122
116, 501, 505

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

pallü, the captain of the canoe, sleeps on the sea in the barong, while his wife stays in the gaimoém. The paliu sleeps in the kimoém on the lee platform, but on the canoes of the western islands that is the place assigned to the women; for that reason there is a hole, ngatalie bëp, in the floor for the relief of nature. Sexual intercourse is not allowed on board.

Provisions:

The captain has the provisions with him in the barong but the coconuts are stored in the bul room or basebas barong; they may not be touched.* The pallü always eats first and then the crew, rőliva. No one asks for food; everyone waits until the captain eats and then the others are given their share. Food is always very limited. The boat carries mar which tastes very well with tak, Belone.

4: Krämer--123
11b, 502, 484

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 12
Lamotrek

Chamisso learned the following from Kadu, after he had talked of some unsuccessful voyages...(see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, III, page 94:) "Every year more Carolinians sail to Guajan. Their flotilla of boats from Ulea and the surrounding groups, from Lamureck and Setoan, is assembled in Lamureck. From here the voyage starts in the month of April. From Lamureck to Fayo, the deserted island on which one stops over for a few days, the voyage is expected to take two days and from Fayo to Gajan three more days. The return voyage is again by way of Fayo and Lamureck. It falls in the month of May and at the latest in June, before the west monsoon that may be dangerous sets in."

Below he continued: "It was in this year (1807) or the following that a canoe of the eastern island of Tuch (Truk) drifted to Guajan. The canoe carried a crew of 15 and the name of the pilot was Kulingan. The strangers were received hospitably, but a procession which happened to be held during the days of their stay and which was accompanied by salvoes of artillery weapons caused fear and terror among them. They hid in the forest and that very same night, though without all necessary provisions, returned to the ocean. --It was their good fortune that as they fled from the island they happened to meet the arriving flotilla from Lamureck which provided them with food and gave them instructions about the voyage home. In the year 1814, the flotilla counted 18 boats. On Guajan the Carolinians exchanged iron, glass beads, and textiles, for canoes, shells and rarities; trepang transactions may develop into an important branch of their trade."

4: Kramer--123 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Lamotrek

Teachings of navigation: Similar to those on Pollap. Canoes drifting in rain and wind recognize the direction of the current from the great north-eastern ground-swell, lólablab, and from the south-eastern and north-western ground-swell which raises and lowers the canoe at the points in question.

Unsuccessful Voyages: In spite of the extensive knowledge of currents and stars...it is not a rare occurrence that canoes are thrown off their course, especially when the ground-swell has been changed by storms and the sky is overcast. One story tells that a year before our presence on the island, two canoes had sailed to Faiau to fish for turtles but the boats were shipwrecked. Six months before this accident, a canoe had set out for Oleai and Faroilap but had never arrived. Others that were considered lost: Uleisap with the canoe Falegaro-rong, two boats from Ifaluk, and one from Oleai.

Voyages: to Oleai and Ifaluk are undertaken at the end of November (bale aremoi...); the return voyage is made between July and September. If the destination was Guam, the canoes first took their course to Pikelot and then 3-4 course NNE-E and then NNW; in the latter position many birds are observed and as the boat follows them, the Marianas are soon sighted.

4: Krämer--124 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1
116, 502 Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that the following stars served as guide-stars on voyages to these islands:

Faraülip	möl	Vega
Ifalük	üliul	Orion's Belt
Uleai	between üliül and mai i lop	Orion's Belt and Altair
Auripik	zare u ol	Corvus
Sorol	ul and margaregir from Uleai	Aldebaran and Pleiades
Fais	tagal e mâi lap a ie fan from Sorol	βursi minoris (rising)
Mogemog	tubul e mailop a ie fan	βursi minoris (setting)
	tubul e uelego from Sorol	Ursus major (setting)
Yap	tubul e zare u ol	Corvus (setting)
Ngulu*	tubul bup	Southern Cross (setting)
Palau	zare u öl from Ngulu	Corvus
Yap--Sorol	tagai i tumul	Antares (rising)
Mogemog--Fais	tagal i uliül	Orion's Belt (rising)
Fais-Uleai	tagal i tumul	Antares (rising)
Fais-- Faraulip	between tagal i zare uol and uliul	between Corvus (rising) and Orion's Belt

*From Yap: i Centauri.

4: Krämer--124 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502 Elato

Faraulip--Uleai	tubul bup and meta riu (eye two)	Southern Cross (setting) and Scorpion
Faraulip--Ifaluk	uliul and matsumelit	Orion's Belt and (middle of the sky) Southern Cross, Southern tip
Lamutrek--Satoan	mai i lö̈p, uliul	Altair, Orion's Belt
Lamutrek--Poluat	mai i lö̈p	Altair
Lamutrek--Truk	mai i lö̈p	Altair
Lamutrek--Sog	tubul bu̇p	Southern Cross (setting)

This is the extent of Hambruch's information.

4: Krämer--124-125 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-3
116, 103, 823 Elato

The following islands are known and in addition numerous rocks are named: eastwards, tuas:

Sëtoval*
Pikëlo** (lo anchorage) (NE)
Pik ("small island")***
Olóul or Voloul (Onóun Volume 61 page 191)

Mágur
Ulalu
Piserar
Fáiau ("stone")
Lámoil
Rua
Murilo
Rug or Djug (Truk page 19)

Póloat****
Sog
Tametam
Pol'lap [126]
Lémma (Nama
Lámolu (Námoluk)
Lukulór (Lukunor)
Lukuór (Nukuor)
Pikeram(Kapingamar-
Ingadjig(Ngatik)[angi)
Fálepei (Ponape)
Maki (Mokil)
Pingelap
Gajau (Kusae Truk page 53)

*East: Oraisaú, Suat, Póloat. North: Uraitúefu, Gaitag (east of Pikëlo (2)).
**Also Pikelot, supposedly named after the fish lot.
***West: Bãbã (near Gaitag), north: Sapan, Móul, east: Olipig, Fauriap, Onóun.
****South: Rúral, Sog.

	Ebon in Ralik	Aúrupig
	Salevis (Djalūt)	Sorol
	Laur	Feis ("Rocky")
North:		Ulūtiu or Ulutiu(Moke-
	Miriales (=Marianas Spanish)	Eap [mok)
	Faiau (high) and south of it	Ngólu
	Ralugoisong. (Vorolegeisam	Ban noe(Palau I, page
West:		Sóngorol [184)
	Oléa	Bul
	Faróilep	Merir
	Ifaluk	a Tógobei (Tobi)

A. V. Chamisso, . . tells us that the Ralik and Ratak Islands were known to a native of Lamureck whom he met on Guajan. On Arno. . . in the Ratak group, there lived five natives of Lamureck who had been cast adrift and carried to this island.

The Names of the Parts of the Ocean are:
between Lámotrek and Sëtoval= Oireg*
between Lámotrek and Olimarau =Goisa
between Lámotrek and Elat =Mëtol

* Woirä; but it is not mentioned that on Sätoval Lamotrek is said to be called Lamõireg.

4: Krämer--124-125
116, 103, 823

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

between Lámotrek and Ifaluk=a Pilerup
between Lámotrek and Fariolep=Pilimetau

4: Krämer--125-126 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175 Elato

The knowledge concerning the islands is supplemented by the following: According to Espinosa, II, page 15, 13 natives of the island of Lamursek (Lamotrek) on May 26, 1787 arrived at Cape Oroto on their way to Guam; and the captain of the boat Umal-Luyto, told them that Lamursek was one of the twenty-six islands of an archipelago. [126] In Kotzebue Endeckungsreise, page 93, it is said: In 1788 Luito, a navigator from the islands located south of Guajan whose fame lives on among his fellow-islanders, was able to retrace the route from Waghal or Guajan with two canoes, of which a song from olden times had spoken. Encouraged by the success of the first voyage and the reception accorded him, he returned in 1789 with four boats and asked leave from the governor in order that he might return every year. As they were about to set out on the return voyage the four helmsmen disagreed as to the rhumb by which they were to steer and they separated. The ocean did not allow any of them to return to his native island. This led to an interruption of the service recently established. Concerning the renewal, see Oleai.

4: Krämer--126 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 487, 103 Elato

Espinosa...was given a map on which all the islands and their population were marked; many of these islands were familiar to the captain [VMM: a navigator from Lamotrek). These were the islands:

1. Carao
2. Falopi
3. Ingerig
4. Oruzolua
5. Etat
6. Lamuluc
7. Luosap
8. Ohala, 1000 inhabitants
9. Ólcul, 200 inhabitants
10. Ponlap, 100 inhabitants
11. Poloac, 600 inhabitants
12. Sove, 500 inhabitants
13. Pig
14. Piguela
15. Satavan, 400 inhabitants
16. Lamursee, 1400 inhabitants
17. Falive, 1000 inhabitants
18. Fayao
19. Farroilap, 100 inhabitants
20. Olio, 1000 inhabitants
21. Fais
22. Falalap
23. Mugemugs
24. Jap
25. Ngulue
26. Palao

4: Krämer--126-127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Lamotrek

In the London Nautical Magazine of 1862, the well-known report of Rev. L. H. Gulick on Micronesia (page 174, Ulie-Wolea) was published and in the year 1866 (beginning the preceding year) there appeared a report of Captain B. Eugenio Senchas y Zayas of the corvette "Narwaez (Viaje de la corbeta de guerra Narwaez desde Manila a dichas islas), of the first steam-boat which was seen out on the high seas. In it he also reports on the settlement of the Carolinians.... In Garapan on Saipan they formed a colony of 415 heads (in January 1864, 433 were counted). At the very time when the captain and his ship were in Tinian Carolinians arrived from Elato-Lamotrek; they came aboard to see him and related their surprise at what they had seen. They were very muscular people, their entire bodies oiled and almost naked; in their ears they wore shell ornaments. On Saipan, where the captain visited the colony in Garapan, he heard a great deal about the navigation of these [p.127] courageous people. They first had come to Agaña in search of new land, because their own had been devastated by the typhoon. For all their islands, with the exception of Ilap, were very low. Arumiat was considered their best navigator who knew all the stars and that the Polar Star does not change its position and that the rising and setting of Orion's Belt indicated east and west. He rejected the compass claiming that it was dispensable for navigation. For the stars in the zenith, a bamboo stick filled with water was used. *

*Cf. Samoa, where one goes all the way down into the hull of the ship in order to observe three stars.

4: Krämer--127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396, 502, 288 Lamotrek

In Garapan there was a shipyard where the Carolinians could learn the construction of boats; connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation. Anyone who wanted to be independent and in charge of a boat had to pass an exam before a council of pilots. Close by was a rope-making establishment. There the material for the ropes-to-be was hung high on a palm tree and the strands were twisted and each one had a circumference of 4-5 inches. Ropes were made up to a length of 100 fathoms.

4: Krämer--127-128 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 396, 502 Lamotrek

Anchors do not exist. If it is necessary to fasten a boat, one of the crew jumps overboard and belays one end to a rock. A similar procedure is followed when the canoe is to be cleared for departure. The islanders do not worry about deep water and sharks.

The boats built had a length of 30 feet in the keel, a width of four feet and a depth of 6 1/2 -7 feet from the deck to the keel, with a draught of 2 1/2 feet front and aft. The stern-post strakes are alike, and the bow and stern are identical in shape. No nails are used in the construction; the planks are fastened together by means of strong coconut yarn and the holes are stopped up with cement. The frame-planks are less than one half inch in thickness and do not have any ribs. All the work is reinforced by strong dollboard gunwales of considerable size; they are connected by thwarts, all of them in the same height. The two sides are different in form and one is more beautiful than the other. They do not attempt any tacking with these canoes. The weatherside is fuller and more rounded than the leeside and the ratio is almost 3:5. The outrigger is attached to the weatherside--on the Philippines batangas--and is a strong tree trunk; on the end rest two transverse beams, which are 8-10 feet outside of the canoe. On the leeside there is a platform outside of the dollboard gunwales and it is formed of long poles; on this platform a cabin--a bamboo construction--is placed. This little hut resembles a large basket and in it provisions, freight, and sometimes passengers are kept. The crew is generally crowded together in the hull of the boat. The mast usually has a height of 22 to 24 feet and is not planted on the keel, but on the gunwale of the weatherside. It

is kept in its position by stays, by means of which it may be lowered if the velocity of the wind requires it. The sail is made from very fine mats and is almost triangular; it is stretched between two bamboo poles and at each corner is manipulated by lines, halyard, tack and sheet. [128] The rudder is not at the stern* but on the leeside and has the shape of a paddle; the Carolinians say that it does not only serve to steer the canoe but also to keep it straight; the latter proves the skill of the person steering and requires a good deal of dexterity. It is difficult for navigators to establish a clear picture of this in their minds, but it is probable that we should believe the Carolinians. It is not unlikely that it is their intention to sail against the wind (in den Wind anzuluven?) when it becomes stronger, so that the lateral pressure on the sail may be decreased. In any case a good deal of experience is needed and all possible care and attention in order that the canoe will not capsize or be flooded over the leeside gunwales. Ten or twelve persons may stay on board and most of them sleep in the hull of the ship. They fill the basket with coconuts, and if they have a passenger who is not a Carolinian, he, too, is put into it. They loosen the anchor ropes, set sail and go out to sea. The sheet is never belayed: all day and all night during the entire voyage the person steering must hold it regardless of how long the boat is out sailing. Some of the steersmen have assistants on their long voyages. When he lets go of the sheet, and the boat capsizes, the crew has to swim like

*The meaning is that it is not all the way at the stern like our steering rudder.

the basket with provisions. The steersman without help re-establishes the balance of the boat; if the equilibrium is lowered on the weatherside the canoe is put back into position almost by itself and little aid is needed. Then the crew goes back on board, catches the basket, and the voyage is continued.

4: Krämer--128 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Lamotrek

Thus the ships sail across the wide Pacific. They take their course by the sun, the stars, the direction of the wind and that of the currents. If the weather is bad and the sky is overcast for a few days, they haul in the sail and are ready for the coming storm. When the storm has passed, they need three days to sail eastward and make up for the time and distance they have lost. Then they make their observations: they fill a bamboo pole and observe the stars at the zenith and from them are able to calculate the position of the boat. Accordingly they are able to take their course. Naturally many of them are lost.

4: Krämer--128-132 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -5
116, 502, 821 Lamotrek

At a meeting of pilots, presided over by Arrumiat, the captain fixed the lines of their compass cards. On the table in the cabin a figure was laid out with the aid of beans and the captain copied it on paper as well as possible. "When I thought that I had set up the wrong figure by the choice of my points and wanted to improve it and to make it into a more perfect quadrant I was not allowed to do so. When I repeatedly rounded the corners of the square figure I was requested to leave it as it was and for that reason it must be accepted in the condition it is."

They divide the horizon up into four quarters or perhaps better into two semi-circles: the [129] eastern and the western, Uebuel* is the name of the Polar Star and Mailab* * is Orion's Belt. The three points which are meant to represent east and west are all called Mailab and Tubule mailap. None of the three has a special name, but only the general term for all of them is known. It is noteworthy that there is no term available for East to North or West to North. On their compass card the corresponding points are North to East, Northeast to North and Northeast to East, but East to North is not included; the place for it remains empty. The same thing happens in the four quadrant, although the points of these angles seem to equal ours. Their third quadrant resembles the fourth, but the second does not bear similarity either to the first or one of the

*Hambruch on Elato: uĭluĭl
** Hambruch: ŭliŭl; Altair, mai i lŏp.

others. Their first quadrant is divided into 8 parts, for Tagale mol corresponds to NE; of the eight only seven are marked and have names. The others are not divided up evenly but are arranged in the manner shown in the figure. I was unable to find an explanation for this peculiarity.

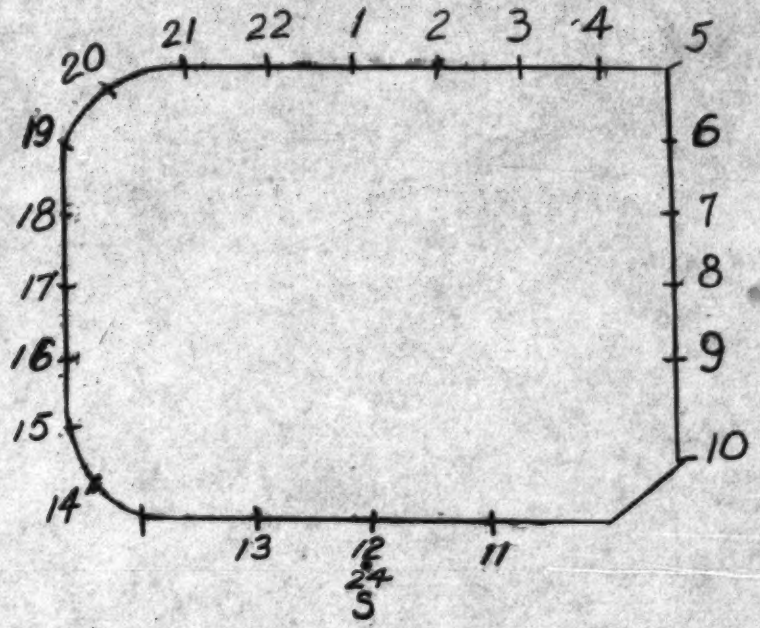


Fig. 66 Compass Points of the Carolines according to Sanchez

4: Krämer--128-132
116, 502, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Lamotrek

Compass points of the Carolinians, Sanchez 1866, Figure 66	Record by Krämer, 1909.	Compass points of Ikeram on Pollap with the number of little stones.
1. Mailab Ueleuel	1. volevol iefang N.	1. volevol, star fúmaket from Sog to Póloat [130]
2. Tagale mailes pelevant	2. mailap ále fang 15° (little bear)	2. mailüpélefang
3. Tagale olego	3. volégo 30° great bear	3.
4. Tagale iguelie	4. ügulüg 36° Cassiopeia (island of Pikelo)	4. ugulik
5. Tagale mol.	5. mäl 51° Vega	5. mól
6. Tagale mangariguec	6. magariger 63° Pleiades	6. moiriger to Póloat, Tamatam
7. Tagale ul.	7. tagalul 73 1/2° Aldebaran (Island of Goteu)	7. un
8. Maitab	8. mailap 81° (Sëtoval, Poloat, Djug, Rálug, Falepei, Gadjau)	8. däl mailap voyage to Botelés (ku.), from there to Truk by un

4: Krämer--128-132
116, 502, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-4
Lamotrek

9. Tagale eliel

9. tangali elüel 88° Orion Gürtel Orion's Belt between 8 and 9 Atair 99° sarabol Raven 68°

9. a liel

10. Tagale lumur

10. tumur 64° Antares (book by Faroilap) metaru (2 eyes) 52° Scorpion

10. tumur voyage to Póleat return by mŏl

arebol
mareg
galu

11. Tagale liup

11. tagal lup 27° (Pikeram from Sog, back by 3.) medje meiet (medj in between)

12. Mailab delub

12. volevol iaur S. medjemeitol

12. volevol to Sog
galu
mareg
arebol

4: Krämer--128-132 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 502, 821 Lamotrek

13. Tubule liup	13. lupu metaru (Pikelo back by)	
14. Tubule lumur	14. tumur sáraboi	14. tumur
15. Tubule eliel	15. tubul elüel	15. e liel
16. Tubule mailab	16. tubule mailap W. (Ifaluk, Volea, Sorol, Ngolu)	16. türun (tóron setting) e mailap
17. Tubule ul.	17. ul (7)	17. toron un
18. Tuble magarigueo	18. magariger (6)	18. moériger
19. Tubule mol	19. mël (Faroilap 5.)	19. mŏl
20. Tubule igueli	20. ugulüg (4.)	20. ügulik
21. Tubule olego	21. voelĕgo (3.)	
22. Tubule mailab pelevant	22. mailapalefang (2.)	22. mailüp elefang doiel fumáket
23. Ueluel = N.	23. volevol	23. volevol fumaket
24. Olelup = S. [132]		

The reporter cannot recall the names of the stars of the unknown points in the lower section. There existed some analogy with the upper points.

4: Krämer--133-134 (1909) 1937 Wolesians-1 -3
116, 805 Lamotrek

The months, gédj, are named after the stars that rise around midnight and stand at zenith early in the morning.

Thus the monthly periods have derived their name from the time when the stars are found at zenith.

A. Kramer		Hambruch	Month
ul	Aldebaran	ūl, ül (round)	September
ʃliol	Orion's Belt	ūliül	October
māl	Sirius	mall, māl (animal)	November
idj	"Fog" west of Regulus in the lion	its, itj	December
sárepol	Corvus	zāre üol	January
aremaus (...moi)	Arcturus	aremaus	February
tumur	Antares	tumul	March
mairig	Star west of Atair	mai rik	April
mailap	Atair	mai i lap	May
seōta	in Pegasus	zāta (thaūdha)	June
lag	∝ Pegasus	la χ	July
gui	in the Pisces	kūi (whale)	August

Moondays

1. segóuru	("we wait to see") new moon
2. ēleng	1st moon, not visible in the tropics
3. mesēleng	2nd moon "see the moon"
4. mesal	see the bush from the side
5. mesăfuis	see the stars [134]
6. mēsoal	see the bush from above
7. mesēttu	look down (tiu, Truk, page 49, 64, down, below)
8. ēmetal	everything clear
9. ēpei	at an angle, somewhat on the other side of the meridian
10. djuabong	complete nights (in the west)
11. ĕărobungu	no longer so pointed
12. olobuă	swelling form (ol)
13. ŏlobuă	good form
14. ēmadj	ripe
15. eur	full moon, the sun and moon simultaneously at one height
16. lŏteu	lot=scaevola bush, which is incomparably higher at the rise of the moon. teu, westerly, since the moon shone down upon them from the west.

17. kil'li "beginning of the dark nights
18. kalovalu the last remnants of the day disappear in the west
19. sŏparr phosphorescence of the sea
20. ĕ efalag still obliquely to the meridian
21. gosĕlág a little less oblique
22. gărotaliéfalag no longer oblique; half moon
23. sŏparemeimor phosphorescence a little later
24. killi beginning of the eastern nights
25. gomala the moon begins to hide
26. romálefal pointed, rom, like the houses, fal (gables)
27. eărofui stars disappear
28. eăú on the verge of dusk
29. féing must go away (from the sun) (fèing ilog, take away).
30. érapfi finished.

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-I-7
Lamotrek

The Winds

from the North	iefang	from the South	iaur
	efangelap		aurulap
	gailoil		aurulesol
	fangileás		lotoar
	gotuáfang	from the West	iletóu
	gotu mei		lotóelap
from the East	gotu(e)		lotoáfang
	gotuór		efángilesol
	eroileas		

It is said that star winds exist which arise with every new star. When a star rises they are generally easterly and when it sets they are westerly. [135]

Constellations (their rise: tagal, their setting: tubul, according to Hambruch)		Time	Winds mor, strong; djigor, light
Aroturus	aremoi (Truk: aremoi	October, beginning of the monsoon.	easterly wind: balaremoi (meaning of ba: coming out of the water)
	djóu (dróu) (Truk: djéu) Corona	Rise in December	mor a djou; strong easterly winds for a few days

			dji geredjou; less violent winds for seven days.
Antares	tumur(Truk: tumur stands for the Great Bear)	Rise in December	mor a tumur; strong easterly winds. They are too violent to allow sailing, which is possible at the most on the inland waters. djigerë tumur lighter winds
	metáriu (Truk: measáru)	rise in January	mor ale metáriu, easterly winds westerly winds at the time of the setting of the constellation.
Atair	mailap (Truk: the term stands for the Eastern Star)	rise at the end of January, in the morning	djigerali mailap; less stiff winds
in Pegasus	seõta (Truk: sõeda)	rise	mor seota, good easterly wind

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Lamotrek

	tëbbi	beginning of February	djigerali seota winds lasting for ten days
		--	mor a tëbbi last only for a few days
Pegasus	lag	beginning of March	mor a lag; stiff, strong and indefinite winds.
	gap	end of March	moi tagale gap (moi i tag "to break upon arising"), uncertainty as to strength; last for a few days
			mor ale gap, strong } last
			djigeraligap, weak } about 2 weeks
"Fish"	ig	end of April	mor alig, strong } good
			djigeraligap, weak } weather
	alimento, the stomach of the ig		moi le alimeto, easterly winds for two days, followed by westerly winds

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-4
Lamotrek

Pleiades	magárigar (Truk: moériger)	April	tafalimagárigar, evening wind when the Pleiades stand at 30°; when they set at night there follow calms, mopele magárigar [136](mop, to drown; see Onoun); this is the best time for angle fishing, when the water is calm, without strong currents.
	when mag rises in the East	in May	the wind is known as kobuádj; the word is derived from uádj "to cook," because for 6-12 hours violent easterly winds prevail, which make the ocean appear as if it is followed by djigerali mag.

			which lasts until the ul sets in.
Aldebaran	ul	middle to end of May	djelul, renders the water ripply, because often short squalls blow from the East and Northeast.
Orion	irir ali ol (eliol, Orion's Belt)	July	westerly winds for 2-3 days when aliol rises in the morning, light rángaliol blow from the east for 2-3 days
Sirius	mal, gongalemál or golongalemal	early in June	westerly winds for 1-2 days, but uncertain
		sets about the middle of June	liurap (from rap "to cover, lay down close together) alemál, calms.
Mist in the Lion	idj	setting between July 1-15	westerly winds kalangalidj for about 14 days, followed by easterly winds djangaliól, (from djang

		"to hang up" when aliol stands at a certain height)
Regulus ililigëk	July-August	eangalililigek blow SW, W NW for about 6 weeks without intermission when the tail of Canus major (sirius) rises; eangali faliuk alimal is the last of the period and is easterly (faliuk from iuk, tail and mal, see above).
Southern Cross bup	end of August to the beginning of September	djep alup strong southwesterly winds, with generally clear weather
gap	setting in the evening at 35°	for 12-24 hours the easterly ëtang prevails (sitang, ëtang "the pressing down"

			-- of the bupi djep)
Canopus	gap i eaur	equinox	the winds may be changing and may come sooner or later
		upon setting	atangaligap, easterly winds for 1-3 days
Arcturus	áremoi (see above)	upon setting	eang ali aremói mopolog ali aremoi (mop "to drown"). [137]
	efang alúl	rise at the time of the breadfruit harvest, 15 days after ul (Aldebaran)	strong easterly winds prevail for half a day and blow down the ripe breadfruit
	póulimal, the lowest star of the tail of Canus major "shakes the animal (mal)"		easterly winds preceding eangalifaliuk (see Regulus)
			in the same manner the

on the fishing line | | wind shakes the bread-fruit trees.

[ER: An additional list of stars and constellations is given in the source, but omitted here]

4: Krämer--137 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 751 Lamotrek

In case of epidemics and contagious diseases, the sick are isolated in the canoe-houses.

The following types of illnesses, mes, were mentioned:

cold, ngutali bodj
cough, fágafag [138]
illness resembling influenza, masélepik (Yap word) with the symptoms of colds, cough, hard sputum, pains in the chest, back, shoulders and eyes; laryngitis, yellow tongue, fever.
tuberculosis, mësebot
lupus, lugeileng (cf. the gods, page 147, who took the illness upon himself and thus gave the name to it. Syphillis was not known).
leprosy, batur
abcess, framboesia, rup
swelling of testicles, morulap
ringworm, kelísebou; this disease is rare and can be cured by the Oleai islanders.
vitiligo, boëdj ("white") with nervous disturbances
blindness, matabās
swollen thigh, abcess, lōs
elephantiasis of the leg, bedjëdjop (berërop); when it is still at the beginning stage and not quite certain it is called bōbō; the cause is said to be the breaking of taboos.

tumors (lipom), pir
swellings, berëlal
"demon madness," katok alus, in the case of fear of illness; but it also affects the body and is accompanied by hunger.

4: Krämer--138-139 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 751 Lamotrek

In order to keep away the evil spirits of illness fans are used (gálibă ali kuei) and they are also expected to keep disease at some distance from the island. At intervals of about 100 yards all around the island gilli tilimes "mats of defense" are hung up in order that the demons will be unable to enter within the circuit; the mats used in this instance are the tapokóu of coconut pinnae which are made of two parts. In order to keep away death, mas, a medicine by the name of tafei limes is used; the bark of the roots of young kelau, djel, ut, ear, ngo are taken; they are scraped and added to a grass root, bugor; everything is washed and put into a pouch, tūkemôil* or tukemöi. . . . This is put into a wooden bowl with clean water; it is covered up with a mat and left standing. After some time one tries with tagag whether the medicine is good. If the person who has prepared the medicine is satisfied with the way it has turned out, then all the inhabitants of the house drink of it and he speaks a little verse. [ER: The verse is omitted here.] [139] The pouch remains in the tabbi, the wooden bowl, and every day at midnight water is added and drunk.

Outsiders may not drink any of the liquid, but it is a privilege of the inhabitants of the house.

---

* On Lamotrek these pouches are hung up in the houses after use. Urupo (house) upon the return from a voyage placed one underneath a mog tree.

4: Krämer--139 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 755 Lamotrek

A special medicine is prepared against influenza, masélepik. It is called afeilialis and was reported by Ikelúr. The juice of two coconuts is put into a wooden bowl; a pouch, tukemõil, with herbs and a small pouch with burnt coconut (Palau: ulogóug) and a third bag with djig, giliau, and uórong are soaked in it and then wrung out; the pouches remain in the bowl.

Hot stones are thrown into the liquid. The sick person is covered up with a mat and the bowl is placed next to him underneath the cover. The medicineman moves two lagat bunches of ferns (Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and two branches of giliau over the sick under the mat and finally picks up a net (djróu) in order to catch the evil spirits that escape. At last he swings two branches of ear; he puts their ends into his mouth while he tries to charm them and appeals for help. After all these steps have been taken, the sick person is helped to sit up and drinks the medicine in the bowl. The same thing is repeated three times within two days. After use, the pouches with the medicines are hung up in the house.

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians/4
116, 752 Elato

Sores and abcesses, las, are opened with the fidjefidj instrument (Fig. 69) [VMM: see source]. Itilimara (house 5), the father of Lolit, died of this treatment. In his case an abcess of the arm-pit was punctured and it is likely that the artery was cut. Kelur, Auólimar, and Boéso still performed punctures in 1910.

Bleeding is also done with the fidjefidj. Hysterotomies are not performed. Lutke previously has mentioned acupunctures done with fish teeth (tail of the apisurus) by insertion of a rake. For ulcers the leaves of djaival, a small creeper, are used.

4: Kramer--140* (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 753 Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that in case of illness, for different types of medicines, bángebang, are tried; if none of them is successful, the sick person will have to die. It is Eluelap's will and for that reason he is invoked...

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 753 Lamotrek

Hellwig calls the coughing illness, mass, which means death and probably refers to influenza.

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Lamotrek

Women who are pregnant for the first time, are given a medicine, tafei i lolomai* once a month....

*At that time the medicineman carries the poúl i lolomai, the angle, and the devil's eyes.

4: Krämer--140-142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 755 Elato

Against a stomach ache a pouch, tukemöilü táfei, is made up.... While magic words are spoken, the figure of a cross is described with this pouch, i.e., the movement is horizontal and vertical. The medicineman also has a red cross painted on his forehead and both shoulders. [ER: The words spoken on this occasion are omitted here and the same is true of other songs that accompany various steps of medical treatment.] [142]

Elisabeth Krämer observed the following case: a woman had swollen glands. Her husband gathered leaves and bark of the tree galau (giliau?) and crushed both on a wooden board; then he filled the crushed mass into coconut leaves, tied them together like a pacifier and fastened young coconut pinnae with magic knots to it. Then a young nut was opened, the pacifier was dipped into the milk of the nut and then taken out and pressed out over the water so that the color changed to brownish-green. The woman drank this water as a medicine.

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-2
116, 833, 201 Lamotrek

It is usual for the man to ask the woman whether she is willing to have sexual intercourse, ramoidjau. The woman expresses her consent by moving her hand over her face from the forehead down; this gesture is known as tŏfi (mat).

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 839 Lamotrek

The following perversities are known:

onanism	sir
irrumatio	faigabóng
cunnilinotus	móngo
sadism	li

4: Krämer--142-143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833 Elato

The word for coitus is tengi.

It is usually preceded by lengthening of the labia minora and defloration of a virgin, ulut* which takes place as soon as the breasts of the girl begin to develop. The former is best known from Oleai. The mother calls in a man, the válevei. She sits on a porch, metalim, and the man and young girl stay in the gapel in the rear. For four days the man tries to stretch the labia minora, fir, which is considered absolutely necessary. The women laugh at a dẫrefir (not lengthened).

After four days follows the rupture of the hymen, ŋgatangat; the vagina is gradually widened, first with the fifth, and then with the fourth, third, second and first finger and finally with two fingers simultaneously. [143] The mother pays the man for his work, but probably not always. It is not certain whether he is the first to have intercourse with the girl. In any case, the valevei is taboo for the girl. **

*All women without children are also called ulut; a widow is known as lipidj.

**ua, boat; level, voyage... Thus the literal meaning of the word valevei is "boat of voyage," which is a beautiful name for this man; see Krämer Die Samoainseln, I, page 81 where the word used for the priests means "warship."

4: Kramer--143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173, 833 Elato

On Elato, Hambruch learned the following about the origin of coitus:

In olden times the people did not know anything about coitus. Then Lugeilēn came and saw a man and a woman, the man Temŏnémŏn and the woman Liparáre. She was very beautiful. "Well, what are you doing? Where is your husband?" "He is out fishing." "All right, go and bathe and afterwards I shall show you something pleasant." "But first I have a question to ask you. Do you like to have intercourse?" "I don't know." "Then go into the house. I shall show you something." And then he instructed the woman in sexual intercourse. The woman was very pleased about it. Lugeilĕn said good-bye to her. Being most interested in what she had just learned the woman completely forgot about her cooking. She ran down to the beach and called loudly for her husband: "Come, come, quickly! Leave the canoe and the fish. I'll show you something new!" "Whatever is the matter?" "Come, come quickly," and the man had to go into the house. The woman showed him how he was to lie down, because he did not know anything at all. When he did not have an erection, the woman took his penis in her hand and rubbed it thoroughly and then he could sleep with her. This they practiced for days and weeks until finally they had lost all their flesh. Then Lugeilĕn returned and asked the two: "What are you doing?" And they told him. "Oh, stop! You should do it only once a week, otherwise you will die." And they followed his suggestion.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 173 Lamotrek

In Kotzebue, III, it is said that east of Mokemok no temples and sacrifices existed. But the Faletaipu allows the conclusion that a house for the worship of god was available.

In the beginning everything was dark and the sky lay over the water. In the water there was a large reef, Oledjapdjap* which became the mother of three gods, alus: [144]

Salual lived in Ilal, the lower world. (Polynesian; i lalo, below and from it also "ruler below"; cf. Muller, Yap, page 308.)

Sauaur (Hambruch Zauuor) or Souiaur**

Aluelap*** (Hambruch: Eluelap) "Great Spirit" (on Yap: Yalulop).

---

*Hambruch: from ole "very old" and zapzap "earlier, begin"; Hambruch learned of this thought of the reef as the ancestral mother on Elato; cf. Ifaluk where Hambruch was working, On Faraulip one talks of the growth of a rod which the woman planted on the reef and from which Eluelap rose.

**Aur, the master of the South Sea island... See also Fus, story 2.

***Kotzebue says that the god (tautup) of Elath and Lamurrec is called Fuss. As for details on this spirit, Cantova says on page 304 that his parents were Sabucour and Halmelul (Hammelu Elalamor?...) and that his daughter Ligobund, the creatoress, had three children.

3. Zemalgoror (Truk: Semengŏror)
4. Legeileng
5. Ururulang, the pusher of the clouds and the messenger of Aluelap*

Hambruch names another daughter in addition to three forElato, she is Nimegei and Müller lists her in Yap...as Nimegai, which in translation means "I alone remain"; she married Lugëléng (see Lugeileng above under no. 4); but on Feis she is given as his daughter.

In addition to the above-mentioned three--Legoupap, Legaburalialial and Lidjarere--six more female spirits were mentioned to me on Lamotrek by another informant, but their origin as daughters of Aluelap is not sure. [145]

Their names are:

5. Litáfeo, who was given the threads of life.
6. Ilĕgúio who supervises 5, and sees to it that the threads do not become confused. If she has to cut one, the owner will die.
7. Ilatiu who comes down from heaven in order to find out what is going on

*Hambruch mentions the same three for Elato but by him Eluelap, the well-known Anulap is listed in second place while on Lamotrek he was named as the third. For Truk, 5 brothers and 5 sisters are named, and the above mentioned two brothers are lacking.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 173 Lamotrek

Saulal was the master of the ocean who provided the fish, Sauaur was the ruler of Aur and provided the breadfruit, and Aluelap was the master of the universe, the oldest and the highest, comparable to Yongelap on Yap. . . Eluelap's wife was Limarauarau* whose name was the same as that of the great celestial vault, Eluelap lived with his wife in the great house Fadjamal.

He had three daughters (for the fourth see Hambruch, see below)**;

1. Ligóboub
2. Lisarërë, her sister came to Makuei (not in the Carolines)
3. Ligabú (r) ale aliali who was not supposed to do anything; for that reason she was tied into a bundle and hung from the roof-tree of Fadjamal.

They also had five sons (Hambruch):

1. Zemeruch, who helps the workman with the construction of houses and canoes (Truk: sou im is the word for carpenter).
2. Zelang (Truk: Silelap is the builder of a canoe)

---

*According to Cantova the woman was called Leteugieul and came from Oleai; since she only had one son, Lugeileng, he adopted the Reschahuileng of Lamotrek whose mother lived here.

**The descent from the couple is contested.

below; she takes good news up to heaven since Aluelap does not want to hear anything unpleasant.

8. Ledjoumes supports no. 7 in the good things, because nothing bad is to be reported in the house Fadjamal.
9. Legédjigedj took down the coconut....
10. Aliulang, is the name for the month of gedj...for this reason the gedj fish (gudj?) was taboo and could not be caught and not even its name was to be pronounced for the sake of Legédjĕgedj (9). Aluelang suggested that men should die and be resurrected like the gods, but Ligedjegedj thought it would be better if they died once and for all, Aluelap was in agreement with the latter idea, because them men would not be able to spy in heaven and later imitate the gods in everything...

This story is given in Cantova, page 305, but here Erigiregers, the evil spirit, brings death to the people who previously had not died, but merely slept from the last moon to the first new crescent. There the evil spirits are called Elus Melabut and the good ones are called Elus Melafirs. The spirit Morogrog is considered the carrier of fire.

Eluelap in the house Fadjamal always sleeps on the floor (Hambruch: nifang) and when

they want to wake him they pull up his eyelids.... The sky, aidjal* is the medium for his speech; the earth is called sãlop.

*Audjal is the messenger of the gods. On Elato: the bird, baz, tells him about all the happenings on earth, whether the people are good or bad.... He lets the evil die and they go to the jaf (fire?) and stay there; but the good are admitted into the house of Fatsumãn and they live in splendor with the gods.

4: Krämer--145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Lamotrek

On Lámotrek I heard another myth.... When the sky was above... a man by the name of Pelialu sat on a tree in Sätoal aitū (Sätoaleirek, called after the sea, veirek; Sätoal aitū named after the island of Tā on Saloan (Volume 6, I, page 22); cf, also Dō the southern island of Pollap, etc. The word Sätoval is said to be derived from sät, ocean and oál, bush; one said for instance in the bush: leval, there , nival, here and began to catch gurugak=sea swallows. When he had caught one, it suddenly revealed itself as a spirit (alu) and pulled the man up to heaven with its net. Thus he came to Fadjumal and there noticed all the spirits of illnesses coming towards him with the intention of destroying him. For the guards of the path, Ileitiu and Lidjómas, had already announced his coming. In the house there was a bag hanging down from the roof tree. Ligabur ale aliali, who had power over all on earth, was in the house. And when the illnesses were about to fall over the man, she ordered the bird to seize him by his hair and to take him back down to earth. In this manner they learned in heaven of the presence of man on earth through Pelialu. For that reason, Pelialu is looked upon as a helpful alu. The word olsóbōl, "to protect, aid," with the final syllable bōl apparently has the same stem as Peli.)

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-9
116, 173 Elato

On Elato the creation is represented in this manner: Olezapzap, the ancestral mother of the gods... planted a stick in the middle of the universe and it grew into a tree* and reached heaven itself, [146] which at that time was still located fairly close above the

* Probably a coconut palm, but one without fruit.... This is the creation of Elato (Hambruch): In olden times there was a stone from which grew a tree, ülelü, a fern with big leaves. That was the very beginning of the world. A bird, garĕgar, came and let its excrement fall on the stone; and in it was a drop of blood and from it originated the woman Legobu (see above... Ligoboub); she soon gave birth to two children, a girl Loi i falu and a boy Loi u pi; their names in translation mean "great place" and great sand." Loi i falu gathered the material from which the islands are made and Loi u pi helped his sister. Both of them were spirits, but their children were human beings. One daughter was Ligabu e aliali and it may be written in another manner: li= woman, malabus, dumb, and ali ali to fly (=the dumb fly to and fro); she completed the island which the others had begun. She did not want to do anything but sleep, drink, dream, and wish; thus she wished that the places she had made would be inhabited by human beings. She cut her hand until blood flowed forth and formed people, men and women. These people were distributed over the island....

earth. And she told her son Eluelap and his daughter Ligoboub to take some sand and to form the earth. They picked up coconut shells, filled them with sand, climbed up the tree, and formed the earth. Eluelap climbed even higher than to the top of the tree and lifted the heaven, lang, and spread it out over the tree and above it he formed the vault of the great blue firmament, limarauarau. He brought the sky to its present place, ueneng. (God Fus "Star"...)

On Iamotrek the story of the creation continues:

Thus Eluelap is the creator and has a daughter Leboupboup (Liboubup) or Legoupup who gave birth to Legaburs al le alual*)the flyer, see above sister no. 3. When she came

*Previously she was mentioned as the sister of Legoupup; upon order of Aluelap she made the earth and later on sent his messenger Eidjal (see above, aidjal, the celestial vault as the means of his speech) as a wind in order that he might enter into the nose of Ligoubub. Eidjal did as he was told and penetrated as far as her stomach where he established himself as breath and the being of Aluelap; and Ligoubub became pregnant and gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl. Eidjal then returned to heaven to bring the news to Aluelap. And Aluelap sent him back down to name the children, the boy Tipalalailog or Tip for short (from tipei, "my will, thought") and the girl Ilalaailog or Il for short (=deliberate, not unjust), and the two children became the cause of good thoughts everywhere...

down from heaven she could not find land anywhere. Therefore she had to fly around for some time and to gather sand and stones and she made the first firm ground. And with one hand full of sand she created all the other islands. Thereafter she made the plants and animals and the birds in the air and everything else. But there was no one around to admire her work. And she cut the tip of the finger of her right hand* and she let the blood drip down on the ground. And soon a woman was formed and a man and they were names Yat and Yol; and they lived together and had many children.

Yat and Yol...among others had the following children; three girls:

1. Lataaisean
2. Lemaugarertra
3. Elamalor, a name which sometimes sounded like Elamalaur (Hambruch for Elato mentions Ilamelul, Ilamulul story 1).

And they had a son, Oralvers. [147]

All of them lived carefree lives and did not know death. Legaburs al le alual even took them out to the ocean over which they could run. But the other spirits became jealous and angry and Ligoubub returned to heaven and left the people to take care of themselves. And they became subject to hunger, illness and death.

Aluelap had another reason for separating heaven and earth; he did not want the people to learn too much. For Lisarërë had taught the women to work and especially had

*On Truk...this was the method Aluelap used to create Ligoubub.

familiarized them with the art of weaving through her daughter, the spider Likesoburára whose web served as an example. In addition plaiting, and the manufacture of textiles, was shown to the women on earth.

The third sister Ligabut ale aliali did not do anything, but she sent the spirit of jealousy to dwell among the people. She flew about without purpose and was lazy.

One day Lugeileng* the son of Elaulap (above no. 4) came down to earth from heaven and he saw a leper. He felt such pity with the man and his deformation that he exchanged his skin for that of the sick man and he gave him everything except his gums. Lugeileng

*On Truk he is the son of Anulap (no. 4 above) who adopted him according to story 1, and the same is told for the island of Ku. Hambruch, in another place wrote that his father was Mezelang e gotu... and that Eluelap had adopted him and had come to love him dearly; see story 1. --According to Cantova, page 306, Lugeileng had a celestial wife, who gave birth to two sons, Carrer and Meliliau; the other was a mortal woman from Falalu, and she gave birth to Olefat.

came to Yol with his diseased skin but the women in this house did not want to give any food to the sick man until the daughter Elamalor took pity and handed him food and water. This pleased Lugeileng. He came to like her so much that he took her along with him after he had changed into a handsome young man.

It was Elamalor who bore him a son, the well-known Olifat.*

The native Urupo said in this connection that Elamalaur had been sent by Lugeileng to fetch a shell; when she brought it back he took it and with it cut her skull and Olifat jumped out (the same happening is related in story 1). Olifat was able to run about immediately after his birth and he himself removed all signs of his recent birth from his body. He looked up and when he saw his father Lugeileng in heaven he ascended on him. One day Olifat observed some children in heaven playing with a shark, and they had tied the shark to a line and let him swim about. Olifat said to the children: "Give me the line and let me play for a little while." But they all refused him, with the exception of one of the children, who indeed was the one to be spared the bites of the shark.

Other children played with the marafas fish, which they also had tied to a line. Once

*On Fanany it was a native woman, Tarisso, who was named as the mother. Much has been written about Olifat including the early reports of Freycinet. . . . According to the Nautical Magazine of 1866 there were three sons in the family: Alutap, Lungalen, and the giver of food. . . Olofat.

more Olifat wanted to join in their play, but all except one refused to let him, and the child was the only one whose arm was not cut by the fish. [148]

Another group of children was playing with toy canoes and when Olifat wanted to join them he experienced the same attitude as in the preceding cases; the one child that was in favor of letting Olifat join in the fun was the one to keep his canoe, while all the others drifted away. Finally Olifat observed some men cutting coconut fronds to cover some huts. He felt the desire to do his share in the work, but none of the men would give him a knife; finally one agreed to let him take his. Olefat returned it to him after use, whereas all the other men lost their knives. In addition the man who had shown interest in Olifat was the only one able to climb down from the top of the tree, for all the others were struck up high and could not return to the ground. When the unhappy men lamented their fate Olifat took pity on them and he ordered Kalung (?Kulung...) to free them. But their unfriendliness did not remain without consequences. When the inhabitants of heaven distributed large quantities of coconuts as reward for the cutting of fronds, Olifat was not given anything because they did not know him; no one knew him except his father Lugeileng. And because they did not know him they made fun of him and laughed at him and when they were building a house and were digging holes for the supports they pushed him into one of these holes and drove a post in after him, because they wanted to kill him. But Olifat quickly changed into an ant and climbed up; he changed back to his

human figure and he sat down on one of the beams of the framework of the house. And the men recognized him. When Aluelap called him he went up to him and complained about the behavior of the men. And Olifat changed once more and he became air. The sister of Lugeileng (Lisarere) became pregnant and she bore a coconut, which was placed in front of the house Fadjamal. During a single night a palm tree grew from this nut and it began to show fruit which increased in number at an amazing rate. But Aluelap made the fruit taboo because they had descended from the sister of Lugeileng. When one of his brothers stole a nut, Lugeileng became angry and chased him out of heaven because he wanted to eat the eye of the gods* He came to Gadjau and went mad and tried to kill all the people whom Ligoubub had created by order of Aluelap. . . . He felled four palm trees and cut them up to make spears from their wood. But the chief observed everything from the great house and recognized his tricks. He put all his people on gabeibei, driftwood, and let it drift out to the open sea; and thus they reached Truk and later Poloat, etc.

It was this discord among the brothers that brought war into the world and especially

*See the story of the coconut eye. Taro, too, came to earth by theft; a spirit stole a tuber in heaven and ran away with it, but he fell and broke through the floor of heaven and dropped down to earth. He died from this serious fall but the taro fell into the swamp and grew.

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-8
116, 173 Elato

to the volcanic islands where there is so much hostility. Lamotrek believes that he is descended from Gadjau.

4: Krämer--148-149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato

On Elato one tells that Olifat introduced the fire, iáf, to the people and taught them how to cook. [149]

Concerning Lugeileng (cf. Ugélianged, the same word on Palau) it is to be reported from Elato that he is looked upon as the bringer of the canoe. His workmaster is Zelang ... who is thought of as the patron of the carpenters but who is not given recognition in heaven. Alúelap himself instructed him in all the details of canoe construction. The boat ends, the forked tail figurehead for that reason, are also called mónu (Hambruch) ... In connection with the construction of canoes the boat builder was mentioned.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Zelang is called Sëlang and is considered the inventor of the figurehead, its shapes and is one of the five assistants of Lugeileng and the carpenters; the other four are:

2. Semälegóror, the guardian of the form, of the outrigger, the planks; he draws and marks the lines, speeds up the work. Perhaps he is identical with Semágor the brother of Morva Feis in story 2...
2a. Semadjek looks after the thwarts, the ebëp and fáraf and he helps with them.
3. Ligadjälap or Ligëdjilab, the painter, takes care of the paint (lap), the line and the cement.
4. Simalégodjuát the "turner," from godjúat "to turn over" does the first rough work on the tree trunk in the bush and he checks on how the wood can best be used.
5. Meseíseit improves the work of Sëlang with his fine eye (mes).

In addition, Hambruch mentions Alülemez who helps the men with the caulking so that the boat will prove water-tight. In general he is responsible for the safety of the canoe, protects it from breaking and helps with repairs.

Above all these ranks Lugeileng. He hovers over the place of construction and his people execute the work. His dwelling is Falesidj* in heaven.

*sidj is supposed to be the word for bamboo on Yap, but is not found in Müller's book on Yap.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

For the voyage itself Paluelap is important because he is the "great pallu"; he is mentioned principally in connection with Pollat. According to Hambruch he married the woman Ilagaiidjor on that island and from her learned all about navigation and for that reason Pollap leads all other islands in that art.

4: Krämer--149-150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 173 Elato

Hambruch was told on Elato that the following are children of Paliulăp and Ilisagŏrŭ:

Farouai (a boy)	he controls the weather and gives out warnings in case of bad weather
Alului (a boy)	see below
Rongerik (a boy)	he guides the canoes back home; see Pollap
Xaligi (a boy)	he takes care of the canoes and their construction on land
Rongelap (a boy)	he takes the canoes out to the open seas; [150]
Zemal (a girl)	
Mangear (a girl)	she is in charge of the food and sees to it that the dishes prepared for the drew of a canoe turn out well
Ilegafaz (a girl)	she takes care of the fire on board

It is said of Alulei* that under the name of Aluelap he is the navigator; on Pollap too he is the expert on canoes. In Muller 313 he is called Paloolop, or his father is known by that name. It is really of no importance whether Alului is the son of Paluelap or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical. He is best known as the god of the oracles.** Thus he is thought of as the god of navigation and has four eyes, two in

* On Oleai the word equals alu levei the spirit of the voyage...
**inopui or boe

front and two in back. . . Hambruch learned on Elato that Alului went out with the canoes on its voyages and safely guided it. His place, parang, is on the outrigger of every boat on which coconuts, begi, aromatic plants, etc. are placed before the start of any voyage. If the sea carries away the sacrificial offering, Alului is said to have called for them. He has a wife. His son is called Falus and he helps his father.

Lugeileng is also looked upon as the messenger of Aluelap. Hambruch learned on Elato that Lugeleng visited all islands and reported to Eluelap about their condition, about the inhabitants and their character, their behavior and their work; if they are industrious he helps them, but if they are lazy he sends them a typhoon. Zaulalu assists him in this work. Every day a report is made. Lugeleng gave the islanders the dance, and song, and medicine.

4: Kramer--150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Audjal is considered the real ressenger of the gods, whereas on Elato the concept includes Ururulang.... One day Audjal was very angry at the human beings because they were not good. For that reason and as a punishment he changed the figures; in the past one had counted: 10 seg, 9 tiv, 8 val, 7 fis, 6 uōl, 5 lim, 4 fāng, 3 ēēl, 2 rū, 1 ëót so that one began with 10, which was the immediate return of work, now the counting begins with 1.

Urupo comments: originally their knowledge extended to the elbow but now it is limited to the tip of the fifth finger; but with every generation of white people it grows into infinity. God has given them four fingers, but to the Kanakas he has only given the fifth.

4: Krämer--150-151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

Ururulang, the messenger...is the guard who walks up and down in front of the heavenly house of Fadjamal (Hambruch: Fatsumel). He hears and sees everything and reports all to Eluelap. No soul is admitted to heaven unless he has been judged by him. The good may settle in the house of Fadjamal but the evil are thrown into the waterhold bŏl ipĕs where they have to stay for ever. Every mortal has a thread of life, the idjor e melâu.* When a soul enters the heavens, Ururulang tells his people, Kula, that they should look at the [151] thread of life and see whether it is in order. If his men are able to disentangle it quickly the person is good but if it is a hard task and the thread remains entwined the person is bad. Oleiguso is the woman who cuts the thread, and Litafidjor (=woman hold straight the thread) the woman who turns it and keeps it in place and gives it to Eluelap. When a human being is born his "flesh" is on earth, but the thread of his life, his idjor e mĕlau is in heaven.

Hambruch also heard the name Yongelaf mentioned and his story was the same as on Faraulip; above he has been mentioned in connection with Yap. He was also told about Nigereger, the dweller on earth, who one day quarreled with the moon; the latter finally said: "Nigĕregĕr you shall die; if I myself die I shall be alive tomorrow, but you die once and for all."

*mellau, life.

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-3
116, 775 Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that the souls ascend to heaven by a ladder which stands in the west where heaven and earth touch.

Punishment of humans is controlled by the three brothers Elúelap, Zaulal, and Zauaur ...and depends on the degree of evil.

In Bolipes, the place of the damned, no one needs to guard the souls. Ururulang and his assistants take them there. Underneath the sleeping mat of Elúelap there is a hole in the celestial building of Fádjamal and through it they slide down into the realm of Zaulal.

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789 Elato

On Elato I noticed a fan, gáliba, in the yard of a building complex which was there for the sake of magic, kuet....

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116. 789 Elato

Magic, bolebol, and the Oracle

(cf. photos 2, 4, 10, 12 and color plate 3) [VMM: see source].

In the main there is no difference in this field as compared with the other islands. In the houses (e.g., Sopo's house) hanging altars are found; the beautiful altar from Udot on Truk is said to have come from Lamotrek.

A novel feature is the gobai rod with eyes. The sorcerer, vãk, (Fig. 70 and 71) usually has a house (im bólebol), in which he prepares his medicines and which generally is located near the hut of the sick. Some of the magic songs have been rendered in the section on medicine and canoe construction and in other places numerous references have been made to magic activities, because they play an important part all through life."

4: Krämer--151-152 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

Some songs have been given...magic songs of rain: If there is too much rain and it is to be ended, conjuration is done by an address, by the Triton's horn, taui, and [152] by means of a rain switch made of the coral plant kaini lidal; it is handled by a professional conjuror. As the magic song is chanted, the switch with the horn is swung in the direction of the clouds, after the horn has first been sounded with all possible strength. alis ali touber is the magic song for the purification of the house of Ikelur (house 3); no one must be present while this magic is made with the exception of Faragau (house 1), because Ikelur is afraid that he will have to die otherwise.

4: Krämer--152-153 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 783 Lamotrek

The alus Roiang... was sent out by Aluelap to request that the houses were to be cleaned and all signs of blood and birth stains were to be removed. [153] [ER: The words of a magic song are given in the original text, but are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--154 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 754 Lamotrek

Dress: The sorcerer has a red cross* painted on his forehead and its vertical line reaches down to the root of his nose; in addition he appears with one red line each from the tip of the shoulder to the arm-pit** and a vertical line from the lower end of the breast-bone approximately to the navel. On his head he wears a wreath of coconut pinnae (see lower left, metalöris) with two rings in front, the metal alus, the "eyes of the spirit"*** (Figure 73 [VMM: see source]) or gobai 1 touber. On Figure 70 [VMM: see source] Ikelur holds it in both hands; many young coconut pinnae hang down from the wand. When a sick person is treated with the gobai, the sorcerer first takes the stick and describes a circle around the face, and then two circles around the tip of the nose, the left shoulder, the right shoulder, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, the navel and the hair and finally the wand is driven into the ground in back of the sick person.

*The cross that plays a part in the song of the stomach ache...see Figure 78 [VMM: of source].
**The forol-lines
***Actually four eyes are supposed to constitute a whorl.

4: Krämer--154-155 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-1
116, 789 Lamotrek

Here we can give a summary description of the setup for the practice of magic. For garangap fishing, canoe construction, house purification, storm magic and medical treatment young coconut pinnae, uvudj or ubudj are used. Hellwig has some specimens.

a. Double knots (knots, djedjabedda), held with both hands horizontally by both knots; when the two hands approach one another the double leaf splits; a quick return movement of the hands makes the leaves beat against each other and produces a clapping sound. By this sound the magic formula is accentuated in some places and the song is given rhythm which is of some importance, for instance, when a group of people led by the sorcerer, vak, move along the beach. Thus the double (see Figure 74) [VMM: see source] is used like a sled whip; it is called ubudj vai vei or vei vei l'ubudj and was shown to me mainly in connection with the canoe construction song. In contrast to the mentioned metál* alus it does not have to be put on.
b. Four switches with coconut pinnae, owúte asse (ubudj) are used by the conjuror to drive illness from the island. [155]
c. Two headbands or armbands , ōwute matalál, with one bow metaloris (see metál alus).

* "His eye," alus, demon.

d. Headdress of split coconut pinnae.

e. Two headbands, marre marre ōwúte metalóris. Two bows are on the forehead, and the ends are either tied together at the back of the head or are fastened with a comb (see above metálálus Figure 73)[VMM: see source].

Needles used to fasten the decorative pinnae are made of the ribs of pinnae and are known as loy, sivel. Hellwig discovered a complete outfit of a conjuror hanging from a tree on the beach in the northwest of the island, near a hut in an otherwise lonely region; the inhabitants of the little hut did not object to the removal of the set-up. The magic was directed against Truk from where the illness, mass, was said to come.

4: Krämer--155-157 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

The Wands of Storm Magic, gosilifei

The spirit Roiang...learned about storm magic from the spirit Tipoeo, who in turn had been told about it by Aluelap. Storm magic was vigorously practiced at the time of the visit of the expedition. We could see that from the objects publicly displayed on the beach of Lamotrek which are shown on photo 4d [VMM: see source]. The drawing of Figure 76 [VMM: see source] even more distinctly shows this arrangement on the beach. One observes that a Triton's horn is hung up with it and that a sacrificial offering is attached to the top. Another specimen, given to me by Ikelur, is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart no. 77830 (see photo 7) [VMM: see source] and many coconut pinnae are tied to it. [156]

...the Central Carolinian sorcerers, the vak, fight the storm with ray spines on their wands which are greatly feared in combat and are considered one with the god Saulal....

The wood represents the god Aluelap and the cement unites the two. The stings, sometimes, are turned against the conjuror himself when he tries to force the realization of the wish. The janus head represents Paluelap and Aluluei...who are supposed to look out to all sides. Accordingly at the very beginning of a voyage when the mast is planted, one makes the fore alus for Aluluei....it has been said that he appears to be one with Aluelap or Paluelap. Therefore the janus head is supposed to represent Aluluei and has two eyes in front and two in back....Such magic figures are attached to canoes or set up on land (see idols on Figure 77, 78). [VMM: see source] [157]

4: Krämer--155-157 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -2
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

The latter are dedicated to Ligóubub. . . and are called ëpil alu; ëpil has the meaning of lower, e.g., the root of a tree or the bottom of a bowl. The root of the plant ëlau is scraped; the scrapings are put into coconut juice and the liquid is drunk against illness or wind. They are kept inside of houses, but otherwise are identical with the others mentioned. The kuling. . . is said to have given directions for the magic figures. The meaning of the ray spines, ohét, remains unknown.

4: Krämer--159 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 345 Lamotrek

No details could be learned about oracles by lot, nor was anything known about the 16 demons; nevertheless the setting of part of story 75 in Müller, Yap, II, page 616 is on Lamotrek. The entire mythology is discussed in connection with Feis and seems to be peculiar to the Western Carolines, since no mention of it is made east of Feis.

In Cantova, page 311, reference is made to the prophetic knots used on the Western Carolines.

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-3
116, 531 Lamotrek

No special attention is given to art. But the canoe-house, dwellings, mats and looms of Lamotrek are the most beautifully ornamented of all. Also tattoo patterns and bamboo boxes show a variety of designs; the most important are represented below.

The chart of the following designs is taken mainly from tattooing, but some of them are patterns of chip carving....[VMM: For designs see source.]

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533 Lamotrek

Music

No details are known about it.
Hellwig collected a flute, a tigetig, made of Yap bamboo, sit.

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Wolesians
116, 532 Lamotrek

Of the sculptured woodwork only the birds shall be mentioned here; one of them hangs from the eaves of the canoe-house (color photograph 2). [VMM: see source]. The chest with its figures (Figure 31) [VMM: see source] is foreign work, as has been indicated above.

4: Krämer--183
116, 103, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 175
Woleai

OLEAÍ

(Map 4) [VMM: See 4: Krämer 184]

Position: halfway between Lat. 7° 21' N. and Long. 143° 55' E.

Exact position: northern tip of Raur, Lat. 7° 21' 39" N. and Long. 143° 57' 30" E.

Südsee-Handbuch, page 36: The Oleaí Islands (Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) are located approximately 130 nautical miles west of the Elato Islands. The group comprises two atolls which surround a western and an eastern lagoon. The former is larger, but the bigger islands are grouped around the eastern lagoon. The main island of Flalap, located on the northern side of the eastern lagoon, gradually is connected with the island of Marijong (Mariom) by means of a sand dune which follows in the west; this same sort of bridge exists also with Paliau located to the southeast, which in turn is linked to Raur in the south. The group is formed of 19 islands--some of them large and some of them small--only the eight largest are inhabited, whereas the others exhibit a luxuriant growth of coconut palms and tall breadfruit trees. The names of the inhabited islands are Raur, Flalap (Oleái), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal and Falalis.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

These Woleai islands are arranged in the form of two semi-circles, which intersect at the island of Tagaulap; they are grouped in such a manner than an Arabic "3" is formed by them. The opening of this 3 is to the south. This large entrance in the reef exposes the lagoon freely to the southwestern monsoon and when it blows, the waves run high into the port. The latter, in addition, has many reef banks. One of the most dangerous shoals is found northeast of the island of Motegosu (Motagu) and .7 nautical miles west of Paliau. In case of violent winds of the type that often prevails at the time of the northeastern monsoon, the sea is very rough, and has breakers coming from all sides and meeting in a roaring confusion.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361 Woleai

The dwellings of the natives are located on the sides of the islands facing the interior lagoon. They extend along the entire strip of sandy beach and there are no obvious boundaries between the various villages.

4: Krämer--183
116, 165, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 621 Woleai

Nevertheless [VMM: although there are no obvious boundaries between villages] such a division exists, since every island has two or three small villages which are under the control of different chiefs. The highest in control is the chief in Gatschbar on Jap.

4: Krämer--184-185
116, 484, 438

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The Oleai islanders undertake commercial voyages that take them as far as Truk, where they trade "reng" the powdered root of the curcuma, the gold of Oleai, for [185] woven mats, ornaments, and canoes.

4: Krämer--185
116, 133

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 1-9
Woleai

Entrances to the Oleai group are the North Channel between Jalangifereil and Fareiles, the West Channel, and the Raur Channel east of Motegosu; the latter has an approximate width of 1/2 nautical miles and in the middle has a depth of 16 to 46 meters. An entrance that is practicable for canoes and boats is found between Tagaulap and Marijong. Next to it, in the direction of Tagaulap high breakers are found even when the breeze is slight. The surf is strongest almost exactly at the vertex of the semi-circles and at the time of the northeastern monsoon.

4: Kramer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Flalap (Wolea, Ulie), the northernmost and largest of the Oleai Islands, is triangular in shape and has a length of approximately one nautical mile. The coastal reef on the southern side ascends steeply, but it offers good landing places.

4: Krämer--185
116, 131, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Vanished Islands: The islands of Pial, Komol, and Falulap have been washed away according to the report of S. M. S. "Cormoran" of 1912.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 504 Woleai

Anchorage. West of Raur, large ships can drop anchor in a depth of 24 to 36 meters; here they are well protected when due attention is paid to the sandbanks in the eastern lagoon that are charted on the German Admirality Map (Tit. XI, 403).

4: Krämer--185
116, 312

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Fresh water: good fresh water is available on the uninhabited island of Paliau.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 144 Woleai

The natives of Oleai according to their physique, dress, language, and customs belong to the Central Carolinians and are closely related to the inhabitants of Truk, Ululssi, Lamutrik, Sátowal, Sorol and other islands.

4: Krämer--185
116, 165, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

In 1904 the population of the Woleai group numbered 661. The main reason given for a lowering of the population figure is dysentery, due to the consumption of sour toddy, and elephantiasis and paralysis. The serious typhoon of March 28, 1907 devastated the eastern islands of the group and took the lives of 200 people. It is probable that the population has decreased and now is little more than 450.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396 Woleai

Boats: the natives of Oleai excel in the construction of sailing canoes. They build two kinds: small canoes for use in the lagoon and large ocean going canoes which they use for deep sea fishing and in which they undertake voyages as far as Truk.

4: Krämer--185
116, 226, 335, 462

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

4: Krämer--185-186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132, 175, 731 Woleai

Tagaulap. About fifteen to twenty years ago at the time of the southwestern monsoon a tidal wave tore away the entire southern end of the island of Tagaulap with all its houses, coconut palms and breadfruit trees but without the loss of human life. Today the tip of the island is completely covered by sand and only the bare skeletons of dead trees rise above the dry sand. [186]

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe. The former island at the present time is a reef covered with a sandbank. During the typhoon, the government schooner "Ponape" happened to lie at anchor south of Flalap. When the winds were northeasterly to westnortheasterly she lost both her anchors and with the tidal wave that had destroyed Raur, she was carried southwest across the reefs and out to sea.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Pacific Islands Pilot, page 501: The Woleai or Anangai Islands are located approximately 60 miles northeast of the Eauripik Islands. The southern side of the atoll is largely submerged and is divided into two lagoons by means of a series of reefs extending southeastward from the island of Tagaulap (Lat. 7° 22' N. and Long. [ER: original text reads Lat.] 143° 53' E). The western lagoon of the Woleai Islands is wide and in general deep although it has scattered shoals. The entrance to it is shallow and large ships cannot pass through it. Both lagoons are open to the south and fully exposed to the heavy seas caused by the southwest monsoon. A sandy cay [sic] is located on the reef on the southern side of the atoll approximately 1 1/2 miles from Tagaulap.

4: Krämer--186
116, 137, 487

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Flalap is well covered with trees; paths cross the island in various directions.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

The western lagoon of the Woleai Islands is wide and in general deep although it has scattered shoals. The entrance to it is shallow and large ships cannot pass through it.

4: Krämer--186
116, 161, 504

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Two white houses are visible on the southwestern beach of Woleai, the northernmost of the islands of the group, but they cannot be seen distinctly. Two wooden landing bridges are found in the center of the southern side of the island of Marion approximately 4 cable lengths west of Woleai; the northern pier is weak. There is another pier at the southernmost tip of the island. In 1930 the population of the group numbered 539 persons.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

A few chickens are available [VMM: on the Woleai Islands]; fish is abundant. Breadfruit, taro, bananas, etc., grow on the islands.

Entrances. The Raur Channel leads into the southern part of the eastern lagoon. It is approximately 2 1/4 cable lengths in width, as it runs between reefs extending southwest of the southern end of Raur and surrounding the island of Motogozu. It has depths from 10-25 fathoms (18.3-45.7 meters) in the fairway, but there might be less water in the approach. The western channel at the southwestern side of the west lagoon just southeast of the island of Falulap and in the center has a rock with a depth of 3 1/2 fathoms (6.4 meters) of water. The North Channel at the northeastern side of the west lagoon between the islands of Farailes and Jalangigereil, --southeast of the latter--is approximately one cable length wide between the reefs that extend on both sides and has depths of from three to seven fathoms (5.5-12.8 meters).

There is one additional entrance between the reefs extending from the eastern end of Tagaulap and the southern end of Mariaon, but it is narrow and the tidal currents in it are strong so that it [187] is practicable only for small boats (Marion Entrance).

Shoals: there are many in the western lagoon and they have been chartered. In the east lagoon there is a series of shoals with depths from 1-6 fathoms (1.8-11 meters) located about 8 cable lengths southeast of Mariaon Island. A rock with a depth of 2 fathoms (3.7 meters) is located approximately 2 3/4 cable lengths southwest of the southwesternmost end of the banks and another one, with a depth of two fathoms, is found 3 1/4 cable lengths north of the southern end of Raur.

Anchorages. Large ships may drop anchor in the eastern lagoon in depths of from

fifteen to twenty fathoms (27.4-36.6 meters); here fine sand and good protection are found approximately 4 1/2 cable lengths west of the northern part of Raur.

Small boats can drop anchor at the time of the southwest monsoon opposite to the southeastern side of Mariaon and also opposite to the northern side of the island of Tagaulap (Lat. 7° 22' N. and Long. 143° 53' E.).

In this connection compare map 772 [VMM: see 4: Krämer 184]

This map, as compared with the earlier ones... the Russian and the German ones which, in general, are in agreement gives the results of better soundings, especially of the western lagoon and its northern part. It also shows the extent of the southern barrier of the reef which hitherto had not been determined. The Russian line of soundings from Tagaulap south-south-westward, east-northeast of Falalis, the southernmost of the islands, had indicated the barrier, because here the depth of the lagoon had decreased to about 10 meters from an approximate depth of 40 meters. The new English map no. 772 shows a formation about 2 kilometers in length trending ENE from Falalis; between its eastern submarine end and the isolated sandy cay [sic] reef, there is a depression which I call Falalis Channel; the depth of this channel is 5.3-16 fathoms (9.5-31 meters).

Another new feature of the map is the sandy cay [sic] reef mentioned (on the German map it is indicated only superficially) on which a sandy islet is found straight south of

the western tip of Tagaulap and at a distance of 2 1/2 kilometers from it; the same is true of the isolated reef that follows in an easterly direction and on which the island of Motogosu is located. Between the two there is an entrance with a depth of approximately 7 fathoms(13 meters) which I call the Middle Channel; through it large ships can sail into the west and east lagoon, or better said, they could if the margins of the various reefs were marked by beacons. Hitherto the above-mentioned Raur Channel has been used for entrance into the east lagoon; our expedition ship went through it, since it and the east lagoon have been sounded with all necessary accuracy. [188] This is the location of the largest and most important island of the Oleai group which has given the name to it. The west lagoon is two or three times the size of the east lagoon and is less narrowed by shoals. The middle basin has a depth of 20-27 fathoms (36.5-49.5 meters); sandbanks are confined to the margins: there are two in the southeast (near the sand cay [sic] reef) which have a depth of 4.1 fathoms (7.5 meters), one in the northeast with a depth of 5.3 fathoms (9.5 meters) and a few smaller ones also in the northeast and southeast. It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the destruction of Raur... and the map has Raur and Paliau charted according to their appearance before 1907.

Bearings: in the south of Raur and about one nautical mile off the island, 216 fathoms (389 meters); at the same distance from Motogosu approximately 2 kilometers to the south 347 fathoms (625 meters): about 400 meters in front of the exit from the West Channel 168 fathoms (300 meters), whereas 500 meters to the south of that location the depth is no more than 20 fathoms. (36 meters).

4: Krämer--188-189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133, 175, 103 Woleai

The true shape of the atoll has finally become known through the new English map. [189] The name Voleai appeared for the first time in 1608 in a letter of Pater Clain who gave it as Valayay; in 1706 it was given as Ulier,* in 1710 as Olie, and 1721 as Ulee according to Cantova.

*On Clain's map the names of the islands are: Parivu (Paliau), Raor (Raur), Ulier (Volea), Marioc (Mariong), Tacaylap (Tagaulap), Alingaray (Votagai) and Farilies (Falalis).

4: Krämer--189
116, 103, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 1-3
Woleai

The first visitor of Woleai was Torres, who went there in 1804 and who gave the name of Guliai and Ulea; Chamisso in 1817 gives Ulea, Lütke in 1828 Ouleyai, the Kolonialatlas of 1908 Oleai, Uleai and Woleai, and the report of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition in 1909 the atoll of Oleai and the island of Volea.

4: Krämer--189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson of the "Duff" estimated the population of the Woleai Group as 3150, in 1797.]

4: Krämer--189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

James Wilson: [VMM: who discovered Oleai in 1797 said]

"At a distance of one mile we sounded the two ends in NW 1/2 W to W to N 1/2 E from which we were able to arrive at an estimate of their extent. The latitude of their southern part is 7° 16' and 144° 30' E..."

4: Krämer--189-193 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-7
116, 175 Woleai

The Spanish apparently had not sighted the atolls of Lamotrek and Oleai before 1700; the first was James Wilson who sailed in these waters in 1797 on the "Duff"... Even though Oleai was sighted at this late date, the white people on Guam had learned earlier of the existence of various groups of atolls in the Central Carolines. In 1722 Cantova collected information about Ulea and Lamotrek on Guam, and it is published in his letters (see Kozebue Entdeckungsreise... page 85)

Here we give the continuation of the story of the island of Lamotrek which, like Oleai, was truly discovered by James Wilson:

"At a distance of one mile we sounded the two ends in NW 1/2 W to W to N 1/2 E from which we were able to arrive at an estimate of their extent. The latitude of their southern part is 7° 16' and 144° 30' E. At first about 60 canoes came towards us, and later our crew counted 150 sighted. Since each one of them was manned by seven persons on the average, that would give us a total of 1050. If we add to that figure one half that number who were left behind ashore and twice that number to account for the women and children then the population of this group alone amounts to 3150 heads. To judge from the appearance of the islands, so large a group must often be subject to severe famine. For the first time we saw native women of this island region, and about one dozen of them sailed towards us in three canoes; two of these canoes were accompanied by men but the third was filled with women exclusively. They remained on the weatherside for a considerable length of time while the men seemed to watch them zealously. When they

noticed that we did not seem to pay them a great deal of attention, they were allowed to approach within a few yards of our ship. They looked us and the ship over with apparent pleasure. Some of them had pretty faces and had neither thick lips nor broad faces although they were inclined towards both. Their hair is black and long. The color of their skin is somewhat different from that of the men in that a sickish looking whiteness[190] is mixed with a natural olive color. Since we saw them almost nude their greatest credit and most important impression was the modesty of their behaviour. Most of the men were nude as were the women, whereas some wore a decorative belt around their bodies, near the navel; these belts are about one inch in width and composed of pieces of black and white shells which are perforated and strung in the manner of beads. Some of the natives wore a wide, brimmed, conical hat, somewhat reminiscent of the hats of the Chinese. The islands seemed alike in every respect not allowing one any advantage except perhaps the possibility of greater luxuries afforded through their neighbors; and perhaps more extensive shoals and calm waters offer a protection and a shelter for fish before the storm. It is possible that here they find more natural aid than on the deserted islands. But to judge from their trade goods they had the same possessions. Their goods included coconut fiber rope, of which we were able to buy thirty fathoms for a six-inch long piece of an old iron wheel. This rope of the islanders is generally one inch thick and in quality equals our hempen rope or is superior to it. At no time did the

natives make any secret out of their great desire for iron and we might have filled our ship with ropes for almost the price mentioned if we had spent a few hours near the island. We would indeed have taken the time for it if we had known--as we discovered later on--that they often bring a good price in China. The fishing utensils of the islanders are little different from those we had seen on the eastern islands. But their mats were striking with their fine weave and were made in the form of Spanish sashes with a fantastic border at both ends and with black threads worked into the material. The natural color of these sashes is white but many of them are dyed a beautiful yellow with the color substance of the curcuma. It is impossible to see these exquisitely made sashes and the primitive people who made them without wondering how they have arrived at the practice of this art. It is not impossible that they have been instructed by Jesuit missionaries, for two of them were sent out to the island group in 1710 by the Spanish government in Manila; but the ship that was to take them to their destination was cast adrift by the currents, and the Jesuits were shipwrecked. Later another group was sent which continued its efforts for some years until its members had become convinced of the general poverty prevailing on the islands and had come to the conclusion that they could not be of any use to the Spanish Kingdom. Thus they left the islands, and since that time (around 1720) they have been completely neglected. These happenings make it so much more remarkable that this useful art has been maintained for this length of time. Since it reflects the merit of the original teachers and wins them praise, it has been an

inspiration to our missionaries who [191] try everything in their power to introduce the mechanical arts and who have not failed completely in their efforts,*

Turtles are included amont the things of their subsistence, since we were able to buy one--weighing about 20 pounds--for a piece of iron about 2 meters long.

They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling. Their language is different from all we had heard hitherto; with the exception of a few words such as lulu (iron), capitaine, etc. we could understand little of what they were saying....

After having passed these thirteen islands, which undoubtedly comprise the group of Oleai, Wilson did not sight any other small islands, and continued in a straight course towards Palau...

After the discovery of the island group by Wilson, it was Don Luis de Torres--as far as we know.... who was the first to visit Oleai and to give us more detailed information about it. Kotzebue, III, page 93, reports that in 1804 the ship "Maria" of Boston--Captain of the ship Samuel W. Bell, Supercargo Thomas Bormann--sailed from Guajan on a

*This latter assumption is, of course, erroneous.

voyage of discovery and to look for trepang on the Caroline Islands. Don Luis de Torres was on board because he wanted to see the islanders who had drifted to Guam (S. Luito) and to whom he had taken a liking. He wanted to do them some favors, and was eager to know why they had not come to Guajan for a visit, and wanted to induce them to return to that island. According to the diary of Don Luis, the following were determined on the voyage: a shoal of 24 fathoms at Lat. 8° 20' N and Long.* 149° E, the wild island of Piguelao, according to Kadu, [192]called Bigelle at 8° 6' and 147° 17'** and the sandbank of Oraitilipu with a depth of 12 fathoms at the same latitude***; besides there was the uninhabited island of Fallao which according to Torres is called Fahueu, (Cahtova: Fayo) and which is located at 8° 5' and 146° 45'****; Farruelap*****(Torres: Fatoilep)

*According to map 97, the Gray Feather Bank with a depth of 9 meters is located at 8° 10' and 148° 43' and the Hitchfield Bank with 20 meters of water at 7° 50' and 149° 40', and there are no other sandbanks in the region.

**Map 97 has Pidelot at 8° 9' and 147° 42'.

***On map 97 a bank by this name is charted at 8° 6' and 147° 15' with a question mark and a depth of 22 meters.

****The so-called West Faiĕu; East Faiĕu. . . and in Namoin. The meaning of the name is "Stone one", stone, fau and on Lamotrek: fai and from that Fais has derived its name with the meaning of "rocky." Map 97, 8° 5' and 146° 52'.

*****Map 97: Faraulip

is at 8° 3' and 144° 30' and Guliai (Torres: Ulee; Cantova: Ulea, Kadu: Olx) is at 7° and 144°.

For his map, see Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 85.

One English passenger of the Maris, De Luis Juan, remained on Oleai. Kadu said that he knew him by the name of Lisol and that he had a wife and child. He is said to have died on the island. Don Luis left cattle and pigs, but since his time they have become extinct again.

Torres has become very well known through A, V. Chamisso, who reports so much on Ulea, although his ship, the "Ruruik" under captain v. Kotzebue, did not visit the atoll. He received a great deal of information from Don Luis de Torres and especially from Kadu, about whom he writes as follows....:

"At the beginning of 1817, we had come to know and made friends with the islanders of the group of Otidia and Kaben of the island chain of Radack in the extreme east of this province and we had come to recognize the natives as very likeable people. When we sailed to Aur later, islands of the same group, the natives came towards us in their canoes and climbed aboard as soon as we had dropped anchor; among them was a man who in many ways was distinguished from the rest of the islanders. His tattooing was not of the regular patterns of the Radack natives, but indistinct figures of fishes and birds could be seen singly and in rows around his knees and on his arms and shoulders.

He was of a stouter build and lighter color then the others and his hair was more curly. He addressed us in a language which sounded different to us from that of Radack, and completely unfamiliar, and we immediately tried in vain to talk to him of the Sandwich Islands. He made it understood that he was inclined to stay on our ship and to accompany us on our future voyages. His request was willingly accepted... Kadu is a native of the island group of Ulea south of Guajan; although he was not of noble birth he was a confident of his king Toua, who had him execute his wishes and orders on other islands; accordingly on former voyages he had come to know the chain of islands which had contact with Ulea and westward knew the region as far as Pelew and eastward as far as Setoan."....

The next and most important visitor of Oleai was Lütke, who came to the island in 1828.....He arrived at Namourrek on March 25 and made [193] a rapid survey which later formed the basis for the map of the Reichsmarineamt, tells that early in the morning of the 26th, several canoes sailed towards the ship and that the crews of the boats were distinguished by an outstandingly elegant system of tattooing which covered their entire body with the exception of the head. They did not bring us any fish, but instead asked us for food. Whatever we gave them they devoured greedily so that we came to the conclusion that there was a famine on land; according to Floyd [AN: an Englishman who had stayed on Murilo for 18 months] there is indeed a severe shortage of food on the coral islands almost every year in the fall, and it lasts for a month or two. During that

time, the natives live almost exclusively on breadfruit dough (Krämer: mar). Some of the natives of the island sailed with us to Elato where they went ashore by canoe. Lively traffic is maintained with Guaham (Guam) and it is said that Spanich ships often call at the island in their search for trepang. In Guam Lütke met chief Orolitau of Elato whom the governor had put in control of trade in the Marianas. I learned a great deal from him about the Caroline Islands. He is said to have had three wives: Letaururu, Laguol, and Lamoarup; his assistants Sepa named Mairuk and Mesauro, and another assistant, Orotak, one wife: Namoarimet, Lütke did not find an entrance on the west side of the island group. Kittlitz observed shrubs of scaevola on land.

By March 28, Lütke had reached a position off Faroilap where he met a tamol who spoke Spanish fluently and who called himself Alberto, probably due to a former stay in the Marianas. On this island, too, a shortage of food was obvious. During the following days, April 1, Olimarao was sighted after some search and was charted. A canoe with three men approached the ship and one of the crew was very hungry. On April 3, Lütke reached Ifaluk and that same evening he sighted Uleai, with whith the crew of the Rurik had become familiar through the talk of Kadu. But in spite of repeated questions none knew the name of Kadu, which Chamisso spelled without the accent. Thus it was a name which was either assumed later on or was mispronounced. On April 4 it was possible to drop anchor in the east lagoon. Here fish in large quantities were offered for sale. The

islands in the east were called Ra-ur and Palliau and the northernmost Ulea or Uleai, and they were grouped in the form of a triangle with bent sides. The island of Marion was located on the north side of the bank and between it and Ulea a reef was half hidden in the water. It resembled the reef between Eunoar* and Lukunor, which is longer, however. The channels in the east, e.g., between Raur and Palaiu are shallow enough to allow wading across.

*It must be Piafa, although the latter, according to the German map, is at a distance of 1570 meters from Lukunor, whereas Mariong is no more than 470 meters from Oleai.

4: Krämer--191
116, 502, 721, 411

(1909) 1937

Woleaians 1-2
Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson said of the natives in 1797]: They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling.

4: Krämer--191 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802, 192 Woleai

[VMM: According to James Wilson (1797) the native numerals] are as follows:

Carolines	Palau	
1. iota	tong	tang
2. rua	oru	orung
3. tolu	othey	odéi
4. tia	oang	oáng
5. lima	aim	oím
6. honu	malong	malong
7. fizu	oweth	uíd
8. warrow	tei	laí
9. hivo	etew	ítiu
10. segga	mackoth	magod

4: KrÆmer--191-192 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

According to the diary of Don Luis, the following were determined on the voyage; a shoal of 24 fathoms at Lat. 8° 20' N and Long.* 149° E, the wild island of Piguelao, according to Kadu [192] called Bigelle, at 8° 6' and 147° 17'** and the sandbank of Oraitilipu with a depth of 12 fathoms at the same latitude***; besides there was the uninhabited island of Fallao which according to Torres is called Fahueu, (Canotva: Fayo) and which is located at 8° 5' and 146° 45'****; Farruelap*****(Torres: Faroilap; Cantova: Fatoilep) is at 8° 3' and 144° 30' and Guliai (Torres: Ulee; Cantova: Ulea; Kadu: Oli) is at 7° and 144°. For his map, see Kotsebue Endeckunsreise... Vol. III, page 85.

---

*According to map 97, the Gray Feather Bank with a depth of 9 meters is located at 8° 10' and 148° 43' and the Hitchfield Bank with 20 meters of water at 7° 50' and 149° 40', and there are no other sandbanks in the region.

**Map 97 has Pikelot at 8° 9' and 147° 42',

***On map 97, a bank by this name is charted at 8° 6' and 147° 15' with a question mark and a depth of 22 meters.

****The so-called West Faiču; East Faiču... and in Namoin(see 1010 KrÆmer, page 163) The meaning of the name is "stone one"; stone, fau and on Lamotrek fai and from that Fais has derived its name with the meaning of "rocky." Map 97, 8° 5' and 146° 52'.

*****Map 97: Faraulip

4: Krämer--193-194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai

...[VMM: there were] large numbers of white sea swallows, Gygis candida, flying around the trees; their squalling, alluring calls could always be heard in their flight. Strepsilas collaris is among the common beach-birds and the curlew, Numenius tenuirostris, is seen one at a time occasionally. In the bush, Sylvia syrinx and the Lamprothornis of Lukunor are found which are distinguished from a similar species of Kusae by a sulphur yellowish white [194] body with black longitudinal lines. There are no chickens and no pigeons and no pteropidae. Once a cuckoo was heard.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai 1-5

Kittlitz received the following species of fish: the striking red serranus species (Serranus punctulatus and urodelus) and a new myripristic species with white marginal lines on the front and rear fin, and a new Genus Odax (Axodon Cuvier) with big shovel-like incisors which protruded strongly.

The purplish Julis Gaymardi occurred in single specimens; the golden yellow Julis with light green abdomen and a half-crescent-shaped tail fin, Helichoeres, Labrus, Sparus insidiator and zonephorus, Labrus fasciatus, Scarus ocillatus, Grammistes puntatus, the dark-brown Acanthuru pyroferus (armed) etc., rounded out the colorful picture.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai

Kittlitz received the following species of fish: the striking red serranus species (Serranus punctulatus and urodelus) and a new myripristic species with white marginal lines on the front and rear fin, and a new Genus Odax (Axodon Cuvier) with big shovel-like incisors which protruded strongly.

The purplish Julis Gaymardi occurred in single specimens; the golden yellow Julis with light green abdomen and a half-crescent-shaped tail fin, Helichoeres, Labrus, Sparus insidiator and zonephorus, Labrus fasciatus, Scarus ocillatus, Grammistes puntatus, the dark-brown Acanthuru pyroferus (armed) etc., rounded out the colorful picture.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116 Woleai

[VMM: When Lütke was in the Woleai Islands] the situation in respect to supplies was better on Lukunor where the population on the whole was more friendly, a fact which is probably to be explained by their greater seclusion. The houses, in their construction and interior arrangement, are the same as on the other island, but those on Oleai are more solid and cleaner. The planks and boards used often were of amazingly large size and the latter are made from skillfully exploited tree stumps of breadfruit trees.

The call of farak* requested the women to disappear and indeed they were not visible to the strangers. They stayed in their small houses which are usually tightly closed. It was not until the fourth day that the men called them out in order that they might receive their gifts of jewelry; when this solemn moment was over, the call of farak was heard again. On April 8, a canoe filled with women approached the ship but they only cruised around and did not try to come on board. The women wore a woven garment (mats) and the girls wore a narrow belt of fresh foliage.

In the western part of the atoll Ulemarai and Seliap and other small islands are located. Ulemarai was the home island of Kadu; he himself... was not known there, but his king Toúa** was still alive and came on board the ship in spite of his age.

*Fritz: fáreg, march; and thus the meaning is "go away!"
**Torres said Roua and also Ruch instead of Tuch (Truk)

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481, 463 Woleai

The natives are very skillful divers. A 15 year old boy was able to catch anything that was thrown into the water by diving. As long as he was shown the object before it was thrown, he managed to catch it.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

The fishbaskets resemble those of Lugunor, but the instrument used to haul them in is not the same, for on this island divers go down to bring up the prey.

4: Krämer--195 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Woleai

L. H. Gulik in the Nautical Magazine of 1862 speaks of Wolea--Ulie: he says that in 1788 a native had sailed to Guam, a distance of 600 nautical miles, and that the canoe had arrived safely.

L. H. Gulik mentions a population of 600.

4: Krämer--194-196 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-4
116, 175 Woleai

Captain Lütke bought a complete sailing vessel from Tapeligar, the head chief of the island of Ulea and paid no more than three axes for it.

On April 9 Lütke's ship set sail again and moved westward along the southern side of the reef barrier in order to survey the area. The limited land area on the leeside was striking. The reef itself was submerged and its location could only be recognized by the greenish color of the water. [195]

The voyage was contined to Eurupyk.

Andrew Cheyne visited the group of Ullieye in September 1844. He speaks of 13 islands nine of them inhabited by a total of 1500 natives. He reports that trade is carried on with the surrounding islands and Guam. The islanders are clever and treacherous and have weapons such as clubs, slings, and stones.

The schooner "Rupak" under the command of Captain Gall...according to Robertson, visited Ulleai on March 25, 1875. Gall met a trader by the name of Williams who reported that a short time ago a Spanish vessel had called at the island, and that the crew had felled almost all the breadfruit trees and that famine had been the consequence; 5-6 people died of starvation every single day. He said the English flag had been torn down and the Spanish hoisted in its stead, but that the Englishmen had exchanged them once more, immediately after the Spanish had continued on their voyage.

L. H. Gulik in the Nautical Magazine of 1862 speaks of Wolea--Ulie: he says that in 1788 a native had sailed to Guam, a distance of 600 nautical miles, and that the canoe

had arrived safely.

L. H. Gulik mentions a population of 600. In 1807 the head chief had visited Saipan (Seypan) and had been received so hospitably that consequently an entire colony of islanders had settled on Saipan; once a year they sailed back to their native land. They take care of the trade with the Spanish in a region which included Truk. Their language is different from that spoken on Eap and Truk.

Alfred Tetens. . . must have visited Oleai several times on his ship Vesta between 1865-68, as most of the commercial schooners did. He mentions a few interesting factors in his little booklet:

The inhabitants of the Uliei Islands are more peaceful than the natives of other groups; the men are handsome and of muscular physique and their entire body is tattooed in a very tasteful fashion. Their ears and necks exhibit all kinds of ornaments and their "woolly" hair is decorated by a bunch of tall feathers. Many of the young women and girls are very beautiful, but their appearance is impaired by ugly tattooing on the chest, mostly fish and bird heads.

On the occasion of the visit of King Jogelock, the latter showed very good manners, but the curiosity of the women around him proved bothersome. The Uliei natives have a reputation of being the experts of navigation in the Carolines; they visit, for instance, the Marianas.

The fresh water available on the island is bad and cannot be drunk; the juice of coconuts and palm-wine must serve as substitutes.

The dress of the natives resembles that of the islanders on Mokemok; their houses are built with some imagination and are clean. The natives seem well suited to become influenced by European culture. [196]

Nothing is known of the visit of Spanish ships.

S. M. S. "Albatross" called at Uleai (Kubary's designation) on September 30, 1885, anchor was dropped off Raur, where money was asked for every sip of brackish water.

During the German Colonial period ships called fairly frequently at Oleai and the "Germania" cruised through the island region once every four months.

Government ships and copra schooners also entered the lagoon. The district official on Yap. . . visited Oleai in November, 1905. He said that at that time the palms were growing normally and that the rat plague was moderate; the same was true of the consumption of toddy. But the death of a trader has aroused suspicion, and the testimony of witnesses finally revealed that he had been strangled and killed by blows of a hammer; the murderer was a Sonserol native who in the meantime had gone west. For that reason, a policeman was left behind on Oleai. It is said that all traders were killed in 1902.

Of importance for the island group were two visits of the government physician Dr. Born, who went there in 1903 and 1907. He reports on the first trip in the Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten 1904 (page 175-191) in which he gives special attention

to ethnography. The second visit was of special significance because Born was on the island at the time of the Good Friday typhoon of 1907 and we thus have an accurate account of such a violent storm on one of the coral islands; he reports on it in the Kolonialblatt of 1907 and we reprint excerpts [VMM: see 4: Krämer 196 ff.]

4: Krämer--196-200 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1
116, 175, 731 Woleai

Typhoon 1907 in the Western Carolines
The devastation of the Oleai island group (with map)*

On March 27 the government schooner "Ponape" returned to Oleai from a voyage to Ifaluk... The weather had been fine for weeks; but now winds with thunder squalls arose so that the distance of 35 nautical miles took 42 hours. The difficult entrance to Ifaluk was successful; previously the ships dropped anchor outside the lagoon in 9-16 fathoms of water. The return voyage took 5 1/2 hours. (On March 27). The voyage to Yap was to be continued on the following day. In order to give medical attention to the islanders, some passengers of the ship went ashore in the afternoon. The evening was calm and the moon shone brightly and splendidly (one day before the full moon). Early on the 28th of March several strong thunderstorms came from the east and north and strong rain squalls were interrupted by calms. Striking was the current from east and south which became steadily stronger. Early in the morning many frigate birds could be observed above the atoll flying about aimlessly although normally they are seldom seen around the land. At noon, in the lagoon, high breakers hit the sandy beach. The barometer took a dive and the "Ponape" remained in port, because the captain thought it would be better if the ship were to await the threatening typhoon in the inland water. Born was

*The illustrations that go with it are found in Krämer 1927: Die Entstehung und Besiedlung der Koralleninseln, photograph IV.

asked to stay on board but he could no longer manage to take his luggage through [197] the strong surf. At 2:30 in the afternoon the waves around the outer reef and the lagoon were extraordinarily high; the "Ponape" chose another anchorage. As Born was trying to go ashore there arose a sudden squall from NNE so that the canoe was flooded. Born had great trouble trying to reach the beach; his house on the island had been abandoned by that time, because high waves had passed over the sand dunes 80-1000 meters long and had advanced to the house. Within the next two hours and a half this dune on the eastern tip (SE) was washed away completely so that a wide passage (previously narrow) resulted between the main island of Flalap and Paliau; through it high waters poured into the lagoon where they met with the breakers from the SW, so that water surged up to amazing heights.

At five o'clock the waves became high again, after the wind had calmed for some time, and Born had been able to reach the house; he was sitting on the porch when the water reached him there and carried him several paces away...

At 5:15 Born sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape" with the advice,... of changing the anchorage of the ship once more and moving it to a more protected position at the NW tip of the island near the island of Ifang. The answer he received was that the barometer was steady and that the wind was expected to die down but that the waves would run even higher than before.

Shortly before 6 o'clock Born was forced to leave the station; the buildings had already collapsed. He retired to the neighboring village of Leuleperik where he took up quarters in a new native house approximately 800-1000 meters from the northeast shore.

Late in the evening the NE wind gathered momentum and branches broke off trees. From one o'clock in the morning on, it was so violent that the noise sounded like the fire of small guns and was only interrupted by the somewhat different sound of cracking tree trunks. But both were hardly audible through the roaring of the wind and the breakers. But the houses were yet able to withstand the storm of the night.

At 5 o'clock in the morning the news came that the water had reached the nearby village and that the house in which Born and Villacon were staying was surrounded by water. The water rose so rapidly that it was hardly possible to gather the most important things and to take them to the Japanese station in the village of Jaur, located at the widest part of the island. The path was passable only with difficulty; but finally it could be managed without accident. From Jaur one can overlook the lagoon, where the "Ponape" was no longer visible. On the horizon in the west strong sheet lightning could be observed. The surf in the lagoon reached the very houses of the village. A stay in the station seemed dangerous, and everyone retired to the western canoe-house where all the natives of the island had assembled. They were completely confused and overwhelmed by the happenings and recalled an old oracle that at some time in the future their island would be washed away. They thought that the time had come. Soon

this group was joined by the Japanese who had to flee when their station was washed away by the high waves. But by now even the present shelter was no longer safe, and everybody moved on to the northwestern tip of the island near Ifang. This was the last escape...In a house on a low hill [198] large numbers of screaming and weeping natives had sought shelter. The lamentations increased when a man announced that presently the water was also coming from NNE. Born climbed a palm tree and from this position was able to observe the seas moving through the woods like white cats. When he came down from his lookout, the water stood up to his hips. Everyone tried to pick up planks and ropes and went down to the shore of the lagoon. Fortunately the water rose slowly and the wind became weaker. Born noticed a gigantic breadfruit tree which had been uprooted; its roots rose several meters into the air, and Born and several others climbed on it. They had barely reached their new position when the typhoon started to rage from ESE with an indescribable velocity. It seemed as if a thousand trains were rushing by. It was 9 o'clock in the morning and the wind continued in this manner until three in the afternoon. The air was so full of water and sand that one could only see a few steps ahead. Then the wind calmed down somewhat; for some moments the sun actually broke through and it became possible to recognize one's surroundings: fairly close to the shore of the lagoon at the NW corner of the island.

The water had fallen somewhat and the destruction could be viewed; the trees were

piled to a height of several meters. There was no sign of houses and human beings other than the remnants of the large canoe-houses visible on the beach. Moving through water that reached his hips, Born approached the village of Jaur and on his way he observed two youths, painted red, who were carrying a pig inland. Following them, he arrived at the center of the island where a large number of natives had come together and where all spent the first night. Apparently no one had come over from Oleai, but soon bad news came from the SE.

On Saturday, March 30, early in the morning, the wind had calmed down considerably but in the lagoon the waters continued to surge and boil high; there was no trace of the "Ponape". Some natives said that they had last seen her lights on the morning of the 29th, but by now she was considered lost. A walk along the beach proved the terrible havoc wrought by the typhoon; there was nothing left of the island of Raur except a sandbank with a few solitary palm trees. On the beach of Leuleperik, the body of a 5-year old boy was washed ashore. It soon became known that there were no more than two survivors from Raur, a man and a woman; that meant that 130 had lost their lives. Only 9 had been on other islands when the typhoon hit. On Paliau about 50 of the 90 natives had been victims of the storm. On Tagaulap a woman had been killed when a house collapsed. Four women of Saliap had been on Raur and 10 people from Utagal and 5 from Falalis so that the total loss of lives must have been about 200. The doctor was unable to give much aid to the numerous injured because all medicines and instruments had been

washed away by the waves. In the course of Saturday and Sunday, many bodies were washed ashore, most of them mutilated in a cruel fashion. Miraculous escapes were also recorded; several natives of Paliau drifted to Saliap, and four from Raur to Utagal; two children--a boy [199] of 5 and a girl of 8--landed safely on Marijong.

The survivors of Paliau and Raur reported the following: on the evening of March 28, some of the experienced men judged from the roar of the breakers that a tidal wave was moving in the direction of their island. Some preparations were made, e.g., many women and children were taken up high on breadfruit trees and were tied on. During the following night, the water on the island reached a height of 1 1/2 meters. But it was not until the following morning, the morning of March 29th at 8 o'clock, that the tidal wave really came. One could see it approach from the tops of the highest breadfruit trees; it appeared to be about 40 meters high and like a dark cloud with deafening noise it broke over the island like a gigantic stream of water. Everything withstood this onrush, but soon a second, even higher tidal wave swept over the island and carried along everything, trees, houses, and human beings. The lagoon was turned into a boiling kettle in which drifting tree trunks and boards ground up everything.

The entire island of Raur, with its total length of 1700 meters was washed away while a new island appeared between Falális and Motogosóu in the south; this island seems to have existed once in the past and was called Met (see map 4) [VMM: see 4: Krämer 184].

The narrow shallow entrance between Paliau and the main island (Figure 80) [VMM: see source] was greatly widened and deepened. The reef between the two islands had cracked like a marble block. And the ground of Paliau and Raur looked as if it had burst. On the outer reef of Raur through which the tidal wave had broken, three longish coral debris aggradations stood out like islets. The entire fundamental formation was as smooth as the top of a table and only some coral pebbles were scattered over it. The tidal wave must have come from ENE.

The mail streamer was not due until about May 25 and threatening starvation was a big problem.* The coconuts were picked and divers tried to salvage the taro of the fields which stood under 2-3 meters of water. The chiefs were in charge of the distribution of foodstuffs and did an excellent job of it.

The trading station O'Keefe-Yap was used to store the extra food. The water tank, with a capacity of 3 1/2 cubic meters had been carried off 100 meters in spite of the fact that it had been [200] cemented in. The scattered goods and food supplies could be saved in part. Most of them were distributed among the natives by the government physician and at government cost.

A great drought followed so that when the "Germania" arrived on April 11, she came as a saviour. The steamer also brought the news that the "Ponape" had arrived safely

*I learned that for that reason typhoons are also known as Lángeta "no food."

on Saipan on April 4.

Captain Martens reports that on Friday, March 29, from 7:30 P.M. the typhoon was raging. One squall followed upon another. No land was visible in spite of the full moon. [ER: The experiences of the ship during these days are described in the text, but are omitted here.] Since the current was definitely and violently NW it was impossible to take a course towards Yap and for that reason the ships sailed in the direction of Guam or Saipan; the latter was reached on April 4.

The destruction wrought by the typhoon was so considerable that at the instigation of the German government a large number of coconut palms were planted: 1000 on Volea, 500 on Máriong, 500 on Tagaulap, 500 on Vótagai, and 1500 on Falális; on Raur which now belongs to Daruélimog as many as 4000 trees were planted and on Paliau 2000. SS Natuna picked up many people after the typhoon, 100 on Volea, 7 on Mariong, 8 on Tagulap, 1 on Soluap, and 110 on Falális. About 200 were taken to Saipan.

The soldier and supervisor Goru. . . .--he could only write his name--asked me to give a message to the government on Yap and to inform it that he wanted to stay on Volea. Agupelior sent 20 woven mats as a gift with the information that now there was plenty of food on Oleai, and that the natives of that island who had been transplanted could well return. Goru saw to it that 20,000 new coconut palms were planted after the typhoon. The breadfruit trees did not bear fruit for a long time, and the taro swamps were covered by a salt crust.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Woleai

In Lütke, Volume III, page 144 (Observations) the following is said: the inhabitants of the low islands are thin rather than fat and tall rather than short. Their hair is thick, brownish black and knotty. The nose protrudes and is wide and large, the lips thick, etc. These standards are applicable as a rule.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 144 Woleai

In a treatment of the population of Oleai we must bear in mind that it is greatly mixed due to the migrations of the natives of the surrounding islands. The settlement charts show that we may hardly talk of a true local type.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 141 Woleai

Hambruch measured 12 natives, 4 women and 8 men; the former had a height of about 150 centimeters (3), but one of them was 162.8 centimeters tall. The men varied between 158-167, with an average height of 163 centimeters.

Dolichocephaly is no longer observed, since there is no cephalic index under 170; two of the people were brachycephalic (81.1 and 85.5), 7 were mesocephalic (73.6-77.7) and three had a cephalic index of 70-71.5.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 157, 144 Woleai

In general it must be stressed that the natives of Uleai are charming, a fact which has been observed by previous visitors and which is most true of the women. The photographs are well able to prove this point. An English half-breed (photograph 18c) [VMM: see source], as on Lamotrek, proves British dominance.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Woleai

The Caroline hand was found on three men. The hair of the women is straight, has wide waves, and that of almost all the men is quite frizzly and in one instance extremely curly. Cantova describes the islanders of Faroilap, who wanted to sail to Oleai and drifted to Guam; they had frizzly hair. The color of their bodies is the brown of the Central Carolinians.

4: Krämer--201-202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

As on Lamotrek, a strong decrease of the population took place in the Oleai group. Freycinet (page 101) says that around 1800 the population figure for Guliay was 3,000. In addition, the following islands must be mentioned to give a true picture of the group: Raor (Raur) with a population of 110, Paliao (Paliau) 125, Mariog (Mariong) 90, Fagoun-lap (Tagaulap) 86, Soliap (Soluap) 70, Fallougla (Votagai?) 50, Harradies (Falalis) 50, Falouelap (Falulap) 36, Hanarisaray (Eangaligarail) 32. It is news that the latter was inhabited at all. On the other hand, the old main island of Votagai is missing. It is not clear whether these figures are included among the population of 3,000 given for Guliay, or whether they are to be added. In any case 3,000 would be much too high a figure for one coral island, since Volea or Falalap, the main island of Oleai, barely has an area of one square kilometer. Under very favorable conditions, 1000 people can subsist on the products of one square kilometer of tropical land, but 3000 is an utter impossibility. Thus the figure is either wrong or it applies to the entire atoll with all its islands. [202]

I learned on the spot that Falalis, like Volea, in the past had a population of 300(cf. 3000 given above), but that in 1909 only 30 persons inhabited Falalis, 60 Tagaulap, 50 Mariong, 200 Raur before the typhoon, and 60 Paliau. Probably we might assume 300 each for Volea and Votagai in the past. Gulick, in the Nautical Magazine of 1862, page 174, states that the population numbers about 600. As mentioned above, the figure for 1904 was 661 and for 1930, 539.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Uleai islanders in the past seem to have been rather rough: I learned on Lamotrek that around 1894 an Irishman, Harry Grishom, had been murdered by 4 natives. They shot him in the back and then threw him into the channel of Paliau. Probably in this instance, as in the case of the murder on Oleai, the guilty parties are strangers. For in general, the natives of Oleai have always had a reputation of friendliness and companionship; we ourselves had proof of this characteristic and Tetens also describes it.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103 Woleai

The Südsee-handbuch gives the names of Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, and Anangai.* Meinicke names Ulie, Ulea, Uleai, and according to Gulick it should really be Wolea. In the new Spanish Encyclopedea universal illustrada of 1929 we find Uli, Ulea, Uleay, Ulie, Woleai, and Oleai. These different names are naturally taken from the reports of the visitors. The following are listed: Clain, 1697, Valayay, 1706, Ulier, 1710 Olie, Cantova: Ulee,** Torres: Guliai, Chamisso: Ulea, Lütke: Ouleyai, Kolonialatlas 1908: Oleai, Hamburg Südsee Expedition: Volea, Japanese map: Woleai. Oleai as a German language transcription comes closest to the true name as exact recordings have shown. Various place names are given with and without "w" e.g., Onoun which is also pronounced Voloul with the meaning of "round." Olimarau is frequently pronounced Volimarau and on Pollap there are several examples, e.g., Vorieng ghost and inland water, and Volebuku are given in story 5, etc. Völepeg (peg sounding like pik) is a common name for the "small places" of the surrounding region such as Aurepik, Sorol etc. Especially the main island of Falalap, "the great land," the largest of them all is usually known as Volea, which is a fairly good distinction from the Oleai of the entire group. In the song of storm magic Valeoai has the meaning of "on my boat" (wa, oá, boat).

*This is the word the Yap islanders use for Oleai; I heard it myself and W. Müller substantiates it in his work on Yap.

**I myself distinctly heard Oleai pronounced Oleē on Mokemok where Cantova was.

4: Krämer--202-203 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 194 Woleai

The first publication on the language of Oleai was the glossary given in Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise. . . page 55-67 which on the whole is in agreement with later treatises; [203] this is quite natural if we assume good ears and transcribers. Some of the words are included in the list for the sake of comparison; we see that most of them are more in line with the vocabulary of Feis and it seems that the informant must have been a Feis native living on Oleai. With reference to the dj sound we should add that there exists also a very soft j and that sometimes the dj is hardened into a ts sound, as in the case, for instance in Fatsumal.

l and n may again be interchanged as on Lamotrek, although in the latter place the l is often more important.

For rainbow, loiliar, Agupelior distinctly said noiniar.

We also find the parallels of Nei and Lei

Lag and Nag

and before names Ne instead of Le

The possessive suffixes are occasionally replaced by preceding possessive pronouns.

4: Krämer--203 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Earthquakes are said to be not too rare. Lütke talks of great clefts in the reef on Wolea which he claims to be the result of earthquakes.

4: Krämer--203
116, 797, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

There is no white missionary on the island of Woleai.

On Oleai I learned more about the missionary Snelling, after he had been ordered to leave the island. He sailed to Onoun and Póloat but missed both and on his return voyage arrived on Aurepik after drifting on the high seas for three months in a native canoe; the crew of a boat from Oleai saw him on Aurepik. He had become so thin that he looked almost like a skeleton. The crew of the Oleai canoe reported the news at home, and the head chief Agupelior set out to get Snelling. He actually brought him to Oleai and transported him to Vósavo to his house on a stretcher--he was too weak to walk--where he died after a short time. Agupelior had promised him to take him to Truk as soon as his wife had given birth. It seemed as if the Japanese had interfered in a disagreeable fashion.

4: Krämer-- 204-205 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-2
116, 131 Woleai

The Oleai atoll is distinguished from the other groups by its hourglass shape. Oriented eastwest, the island has a length of 5.6 nautical miles and, in the west (Falalis-Votagái), it has a width of 3 nautical miles, whereas in the east (Raur at the southern tip, Voléa at the northern cape) it has a width of 2.1 nautical miles. The narrowest part of that hour-glass shape is about 1 nautical mile wide; from the new Sand-Cay to Tagaulap it would be a distance of 1 1/2 nautical miles.

This neck divides the inland water into two lagoons which are separated from one another in the northern part of the narrow section by single reefs. It is only southward, that a connecting channel, 2 1/2 cable lengths in width, runs from east to west and within the barrier reef has sufficient depth for some larger ships (at least 15 meters). The depth of the water in the east is mostly 7-9 fathoms, and in the south it is approximately twice that. Here we also find the most commonly used entrance, the Raur Channel. The large western lagoon in most places had a depth exceeding 20 fathoms and, in the middle, 27 fathoms; in the south it has another large entrance with a shoal with a depth of 5.3 fathoms, the Falális entrance. Between these two entrances, the Raur and Falális Channel, there is a third smaller one with a depth of 7 fathoms which is located between Sandy Cay and the small island of Motogosóu; it leads into the connecting channel through which one can get directly into the lagoons either in the east or west. All three of the southern entrances thus have sufficient depth (at least 15 meters) and sufficient width (at least 300

meters) but their margins are submerged, since the reef foundation on which Raur is located projects more than 700 meters to the west (up to the Raur Channel) and the reef of Falalis projects about 1500 meters towards the east. That leaves as boundaries in the south two submarine isolated reefs on which the small island of Motogosou is located in the east and the Sandy Cay mentioned in the west, which was newly created in the typhoon of 1907. According to the natives, there exists an old story which claims that there was an island in the same spot in the past and that it was destroyed by a typhoon in a similar manner to that in which Raur was washed away in 1907. The same typhoon deposited the sand formation which is known as the Sandy Cay in the old place. The special plan of map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903 has the nucleus of the Sandy Cay reef very lightly marked on the southern side west of the Motogosou reef; west of it we find a line of soundings running from SW-NE with the depths [205] 9.1, 9.1, 26.11, 9.6, 11, and 40 as the depth of the lagoon. It was not until the Japanese map was published that the open southern side (as at Onoun) was explained although only hasty surveys were made.

The German map includes a western channel between Falalis and Falulap; but there are shoals with a depth of 4-6 meters at the entrance; they are also charted on the Japanese map. This channel is suitable for canoes only and the same is true of the two entrances in the north, the North Channel between Jalangigereil and Fareiles which leads into the west lagoon (depth of 10 meters and width of 180 meters) and the Tagaulap Channel between this island and Marijong (with a sandbank of 3.6 meters ar a total width of 100 meters) which flows directly into the eastern lagoon.

4: Krämer--205-206 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 103 Woleai

Voléa is the largest of the islands, having an area of almost one square kilometer; next in size is Votagái in the west with an area of more than 1/2 square kilometer; it is said that in the past it was the leading island of the group and Kadu assured us that this was a fact. Then we have Votagai, Soliap, Falális, Tagaulap, Mariong, Eangaligarail, Faraliēs, etc.

The Names of the Islands of the Atoll of Oleai
from East to West

Cantova	Kadu(Chamisso)	Lütke 1928 (French)	Map 93	A. Krämer
		Motogozeu	S. Motegozu	Motogosóu
Raur	Raur	Raoure	E. Raur	Rāûr
Peliao	Pelliau	Peliaou	Paliau	Páliau
Ulee	Ulea	Ouleay	E-a. N. Flalap	Voléa
Mariaon	Marion	Marione	N. Marijong	Máriong
Tajaulep	Thageiliip, Tabogap	Tagoilap	Tagaulap	Tagaûlap (Tkágulap)
Algrail	Engeligarail	Angaligaraile	Jalangigereil N-Kanal	Eangaligarâil
Faralies	Futalis	Farailesse	Fareiles	Faraliĕs
Termet	Tarrematt	Taramate	Taramat	Táramat

4: Krämer--205-206 116, 103		(1909) 1937		Woleaians-2 Woleai
Falelmelo	Faloetik Seliep	Falamalok Seliape	Falamalok Saliap	Falamálăk Soliăp(also Seliap and Soluap)
			Peregaregar (small) [206]	
Otagu	Ulimiré	Oulemeray	Utagal	Votágai(Born Ulemari)
		Elingaryk	W. Elingarik	Ealangasik
	Falelegalä	Faluélégalao	Faluelegalau	Faluelegalāu
	Faleelepalap	Faluélépalape	Faluelepalape	Faluen'nap
	Falelemoriet	Faluélemariete	Faluelemareot	Faluelemareiot
				Faluēlaplap
	Pial, Pügel	Piale	Pial	Pial
		Comole	Komol	Komol
		Faluellap	Falulap	Fálulap (Dauelap)
	Lüsagä	Luizaga	Luisaga	Luísaga
Falalis	Falalis	Fɛlalisse	S. Falális	Falális

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Woleai

Villages and Chiefs and sibs

Island:	Villages:	Chiefs:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (a house)	Malitil
or Falalap	Jefang	Gadjegélog
god Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vésavo	
	Jaur	Eagupelíor
	Lolepéleg	Gadjegélog lived
	(Born Leuleperik)	here in 1910
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelélimar(was on Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagaulap or Thogóelep	no villages	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai	Rógiol
4. Solŭap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop
	Jumanikil [207]	
5. Vótagai:	Dávogap	Uolegar
on the reef cap	Nikapelám (Hellwig:	Igélimar
former main island	Ligábpidam)	

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

6. Falális: "spirit land"

7. Raur +

8. Paliau +

(1909) 1937

Bigol(Bugol) (Hellwig: Pügod)
Tavokúdu
Tavokúdak
Davokulong
Logop, Lúgalapraur
Kuoi

Woleaians-2
Woleai

Mativelit

Málangau
Málipet

Daruélior†

Erurlïélit

4: Krämer--207-208
116, 133

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Volóa or Falálap.*

Among the various islands of the group, the main island of Volóa (which is otherwise known as Falálap, the "great land") is the most important. It has a hornshaped spur which projects in the direction of the NE monsoon seas and thus is triangular in shape; it is shown on the map of 1903. The southwestern side was slightly curved like a bay. From here to the tip of the island the distance was almost one kilometer. It was this large and wide aggradation that saved the inhabitants in the typhoon of 1907. According to the Japanese map, the typhoon increased the width of the land towards the NE by about 200 meters; on the other hand, the two northern sides of the triangle in the E and W were somewhat curved inland so that the isoceles triangle was changed more nearly approaching a cap form, as map 5 shows [VMM: see 4: Krämer 207]. Unfortunately due to [208] lack of time I myself was not able to survey the island, but I asked the second officer Gollert to take care of it in my place, and thus we are at least able to visualize what the northern tip looked like 2 1/2 years after the typhoon (map 5) [VMM: see 4: Krämer 207]. In the worse rubble some ponds with brackish water are left standing in places formerly occupied by taro swamps.

*The same as the island of the Mogemog archipelago.

4: Krämer--208 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361

The settlement plan of Volea (Plan 6) [VMM: 4: Krämer 208] shows a wide path extending the entire length of the southern beach; it was laid out on order of the government. It begins at the SE cape of Matónnap and ends at the west cape. The plan shows all the details.

4: Krämer--208-219 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 131 Woleai

Nothing more is to be said of the islands of Paliau and Raur in the east but that Paliau was greatly affected by the typhoon of 1907. Nevertheless in the main it was able to maintain its shape. The island of Raur was completely washed off its reef foundation... [217]

3. Máriong

Máriong has a length of about 700 meters extending from SW-NE. The village is located on the southeastern shore in a southwestern direction. The village is divided into three sections....

4. Tagaûlap

has a length of approximately 1500 meters from W-E; in the center the land widens southward and on this projecting area of land the village is located.... [218]

5. Soluap

has not been mapped.

6. Votagai

old outskirts of the village. At the eastern end of the island there is a sandbank. A projection in the south is known as Fausefang. The village is divided into three parts... [219]

7. Falális. Spirit Iletilimar.

Two village sections (photo 14c and 17b) [VMM: see source]....

4: Krämer--208-219 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 131 Woleai

8. Raur†

Raur was destroyed by the typhoon...A fallap, Lúgalaprâur, is said to have existed.

9. Paliau†

fallap, Gataliva.

4: Krämer--220
116, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The first map was the outcome of the surveys by Lütke in 1828; it was not until the new English map was published in 1927 that it was improved considerably. This English map is in the main based on Japanese work.

Miguel mentions the old English map of 1876 which he publishes in his atlas Hoja IV.

4: Krämer--221
116, 511, 515

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The islanders get up early. The men wash at the beach, bathe, and rinse their mouths with salt water. The women wash on another part of the beach. The children may go with either their fathers or mothers (Lütke).

According to Kotzebue, Endeckungsreise...page 87, the inhabitants of Ulea excel the Rataks in prosperity and in many other matters. But these remarks of the conceited native, Kadu, do not apply in actuality.

4: Krämer--221
116, 301

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Lütke tells us that the women love the rings from the suckers of octopi which result when the neck is bitten off (a practice on Samoa); the ink of the octopi is used to color the rings.

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Woleai

Children usually go naked. Girls, after they have begun to menstruate, wear a grass belt, the sivisif (Born: siwesiw); Hellwig shows one made of coconut pinnae; another is made of hibiscus fibers. As elsewhere woven mats, gabalabal (Gabalei, . . . om, gaban) (Born: gapalepal, Kotzebue: gapellepel) are the predominant costume of the women. The workday mat is coarsely plaited from banana and hibiscus fibers (Hellwig: gabe); they often have black (lugural) and red (Ligotra European) stripes (see under bülo). The men wear loincloths (Hellwig: garrogiss) and a rain cloak, negau (nego), made from hibiscus fiber strips. The loincloth (Hellwig: kariri, genurs, gelurs) is woven from banana fibers. Born mentions men's mats, known as tor. Children may wear bunches of leaves which are often arranged in a fancy fashion as the girl on Figure 81 shows [VMM: see source]; this leaf protection is called erünnu or tivetio, Hellwig: jongjong vaifil, and is made of hibiscus fibers. Chains worn across the perineum are called chatiletach (Born). A loincloth for boys, with red and black hibiscus fibers (and banana fibers), is known as bülo; Hellwig shows a coarsely woven mat for women which is called by the same name.

Hat, barong (Hellwig: rarong, made of solivars pandanus). The brim is called narrête, the point ungale, the ring at the point ferigeli, the chinband gali and the seams dëdi.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai

Ornamentation

(see photo 16 and 18) [VMM: see source].

Lütke, in 1828, observed necklaces, and arm and foot bands made of shell and mother-of-pearl. In exchange, the natives asked for glass beads. Belts of coconut shell were two fingers wide and sometimes they had the extra decoration of white shells; they proved too expensive to be acquired by trade.

Ornamentation is certainly not available in abundance; it is either scant or non-existent. Necklaces of little red slabs and of tia (mangle) which are known from Truk naturally occur also on Oleai. Gollert found a necklace of strung fish teeth, but no special finds were made. I received a single pearl, perforated and strung which turned out to be nothing but a tridacna ball. Photographs 14d and 16 [VMM: see source] show somewhat more elaborate decorations, such as a wreath of crinum blossoms which is worn on the head (cf. photo 334)[VMM: see source], a mustache and little goatee, earrings (resembling small tortoise-shell armrings) and other neck and chest ornaments, but all within a modest frame. Chief Rogiol of Tagaulap wore a comb in his hair and a wreath of strung Röhren blossoms; the ornaments he wore in his ears were rather small and his necklace was a piece of plain string. (Photo 16d [VMM: see source]). From his hair boys had made a head-dress for themselves which they used in their play and dances. The lima, the headband mentioned in Schmelts-Krause (their list of skulls and skeletons, page 383) originated on Ku and in any case is not indigenous on Oleai. Also the origin of the other ornaments is doubtful.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows head wreaths, úlevars, which are dried and hung up in the house as souvenirs (Kotzebue: kabulipeu).

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 302 Woleai

Perfumes or aromatic substances are liked greatly but are most scant; a parinarium nut that drifted ashore was grated and rubbed on for erotic purposes. eis, eais and vóngas.

As depilator, Hellwig has the kom made of shell Looconcha castrensis L., and in my own collection there is a kagugú, the nice Cytherea puroglyphica Conrad with a decorative snail shell Natica mamilla Lk. These have been identified by H. Wägele of Stuttgart; the same are found on Palau.

Scent. Krämer shows a parinarium fruit husk filled with an aromatic substance and known as uongas. Hellwig shows an aromatic nut resembling nutmeg, éssid.

Hair oil, Born: loi. The hair is either cut short or it is long in the back. The girls have curls.

4: Krämer--222
116, 292

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Born calls the pointed hat tscholifadj.

4: Krämer--222-225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 301 Woleai

Necklaces, márremar, of the known type (Kotzebue: maremar) are seen in Krämer. There are also necklaces, kamodj (Born: chamotsch) of red shell slabs, fēpar (Born: feipar and gau) (Hellwig: vaipar); Krämer, kamodj a djolípoi. Figure 82 [VMM: see source] represents a necklace [223] which is called gomalath (Born: chamelath) and which is made of white shell rings and coconut slabs (sagach, Born: tagag), a necklaces of coconut slabs, sagach üle maremar, is shown on Figure 83 [VMM: see source]; the same of coconut and conus slabs, Hellwig called marremarre dagag ma vul (mat). The type shown by Hellwig and in Figure 84 [VMM: see source] from Mariam was called marremarre billigaru*; the conus slabs had white vertical stripes, ladjere vul.

In order to grind rings of a somewhat larger size, square pieces of shell, dagag dibedib, with holes, vurárow, are placed on a stick (Hellwig: ira igek dagag) as in Figure 85 [VMM: see source] and are then ground into the desired shape.

A necklace with fish teeth is shown in Figure 86 [VMM: see source] (Krämer: maramar ni le gui).

Breast ornaments: the larger rings are used for intestine-like chains which are never worn except on the occasion of special festivals. Large rings of tortoise shell occur and are known as bodjaü.

*Hellwig shows a necklace of strands of coconut beads, billigorru, which an old man was able to restring completely within an hour.

4: Krämer--222-225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 301 Woleai

Ear ornaments: the islanders wear ornaments nearly at all times in their earlobes which usually are not lengthened very much. Ears that are made into a larger loop are seen on photo 16 [VMM: see source for photo]. Photo 14d shows a crinum being worn (r) and the tebau ear ornaments which are known and which are not too rare on Oleai. Little beads (pearls) are made of tridacna; they are worn as earrings or are otherwise fitted into the ornaments that the natives like. [224]

Pendants, suasua, occur as on Lamotrek, and the same is true of the triangles of red faubar. At out time wheels approximately the size of a quarter and made of light tortoise shell were very popular, the puodj a dju dju or ale falu as they were called; they may be made in the most varied forms with the greatest variety of detail, but only two types are pictured here.

Hellwig shows a bent piece of marrow from a shrub varalilut; a girl was seen wearing it as an earring. Figure 88.

Hellwig shows a ring made from a rubung ivory-nut from Truk.

Among the pendants of the ears of the breast ornaments are the ceremonial fish hooks, Figure 89, which are cut from a piece of tortoise shell, Figure 90 [225] (5 1/2 centimeters, Hellwig). Hellwig calls them gau bodj. If the hook is to be used the bridge must be removed so that the point and the opening are free. Their importance can be seen from Feis, Figure 197.

Noteworthy are also the pendants of red triangles lanubodj which here appear as failiaurupeg (Feis: faliurepeg) as "stones of Aurepik" since the red shells are mainly found there (cf. Lukunor). These red shells are known as foudja (from dja, blood), and the rings of tortoise shell slabs are called bõs. (See photo 16a).

Bracelets of tortoise shell are called puodj a lagallag, fluted, davidavi, and wide and flat, woroil; Hellwig: lagamu, lakelake. Hellwig shows an armring, djageag, of the trochus snail from Yap; Hellwig: lagelag. Also finger-rings (Hellwig: galagalag a li got) are cut from tortoise shell. Hellwig has a bracelet of hair decorated with a tigere shell. All these bear similarity to the ornaments of Truk and the same is true of a cuff of faubar and roughly cut coconut shell and trochus.

Belts are often made of hair, see also Lamotrek where they are frequently three stranded. Krämer has a djiem e dëdë of hair; about 35 strands are put together in braid fashion. Hellwig: datar e djim hair belt (Born: tschiim). In Krämer's collection an object is called tagach u pöch by Elisabeth Krämer and is a coconut belt for women with meang, white buckles. Belts of coconut and shell of the type described above and represented on photo 14a are not lacking. (Born: tartar held together by white shell, mai jal). The precious belts, taral, have been mentioned; they have been imported from Aurepik, Sorol, Ngulu and Feis. Lütke at his early time learned of their special value.

4: Krämer--225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Tattooing, măk (Kotzebue: mŏck)

Schmeltz-Krause, on page 380, say the following, which they have probably learnt from Kubary: "Most of the men have their entire body covered with tattooing in good taste, with many elaborate patterns in the ears and around the neck; they wear feathers in their hair." At our time ornamentation was much more limited than this description tries to convey.

4: Krämer--228-230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 304 Woleai

Figures 91, 92, 93 [VMM see source] demonstrate how beautifully finished the tattoos are in the case of the men of Oleai. The women, generally, wear only small ornaments on the thighs and those are covered up by mats. Sometimes the same is true of the men since the application of large tattooing to the torso is naturally painful, difficult, and expensive. Here we shall merely comment on the execution on Oleai.

The tattooer, taumak, is called in when someone wishes to be tattooed. When all the necessary discussions are over, a big banquet is held the day before work is to begin, as a so-called down payment the tattooer receives many gifts both for himself and his family. Payment for large tattoos is often up to 150 articles--mats, plaited and woven, belts, bowls, boxes with lids, axes, knives, and sometimes even a canoe may be included in the lot, since some of the very large tattoos require painstaking work and great skill. [229] A famous expert in this type of work requires payment proportionate to his efforts. It takes him 5-10 days to outline the designs, gaur, with the rib of a coconut pinna (log) which is dipped into a black color substance (soot of calophyllum nuts mixed with water) like a paint brush. When the pricking in of the color substance has begun, the person who is thus treated must sleep on the side on which the tattooer has worked so that the secretion can flow off. When everything is finished successfully, the person concerned marches through the entire village along the big path in order that all people will be able to see and admire him. He carries a mat which he spreads out from time to time to rest and refreshment is offered to him from all sides.

On the whole he is considered tabu, e.g., he may not eat with women and not have any other contact with them but when it is all over, he may return to his normal daily life. [230]

Tattooing pricks, gálĕt, are special instruments just as lancets are exclusively used for bleeding. The blade is made from frigate-bird bone, and the hammers, oāo or vao are often rather long, pentagonal; the one shown in Figure 94 [VMM: see source] is 45 centimeters long. The bird form is unmistakable. The wood is supposed to be taken from the gâingi tree which is said to be extinct on Oleai. A simpler hammer is shown in Figure 95 [VMM: see source]. It is called daiŏ or daijo and is of ira wood. The pricking is done with the tapered end.

The sap of trees, rumaio or rau is used for the preparation of soot.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

The most important food stuffs:

lu, the coconut (Born: nu; djan nelu coconut water; djal, water; bŏr bottle). To pick the coconuts, a seating stick or climbing stick is used, of the type shown in Figure 96 [VMM: see source]. Kotzebue: coconut, ni, taking off the husk, pajŏl.

uót, best species of taro (Kotzebue: eoth)

pulag, high growing taro (Kotzebue: wulach)

fillë, high growing taro (Kotzebue: villa)

uidj, bananas (Kotzebue: ut)

mei, breadfruit (Kotzebue: më)

e mamis, a sort of cucumber

uóu, sugar-cane

faliap, Eubenia malaccensis, favorite of children

gadji, palm juice (Born: gatschi mem, sour: faloba); the product is not good until 14 days after it has been cut.

Born: papaya, gatoruk; Crataeva, jabatsch. Kittlitz says that Tacca pinnatifida occurs in large quantities on the island of Raur (Kotzebue: mogemug).

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Woleai

The men clear the bush; the clearings are known as táravol. The earth, módjor, is broken up with an oar-like instrument, the digging stick golálivol (Figure 97 [VMM: see source]). The women plant the taro, but occasionally men do the job if they know how to go about it. Leaf fertilizer is called vāl.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252 Woleai

Food Dishes

djél, crushed taro or breadfruit dough mixed with gadji or expressed milk.

Born: djarong, coconut with bulak pieces.

limelim: taro stems are skinned and cooked with expressed milk or gadji; the same may be done with mar.

4: KrÄmer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 302 Woleai

Painting with turmeric powder, reng. (Kotzebue: rahn).

4: Krämer--231 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Woleai

Cooking is the job of the women, who also weave in the cooking house (Lütke). A type of cooking school exists.

Kitchen utensils

Coconut shell (as drinking bowl), tagag e lúul; water bottle, baradjal.

Spoon, itit (Figure 98) [VMM: see source]. We also found tortoise shell spoons from Palau, and Hellwig found drinking tubes.

Eating spatula, Hellwig: gátik (fishtail: perál), atek from turtle bone, Figure 99 [VMM: see source], Krämer shows one 29 centimeters long. It is used for cracking a coconut, scraping it, and eating it.

4: Krämer--231-232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 412 Woleai

Mortar, fal, Figure 100 [VMM: see source]. Pounder for taro, breadfruit, etc., height approximately 18 centimeters. It may be made of "stone," faisüss Hellwig. Pounding board, al lif. To pound, sugu (Kotzebue: lovis)

Coconut grater, wĕgin Figure 101 [VMM: see source], from Máriam; wood, éelé; shell, pelig. [232]

Bamboo knife, gig (Yap) used for sawing tortoise shell (Kotzebue: cut, kutovi)

Taro scraper, large Becherkoralle.

Taro scraper of pearlshell, Hellwig: sár.

Coconut husking stick, Hellwig: gútubirra is made from knotty root wood; Hellwig shows a foot strap used for climbing, and made of fibers is called laviteg. Hellwig shows a seating board, valevaib, a device carried by climbers of palmtrees (Figure 96) [VMM: see source]; it comes in handy at the time of cleaning, of picking nuts and of draining palm sap. Pick made of turtle bone with a wide blade and a handle (Nil?, Stil?) similar to those found on Palau.

Turdus columbinus is taboo for the men because they would fall off the coconut palm trees.

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 372 Woleai

Fire, eáf, fire plane, moelít; in recent times steel and stones have been carried in small bags, Hellwig: kaigérs, or sigerára; fire-wood, gabát.

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 225 Woleai

Cantova, page 316, tells us about whale (dolphin?) fishing according to the information of a native of Oleai: when a whale enters the lagoon, some canoes immediately paddle to the entrance and attempt to drive the frightened animal into shallow water. The crew jumps out of the boat into the water and spears the fish, and some throw lines around him which are fastened on land. In this manner it is possible to haul the animal ashore. A big banquet is held to celebrate such a catch.

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

Animal food. Mainly fish, ig (Born: ik).

4: Krämer--232-233 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 251 Woleai

Lütke, page 176, describes what might be called a method of fish conservation: A fire is made in an earth pit and coral stones are placed in the hole. When they are glowing hot [233] they are covered with leaves, the fish are placed on them and, in turn, are covered up by another layer of leaves; hot stones are laid on top. Finally the hole is closed with sand. It is said that fish prepared in this manner remains fresh for a week.

4: Krämer--233 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252 Woleai

Green scarus is eaten raw in combination with breadfruit dough, mar.
According to Lütke, octopus is eaten after it has been cooked for 48 hours.

Fishing

a. General Information

The fishing line, djal, is made of the fibers of áromē; the epiderm of the bark is removed, the fibers are scraped with shell pieces and dried in the sun.

Born: fishing, seloch; with the spear, koboi; fishing rod, bau; fish hook, cho; basket, boiau; net, jedeng; fishbank, kassutsch; catching of flying fish, tūlimingar (see above dulima...).

The following hooks, ba were collected: (angling stick Hellwig: tigo, wai, hook, wau lü vül) (Kotzebue: gau) (for ceremonial hook see above Figure 89 [VMM: see source]. Hellwig shows an open hook from Falalis).

Krämer enumerates the following hooks: bā lietam;
bā ligátaf, of black mother-of-pearl; djar used for fishing djep;
bā ligataf faibar of red spondylus used for fishing gali; [234]
bā levil for Bonito fishing, karangap

Hellwig enumerated the following hooks:
pā faipar from Votagai (Figure 102a) [VMM: see source] used for catching kalli, mol and dettivars;

pā fai, (Figure 102b)[VMM: see source] from Mariam, with barbs on the outer side;
pā ssär (Figure 102c, d) [VMM: see source] (Hellwig: ba garangap e ssër, of pearl shell) used for catching large ëtam;
fai wai, lures of black pearl shell, waü, used to attract matak' tra, moil, ëtam, and gali.

Krämer shows test hooks, gŏ, used to catch all types of fish (Lamotrek: gobodj); matalipa hooks for balug fishing which is done from the canoe and known as baligat'taf (from gat'taf to move up and down); done on the inner reef, ëliang. The containers for hooks is described in the section on vessels and containers. Hellwig has a coconut box with fish hooks, wai teri pér.

According to Lütke, three types of fish hooks are used on the island: small and bow-shaped, made of wood, length of a thumb, shells, coffer-fish part, lure Gerres (Tinga). 2. Hook made of mother-of-pearl and used for moonlight fishing of Serranus, Bodianus, Labrus, Balistes, etc. 3. Larger hooks for Bonito fishing, taken in tow by the canoe, with coconut pinnae.

Hellwig: fishing kite made of a breadfruit tree leaf, srou e gataug (Lamotrek: gedjeg). It is shown in Figure 103 [VMM: see source] with a lure of shark skin, gëli boggo or koilül li boggo. Length 70 centimeters, width 35 centimeters.

For shark fishing, lomalibóggo, with the lure, tag.
Eel loops are non-existent.

b. Fish Spears

Hellwig: tau of coconut wood; Lütke: hattan a pointed stick.
Hellwig: góbai of areca wood from Yap.
Hellwig: small to lik of song wood; prongs, rumúl; point, metál. dúlimat, to fish on the reef by torch light (dul, torch); dulemangar the same as applied to flying fish.

c. Fish Baskets and Nets (Lütke, page 237).

Driftwood fishing, gabeibei i rël. On November 6, 1909, it was announced that a large tree trunk had been sighted on the northern side of Wolea; we went out and saw it with Agupelior as our guide. The fishermen sailed over the surf at the reef and fastened the baskets to the flanks of the boats. [235] The natives of Mariong caught more than 100 small gray Brassen.

The opening is roofed, and the basket itself has a cupola-like form; this type is known as ulebam. Hellwig: ulepam; roof, rug; 2 chambers next to the opening, peg. Horizontal hoop at the opening, pögepög; bottom on the outside, bássebass; vault, ung; back wall, kab; frame forks in the interior, ula roi; inner side framework, sure; rings, talling lü u le pam.
ulebiou looks like an elongated box.

ulemoroval (...morouel) is club-shaped and thickened on one side.
Hellwig: ū le garer turning basket. It is placed in the water with the open side down. When fish swim into it, the basket is quickly turned up. The strong longitudinal poles, olol, are made of root wood, wogaralle giriau, and the thin ones are of wogarolle lū. Transverse plaiting, gobor; handle and frame, ū.
Hellwig shows another the same but with a hand-maneuvered stick; basket, tangag; wood of the plaited part, jaro.
util is longish and cylindrical, and is held between two canoes.
util is also the term for a net with a frame (Kotzebue: ueh) which was brought back as a model (see photo 19a) [VMM: see source].
Krämer shows a gajap, filet needle; uapes, swimmer; faorem, sinker, Handnet for flying fish, sou, Hellwig: srou; frame [ER: the original text reads Namen, misspelling for Rahmen?] aturtrou; handle, fouwo.
ëteng, net for fishing on the high seas.

According to Lütke, boschebok is the task of the women. They stand in the inland water forming a semi-circle in the direction of the beach, and they lay out the nets close to one another. The men stand on the beach with spears, and drive the fish into the baskets.

Born says that swimming boys arrange the nets in a semicircle. The ends are pulled

ashore and boats cruise around; there is much noise, but it is rare that much is caught. At one time, 1000 salmon-like skibijak were caught in one haul on Paliau.

Upon the arrival of a fishing canoe, all the people run from the beach into the bush and the fish are taken into the house. A fire is lit, the index finger is held over it and then the tongue is touched with it. Finally the distribution of fish takes place.

The fishermen, fita, tõfita, tõse:log, liap, after their return from fishing trips, must stay in the fallap for five months. If they were to act counter to this regulation, they would be eaten by sharks, or the sharks would devour their fish, and their wives would be stolen.

[ER: Some boat songs follow in the original text but are omitted here.][236] In Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 125, the following is said about dolphin catching: "In these waters three types of dolphins occur, those with white, red, and black bellies. When the natives of Ulea notice the animals near their shores, about 80 small canoes set out and surround the group and drive it in the direction of the shore. When they are fairly close to the beach, the men annoy the animals by throwing stones at them until they swim ashore. In this manner large numbers of them are caught. Their meat is very popular. When the bodies are cut up, special techniques must be observed, because the superstition prevails that a wrong cut keeps the animals from the island for a certain period of time. At Svilick (where?) there is only a narrow entrance in the reef; [237] through it the animals are driven into the lagoon but none of them are killed until their

number is fairly large (about 50). On the islands of Ulea, this type of fishing is practiced with especial success. On the other islands, achievements in this art are not quite so great.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 132, that children are taught when a frequently caught little fish (probably the sardine sennif of Truk) is on hand: "If it should happen that someone were to get hold of one of this type of fish by the tail and were to lift him in this position with the head hanging down, when the time for the next fishing expedition came, all the fish would seek the bottom of the sea in the same manner, with heads down and none of them could be caught."

Lütke, page 166, says that in October and November there is a shortage of fish and fruit. As a substitute, sea birds are eaten. Fishing is done from 2-4 in the morning and from 8-9. Preceding the fishing trips, sexual intercourse is taboo. Fish-baskets (of volcameria branches) are set out in such a manner that the opening faces the current of the tides; it is necessary to check every other day and for that reason the natives own two baskets at least. The women have small baskets, unababa, with crayfish lures, and without them, in the case of large ouh used in shallow waters and great depths; these are raised by means of weighted hook-sinkers. Oil (chewed from a kernel) is poured out on the water so as to see better. Fishing with a handnet is done by the light of the sun, or at night, when the fishermen hold three coconut fronds as torches in their left hand. Night fishing is known as eddoll.

4: Krämer--237 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 412 Woleai

Tools

(Kotzebue: iron, parang; chisel tété; axe, moil; knife, sar; whet stone, fasitte)....
Hellwig has a shell for grating tortoise shell, pelig, falá trig; ray skin may be used for this purpose.
Krämer collected tridacna blades (axes, atílagi; Figure 29 [VMM: see source] shows one with a length of 29 centimeters, and Figure 105 a length of 13.3 centimeters). Adze, gasuéla.
Krämer collected axes with blades.
Krämer collected a hollow-ground blade made of the shell of a mitra snail; Hellwig had one made from a piece of Cassis snail.
Hellwig: ax blade, dallẽ barai; made of tridacna, sum.
Hellwig: ax blades, dallẽ from the large tridacna species known as gi.
Hellwig: hollow-ground ax blade, dallẽ korɒilimang; made from the shell, maidjal (maial).
Hellwig shows one made of conus, kórror; now it is used as a grater, but formerly it served as a hollow-ground ax.
Hellwig: shell ax with hollow-ground blade, dallẽ; it has the form of the Sẽtowal graters.
Whetstones used to be brought from Yap; Hellwig shows one that is a light piece of lava.

4: Krämer--237 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 412 Woleai

Pump drill, wuruwur manupok; iron, parang*; iron ax, bosugul; hand drill, vuruvur is made wither with shark's teeth or the bones of frigate birds.

*Hellwig shows a combination drill, ni li baggo ma parang, made from shark's teeth and iron and also serving both as knife and saw. Iron has been available only for about 100 years and was drifted ashore; see also Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 124.

4: Krämer-- 237
116, 322

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Woodwork.

Products: wooden bowls
head rests (classified as furniture)
houses and canoes
(Kotzebue: to rough-hew, falla).

4: Krämer--238 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 388 Woleai

The sap of the breadfruit tree is known as bilis (Krämer: smelled very badly in 1933); a sap that was called rumáio drifted ashore and the same was true of pieces of paraffin.

Vessels

The wooden bowls, tabbi (Kotzebue: tapi) in their form are very similar to those of the eastern islands.* The inside floor is usually truly indented and does not gradually pass over into the side wall. The lugs are often very long and are perforated so that cords can be put through them.

The following types are distinguished:

Wooden bowls [VMM: see source, Figures 106 a-r.]

Bowls without legs.

a. Krämer: (a) longish with the ends rounded off; length 22 centimeters, width 9.2 centimeters, height 6 centimeters. See cross section.

b. Hellwig: (b) from Votagai. In the shape of a canoe; length 31.5 centimeters, width 12.2 centimeters, height 6.8 centimeters; it had a flat bottom and is used as a container for the Yap color substance, ē ngap. Cf. the bird form in figure cross section b'.

c. Figure c, red paint bowl in the form of a frigate bird. Length 35 centimeters, width 11.5 centimeters; cf. Lamotrek. The tail of the bird is bound off. [240]

d. Krämer: eadjal, ladle-bowl with a handle ejal; Figure d, round. Diameter

*Hellwig: parai; handle, erat, elbow, (neck) gepul; blade juncture, kor u lal; lashing, võval.

23 centimeters, height 7 centimeters.

Bowls with Vertical Legs

(Two lengthwise moldings at the bottom)

(Hellwig: perrët tepi, small bowl with two feet.)

e. Figure e, handle slab (Griffplatte?) on top; length 44 centimeters, width 26 centimeters, height 16 centimeters, with a foot of half that weight. The bottom is flat. The material used is breadfruit wood; the same type of bowl is shown in Krämer where it is made of calophyllum wood. Cross section e'.

f. Figure f: the brim of the bowl is slightly curved. Length 31 centimeters, width 23.5 centimeters, height 10 centimeters. The lugs are long and the handle bar is curved. Two low feet are arranged lengthwise. [241]

g. Figure g: the edge is strongly curved. Length 14 centimeters, width 15 centimeters, height 6 centimeters. Cross section g' shows the fundamental bowl shape the feet are short.

h. Figure h: this vessel is wider than it is long, and the plan is eliptical. Length 30.5 centimeters, width 37 centimeters, height 9.5 centimeters. The feet are very low and are attached to the flat bottom. The material is breadfruit wood. Cross section h'.

Bowls with Feet Arranged Sidewise.

i. Figure i: longish bowl with perforated high lugs and handle. Length 23.5 centimeters, width 19.5 centimeters, height 9.3 centimeters with feet 2-3 centimeters high. Cross section i'.

k. Figure k: the form is similar to that of the last bowl mentioned, but the edge is more curved. Length 40 centimeters, width 24 centimeters, height 19.5 centimeters. Material: calophyllum wood.

Bowls with Four Feet.

l. Figure l with a saddle lifted above the lug. Length 38 centimeters, width 27 centimeters, height 13-15 centimeters. Cylindrical feet about 7 centimeters in height.

m. Krämer: tabbi en'nap used for paint (Hellwig: red Yap color substance, e ngap), Figure m. Trough-like in shape. Length 32 centimeters, width 10.5 centimeters, height 7.5 centimeters. The walls have four square indentions each. The feet are stump-like. Cross section m'; lug pictured in m'.

Boxes with Lids, sap.

n. Krämer shows a container for fish hooks in two parts, Figure n. Length 16 centimeters, width 8.5 centimeters, height 6.4 centimeters; it has grooves and is square.

o. Figure o, a container for ba levil. Length 26 centimeters, width 9 centimeters,

height 8 centimeters. Square in shape. The lid has a grip on top and there are no lugs at the ends. Cross section o' and o".

p. Hellwig: sap, Figure p; lengthwise oval in shape with knobs. Length 32 centimeters, width 7.6 centimeters, height 8 centimeters. Wood gálliu (kalu).

q. Figure q, square in shape. Length 26.8 centimeters, width 10 centimeters, height 8.8 centimeters.

Hellwig, 1907, shows the ends to be more oblique, and in Hellwig, 1877, the ends are very sloping and with knobs but there is no grip on top. Hellwig observes one from (Falalap) Voléa; grip-bar like on the lios en mingau. [242]

Bamboo Boxes *

Hellwig: gulugul; lid, sése; fluting, autél; ornamentation in Indonesian fashion. [243]

s. Figure 107a, with the impression b. Length 32 centimeters.

t. Figure 108. Length 35 centimeters.

u. Figure 109a with the impression b. Length 21 centimeters.

v. Figure 110. Length 50 centimeters, diameter 4.2 centimeters.

*Hellwig: Coconut box, ware, for tobacco; lid, pálepal (pilipilál) made of breadfruit wood.

In addition the following were collected:

A fish eating board, rólig.

A bowl with two frigate bird heads.

Bowl in the form of a sitting frigate bird.

ságeag, a Seepocke (?) as paint container; Figure 111.

The types of wood used are cocpnut, and breadfruit wood, mai and nga. ut (Hellwig: bowl); ira; gálliu, kalu (Cordia subcordata); for bowls also calophylla, ragits, are used; Eugenia; kadrio were no longer found after the typhoon.

marevál, hibiscus (guliva).

4: Krämer--243 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 531 Woleai

A large number of patterns occur on the bamboo vessels and containers that have just been described. Amongthem are the ray tattoo designs which in large numbers are shown in Figure 79 of Lamotrek [VMM: see source]; but the ornaments pictured in 107b-109b [VMM: see source] are not very different. As on Lamotrek the houses on Oleai have decorated gables.

4: Krämer--244 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411 Woleai

There are few weapons on Lámotrek. I only discovered a single club which must have come from Truk. It was found on Vótagai where is was used as the handle for a mosquito net.

Weapons for offensive fighting are limited to knuckle-dusters with shark's teeth or fish spines.

Figure 112, rajerás with shark teeth (a); with two naseus stings, baráli ge váleval (b); with shark teeth, ni li bago.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise..., page 61 mentions spears, and slings.

Plaiting.

(cf. photo 19) [VMM: see source]

Kotzebue: to sew, thigi.

As is the case elsewhere, coconut fronds and pandanus leaves are used for plaiting. The latter become withered, mang, over the fire instead of being dried in the sun and wrapt into a roll. This roll, sabil lū mang, is preserved until it is needed.

For scraping the leaves or the stripes, mother-of-pearl shells are used. For plaiting, the wooden piece (wa sigerara) is used.

Mats.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...III, page 62: mat of pandanus leaves, mang; sleeping mat, sagi; the raw materials are banana fibers, kou.

Hellwig shows a small pandanus mat, geagi, which lay in a child's cradle.

Hellwig shows a design of mat 113a [VMM: see source] and the plaiting style b from the Hamburger Museum. Plaiting, faije pe; beginning of the plait in the middle, fōlu; the work is done without a plaiting needle.

Hellwig: vaijepek (cf. above faijepe); stripes, geagi. [245]

Hellwig shows a square little bag, sigerara, of pandanus leaves with a lid, pilipilal; it is shown on photo 5m [VMM: see source]. It is made with the plaiting stick waisigerara (see above).

On oleai too the gaigers bags occur; they are frequently used for steels for striking

fire, and are plaited from pandanus leaves.
Hellwig shows a little bag of coconut pinnae, deibe.

Baskets Without Handles

Krämer: tjuk i le monga, "food basket" for fresh fruits of the fields; shown in Figure 19g [VMM: see source]. It is quickly made from two half fronds and has a braid on the bottom inside.

Otherwise these baskets are known as tug watau or more simply as watau. The long sides are called golongal watau, the upper edge jawale, the outer floor verëlle, the inner bottom lanne, the end sides tawole, the knots vugevug, the green coconut leaves balnu, and the dry leaves epal. A small basket carried by women is called woatau, and a basket for men, ware wotau.
Hellwig shows a watau with a loop at each of the corners, tied with a cord of human hair, tim, and decorated with a shell, tigere. (see photo 5h) [VMM: see source].

Roundweaving baskets occur here:
Hellwig: gabëes; Hellwig: gabedj; the bottom is square. Hellwig; ka'caul is a round high basket with a square bottom.

Baskets With Handles.

Krämer shows a basket known as gat and used for the preservation of food stuffs. Photo 19b [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--244-246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-3
116, 285 Woleai

Krämer: gappare; the handle inside is of coconut fiber and is called gappari; illustration photo 19c [VMM: see source], Hellwig: kapolo, kato; [246] kaporo. Hellwig: kaporo, kad; the type is shown on photo 19c [VMM: see source] and has a long handle in the middle.

Hellwig: tug e sari, a cradle; photo 19h [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: tuk ë sari, a basket for a newborn baby, photo 19f [VMM: see source].

The type of plaiting is known as faoagell. The basket has two handles one on each side; in the case of h it is plaited and on f it is twisted from cord (Mariam). Compare the cradles of Lamotrek.

Fans
for Fire, Wind, and Mosquitoes.

Krämer shows a firefan, galipo; the plaiting type is known as taraual and is done one up one down. Photo 19i [VMM: see source].

Krämer shows a firefan, galipo; the plaiting type taraual, 1 and 2. Photo 19k [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: a fan, saipe.

Plaiting patterns.

The pin-wheel, known from Truk, occurs.

Rope Baskets

Krämer: a rope basket, uotaudjo.

4: Krämer--244-246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 285 Woleai

Hellwig: watau sou; this type of basket is no longer made although formerly it was very widespread.
Hellwig: triangular srotur bag of rope with rings, talling.
Hellwig: a small triangular weaving bag for women.
Hellwig: koman or komadle, coconut fiber beetle.

4: Krämer--246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 283 Woleai

Rope making is known, The strand is known as gologól and the ball as gasseg̈il lü gologól. Fráme, méil, as on Lamotrek Figure 44, [VMM: see sourse].

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...III, page 62: rope, tal; thread, kologol.

Hellwig shows a forked netting frame, kasäb; gajab; open ends ëwali.
Hellwig: netting pin, jäf.
knots, bugabug; meshes, métal; completed seine, ading; to place in the water by fathoms, kalligilõgi; the upper line of the float is called tanuabess; the float; úabess is made of actocarpus wood and has a sinker of coral stone which is called vâurem. [247]

h. Weaving.

(Cf. photos 17 and 20) [VMM: see source].

Figure 114 is the drawing of a woman weaving, made from a photo [VMM: see source].

Photo 20 [VMM: see source]shows the identity of the mat with that of Lamotrek. This means that on Oleai, too, there exist three-striped mats with bands across and four-striped mats. The ornaments naturally vary locally. The designs are put in in the course of the weaving and with the weaving needles, dji dab, made from bone, dji, of the turtle or other fish. Figure 115a-c a. Hellwig: cil i daob "bone pattern"; fish bones, daoo rare. Length 17 centimeters.
b. Hellwig: druiitob; head, semel; point, tawol; wood, kaini. Length 27 centimeters.
Hellwig: cil däb, test bone cil le wong.
Krämer shows a weaving needle of wood that drifted ashore.
Born: weaving frame, pap; belting, talletoi; sword, gopop of jengi wood.
Krämer: mür, black pumice stone for dying yarn.

4: Krämer--246-247 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 286 Woleai

Hellwig: pumice stone with which old iron parts are scraped. The rust is put into salt water together with crushed kid leaves. In this liquid banana and hibiscus fibers are dyed black.

A bunch of hibiscus fibers, dallivörsik gulivä. Mosquito netting, márup.

Matting for G-strings, karir, genurs.

black stripes	ligoroe
light stripes	ligawassa
fringes	matë rëlle

The types of mats are best illustrated by Elisabeth Krämer's catalogue remarks:

Krämer: kenuj, seven-striped mat of banana fibers, red and green (imported). Weave: ligos, plain weave.

Krämer: kenuj ligadja, the same with 7 red stripes; weave: ligos.

Hellwig: stripes with red borders.

Krämer: kenuj, the same, black and white; weave: gasuitip. Three shed formation.

Hellwig: the first to fourth stripes are green, the selvedge red.

Krämer kenuj, is done in the same manner but more delicately and is trimmed with fringes, sük; materel braids take the place of the loose threads. [249]

Krämer: giligoi, a seven striped hibiscus mat typical for women; weave: gasuitip: three-shed formation with decorative banana fibers. These mats are old and today they are hard to get.

Krämer shows one made in the same manner but in the goilipat weave; see photo 20 [VMM: see source]. Width 49 centimeters, length 197 centimeters.

Hellwig: karir, genus; this mat is beautiful, seven-striped, and black and white in color.

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 285 Woleai

Hellwig: seven-striped, brownish and sprinkled with 6-7 fine white stripes.

Three-Striped Mats.

Krämer: balüelüf; it is a three-striped banana fiber mat white and green in color (bugarau); the nigos weave is used (plain weave).

Krämer: balüelüf etap is the same with tap, interwining pattern; designs: ngisum tridacna tooth, pub, fish. nigos weave.

Krämer: peig, three-striped of banana fibers. Stripes of red are broken, interwining pattern, tap. Weave gasuitip; three-shed formation.

Krämer: peig, the same as the last but more finely woven. It has three designs: 1. bailimal, birdclaw, 2. ngisum, tridacna tooth, 3. failimat, eye lid.

Krämer: peig ugo tal, the same. It has the designs 1. ngisum 2. failimat 3. bailimal ; the middle stripe is dissolved into three. The weave: gasuiup; see photo 20k [VMM: see source]. Width 48 centimeters, length 203 centimeters.

Krämer: maletilil, ngarevutelil, is a three-striped mat of hibiscus with decorative banana fibers. Weave: goilipat done with a four-shed formation. This type of mat is hard to get nowadays....

Krämer: photo 20h [VMM: see source], 197 centimeters long and 49 centimeters wide.

Krämer: peig, a finely woven mat for women. Weave: gasuitieb; three-shed formation. Pictured on photo 20i [VMM: see source]. Width 47 1/2 centimeters, length 207 centimeters.

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-3
116, 285 Woleai

Krämer: Weave: galut. Four-shed formation see photo 20d [VMM: see source]. Length 193 centimeters, width 50 1/2 centimeters.
Krämer: gasuitieb weave, three-shed formation.
Krämer: is very finely woven in the manner of the Ifaluk mats. Length 210 centimeters, width 52 centimeters; photo 20e [VMM: see source].

On that page there are the following mats of Hellwig:

a. kab, gab. Width 61 centimeters, length 260 centimeters. Coarse weave. Photo 20a.

b. kab; banana fibers. Width 66 centimeters, length 252 centimeters. Wotagai, photo 20b.

c. kab. Width 56 1/2 centimeters, length 237 centimeters. Coarsely woven. Wotagai.

f. dorr, torr, pek. Width 45 1/2 centimeters, length 18. 7 centimeters, Mariam. Photo 20f. [250]

g. Width 47 1/2 centimeters, length 178 centimeters. Wolea. Photo 20 1.

Hellwig listed the following terms for a mat which was almost identical with f (see above):

wide black longitudinal stripes	nugurale
narrow longitudinal stripes (red)	nigotra
outer marginal stripe	naretol

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 285 Woleai

inner marginal stripe	neriwor
stripes across	dabobo (see above tap)

[ER: A chart of patterns follows in the text, but is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 502 Woleai

The boats of the Oleai islanders generally sailed only to Feis [VMM: for trading], but occasionally they went to Mokemok (Ululsi) and Yap. They remained on Feis for a month or two and finally sailed back when a good wind came up.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 437 Woleai

...reng, which was brought from Truk, was looked upon as the money of Oleai.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 439, 651 Woleai

No tribute was taken to Yap [VMM: by the people from Woleai]. The intermediaries can keep the goods for themselves and pay with their possessions. There is no compulsion. If Oleai sells land, it may give as much as it likes to Inefel. In the past it was said that Oleai belonged to him.

4: Krämer--250-251 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438 Woleai

Trade goods other than money were: mats, dŏr (tor) and sap, bilis. Furthermore iron and boats should be mentioned [251] for Oleai, whereas the various islands of the Oleai group had special markets. The natives of Raur sailed to Faterai (Ululsi) and those of Paliau, Lolepeleg and Vosavo on East Volea and the island of Mariong to Falalap (Ululsi). Tagaulap, Soluap and Iefang of West Volea took their goods to Maiangeang and Falalap (Ululsi). Falalis and the village of Bigol on Votagai, finally, transported their trade goods to Tulei on Feis.

4: Krämer--251 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 343 Woleai

Types of Houses

fal'lap (fan'nap)	bachelor's quarters
falĕoš	canoe-house (Born: small canoe-shed, thapal)
fal eonnap	see Tagaulap
im	dwelling (imai, . . . om, . . . al, . . . adj,) (Born: im molut; house of wooden planks im pap)
malum	cooking house (Born: malam)
im alipel	birth hut (also called imateing)(Born: im mellipel)
im ali gogobong	ten-night house
im ali fám	birthhut named after fam, birth.
im melagobung	menstrual hut (Born)
imobŏ	sleeping hut on piles (Figure 116) [VMM: see source] named after the floor, bŏ
imepó, fannĕ	storage house(formerly there were many houses of this type, but now there are few)
im motscho	coconut storehouse (Born).

4: Krämer--252-254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -3
116, 341 Woleai

The dwellings in the Oleai district are almost all hexagonal just like those of Yap, except that they have no stone foundations; Christian proves the latter point on a chart. The basic architectural outlines here, as further eastward, are given by the frame building with wooden walls. That is to say, we are dealing with the rectangular cella to which triangular projections, porches, known as falfaleping, are attached on the side of the gables. For that reason, the roof point must project strongly and may be supported by a post up to 4 meters in height which is called súrung. (Figures 117 and 118 show it on a storehouse and it is also pictured on photo 17b but it is not straight...[VMM: see source for photos). But before we discuss this feature in detail we should add that this post is generally lacking. In that instance the hipped roof of the gable side rests on the triangular projection, if the cella is open to the side of the gable and is directly connected with the space of the building projection as is the case on figure 119 of house 1, Sapei, and house 3 (photo 15a). The interior of house 8, Falel, however, is rectangular similar to the representation of Figure 117. Here the porch constitutes a special room both in front and rear. (Born: im mal paloi).

If the triangular building projection of planks is lacking, a triangular roof frame is erected and supported by the roof top post which is called súrung (shown in plate 17b) or the latter may be omitted and only 1-2 supporting posts be used for the eaves (Figure 120). Under such circumstances the triangle becomes more rounded in shape and as in the case of the [254] last mentioned house brim-like eaves are formed out of three or

four poles. In figure 120 these purlins are made of one piece and are bent around the outside and short rafter-like poles rest on them in both instances.

Thus house 8, Fálel, has a closed square cella and a roundish porch roof both in front and in the rear of the house. It is not only the post, but the various separate supports which may be lacking. Then the overhanging roof is supported by horizontal poles which jut out from the long side of the house and rest on the upper frame of the gable side. At the most support is offered by a yoke, from the overhanging roof of the canoe-house. I saw a house with bent purlins in front of the poles on Votagai. Here, as on Tagaulap, many of the old beautiful houses were left standing, since the islands were spared destruction from the typhoon of 1907.

It has been mentioned that houses without the triangular gable projections are frequent. They are rectangular, made of timber; in short they are simple frame houses.

In one case, that of house 1, Gabengatil of Tagaulap the gable-wall of the cella with its wall fillings and the door in the middle was not as high as the upper frame beam so that there was another one underneath, as is the case with the bai on Palau; that meant that a window existed, but only on the gable-sides. Projecting buildings were lacking.

The house with the roof point post, surung, on Votagai had planks at the edge of the roof on the sides of the gables in the manner of the outer gable frames of the Palau bai which was pierced by the ends of the purlins. They are called eaolim and they rest on

the projecting upper longitudinal frame beams which are called gapilivei and which are approximately 1 meter in length. They, in turn, are supported by a post, sur tavol gapilivei, which rests on the projecting lower longitudinal frame beam, the gogodj levilipeg, or rather on its end which is known as the tavol. The lower transverse beam of the framework of the cella is called gogodj votap and the cooresponding upper beam is the gabilibing. Figure 118.

4: Krämer--254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Woleai

In our day the houses on Oleai did not have any stone foundations and the same was true of the buildings on Lámotrek.

4: Krämer--254-256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

On Aurepik we found some stone house foundations of two meters in height and it is therefore quite possible that they formerly existed on other islands. One report reads: Gamelei, the father of Metag in Aurepik (here Eaurupeg) with his son Feker built the large foundations under the houses of Aurepik. This was done after a typhoon in which the entire population with the exception of four individuals lost their lives. When the Yap islander Goru came to Aurepik in 1905, together with the district official, [256] Gamalai was still alive but was very old (probably 90 years). He had completely forgotten the Yap language which he had known earlier in his life. Thus the stone foundations of the houses of Aurepik was due to local ideas which naturally may come up anywhere. But they have not been able to assert themselves.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132 Woleai

The typhoon of Aurepik seems to have hit Oleai, too, in 1830.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows a hook, tauung, for suspension of food baskets; according to Born it is sometimes made of the vertebrae of sharks.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342, 192 Woleai

roof	fatafat
wooden door	gátam (of rijeng wood)
stairs	eál
wall	tipap
hearth	fálang
fence	óror, bei around a grave (imitation in the house)
sleeping place	lélliei, masúr
headbench, head rest	eelungei, ulul
sleeping mat	giégi (possessive giei)
rubbish heap	ualú beibei
to weed	uiuí, fengi
sweep	böbö
well	djalül
wash water	djalutütü
taulomónu	mosquito net of woven mats (Pollap).

4: Krämer--256-259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 504 Woleai

Large community houses on Oleai were the canoe-houses, faleoā, photo 13 a, b, c, [VMM: see source], which occur throughout the entire island region, and which served the men during the day. These houses numbered three or four on every island and one on Tagaulap and Mariong. The eaves almost touch the ground; gable spaces are lacking.

In addition there existed bachelor's quarters, which for short were called fal'lap, "great house" or falepai, according to Born. I saw them as late as 1907 when I passed Oleai on the way to Truk. Four months later, upon my return to Palau, they had been destroyed by the typhoon and had not been rebuilt. If my wife had not happened to paint a small water color of the southern tip of Paliau and the northern tip of Raur (Figure 80) on the occasion of our first visit with a fal'lap showing in both instances, these testimonies of western society* would have disappeared unknown. [257] These houses stood projected on stone wharves (Born) at the open inner beach and that was why they could be so completely destroyed by the typhoon. The picture with the house of Paliau presents the walled enclosure and many doors, two in the front gable and three in the longitudinal wall. On the occasion of the expedition's visit in 1909 I had the chief Agupelior make me

*I learned on Kapingamarangi that natives of Oleai who had drifted ashore had erected bachelors' quarters; but the building was no longer standing at the time of our visit. These islanders were also credited with the introduction of the breadfruit.

a model of such a fal'lap and the long side of the building is shown on Figure 124 [VMM: see source]. Born says that there was one falepoi on every island and two on Falalis.

The first striking feature was that the framework of the house did not rest on wooden posts, sur, but that there existed no more than four stone pillars, sur, which supported the two longitudinal frame beams called tanelap--in the same manner as on Feis. On the longitudinal beams rest the transverse beams, the gŏusam, on which stand the king posts, bŏt. The two king posts carry the roof tree, ung, which determines the size of the inner gable house. Above it lies the second upper roof tree, the ungaseg or ungnaseg, with the size of the roof itself. Finally, above it, there is a third long roof pole, sogoram (sogoramar), the roof tip of the projecting gable roof. On Figure 125, the three roof beams are shown in front view:

the first, ung, rests on the king posts or the ornamented middle rafter of the gable,

the second, ung ngaseg, is supported by the strong rafters, the vŏi.

and the third, the sogoram, is supported by the thinner outer rafters known as gat. [258]

On the vŏi rafters rest the heavy purlins which are called gapangag and the lowest marginal purlin known as gapilivoi. The small round purlins are named i fag, and the small rafters and the long purlins of the roof eaves are the bailimelug; the long rafters

and the small purlins of the gable are called langolimetalias (Figures 124 and 125).

Gable ornamentation: tēbaų.

the two lateral frames, eao, show shark's teeth, ngi le boggo.

the lower transverse framework, gapileping, shows a triangle pattern ngi sum "tridacha teeth" which are very popular on Palau V, where they are known as klivuk; but the arrangement is different.

the middle plank has black triangles, basal e vulegalei (basal bedjel his foot or tail of the bulegalei, the acanthurus fish.)

the white lozenges with a dot in the middle are called pup and thus are meant to represent the lozenge-like Baliste fish?

Thus the gable ornamentation has the fish as its leading motif.

The interior of the house, like the gable, is divided into two halves:

the half facing the water, jetab fal matalifal, is reserved for the chiefs, the tamol;

the half facing the land, the jetab fal apelifal, is used by the common people, the e aramat;

the interior is called nifal (nim)

the exterior is called lugilifal (lugilim)

Construction.

When a fal'lap is to be built, all the men bring coconut yarn from the various islands.

They place their contributions on the beach and are paid for their work with coconuts.

The women, all dressed up, come to the assembly house carrying food and perform a dance, ur.

The women of the place where the building is to stand sit in the house and do not allow any strangers to enter although they make attempts to get in from all sides. Finally they sit down outside, with the head chief, while the local chief stays inside with the women, to whom he gives coconuts. [259]

When the construction is completed, a great coconut taboo, ëvaü, is declared.

Huge quantities of coconuts are collected and piled up around the building. When the collection is over, the owner of the building invites everyone for a certain day when the house is to be dedicated.

On that day the guests come from everywhere. The women are all dressed in an elaborate fashion, with a great deal of ornamentation, and dance around the house. At the end of the festivity they give their necklaces, etc., to the departing men, after the latter have received their share of coconuts, They all sit on the ground, and the supervisor gives a speech in which he announces that payment is to be made in the form of coconuts. He adds that he hopes that no nasty talk will be heard about his men and that they will all remain in good health. When the ceremony is held on Volea, Falalis is assigned 1000 nuts. Votagai 3000, Tagaulap 1000, Mariong 500, Paliau 500, and Raur 500, After that the group breaks up.

4: Krämer--256-259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 504 Woleai

Stone posts: It is noteworthy that the house of the spirits on Tagaulap has stone posts like the dwellings on Feis (Figure 126) [VMM: see source]. It has been said in the discussion of the religion of the islanders that foreign influence has come in the past and undoubtedly it must be held responsible for these facts. The stone slabs used as house posts are a true characteristic of Feis.

4: Krämer--259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 352 Woleai

House furnishings are very scant. Wooden hooks for hanging up baskets have been observed. For the head bench, ülül (from Falális) see figure 123 [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--259-260 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 501 Woleai

The Canoe, oā

(cf. photos 15 and 17) [VMM: see source]

Native terms of Kotzebue see his Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 62.

canoe	oa
mast	gkeus
sail	ui
float	tham
stern part of canoe	muril, mol
steer	ekailioth
row	fathel
drift	sasol
turn	thou
tack	tattagul
run aground	eckail [260]

The canoes of Oleai were considered very good.

Besides the large sailing canoe there exists a smaller type (Born: wa mar), and lagoon boats with the same forked tail figure-heads (Born: rassim); only the outrigger and the lee platform are much simpler. On the weatherside, on the baraf plank, where the outrigger begins, there is an enclosure for receiving goods and provisions (Figure 27)

4: Krämer--259-260 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 501 Woleai

[VMM: see source]. A fishing canoe is called máluvil (Born: small rowing canoe, tschosmal; the larger type which holds 10-20 men is called wa fetal). Women are good oarsmen.

Krämer mentions bilis, breadfruit sap used for caulking. After 25 years it had a hellish smell. According to Born, cement is made of breadfruit milk, lime, ashes of coconut shell and the juice of pandanus roots.

Canoe Construction
by the sel'lap Robgail

When someone wants a new boat, he discusses the matter with the boat builder, the sel'lap. He picks out a breadfruit tree and it is felled. The tree has or receives a name which later is passed on to the canoe. The sel'lap asks: "How long is the boat to be?" The owner of the canoe-to-be: "Five fathoms." The sel'lap: "All right, let us cut four fathoms." Then the tree trunk, bul, is dragged into the canoe-house on the beach where the boat is to be built. All the men help with the transportation and they are given food for it, fish, taro, coconuts, etc., known as the bai lŭrúr oā. Later while the work is under way, the sel'lap receives three bowls of food daily and on every tenth day fifty bowls for his assistants and his family; this ration is known as the bai le fálĕfal or the bai le oā.

With the broad ax, the adze, gasuéla, the trunk (bul ĕli oā) is given the desired shape; then the stem, the mât or badj, the bab planks, and the outrigger booms, kio* are cut. When they are completed, the sel'lap receives small gifts [261] of mats and faibar, and

*This, the weatherside, is called palietam; the outer side, íketa; fale, below and from it the space underneath with its three parts derives its name: 1. fale báraf (báraf see below, 2. fale fang (fang, grating) or falesĕ and 3. o niáusap.

this contribution is known as the gakŏul lé vá. Then follow the arched luff plank, the faramoi, the gunwales on the weatherside which are called galigasa and the gunwale mesap, which connects the faramoi and badj. Everything is fitted but it not fastened together and is taken apart again. At the time of final joining of the planks, breadfruit sap (bílis) is smeared on the gunwales, and coconut husk fibers are added. Before they are moved into place, the gunwales are held over a fire for a short time. The sap is prepared by collecting the milk which flows from the wounds of the trunk in coconut shells and boiling it on hot stones. The sap is taken out under water and filled into coconut sheaths in which it is kept. Caulking is done just before the canoe is launched.

Now is the time that the thwarts are made, the dó.

1. do le fatefat on the outside
2. mát ongor
3. tívětif
4. doïalü
5. sasakio

Next attention is given to the baraf plank, the luff platform (líbarap) (faraf) and the ülingal (head rest, ülül) ma lĕ masur "his head rest for sleeping."

The diagonal braces, matárafang gird the grating, fang. The grating on the outside, in the direction of the weatherside, is called djodjo lĕlau or lelial a luluei, "sleeping

place of the god."

In order to fasten the fang to the kio (boom) two large bindings, eagatiu le baraf are used.

Now it is the turn of the interior of the canoe, the niva. The bulkheads gábung, are left standing and the hole, logolog, at the joints of the matárafang, between it and the ülingal.

Then follow the four eam stanchions (Figure 128) [VMM: see source] with their firm lashing, fofollam, and above it the transverse pole vasoso and the yoke, valeangelap, for the belaying of the luff stay, ë angalap. Photos 15b and c [VMM: see source] [262].

Furthermore, four djë, crooked outrigger booms with three transverse poles, are added; the one on the outside is called gabidjë, the one on the inside (of the pegs) daried-jë and the one on top at the kio is known as eŏpasa.

The lee platform, ëbep (Photos 15b and c)[VMM: see source] rests on two sua which are placed under the suilap and the kio. A transverse frame plank is known as volivalëbep and on it rest the two superstructure thwarts, the folag and the cross thwart, folag iës. Two frame poles extending alongside the sua are called páliebep and one that runs across on the outside is called valiëbep. The poles of the bottom of the platform are the taragalíebep, the outer grating is called fang ali ëbép, the hole in it vi eli ëbëp.

Born lists the following:

large canoe wa luwë

thwarts to lean against falak
outrigger partitions geimeru, serves as shelter against the wind

Rigging Rope, sos.

mast, gois; halyard for the sail, urur.
luff stay, eángalap; fore and aft stay, tálligas (tënegaj)
lee stay, dáugeta (iketa, lee; itam, weatherside)
gág to steer
bail, gamát
sail, li (eū); yard, juju and its heel áviteg; boom, lim.
sheet, moél (block, gárigerig)
binding of the sail, mobulíra; sections, tëlab, seams across, tëgaro.

Figure 129 [VMM: see source]: paddle, fádul with Singknopf?, róvuj eorior.

When the sel'lap has finished everything but the deck huts which he himself builds only for the great voyage, there follows the great payment, the góu sel'lap in the form of wooden bowls, faibar, mats, mosquito nets, knives, axes, etc., and anything wise that that may be available. In former times this payment might have taken the form of up to 100 wooden bowls but now the number is usually down to 30-50. Finally follow the banquet and prayers.

[ER: The words of some boat songs are given in the text, but they are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--260-262 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 396 Woleai

The songs are:

1. Song before the voyage. With or without storm magic (goselefei).
2. Canoe construction.
3. Song after the completion of the canoe.
4. Prayer for the coming voyage offered in order to catch a large number of fish. Request for great heat, because it brings many fish.
5. Song used on the occasion of angle line fishing.]

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 562, 837 Woleai

Mertens says that the women had a lot of freedom and that, as on Feis, they came on board alone without paying much attention to the men. Occasionally they pulled up alongside of the ship in their canoes and called the names of their friends. Everything needs their consent. On the other hand, men have been known to offer their wives to their overnight guests.

At meetings and on the occasion of visits of strangers, the women keep silent.

Lütke says that many terms are taboo (pennant) in the presence of women; in case of negligence, exile threatens the offender.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 837, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 135: "The men live with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they are nursing the infant." "When a friend asks the hospitality of his friend, the latter offers him his wife for the time of his stay."

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846 Woleai

For three months after her confinement, a woman must not have sexual intercourse; from that time on she is free to do as she pleases until she gives birth the next time.

4: Krämer--267 (1909)•1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Woleai

A pregnant woman (ĕsiál, Kotzebue: sasiel) is subject to few taboos.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 845 Woleai

Twins and more births at one time are rare.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 576 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III , page 59: nose greeting, feissong.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841 Woleai

It has been mentioned that the daurang [VMM: young girl] at the time of first menstruation stays in the imalipel for eight days. During this period of time, youths bring her young coconuts, but she may not have much to do with them.

After her return home, her parents and brothers and sisters ask her what young men have brought her coconuts and she names them all. An admonition follows: it is suggested that she choose one of them for a husband and not to bother with vague love affairs.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 561 Woleai

Stages in the Life of a Woman

taráivel — girls before menstruation

daurang — girl menstruates and wears the grasscloth which is called sivísif.

nikabal — single or married women who wear the mat gabálabal

malioüteg — married woman with mat. Other terms for a married woman are: ril, fitial, čsagal, djoelevúgetal, djoele, gáneal, čtial, djoele iti telivulemel djal.

nipes — spinsters or widows

esamesoutagel — "her husband dead," widows and widowers. The former is in mourning for a year and usually is a hetaera.

4: KrÆmer--267-268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -
116, 844 Woleai

For her confinement, the mother-to-be goes to the imalipel. The midwife, valimelau, squats between the legs of the woman in labor and receives the newborn baby. An assistant, surëlifëtël, sits behind the woman in labor and supports her. If the birth is a slow one, she calls tsong, tsong, press, press!

When the child has appeared, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, the bus; this is usually done with a duck shell (Entenmuschel?), giligil, and without tying it off. If the afterbirth, bëi, does not follow, nothing is done about it or at most, the abdomen is massaged very lightly, which is known as sŏgi.

Born: The birth is announced by a shout which serves as a signal. Position: kneeling with her hands on her thighs or half reclining in the lap of another woman. The umbilical cord is cut with a giligil shell without being tied off. Herbs are chewed and spit on the wound. The placenta, pei, is buried....

If the woman in labor bleeds profusely, nat leaves are steamed over a fire and she sits in the vapor. When everything is over, the new mother goes to the beach and bathes [268] in salt water; other women go with her and massage her. The mother remains in the imalipel for at least four more days during the discharge of the lochia. After ten days she returns to her home. Usually her husband builds her a small imalipel in the dwelling and she stays there with the baby. The daughters of the family also stay in it for eight days when they menstruate for the first time. Soon after birth, the child, too is taken to the beach and bathed in salt water, and the afterbirth is buried. Cradle made of coconut frond plaiting. Photos 19f and h [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846 Woleai

After having given birth, the mother remains in the imalípel for eight days to a month; the hut may be close to her home or at some distance from it. Then she spends ten days in the im ali gogobóng, "enough nights" (from sagon, enough), and five months in the im ali fam, which is probably to be translated as to "give board."

The parents or the closest relatives of the mother take good food to these houses in order that the newborn baby may grow to be healthy and strong. Good care is given to the child. Special cradles are available for them and square frames with cord netting which are covered with a pandanus mat, geagi. (Photo 7). [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: üloid, frame; wa lüloid, net; üloid, rings; taling.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 584 Woleai

The suitor talks to the parents, and if the girl agrees, she follows him to his house. The husband presents the girl with mats, turmeric (rang), etc, and sometimes even with land; he may make these gifts to her or the family and of course the latter is most welcome.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Circumcision, sopi, masopi takes place on Oleai and Feis when the boys are a year old. The prepuce is buried. Expressed juice of young coconuts is put on the walnut-sized wound. It takes four or five days to heal.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 553 Woleai

Name giving: According to the information of the native, Kadu (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 134) "the chiefs give their first-born the name of their father, the second son the name of the father of their wife, the third again the name of their own father and so forth. The masses of people on the other hand, give their first-born the name of the father of their wife and the later children other names." That is to say that here we are dealing with a mixture of father and mother rights. And the first and the third sons would have the same name! According to the genealogical table of Agupelior this would not be true; or maybe it is no longer true?

Sick people often like to assume different names and this sort of thing is also frequent for lovers.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 614 Woleai

Sibs, geilang.

1. gailang ali Volea
2. Sauel
3. Gofalu
4. Mongaulifadj
5. Saufaladjik
6. Sor

Marriages between members of the same clan may take place as the table of house #6 proves. A marriage between relatives is also recorded for house #8.

For Namoluk Hambruch names Gatamak as 8. This clan Gadamak is said to have come from Uonë (=Oleai)

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Woleai

Chief, tamol.

According to Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 134, the brothers of the chief are first in the line of succession and after them follow the sons of the firstborn.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 561 Woleai

Stages in the Life of a Man

boy	tharemal
youth	taremál
man	mal
old man	tógobei
very old man	málelap

(Kotzebue: maul; lance, tilleg; to throw, kattevi; to hit, jel; to miss, tarami; a sling, kaul). War was almost unknown, as were spears, clubs and slings. The native, Kadu, expressed his distaste for war (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 90, 134) which he had come to know among the Rataks; he had been wounded in some hostilities. "There one does not know anything about war and fighting; there one man does not kill another man, and anyone faced with warfare had his hair turn white."

4: KrÆmer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 766 Woleai

Upon the death of a chief, everything becomes taboo and only the foods most necessary for subsistence are excepted. The hair is cut short. Mourning is called ðragagou. The dead are wrapt in mats (a stone is included with the body) and the bundle is tied firmly. It is taken out to the high seas and there is dropped overboard. If no rope is available, a grave, mas, is dug and after the burial, a mound marks it. Over the grave (pei), a burial hut (imalipei) is erected, and a fence is set up around it; coconuts are laid within the enclosure. Occasionally the coconuts are grated and the shavings are used for the hair; the preparation is called gavet. After a few months, large quantities of coconuts have been accumulated owing to the taboo (which may last up to ten months) and then the festival of the dead is held. It is a great banquet, gagieg, with dances, ur. The women bathe on this occasion, and put on many ornaments, whereas the men do not do anything of that kind. The food is distributed among the guests and the coconuts are divided up in a manner similar to that described in connection with the fal'lap ceremony. Taro, breadfruit, fish, etc, are distributed, but no pigs; the visitors take their share home with them.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Woleai

(Kotzebue: waruk; dance in a circle, walebong; others kapangach). There are dances in sitting positions for women and standing dances.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Woleai

The native, Kadu, tells us that criminals are not punished, but are sent into exile.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481 Woleai

Kotzebue: to go bathing and swimming, cvoloch; dive, esulong; rise to the surface after diving, suüach.

4: Krämer--270-271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Woleai

Hellwig shows a paddle for children. Length, 90 centimeters. Figure 130 [VMM: see source]. [271]

Dolls are simply called lios (Truk: picture) and they do occur. The wooden figures (see Figure 131) [VMM: see source] bear a certain resemblance to the objects used for storm magic (Figure 132). [VMM: see source]

Hellwig shows a pin-wheel (gū), at the mouth of a wooden fish which is tied to a bamboo pole.

4: Krämer--271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 643 Woleai

Navigation

When a chief wishes to go on a voyage, for instance to Feis, he tells his people to get a boat ready. He himself, before setting out on his voyage, uŏfalū, spends a month in the fal'lap, which women may not enter. Here he also spends five months upon his return from his first voyage, one month after his second voyage and half a month after the third; after the fourth this period of time has been cut down to five days. No seclusion is necessary after additional voyages. In outside places no taboos are observed. This rule does not apply to fishermen.

4: Krämer--271-272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396 Woleai

Making the boat ready implies mainly caulking (bosĕliva) in order that the canoe will not leak. It is done with uedj "cement" mixed in the following manner: coal of coconut husks is crushed with lime and the juice of expressed young husks is added, and the juice and powder mixed.

The lashings are checked. The deck huts, gaimoém, are made anew, and the ropes and the sail and, in short, the entire rigging. The hull of the canoe is painted over.

When everything has been completed, the canoe is set afloat, and as soon as a strong breeze arises, the "maiden voyage" takes place in the inland waters. If it is successful, the canoe is passed as ready for service. The captain hires four or five men as sailors, jŏliva; one stipulation is that the crew must go willingly and that the men must not be forced to accept the jobs.

The women are told to prepare provisions for the pallŭ and the jŏliva; breadfruit dough, mar, leads the list as the only preserved food. [272]

When there is a good breeze from the east (gótimei) everything is taken on board. Special care is taken that there may be sufficient supplies of young coconuts for drinking, and old ones for eating. Twenty to thirty coconut water bottles are included among the provisions; they are filled with fresh water. Finally the pallŭ comes with the storm magic. It is suspended from the deck hut, the space in which the pallŭ lives on the voyage.

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Woleai

Prerequisites for a Successful Voyage to Feis

favorable seas, djeger ali ĕle métau

favorable winds, djeger ali gūi (gūi, month of August)

during the good season, murilíefang, which is the name for the monsoon period at the end of the gui month. At that time, the star măl (Sirius) is visible in the sky and in the north the ŭgelík is seen.

When e álimeto appears in the morning sky, the wind is favorable (on the return voyage it is the gáp, Spica and the eramoi=aremoi, Arcturus). Unless these stars are out, the sails are hauled in and the canoe is left to drift until the stars become visible once more.

The voyage is divided into stages, gátag; a certain number of them apply to one course. The first gátag, for instance, is determined by the period of time needed by the canoe to sail out of sight of the island; it is checked by a member of the crew who climbs the mast for a better lookout. The first course by the ŭgelik lasts until the fourth gátag (northwesterly direction); the second course is taken by the constellation magĕreger, the Pleiades, and amounts to only one gátag (west); the final course is taken by the măl and it includes only two more gátag (northwesterly).

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Auripik

The voyage from Woleai to Arurpeg (Aurepik) includes four gátag [VMM: see 4: Krämer 272] of a course taken by the tubutumur, the setting Antares.

The voyage from Oleai to Ifaluk has three gátag [VMM: see 4: Krämer 272] and is taken by the star ëliol, the Belt of Orion (E); if the wind is favorable, the distance may be covered in 8-12 hours. (First gátag, Oleai is visible; second gátag, sailing on the high seas; third gátag, Ifaluk is sighted). The voyage from Ifaluk to Lamotrek is made by the constellation ul, the rising Aldeboran, and is divided into five gátag. Three gátag are taken by the tagal-ügelik, one by the tagalemailap (Atair rising in the east)... and one by the tagal e golëgo.

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 487 Woleai

According to the native, Kadu, voyages were made from Ulea to Palau, Sonsoror, Pul, Merir and the return route was by way of Sorol (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise ... Vol. III, page 104.).

4: Krämer--272-273 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 502 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise...Vol III, page 64: course north, puc; south puilung; east, puitag; west, puitug; morning, nissur; noon, egwol; evening, eppong.

The winds and constellations here are the following:

	Wind	Constellation
N	fangilap, eangíefang	vólevol
		tágalup rising
S.	eangeaur, aurilap	magemeiat 45°
		volevol apogee [273]
		madjemeitol 45°
		tubulup setting
W	notóelap	gauár (Venus)
E	gotimei	fusidjál (Venus)
		others:
NW	lotóafang	mailap, vul, magereger
NE	gotuáfang	mól, gúgelik, volégo
SW	lotoár	mailap--lélafang
SE	gotuór	vélavel

Kotzebue: 24 rhumbs: efangalab, caululor efangeles, caululor coteafau etc.

E. éliol, sáravol, túmur, metáru, tágalu, mat, volevol

N. Kotzebue: Polar Star fissimogedigit.

moon	máram
small moon	maramatheg
red moon	edjá matal i maram

monsoon eángugodj, eagŏteu
gotuórikom (star tumur)
gotuáfang (star mŏi)
gŏtimei (star mailap)
good weather rálimei
bad weather ralengau

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 128: "On every voyage they seem to observe the rising and setting of another constellation." "The steering member of a canoe crew--according to Don Luis--places a little piece of wood, a small stick, flat in front of himself and believes that he will be guided by it, as we take out course by the compass." Apparently he lays the stick down in the direction thought correct for the course.

On Oleai, the following islands are known:

Waghal, Guajan or Guam (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 93).

Bannöe	Eáurpëk
Eap	Faráülap (Fadjaülap), also Faroelap
Katogóbei (Tobi)	
Merir	Ifaluk
Bul	Woléa
Sóngorol	Elát
Soról	Olimarão
Ngolu	Námodjek
Namolülütíu (Mogemog)	Sëtovan
Fais	Fáiëo [274]
Pikëlo	Setovalaito
Pikëlot	Nukulóor, Nukuor
Poloat	Pikëram (Kapinga...)
Sóuk	
Tamëtam	Vóroluk
Bón'nap (Pollap)	Ingádjik (Ngatik)
Volóul (Onoun)	Fálepei (Ponape)
Pisërars (...ëdj)	Pingelap

Volou
Mákor
Faiëoín
Namoín
Falálu
Rūo
Mūrilo
Dju (Truk)
Losap
Némo
Namolúk
Gúiop

Mokil
Gadjau (Kusae)

Rātak
Tapitóuĕ (Gilbert Islands)
Arorai
Náuro

Sáneuis
Jepōn
Vŏu

lugáiapal is the term for any place where the sun happens to be at zenith, e.g., the tropics. Anything north or south is considered this side and that, peigil ma peigil.

The native, Kadu, mentions the visit of Palau (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 31).

Lands (falu) in the south, countries of the black people:

In the East, South of Pikeram:

Faluelnugaraurau

In the West, South of Bunat (St. Davids):

Faluĕlidjel
Faluĕlikelau

Faluelnumáu	Faluĕliep
Faluelnúdja	Jĕvisi
Faluelnutétĕn	Námofizi
Faluelluiól	
Faluelnauporoi	Mores

These statements are of importance in view of the special nautical experience of the Oleai islanders due to old-established contacts of the Carolinians and Melanesians, but nevertheless localization is extremely difficult. In Lukunor-Namoluk Nudja is listed, which probably is the known island of Nusa at the northern tip of Tombara. Ṇumau here may be identical with Numul there; Nuiol may equal Nuol, etc., so that the Melanesian places in the past [275] most likely must have been known over a wide area.

4: Krämer--275 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 127: "The two boats which Cantova saw, together with four others were on the voyage from Faloilep (Faroilap) to Ulea when they were seized by the west wind and scattered. Most of the crew and the passengers in these canoes were natives of both the island groups mentioned, and we assume that the canoes themselves must have come from those islands. The first, larger canoe, which carried 24 persons and had three cabins, is described in all detail because of some of its strange features: "a strange canoe, little different from the type common on the Marianas."

Through Chamisso, the shipwreck of the native, Kadu, became known. He was cast adrift and floated eastward and drifted around on the open seas for eight months. "The meager provisions saved lasted for three months, and for five months they lived without fresh water, merely on the fish they were able to catch. To quench their thirst, the native, Kadu, dived deep down into the water to bring up cooler water and, in their opinion, less salty water in a coconut shell. The northeast trade-wind finally carried them to the group of Aur of the Radack island chain where they had landed in the west of Ulea. A very old man on Eap had once spoken to the native Kadu of Radack and Ralick; mariners from Eap once were said to have drifted to Radack and to have come ashore at the island group of Aur; from there they found their course back to Eap by way of Nugor (Nukuor) and Ulea. The names of Radack and Ralik were known to a native of Lamureck whom we met on Guajan. Frequently boats of Ulea and the surrounding islands drift to

the islands of the eastern chains. Five natives of Lamureck are still living in the southern group, Arno of the chain of Radack; the same fate, along the same route, took them there."

These strong changes in the current are due to the equatorial counter current which extends over an area of approximately 100 nautical miles north of the equator to the west and east. On the surface, it seems to disappear before the monsoon seas of the NE; but under the surface it is active with elementary power, especially at times when calms make sailing impossible. That means that boats north of the line may drift from the extreme west of the Carolines to the Ralik-Ratak Islands.

Many additional shipwrecks might be listed but they are exceptions due to irregular weather conditions and wrong currents. A report of Mertens proves the reputation of the Carolinians as navigators as early as 1800. Mertens tells us that on Oleai the captains of native boats had shown letters to foreign visitors which had been given to them by white captains in order that, when the occasion arose, they might take them to Governor Don Luis de Torres on Guam.

Cases of ships driven off their course are known in large numbers.

Days of the Month (moon days).

See Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III; page 63.

1. segóuru new moon	1. lingiling
2. ëleng	2. sigaur
3. mesëleng	3. mesul
4. mesán	4. meseven
5. mesëvis	5. neselim
6. mesoval	6. mesaul
7. mesëtiu	7. mesevel
8. ëramatal	8. mesavol
9. ëpei	9. mesaalu
10. suávo	10. tjabong
11. ërabógui	11. alabugi
12. olavul	12. oloboa
13. olamāl	13, olomoal
14. mas moon not entirely full	14. alat
15. úr full moon	15. ir
16. nétu	16. ladi
17. killei no longer truly full moon	17. gilei
18. gáloa	18. kaira

19. sŏpas	19. sopatemir
20. ĕ fālag	20. ortavalan
21. garataleĕfālag	21. olabugi
22. sopadjmĕmur (sĕtap half)	22. olahue
23. killei	23. olamahe
24. gomālo	24. tamalaval
25. gomālefal	25. ereve
26. ĕĕrafui	26. eii
27. eóu	27. erevi
28. efeing	28. euu
29. iéjaf	29. evan
	30. etav

It is obvious that the names do not agree absolutely accurately but are somewhat changed, but naturally the moon and its phases are the basis for the determination of the month. Since only 13-14 days are needed from one full moon to the next, the thirty days listed by Chamisso are really too much, and the same is true of the 29 I have received. This might explain that for "year" simply seikmaruou is listed which has the meaning of twelve. [277]

Division of the Day (day, rāl)

sunrise	tagajeál
approximately 8 A. M.	ětameilug
approximately 10 A. M.	lingárafat
noon	gáuel
2 P. M.	e pal'log
4 P. M.	atelivai
5 P. M.	atelilŭel
6. P. M.	ě ateluelim
sunset	eatupeál
7 P. M.	nifagaf
8-9 P. M.	nifagaf e mesou
10 P. M.	ětajojo (everyone is sleeping)
11 P. M.	lefagaf tonga lugelibung
midnight	lugelibung
1 A. M.	lugelibung tongaltět
2 A. M.	olimatauat
3 A. M.	olimele malug (cock) first crow
4 A. M.	olimadjál
5 A. M.	olimalemaiu

4: Krämer--276-277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 805 Woleai

Division by Months

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 128: "On the Carolines, days and months are counted and the year is divided up according to the appearance and disappearance of the constellations and thus the seasons are derived. But no one counts the number of years."

4: Krämer--277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802 Woleai

Counting by means of knots, see Figure 133 [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--277
116, 757, 192

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

medicine man	tautafé̱i
wound	gopiteg
vein	vag
small ulcer	lŏs
phlegm	mā́s
hydrocele, large	mŏr, mōrulap
diarrhea	dadjikedj
cough	fef'fag, fágafag
hiccough	mator
belch	gúrēr
yawn	mŏlegatol

4: Krämer--277
116, 752

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Lütke, Vol. III, page 144 ff., observed the marks of scars on arms. They are the result of small cuts made during childhood through treatment with the poisonous milk of the cerbera.

Bleeding is done frequently, and the same is true of the puncture of purulent sores with the scarificator which is called fidjefidj i le vag or i le môr, depending on its use.

The former is shown in Figures 134a and b [VMM: see source]. Krämer shows one with a shark's tooth; another with claws of a crayfish; the latter are shown in Figures 134 c and d. Hellwig collected two of bamboo, wai, or frigate bird bone, or spines, falaliik, of the fish felang; the latter is used mainly for instruments to open ulcers or hydroceles.

Figure 134 e [VMM: see source] is more drill-like with a shark's tooth (Hellwig: length 35 centimeters).

The wound left by the puncture is not bandaged or covered in any way.

Lütke tells us that acanthurus stings or sharks' teeth are used for bleeding, etc.

Testicles, failimor, are readily removed in the case of inflammation of the scrotum. It is opened with a knife, the testicle is taken out and cut off. Bandaging is done with leaves. Vadjegëlog had both testicles removed.

The Caroline hand is called got úmel. A boy who was suffering from it happened to injure the second joint of the fourth finger as he was cutting palm vines. When the cut resulted in bleeding, the finger straightened out.

4: Krämer--278
116, 839

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Perversities: on Oleai the labia minora are lengthened up to ten centimeters to simplify cunnilingus.

4: Krämer--278-279 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 778 Woleai

In our day we did not actually find any sacred buildings, but the imaliẽlus, "the house of the spirits," [279] of Eangelaf (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise...page 57, name of the god: Engalap) shown in Figure 126 [VMM; see source] and located near the im Marúaru on Tagaúlap clearly points in the direction of old sanctuaries although the house itself in this particular instance is attributed to foreign influence. Raketip and his wife Lẽtago came to Tagaulap from Faróelap (Fároilap) where Uapei was worshipped as alus. They remained on the island and erected the im ali ẽlus. After many years Raketip and his wife returned to Faroelap. Here too, Eangelaf (Volea) was a secondary deity, and small containers of oil with vut wreaths were hung up on the house beam. On Falalis in the house Moelifal, Iletilimar was looked upon as alus.

4: Krämer--279 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 772 Woleai

Alúelap lived in the house called Fatsomai (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, ngol go there, whereas the bad are sent to the im aliaf* the "house of fire."

*Unknown on Lamotrek.

Some records of 100 years ago are still available and are discussed below. The following ought to be mentioned here: Aluelap lived in the house called Fatsomal (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, ngol, go there, whereas the bad are sent to the im aliáf* the "house of fire." Temples and sacrifices are not known (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise ... Vol. III., page 129). Aluelap, the alus ecelap** is credited with the creation of Oleai. Down below in the depth known as i lăl he spoke to his brother Saulal: "Make a reef come up. Make some large and some small." And he also told him to make the ocean and the fish. Saulal is the god of the sea in the shape of a siren, with a human body and a fish tail.

Límagei is the mother of both. Litóbeo, their sister, sat above in heaven and tore the threads of life of the humans so that they had to die. These threads*** extended from heaven down to earth to the people who breathed through them. Their life did not stop until Litóbeo cut their thread.

*Unknown on Lamotrek.

**Kotzebue, page 128: the god (tautup) of Ulea is called Engalap; Eóngelap is the spirit of Volea.

***melovai, my thread of life; eŏli mélovas, our threads of life.

Aluélap married Illámalun. Their children were Lúgeileng* (= lúgelleng) and Simĕlegóror who made all things, the sun, the moon, the stars, canoes, houses, wooden bowls, tattoos, etc. His name is said to mean "all things" but Simĕ is probably to be explained as simes "death" as can be seen below in connection with Simĕlegĕreger.

Ligereger was a quarrelsome goddess of unknown origin. At one time she had an argument with the moon and she called to him:

simĕ Ligéreger, simĕ serĕl! (simes, dead)
dead Ligereger dead thou!

i.e., when I die everyone shall die!

The moon replied: it is better if it is the way it is with me.

The young moon (ĕlúelang) is the youth,
and the waning moon (tógovei) old age! [280]

Lúgeileng, the oldest son of Aluelap came to Veisálop* and married a woman

*According to Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: His mother is Leteugieul from Ulea; page 56: God, tautup, the same term that is used on Yap. The invocation on the occasion of sacrifices was wareganam gure tautup. People, tautup.
**from sólop, earth.

of whose origin nothing was known.* She bore Olefat. Lugeileng had gone away for some time but he returned when she was still pregnant. She was very big but could not give birth. Lugeileng told this to his father Aluelap and the latter sent him back to Veisalop with the suggestion that he place a bellik shell on her head when she felt pains and was frightened. He did as he was told, and suddenly Olefat rose from the head of the woman. The baby cried a great deal. When his mother worried what might be the matter with him, he said: Give me a coconut. His mother immediately went and fetched one and wanted to crack it. But the child said that all he needed was a hole in it. When his mother had made a hole in it, Olefat sucked at it and, bending his head back to do so, he noticed his father Lugeileng in heaven. Then Olifat told his mother to light a fire and when smoke rose from it he got into the cloud and went up to heaven on it. Thus he came to Lugeileng. Olifat was evil; he was never satisfied and changed his appearance continuously. At one time he came with a swollen leg, then with an inflamed testicle, sometimes tattooed and sometimes handsome and sometimes ugly but never changing.

* Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: Lugeleng had two wives, one in heaven and one on earth, Hamulul and Tarisso (Elamalor; page 146 and Tarisso page 147). The latter was unequalled for bearty and other gifts; she gave birth to Olifat. Cantova earlier wrote that Tarisso came from Falalu (Fananu).

Whatever he had just taken on, he threw off very quickly.

He went to Mores in Melanesia, and it is said that there he devoured some human beings.

Finally Olefat was killed in a strange place. When Lugeileng brought this news to Aluelap the latter said: "Let everything come up that is of any value; I shall destroy the place." As a punishment he dispatched flies, mosquitoes, sharks, etc.

Lütke tells us a few things about the religion, but it is uncertain whether everything deals with Oleai. There is also doubt about the following report by Freycinet, which does not seem to be without importance for the total picture and therefore shall be treated here: Hammo or Hammulap can be seen only by a few, but they hear him and serve as media for his orders, through shamanism. Even children may be the carriers of his news. The obsessed howl and have convulsions. Shamans are covered with oil, painted, and carry two lances; they shout as they approach. They attack the sick person who rises and tries to defend himself. They fight, then throw away the lances, and dances of the rods are performed for days and sometimes for weeks until the sorcerer is definitely the victor. Thus the will of Anulap becomes known. An annual festival is celebrated for Anulap and lasts for an entire month. It means that the men must stay away from women often up to two months. No sail may be hoisted, and during the first week no boat may set out to sea. Strangers are not allowed to land on the island. Four days before the main celebration, coconuts and breadfruit are gathered. The morning of the principal day is spent fishing. [281] Then everyone goes to the temple, led, which is an ordinary house. It is closed for one night. The next morning after sunrise, while the population is assembled, the chief enters the house through the northern door. He is elaborately ornamented and carries a stick in his right hand, with which he apparently feels his way. He looks down in front of himself and mumbles to himself. His brother, leading a small group of islanders, enters the house just before the chief through the

door on the southern side. The people are seated, but rise when the chief enters and sits down on three beautiful mats. Then the others may also sit. No one else is allowed in the sanctuary. The brother goes up to the provisions that are set up and takes a little from each one of the fifty dishes. He gives the largest fish and the biggest coconut to the chief with a basket and cracks 50-60 nuts for him. The rest he distributes among the people present and then sits down next to his brother to partake of the breakfast with him. As remuneration for his services, he receives the husks of the nuts, which are of great value for the making of ropes. Within half an hour everything is over. Now the house is once more accessible for anyone. Only the ashes must not be touched. Sick people usually stay in the building, but not alone for fear of Anulap.

4: Krämer--281 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Woleai

The three gods of the Carolinians* are Alouhilap =Alúelap, Lougheling =Lugeileng, and Olifad =Olefat.

*The same are mentioned by the native, Kadu see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 129. In other instances 7 gods are named: Ligopoup, Kantal, Alouilap, Litefeo (see Litobeo), Houlagouf, Lougheling, and Olifad.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-C
116. 173 Woleai

The origin [VMM: of the three gods of the Carolines] is explained in the following manner: since eternity there existed a goddess Ligopoup, the creatoress of the universe. She made Aluelap* the inventor of the sciences. His son is Lugeileng** whose mother is unknown (Ilamalun). He had two wives, the divine Ilamoulong (Ilamalun), and the mortal Tariso who was of a rare beauty (the same is said by Kotzebue, page 129, and also the following is presented there); she gave birth to Olefat four days after the beginning of pregnancy. The child was completely covered with blood, bit off his umbilical cord and started walking immediately after he was born; but he would not allow anyone to touch him and when someone wanted to help him to get cleaned up he said that he would take care of himself. He rubbed his body against coconut trees and that is the reason why they are often so red. When his mother gave him a young coconut to drink, and he bent his head back and looked up he noticed his father Lugeileng, [282] and he addressed

---

*The same in Kotzebue, Vol III, page 129: according to Cantova (Freycinet, page 115 Eliulup) he is the son of Sabukur and Hamelul and his sister is Ligobuud. Eliulup married Letöhiöl of Guliai and they had a son Lugheileng, whose name has the meaning of "center of heaven;" then he adopted Reschahuileng (Krämer: who is he?) a youth from Lamotrek. Ligobuud had three children.

**Lugeileng had two wives (according to Cantova) a divine one who gave birth to Karrer and Meliliau; the other came from Falalu. The reference is to Tarisso.

him right away. And immediately he and his mother climbed up to heaven. When Olifat entered heaven, he came upon children who were playing with a shark which they had tied by its tail.* The fish pretended to be paralyzed in order that he might remain unnoticed and for that reason the children were afraid of it.** Olefat wanted the fish but none of the children would let him have it, with the exception of the boy who was holding the line. He gave the line to the stranger and thus Olefat could play with the animal. After some time, he returned the line to the boy and told him not to be afraid in case the fish should become wild, for he would not do him any harm. Olefat made magic as a punishment for the other children who had refused his request. And the shark suddenly got big teeth and he bit the unobliging children.

And Olefat thus punished all those who did not give in to his wishes and they were many in number since they did not know the god.*** Once he asked the workmen engaged in

---

* In Kotzebue we find the statement that they were afraid of him and did not touch him because they thought him leprous.

**Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 130: "in order to remain unrecognized it pretended to be leprous. The children thus kept away and did not touch it."

***Kotzebue adds here: "Since no one knew him, and he had not yet come to his father who was the only individual who recognized him, they threatened his life."

the construction of a house for a knife with which to cut the coconut fronds that were to be used to cover the roof. Only one of the men listened to his request, and all the others were transformed into statues.

Lugeileng and Aluelap knew that Olefat had gone to heaven. When they learned of the transformation of the workmen, they asked the man who had been spared this fate whether he had met anyone. His reply was that he had not met anyone but a kandoura bird (and that was the shape Olefat had assumed). They told him to call the bird. But the bird was frightened by the voice and escaped. Lugeileng told the workman to call once more, but without saying that the bird should come to him as he had done before. As a matter of fact he was to order the bird to stay away because its presence would be most unwelcome to the chiefs. The man obeyed the order and forbade the kandoura to enter the house and to occupy the place of the more important people. But the kandoura acted counter to the command. When the kandoura had come, Lugeileng called all the metamorphosed people. They all came much to the surprise of all those present. For only Aluelap and Lugeileng knew that the child was Olefat.

The construction of the house was continued. When holes were to be dug for wall posts, Olefat took this task upon himself. This pleased the other men greatly because they hoped that that would give them a chance to kill him in revenge for what he had done to them and for fear of what he might think up for the future. But olefat guessed their intentions [283] and supplied himself with red earth and with coal and coconut leaf ribs,

which he hid carefully. Then he dug the holes but he included niches in order that he would be able to hide. When he had finished his work, he announced it. And the men took one of the posts and dropped it on him and filled the pit with sand and believed they had suffocated Olefat. But Olefat escaped into the niche at the side, and chewed the red earth, and threw it out. His murderers thought that what they saw was his blood. And when they observed the coal which was chewed in the same careful manner, they thought that it was gall and jumped to the conclusion that their victim was dead. In the meantime Olefat was busy drilling a passage through the post with the rib of his coconut leaf. And he climbed up through this channel and sat down on top without being noticed. It is since this time that the trees have hearts. (This sentence is omitted by Kotzebue).

When the work was completed, the workmen got together to eat. Olefat asked an ant* to pick up a little piece of coconut for him. The ant did what it could. Olefat with his divine powers, changed this very tiny piece into a whole nut and spoke loudly: "Look, I shall crack my coconut." At these words the men turned and were surprised at the fact that they had not killed the speaker. Now they realized that he was an alu (Kotzebue: alus) Thus they abandoned their murderous scheme and told him to take food to Thunder. Olefat happily walked off, but as a precaution he took a stick with him. When he entered the house of Thunder he said: "Stop, I am tired from carrying food for your crooked

*In Kubary, the ant has another task, and not that of bringing food.

mouth!" Thereupon the thunder was about to fall over him but Olefat slipped into his bamboo stick and thus saved himself.* Thus he executed his order without harm to himself which greatly surprised his companions. They sent him out once more with fish food of the botete de espinas** as the Spaniards call it. Olefat left once more armed with nothing but a shell. When he entered the house of the fish, the latter held the door and wanted to prevent him from going out. But when night fell, he placed the shell on the upper jaw of the fish and walked over him. That is the reason why this fish has an indention in that part of the body.

Finally he was given food for the long-mouthed fish, which was called fela. When Olefat did not find him at home he handed the food to those who happened to be around and left. They told it to the fela when he returned and asked who had brought him the food; but the others did not know him. Then he took a hook on a long line and [284] threw it in all directions. Thus he caught Olefat in the north and managed to kill him.

When Olefat did not return the workmen celebrated. But Lugeileng went to search for his son and when he found him lifeless and full of worms, he woke him and asked him who had killed him. Olefat answered that he was not actually dead but merely asleep.

---

*Kotzebue adds here: "The Thunder could not find him and thus stopped pursuing him."

** bote, blow; espina, sting; probably the synanceia which had an indention for the stings. The ray is called raya; this is omitted in Kotzebue.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-6
116, 173 Woleai

Lugeileng called the fela fish before him and with a stick beat its upper jaw. That is the explanation why the upper jaws are shorter than the lower ones. Thus the three gods brought justice into the lives of the people.

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802 Woleai

Counting. For counting a string with knots is used; Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 89 says that in this manner the native, Kadu, kept track of the months of his stay on Ratak. Hellwig shows a specimen (Figure 133) [VMM: see source] with which Géaf, the owner of a house counted his palm trees. (100=100).

4: Krämer--284
116, 264, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Kotzebue, Vol, III, page 132: "Several people may not eat fruit from the same cluster of bananas. Only the person who has eaten one of the bananas should eat the others."

[ER: The formula for storm magic follows, but is omitted here.] The rain and the storm shall pass. The sorcerer uses his wand while he speaks these words.

Above it was mentioned that the sorcerer's wand was taken on board and details have been discussed in the section on Lamotrek. I heard about the ray stings on Volea, that Paluelap carried a spear with ray stings with him on his journey and that he punished wrong doers with it. Ray stings were considered fearful weapons.

The name Aluluei here again is derived from alus levêi, the spirit of travel. One says.

i bale vai	I travel
go bale vai	you travel
oa levei	the boat travels, voyage, canoe for high sea voyages.

I found a gosilifei 52 centimeters long and with four ray stings (two of them had broken off in the typhoon of 1907) in Mariong in the canoe house called Falefō; Figure 132c [VMM: see source]. An old form is represented in Figure a, Krämer which instead of the head has only a slab and where the body is made of two sticks. Another old specimen is in the Museum in Hamburg.

4: Krämer--285 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 538, 177 Woleai

The repertoire of stories was meager and it seems that the tradition and relation are not furthered very much.

A certain substitute is the long story of Palúelap which was mentioned in connection with Pollap.

I heard it on Lámotrek and recorded it there and that fact ought to serve as some indication that it came from a region further east, from Bon'nap [VMM: see 4: Krämer 291]

The Story of the Sons of Paluelap, Rongerik, Rongelap, Aluluei and Faravai.

Paluelap of Polap had two sons, Rongedjik and Rongelap. The latter took little notice of his father. Rongedjik, the younger, always gave part of the food that he was given or that he was given on Truk and other islands to his father, on the other hand, and for that reason his father loved him and introduced him to the secrets of navigation. When Rongelap heard and saw this, he was angry and complained and beat his father and his father asked him why he was behaving as he did, and Rongelap asked: "Why don't you pass your knowledge on to me?" And the old man answered: "What reason would I have for doing it?" Rongelap replied: "But you happen to be my father!" "That is true," said Paluelap, "but you do not take care of me like your brother, and because he has been good to me he has learned everything." But to pacify his son, he started to instruct him, too, but not very thoroughly. When Rongelap went out on a voyage he missed his destination. He came to a large coconut palm bearing fruit, which stood in the middle of the ocean, and he told a man to climb the tree and to throw the nuts to him into the boat which was waiting below. But a large black lizard sat on one of the nuts that were thrown down; it seized Rongelap and bit him in half and he toppled into the ocean.

When Rongelap did not return Paluelap said to Rongedjik: "Your brother has not returned; go and look for him at the palm tree!" Rongedjik quickly sailed to the spot and he found the crew of the canoe of Rongelap and he asked them: " Where is Rongelap?"

Their answer was: "He lies in the salt water!" and they told his brother about the happenings. And Rongedjik practiced some magic which his father had taught him, and thus he found the two parts of the body of his brother and he put them together. When he had returned to life, Rongedjik asked him what he had done and Rongelap answered: "I have slept."

Rongedjik had more questions: "What? Didn't you lie in the water? Why did you try to pick the nuts?" Rongelap answered: "We were hungry!" Thereupon Rongedjik brought the nuts and they ate.

When they had finished their meal, Rongelap wanted to leave and started on his course. His brother called to him: "Whence are you sailing? The course which you are steering does not take you to any land." Rongelap did not pay any attention to the words of his brother [286] and sailed off. After a long voyage he found a man called Sauperon who was standing on a reef and fishing. Rongelap asked him for some fish but he refused to give him any. Rongelap flew into a rage: "If you don't give me any I shall kill you." And the fisherman seized him and drowned him. Rongedjik sailed after him and asked for his brother. He was pointed out as his body drifted in the water. Rongedjik asked the dead man: "What are you doing?" And the body answered: "I am sleeping." "No," he called, "you are dead." And he made magic once more and Rongelap revived.

And again they took a meal together. And Rongelap wanted to sail away. His brother

warned him: "You will not find any land and you will lose your life once more!" But he did not heed this renewed warning and left and Rongedjik followed him to protect him.

On his way, Rongelap saw a large taro and he tried to pick it. But the plant dived down into the water like a fish. Rongedjik watched and he jumped into the water and brought up the taro and the brothers ate it together.

Rongelap continued on his voyage. Next he came to the small island of Pianipaluelap where two old women lived in a hut. They were sisters of his father Paluelap and they were busy plaiting a sail for him. Rongelap had lost his sail and he wanted the new one, but the two women would not give it to him in spite of his threat to kill them. "It is better to die than to give the sail away," they called. When Rongelap lifted his arm for the fatal blow, it suddenly became paralyzed; Rongedjik found him thus and asked him what he was doing. And he told him of the happenings and said: "Don't you see that I am unable to deliver the blow?" And Rongedjik replied: "Do you really want to kill the sisters of your father?" "Yes, they are not good!" Then the younger brother asked the two old women for the sail and they gave it to him most willingly, and he handed it over to his brother.

The evil spirit of Rongelap was not yet broken. He sailed off once more and his younger brother followed him. Soon Rongelap ran out of food and water. When Rongelap was lamenting this fate, Rongedjik called: "What, don't you know the water of Paluelap?" There were great breakers around them but Rongedjik made his magic and brought water

up from the ocean although they were far from any land. He gave this brother a drink; the latter was by now overcome and the evil within him was conquered and he gave in and returned to Polap together with Rongedjik. Remorsefully he went before his father and from this time on he strove to treat him well.

At that time there was a kulung bird on Truk which devoured so many humans that almost all villages were wiped out. The bird also ate all taro, breadfruit and coconuts. From Truk it went to Poloat and acted in a similar manner and then it moved to Sog. [287] Sätowan, Namodjek, Ifaluk, Voleai, Aurupek, Feis, Mogemog, Sorol, Eap, Ngolu, and Bannoë. And on the way back it came to Polap.

Inesavo, the daughter of Paluelap, had been ordered by her father to receive all canoes coming from other islands and to take them to the village. When the Kulung came flying she said: "Come, you may have some food." "What," shouted the Kulung, "all the other places have not had enough food to fill my stomach and this small spot is to satisfy my appetite? Yours is mockery!" Inesavo took a taro and crushed it, put it into a coconut shell and poured expressed milk on it; then she cracked a young coconut and took both into the house where the Kulung sat. The Kulung laughed: "That is to be my food?" The girl answered: "Go ahead and eat, there will be enough." And the Kulung ate and drank and he could not finish it; more and more new food grew in the bowl. When his stomach was so full that he could not eat any more, he wanted to return to Truk.

Inesavo and Paluelap gave him more food to take with him on his flight--200 huge baskets filled with taro and two gigantic coconuts; all this they fastened under his wings or tied around his neck. The bird flew off completely satisfied and happy. But when it was over the open sea Paluelap made effective magic so that the wind died down, and the Kulung fell into the ocean and was devoured by sharks.

The wife of Paluelap was pregnant. He said to his sons Rongedjik and Rongelap: "The boy, Aluluei in the womb of my wife hears everything; when he is born he will soon sit around the house." And that is what happened. Aluluei had extraordinarily evil powers. When Paluelap took a meal he always gave food to his youngest son. His two older brothers hated him for this privilege, and favoritism which was obvious at all times. They constructed a large canoe but they did not supply it with outrigger booms. And their father asked: "Why did you not cut any outrigger booms?" The two sons answered: "Send us your men so that we shall be able to cut the two booms." Paluelap told the little Aluluei to go into the bush and to cut the booms. Ringelap first ordered the boy to climb a faliap tree. While he was working on top of the tree, the two brothers threw stones at him so that he fell off. And they "scratched" him and beat him until he died. When they had killed him they wrapped the body in coconut leaves, weighted the bundle with stones and dropped it into the ocean. Then they returned to their work.

Paluelap came and inquired about his youngest son, although he knew quite well what had happened. He went into the bush and made magic, and called Aluluei back in the

form of a spirit invisible to the others. As a protection against attacks, he set many eyes into his head* so that he was able to look in all directions and his eyes were like the stars on the firmament. Paluelap from now on suggested to him continuous theft and told him to carry off anything that he could get hold of, coconuts, taro, women, etc. [288] And Aluluei did as he was told. Soon Rongedjik and Rongelap came to their father and shouted: "who is it who takes all our belongings? Who is it?" Paluelap answered: "I don't know. But if you wish to find out make a canoe** with a hut on deck and set it

*That explains the janus head of the storm magic.

**A finished canoe had to have rigging and the father told the sons to get it ready. He showed them the sheet. When they asked for the name of the rope he said it was moel, because it means to scratch, and because they had scratched Aluluei. Similar words of vengeance were:

halyard	urur to snatch away
stay	tenegaj
luff stay	eangalap to fight a great deal
bail	gamat to leave underneath upon death
sail	eu rope around the neck upon drowning
rope	sos blood, dja.

And the two were so startled and frightened that they did not dare ask any more questions.

afloat; then he will come." The two brothers did so, and when Paluelap saw the canoe afloat, he sent men into the bush to call: "How beautiful is the canoe of Rongedjik and Rongelap." Aluluei soon heard their calls and in visible form went to the beach and looked at the boat which was indeed magnificent. He went on board and observed all details and then returned to the bush. When the two brothers noticed the man aboard their canoe, they told Paluelap about it. And the old man asked: "How many deck huts are there on the canoe?" Their answer was: "One." "Very well" the father went on, "you will have to build a second one." They did so, and when the second hut was finished and stood on deck, Paluelap once again sent people into the bush to proclaim the beauty of the boat. Aluluei heard it and thought: "That is good for me." He called 40 rats together and went aboard the canoe with them while Rongedjik and Rongelap sat on the beach and in amazement saw the boat set sail. They only saw one single man and could not understand how he alone was able to do such heavy work. "That must be our dead brother Aluluei," they said. When Aluluei went on board he took sand and pandanus along. When he had sailed out on the high seas, he dropped the sand and an island resulted. He took one of the huts on deck with him ashore to live in it and he planted the pandanus. He dwelled on his sand island, Pialaluluei, for a long, long time and lived there long after his two older brothers were dead.

In the meantine a fourth son, Faravai, was born to his father. He also was instructed in the art of navigation, of which Aluluei was now considered the god; and one day he set

out with five canoes to visit some of the outside islands. When he was on Truk, he and his four companions received gifts of food. The other four men took part of their fish and coconuts and laid them aside as a sacrificial offering to Aluluei, but Faravai put away only the skin of the fish and the coconut husks and covered them with taro leaves as his tribute to the god. Aluluei, who saw everything, noticed it and said: "All have given me good things, but Faravai has not had enough to give to me." [289]

When the five boats sailed homeward, to Polap a storm arose and shattered the canoe of Faravai. The other four reached their native islands, but Faravai was forced to try and see how far he could get on rafts. He arrived on Pialaluei. When Faravai stepped ashore, Aluluei sat with his back to him and said: "Ah, you are coming, Faravai?" The latter was surprised that the stranger who had never seen him should know him, and he asked him: "What is your name?" and Aluluei replied: "Don't you know me? How is it possible that you should not know me although I know you." Faravai spoke: "I don't know you!" and Aluluei: "What, you don't know me? I am Aluluei." And the questions and answers went on:

"What are you doing?"

"Nothing. Whence are you coming?" Faravai related his adventures.

Aluluei thereupon said: "Well. Come and twist some rope for me."

"I am hungry."

"I have nothing to eat. Look at my land. But here are taro-leaves and underneath them the skins of fish and coconut husks."

"That is not good food."

"What, that is not good food, although you yourself have given it to me; now go eat it yourself."

"But over there lie taro and fish and breadfruit."

"Yes, they were given to me by your four companions and they do not belong to you."

Faravai became very sad. Aluluei continued:

"Here is a bellik shell with water; you may drink it."

"Oh, that is nothing at all."

"Go ahead and dring it, it will be sufficient."

Faravai drank and drank and quenched his thirst. Then once more he started to complain of hunger and Aluluei finally said:

"Go to the water where there are fish. Catch them."

Faravai saw a karangab fish and he went and was easily able to catch it by hand and he took it ashore and lit a fire. Upon order of Aluluei he cut up the fish to fry it. First he removed the tail: thereupon the flesh disappeared from the legs of Aluluei; then he cut off the belly of the fish and the body of his brother vanished and the same happened to his intestines, the head, the back and the sides. As soon as he cut off any

part of the animal, the corresponding parts of Aluluei's body disappeared and when Faravai looked around he noticed a skeleton sitting next to him. And he shivered with fright.

"What is the matter with you?" asked Aluluei

"I am dying, I am dying."

"No, don't be afraid of me, I shall not eat you."

"Why do you do such evil?" [290]

"You have not treated me right. In the future consider the following: the tail belongs to me and the belly with the stomach, and the back and the eyes of the fish."

"All right, I shall remember and observe this."

Now Faravai did not feel like eating but Aluluei said:

"Do eat. When you get home always lay the mentioned parts aside as belonging to me. Not until you have eaten the others may you eat my share."

"That is fine. I shall now go home."

"All right."

"But I don't have a ship."

"Delouse me."

Faravai did so but became scared when he noticed the eyes hidden under the hair. He trembled:

"What is wrong with you?" Aluluei asked.

"You have eyes in your head and on your head."

"They do not matter, they are not eyes, but stars."

And he explained all their names to him, the stars of the east, the north, the west and the southland. Then he said:

"Now you can go."

He drew the outlines of a canoe in the sand and uttered a magic formula, and suddenly a beautiful canoe was afloat in the water. Faravai set out on his voyage to Polap, but his canoe broke on the way, because it was made of phantom sand. A shark swam towards him. And Faravai called: "Take me to Polap."

But the shark would not take him. Then there came a dolphin.

Faravai called once more: "Take me to Polap."

But the dolphin did not want to take him. Finally a turtle came as his saviour. She let him ride on her back and took him to Polap. When they arrived outside the reef she said: "Well now get off." But he begged her to take him a little closer to land. When they approached the beach, the turtle once more asked him to get off her back, but he wanted to ride a little further, and even when they stood on land he ordered her to take him up to his house. When he had finally arrived there he called his people and shouted: "Catch the turtle." And they caught, and killed and cooked her.

Faravai had two sons who were his confidants in all matters: they were Vorieng who married bad women, and Falus who married good women. Vorieng desired the wife of

Falus. He thought up a scheme to remove his brother. He invited him to sail with him to Truk to get mats, turmeric, red shell slabs, and breadfruit dough. Falus sailed with him and they were lucky in their purchases. When the canoe was on the return voyage and was once more approaching Polap, [291] Vorieng was astern steering while Falus was holding the sheet. Vorieng called to his brother that he should come aft and take over the steering job. When he came, Vorieng pushed him so that he fell overboard into the ocean. "Save me, save me, Vorieng!" he called, but Vorieng answered: "No, you shall die," and he left his brother behind. Vorieng reached Polap alone and told the people that Falus had lost his life. Then he married his brother's wife. But Falus swam and found a bamboo, and he crawled into it and thus drifted to Polap. His former wife happened to come down to the beach and Falus called to her: "Don't you know me?" 'What," she said, "you are not dead." Falus told her what had happened. Both went into the house, and Falus hid under the roof. Vorieng was in the large canoe-house, and told his wife to cook taro because others had already gone out fishing.

The wife cooked a large quantity of taro and took it into the living house. Falus came down from his hiding place under the roof; he climbed into a large wooden bowl from Truk and the woman covered him with the taro so that he could not be seen at all. Then she called to Vorieng that the taro was ready and that they could eat. When the fish were hauled in, Vorieng had the bowl brought into the canoe-house. Many people got

together for the fish meal. Vorieng touched the bowl to dish out the taro, and Falus bit his hands. When Vorieng suddenly saw his brother, whom he had believed murdered, he was so frightened that he died. Falus climbed out of the bowl and told the people of the evil deed of his brother. Then he distributed the food and was mindful of the shares of Aluluei, Paluelap and Vorieng. And all the people ate and rejoiced.

4: Krämer--291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136, 137 Woleai

[ER: Indices of the fauna and flora of Oleai follow on pp. 295-298 of source, but are omitted here; they include lists of the mammals, birds, fish, shells.]

4: Krämer 0821 Woleai

HAMBURGISCHE WISSENSCHAFTLICHE STIFTUNG
UND DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT

ERGEBNISSE
DER
SÜDSEE-EXPEDITION
1908-1910

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
DR. G. THILENIUS
PROFESSOR DER VÖLKERKUNDE

II. ETHNOGRAPHIE: B. MIKRONESIEN
BAND 10

DR. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER UND DR. HANS DAMM

ZENTRALKAROLINEN

HAMBURG
FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co.
1937

p. i blank ii

4: Krämer OR21 Noleai

ZENTRALKAROLINEN

I. HALBBAND:

LÁMOTREK-GRUPPE — OLEAI — FEIS

VON

DR. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER

MIT 198 ABBILDUNGEN IM TEXT
14 KARTEN UND PLÄNEN
UND 29 LICHTDRUCKTAFELN

HAMBURG
FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co.
1937

4: Krämer UR21 Kolcai

ALLE RECHTE VORBEHALTEN

Nkd 91
+ 913h
II. E. 10 II

DRUCK UND EINBAND VON J. J. AUGUSTIN IN GLÜCKSTADT-HAMBURG-NEW YORK
PRINTED IN GERMANY

IV

V

Vorwort.

Meine Arbeit auf den Karolineninseln ist mit diesem Bande beendet. Die Manuskripte waren nach 26 Jahren noch vorzüglich erhalten und werden zum Nachweis und Nachschlag mit denen der übrigen Expeditionsteilnehmer im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde aufbewahrt. Ebenso die Lichtbilder, von denen im Text oft nur die Originalnummern angegeben wurden, da nur wenige auf den Lichtdrucktafeln gebracht werden konnten. Im Text sind zahlreiche Seitenverweisungen vorhanden, da ein Namen- und Sachenindex erst am Schlusse des ganzen Werkes erscheinen wird. Im übrigen gibt das ausführliche Inhaltsverzeichnis genügend Aufschluß. Die Eingeborenenwörter sind in einzelnen Fällen an verschiedenen Stellen etwas verschieden gebracht, absichtlich, damit erhellt, wie in den einzelnen Fällen gehört wurde.

Zum Schluß sei auch hier der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, der Hamburger Wissenschaftlichen Stiftung und dem Herausgeber Prof. Dr. Thilenius der schuldige Dank dargebracht, daß sie es ermöglicht haben, das umfangreiche Expeditionswerk herauszubringen, das in der Geschichte der Völker einzigartig dasteht.

Augustin Krämer

[Vi is blank]

vii

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

Seite

Lámotrek-Gruppe

I. Entdeckung und Erschließung, Allgemeines 1
1. Segelhandbücher: Position, Klima 1
2. Entdeckungsgeschichte 5
3. Anthropologie 10
4. Demographie 10
5. Sprache 11
6. Mission 14

II. Landesbeschreibung und Siedlung 15
1. Die Inseln und ihre Namen 16
2. Siedlung Lámotrek 17
a) Gehöfte 19
b) Bootshäuser 29
c) Häuptlingsreihe 29
3. Siedlung Elato 30
a) Hauszählung 30
b) Familie, Gesellschaft 31
c) Stammbaum 32
d)—f) Besiedlung, Geschichte, Karten 32
4. Taifune 33

III. Stoffliche Kultur 34
1. Tracht 34
a) Kleidung und Schmuck 34
b) Tatauierung und Bemalung 38
2. Ernährungswirtschaft 41
a) Arbeitsteilung 41
b) Koch- und Eßgeräte 41
c) Nahrungsmittel, Kochen 43
3. Fischerei 47
a) Allgemeines 47
b)—c) Rifflese, Angelfischerei 48
d) Bräuche beim Fischfang 50
e) Gesänge beim Fischfang 51
f)—g) Netze und Fischkörbe 60
h) Treibholzfischerei 61
4. Geräte, Gefäße und Waffen 62
a) Geräte 62
b) Gefäße 63
c) Waffen 66

Seite
5. Maße ... 66
6. Flechterei ... 66
a)—c) Matten, Körbe, Taschen ... 67
d) Technik beim Korbflechten ... 69
7. Seilerei ... 72
8. Weberei ... 73
a)—c) Hibiskusbast, Bananenfaser, Farben ... 74
d) Mattenarten ... 76
e) Webtechnik ... 79
9. Handel ... 82
10. Haus ... 83
a) Anlage, Baumaterial ... 83
b)—c) Hausarten, Benennung der Hausteile ... 89
d) Hausbau ... 90
e) Hausrat ... 91
11. Boot ... 91
a) Tabus und Zeremonien beim Bau, Technisches ... 92
b) Bemalung ... 97
c) Benennung der Bootsteile ... 98
d) Steke und Knoten ... 100
e) Das Segel und seine Herstellung ... 100
f) Bootsbaugesänge ... 102

IV. Geistige Kultur ... 107
1. Gesellschaft ... 107
a) Familie ... 107
Geburt, Gesänge ... 108
Heirat ... 110
Zauber ... 111
Reinigungsgesang ... 112
Ehescheidung ... 112
Schwangerschaftstabus ... 113
Sippen ... 114
b) Häuptling ... 115
c) Recht ... 116
d) Krieg ... 116
e) Tod und Bestattung ... 116
Tabus, Geschenke ... 117
Mumifikation ... 117
Totenklage und Schmuck ... 117
Grab- und See-Bestattung ... 119
f) Feste und Tänze ... 121
g) Spiel und Sport ... 121
2. Wissenschaft ... 122
a) Navigation, Erd- und Himmelskunde ... 122
Gottheiten der Schiffer ... 122
Proviant ... 122

Seite

Lehre, Fahrtziele ... 123
Richtungssterne ... 124
Inselnamen, Meeresteile ... 124
Nautische Berichte ... 125
Kompaßpunkte ... 129
Monate, Mondtage ... 133
Winde, Sternwinde, Sterne ... 134
b) Medizin ... 137
Krankheiten ... 137
Arznei und Behandlung ... 138
Heilgesänge ... 141
Sexualität ... 142
3. Religion ... 143
a) Weltentstehung und Götter ... 143
b) Seelen, ... 151
c) Zauber und Orakel ... 151
Zaubergeräte usw. ... 151
Zaubergesang für Hausreinigung ... 152
Zauberanzug ... 154
Sturmzauberstäbe ... 155
Sturmzaubergesänge ... 157
Losorakel ... 159
4. Geschichten und Gesänge ... 160
5. Musik ... 175
6. Plastik, Ornamente ... 175

V. Kulturvergleich ... 177

VI. Indices ... 178
1. Fauna ... 178
2. Flora ... 181

Oleai-Gruppe

I. Entdeckung und Erschließung, Allgemeines ... 183
1. Segelhandbücher ... 183
2. Entdeckungsgeschichte ... 189
3. Taifun ... 196
4. Anthropologie ... 201
5. Demographie ... 201
6. Name ... 202
7. Sprache ... 202
8. Mission ... 203

II. Landesbeschreibung und Siedlung ... 204
1. Inseln und Siedlungen ... 204
a) Inselnamen ... 205
b) Dörfer und Häuptlinge ... 206
2. Voléa ... 207

X INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Seite
3. Máriong. 4. Tagaûlap ... 217
5. Soluap. 6. Vótagai ... 218
7. Falâlis. 7. Raur. 9. Paliau ... 219
10. Karten ... 220
III. Stoffliche Kultur ... 221
1. Tracht ... 221
a) Kleidung ... 221
b) Schmuck ... 222
c) Tatauierung, Bemalung ... 225
2. Ernährungswirtschaft ... 230
a) Pflanzenprodukte ... 230
b)—d) Gerichte, Kochen, Küchengeräte ... 231
c) Tierische Nahrung ... 232
3. Fischerei ... 233
a) Allgemeines ... 233
b) Fischspeere, c) Fischkörbe und -netze ... 234
d) Bootsgesänge ... 235
4. Handwerk, Geräte, Waffen ... 237
a) Holzbearbeitung, b) Geräte ... 237
c) Gefäße ... 238
d) Waffen ... 244
e) Maaße ... 244
f) Flechterei ... 244
Matten ... 244
Taschen, Körbe. Fächer ... 245
g) Zwirnarbeiten ... 246
h) Weberei ... 247
5. Handel ... 250
6. Haus ... 251
a) Hausarten ... 251
b) Hausbau ... 258
7. Boot ... 259
a) Bootsbau ... 260
b) Bootslieder ... 262
IV. Geistige Kultur ... 267
1. Gesellschaft ... 267
a) Familie ... 267
Geburt, Namen, Beschneidung, Sippen ... 267
b) Staat und Recht ... 269
Häuptling ... 269
Krieg, Recht, Tod ... 270
c) Feste und Tänze ... 270
d) Spiel und Sport ... 270
2. Wissenschaft ... 271
a) Navigation ... 271
Fahrtbedingungen, Wind und Sterne ... 272

Seite

Insel-Kenntnis ... 273
Verschlagungen ... 275
Zeitrechnung ... 276
b) Medizin ... 277
3. Religion ... 278
4. Geschichten und Gesänge ... 285
5. Musik ... 295
6. Kunst ... 295

V. Kulturvergleich ... 295

VI. Indices ... 295
1. Fauna ... 295
2. Flora ... 298

Feis

I. Entdeckung und Erschließung, Allgemeines ... 299
1. Segelhandbuch ... 299
2. Entdeckungsgeschichte ... 302
3.—5. Anthropologie, Name, Sprache ... 305
6. Mission ... 307

II. Landesbeschreibung und Siedlung ... 308
1. Siedlung ... 312
2. Häuptlinge ... 316
3. Exogamie ... 318
4.—5. Karten, Taifune ... 319

III. Stoffliche Kultur ... 320
1. Tracht ... 320
a) Kleidung. b) Schmuck ... 320
c) Bemalung. d) Tatauierung ... 323
2. Ernährungswirtschaft ... 330
a) Pflanzenprodukte ... 331
b) Feldbau. c) Küche ... 332
3. Fischerei ... 334
4. Handwerk, Geräte, Waffen ... 337
a) Sachenbemalung. b) Holzarbeiten ... 337
c) Waffen. d) Flechterei ... 339
e) Seilerei. f) Weberei ... 340
5. Handel ... 345
6. Maaße ... 349
7. Haus ... 349
a) Hausarten ... 350
b) Hausbau ... 351
c) Bootshäuser ... 355
d) Hausrat ... 355
8. Boote und Bootsbau ... 356

4: Krämer OR21 Woleai

Seite

VI. Geistige Kultur ... 359
1. Gesellschaft ... 359
a) Familie ... 359
Heirat ... 359
Geburt, Sippen ... 360
b) Häuptling ... 361
c) Recht ... 361
d) Krieg ... 361
e) Tod und Bestattung ... 362
f) Tanz und Fest ... 364
g) Spiele ... 365
2. Wissenschaft ... 367
a) Navigation ... 367
Fremde Inseln ... 369
Antreibungen, Monate ... 370
Sterne ... 371
b) Medizin ... 371
3. Religion ... 372
a) Gottheiten, Kult ... 372
b) Zauber und Orakel ... 375
4. Geschichten ... 378
5. Musik ... 385
6. Kunst ... 385

V. Kulturvergleich ... 386

VI. Indices ... 388
1. Fauna ... 388
2. Flora ... 389
3. Wörterverzeichnis ... 390
4. Literatur ... 412

Abkürzungen s. Bd. 6, I, S. XVIII und Literatur S. 412

XIII

I. Verzeichnis der Farbtafeln.

[Tafeln am Schluß des Bandes].

Tafel 1
Junge Frau von Lámotrek (E. Kr. 34)

Tafel 2
Inneres des Boothauses Aboi (Je boi) auf Lámotrek (E. Kr.)

Tafel 3
Das Haus No. 10 Faludj des Zauberers Molodádjeg auf Feis. Am Giebel Weiheboote *gáobl;* neben dem Häuptling der Weihekorb *botau;* am Ramenbalken Blütenkränze und zwei Matten (links Feis, rechts Mogemog); rechts Häuser des Gehöftes, ein Papayabaum, Crinumbüsche. (E. Kr.)

II. Verzeichnis der Lichtdrucktafeln.

Eigene Lichtbilder (A. Kr.) außer Taf. 5, 6, 7b, 11, 12, 20, 21, 26b und 28.
Besonders die Bilder von Feis sind vielfach mangelhaft, da die Platten verdorben waren.

Tafel 1
Lámotrek a) Die drei Häuptlinge Sûkurang (Mitte) H 24a, Boésu (links) H_4 und Urûpo (rechts) H 10 (Kr. 380)
b) Westbucht, Blick auf Boothaus Aboi und Lugal nordwärts (Kr. 391)
c) Blick von Lugal südwärts nach Lewis' Haus Ngalangisét. (Kr. 374)

Tafel 2
Lámotrek: a) Vólimar H. 2. (Kr. 374)
b) Ikisera H. 25 (Kr. 391)
c) Tilibou H. 10 (Kr. 378)
d) Ikelur den Ikisera besprechend (Kr. 393)

Tafel 3
Lámotrek: a) Meropomar und Ngasegoul (Mitte) (Kr. 385)
b) Eaumal und Ligaur (Kr. 379)
c) Frau mit Kind. (Knotenmatte) (Kr. 372)
d) Bessie Lewis, Halbblut (Kr. 373)

Tafel 4
Lámotrek: a) Inneres Boothaus Faletaipu mit Weberinnen (Kr. 388)
b) Cordiagebüsch s. Plan Lámeteg (Kr. 384)
c) Urupo mit Zauber und Horn (Kr. 377)
d) Sturmzauber am Strand (Kr. 1024)

Tafel 5
Lámotrek: Netze u. Körbe, a—n (Ph. Hamburg)

Tafel 6
Lámotrek: Webmatten, a—i (Ph. Hamburg)
a) Kr. 515. b) Kr. 511. c) He. 2268. d) Kr. 512. e) Kr. 510. f) Kr. 463. g) He. 4620. h) He. 2313. i) Kr. 508

Tafel 7
Lámotrek: oben: Webmatten, Slg. Tübingen: a) Kr. 400, helle Streifen, bräunlich, Herkunft unsicher. b) Kr. 412, feine Männermatte *mattei* von Mogemog. c) Kr. 410a Setoval bräunlich. d) Kr. 416, Mustermatte von Bessie angefertigt. e) Kr. 405, f) 404a. g) Kr. 401, bräunlich, *lügülli widj.*
unten: Schüsseln, Wiege, Zauber, Stößel, Spatel, Cassisschnecke Stuttgart (Ph. Linden. Museum)

Tafel 8
Lámotrek: a) Haus 12 Eaupil mit Knaben (Kr. 382).
b) Gehöft 25 Olibaba mit Holzscheiben (für Schüsseln) (He. 45)
c) Haus 25 des Ikesera (Kr. 1023)
d) Haus 25 des Ikesera (Kr. 1025)

Tafel 9
Lámotrek: a) Gehöft 6 Volledj (Kr. 376)
b) Gehöft 16 Lémar (Kr. 409)
c) Boothaus (b. Jeloi); Inneres; Wohnung A. u. E. Kr. (Kr. 390)
d) Grab- und Geisterhaus Rolimei (Kr. 397)

Tafel 10
Lámotrek: a) Marolipei, H. 8 (auf Stützen), und Iserep (Kr. 375)
b) Skelettmann Auroliga (Kr. 383)

c) Togauo, Legarētipa (stehend), Dagaurang im Fischkorb, Faimara (rechts), an der Traufe ein Hauszauber (Kr. 402)
d) In der Webschule (Feis) (Phot. 237)

Tafel 11
Elato: a) An der Binnenseite (Ham. 104)
b) Boothaus Lotóa orn. Sparren (Ham. 53)
c) Boothaus Lotóa mit Boot und Gruppe (Ham. 54)
d) Boothaus Lotóa, Inneres, Schmuck-Traufenbrett und Sparre, Bindung (Ham. 48)

Tafel 12
Elato: a) Wohnhaus mit Wohngiebel (Ham. 107)
b) Boothaus (Ham. 108)
c) Boot am Strand und Sturmzauber (Ham. 111)
d) Weihehaus für Gott Füs (Ham. 109)

Tafel 13
Oleai: a) Boothaus A Ungàlél von der See (S.) aus (Kr. 292)
b) Boothaus Ungàlél von der Seite (Kr. 291)
c) Tanz vor dem Boothaus. W. von A. (Kr. 323)
d) Häuptling Agupeliór vor seinem Haus 19, Galéngatagoi (Kr. 302)

Tafel 14
Oleai: a) Familie des Oberhäuptlings Agupeliór (rechts von ihm: Letaigoluk, Letaséguiol und Fetal; links von ihm: Levólimar, Fauas und Lotjelimar) (Kr. 318)
b) Haus 2, Nefaibugor, Hausherr Rangitaliba (H. 17) (links von ihm Mann Laigelik und Tochter Lielimar; rechts Leavilipei und auf ihrem Schoß Logafeuvi, dann Ilertúmar) (Kr. 301)
c) Haus nach dem Taifun auf Falális (mitten Frau Imalifam, rechts Faladis) (Kr. 300)
d) Volelngei und Meilega (Kr. 304)

Tafel 15
Oleai: a) Gehöft 3, Matalik (Kr. 287)
b) Segelboot am Strande (Kr. 288)
c) Ausleger eines Segelbootes (Kr. 290)
d) Häuptling Rogiol von Tagáulap (Taf. 16d) in einem Boot sitzend; Schrift an Diagonallatte darüber (Kr. 294)

Tafel 16
Oleai: a) Oberhäuptling Agupeliór (Kr. 342)
b) Malitil, Häuptling von Davokúol (war auf Samoa) (Kr. 338)
c) Danáliba, Haus 15, mit Crinumblüten; Ohrschmuck (Kr. 337)
d) Rogiol (s. Taf. 15d) von Tagaûlap (Kr. 343)

Tafel 17
Oleai: a) Gehöft auf der Insel Tagaûlap (Kr. 346)
b) Haus mit ungedecktem Giebel auf Falális (Kr. 299)
c) Weberei vor Haus 15 Limaraurau (Kr. 369)
d) Segelnähen (Kr. 363)

Tafel 18
Oleai: a) Hauswand und zwei Kinder, Dainer und Guruam (Kr. 310)
b) Lagajoten und Sarafalimal, Haus 2 (Kr. 317)
c) Halbblut (engl.) Lélopi, Haus 20 (Kr. 341)
d) Knabe mit Crinum (Kr. 329)

Tafel 19
Oleai: Flechterei, Fischkörbe, s. Taf. und Text, Wimpel K 236a (Phot. Hbg.)

Tafel 20
Oleai: Weberei, s. Tafel und Text (Phot. Hbg.)
Oleai: Webmatten, a) He 1776, 260 cm lang, 61 cm breit, b) He 1851; c) He 1778; d) Kr. 953, 193 cm lang, 60 cm breit; e) Kr. 957; f) He 1640; g) He 1584; h) Kr. 377, 197 cm lang, 49 cm breit; i) Kr. 946; k) Kr. 374; l) He 4631.

Tafel 21
Feis: a) SO, Hohlkehlenspitze und überschäumter Fuß im S. (Kr. 229)
b) Felswand mit Hohlkehlenfuß als Gang. S. (Kr. 226)
c) Oberhäuptling Tulei (Kr. 243)
d) Zwei Feisuner (Kr. 250)

Tafel 22
Feis: a) Ehepaar (Kr. 244)
b) Mann, Fischnetze, Hausgiebel (Kr. 236)
c) Frau (Kr. 246)
d) Mädchen (Kr. 248)

Tafel 23
Feis: a) Süßkartoffelpflanzung auf der Hochfläche (Kr. 212)
b) Gehöft 8 Valebési (Kr. 266)
c) Gehöft 19 Falekil aus Westen (Kr. 264)
d) Gehöft 32 Faipar aus Osten (Kr. 265)

Tafel 24
Feis: a) Haus 29 Maiur mit Eigner Rong (Kr. 262)
b) Tatauierung der Karolinier aus Lütkes Atlas Pl. 28
c) Inneres des Boothaus D (Plan) Faluióng (Kr. 241)

Tafel 25
Feis: a) Begräbnis des Rag: Grab graben (Kr. 235)
b) Einsenken der Leiche (Kr. 233)
c) Grabhaus mit Cassisschmuck bei Haus 19 Galengatagi (Kr. 295)
d) Verteilung des Erbes des Rag (Kr. 251)

Tafel 26
Feis: Flechterei, a)—e) Körbe f) Fischkorb, g) Matte, h) Meßleine (Hbg. Ph. 239) (?)

III. Verzeichnis der Abbildungen.

a) Karten und Pläne.

Seite

1. Karte von Lámotrek und Eláto (Japan Gov.) ... 2
2. Insel Lámotrek und Westreede (Lorenzen-Peiho) ... 15
3. Siedlung auf Lámotrek (A. Kr.) ... 18
4. Karte vom Oleai-Atoll ... 184
5. Skizze der N.-Spitze der Insel Wolea (Gollert) ... 207
6. Siedlung von Voléa (A. Kr.) ... 208
7. Siedlung von Mariong (A. Kr.) ... 217
8. Siedlung von Tagaulap (A. Kr.) ... 217
9. Siedlung von Vótagai (A. Kr.) ... 218
10. Siedlung von Falális (A. Kr.) ... 219
11. Karte von Feis (Japan. Gov.) ... 300
12. Karte von Feis (A. Kr.) ... 308
13. Siedlung von Feis ... 313
14. Plan des Hofes 20 Iþar ... 317

b) Index der Abbildungen.

Lámotrek.

Seite

Abb. 1. Blütenkränze a u. b ... 34
Abb. 2. Kopfkranz aus jungen Brottrüchten ... 35
Abb. 3. Halsband aus Kokosperlen und mit Muschelstück, aus Ifaluk (He 2280) ... 36
Abb. 4. Halsband aus einzelnen Ringen ... 36
Abb. 5. Dailemar mit kurzen Haaren ... 36
Abb. 6. Federeinstecker ... 36
Abb. 7. Muschelklammer zum Haarausreißen ... 37
Abb. 8. Gürtel ... 37
Abb. 9a u. b Armtatauierung ... 38
Abb. 10a—d Oberschenkel-Tatauierung der Frauen ... 39
Abb. 11a, b. Oberschenkel mit Kniebändern bei Frau Netailemoar ... 40
Abb. 12. Reiche Frauentatauierung an beiden Oberschenkeln ... 40
Abb. 13. Ebenso bei Frau Loalimul ... 41
Abb. 14. Holzspaten ... 41
Abb. 15. Kokosraspel ... 42
Abb. 16a, b. Spatel ... 42
Abb. 17. Löffel aus Patt, Länge 12 cm, Breite $5^1/_2$ cm ... 42
Abb. 18. Stampfer aus Korallenstein ... 42
Abb. 19. Stampfer aus Holz ... 42
Abb. 20. Stampfer aus Holz ... 42
Abb. 21. Großer Mörser des Ikisera ... 43
Abb. 22. Zeremonialaxt, 35 cm lang ... 48
Abb. 23. Drei Fischhaken, a. He 2232 = 6011II, b. Kr. 470 = 3226II, c. He 2239 = 6018II ... 48
Abb. 24. Fischhaken aus Schildpatt, 7 cm lang ... 49
Abb. 25. Lehnstuhl ... 62
Abb. 26. Holzschüssel, a Fuß rund, b zweifüßig ... 63
Abb. 27. Holzschüssel auf zwei Stelzen ... 63
Abb. 28. Holzschüssel auf vier Füßen ... 63
Abb. 29. Fischeßbrett ... 63
Abb. 30. Deckelkasten ... 64
Abb. 31. Figurenkasten (spanisch) ... 64
Abb. 32. Vogelschüssel mit Fuß ... 65
Abb. 33. Vogelschüssel ohne Fuß, hängend ... 65
Abb. 34. Kokostrinkschale, gefußt ... 65
Abb. 35. Kokosnußbüchse ... 65
Abb. 36. Kokosbüchse mit Deckel ... 65
Abb. 37. Deckel-Bambusbüchse mit Reihenmustern ... 65
Abb. 38. Offenes Bambusgefäß mit Ornamenten ... 65
Abb. 39. Zierat an Bambix 6099II ... 66
Abb. 40. Faserschaber ... 67
Abb. 41. Wasserabwehrmatte ... 67
Abb. 42. Haarschnur mit Schnecke für Korb 68
Abb. 43. Flechten des Korbes *bodiau*, a. b. s. Truk S. 172, Abb. 142; c. und d. auch hier; e—k nur hier ... 70—71
Abb. 44. Seildreher ... 72
Abb. 45. Schmuckwebgestelle ... 73—74
Abb. 46. Orn. Webstuhl mit Kette ... 74
Abb. 47. Muster der Matte, Taf. 7d (S. = K 75) in 24 Querstreifen s. S. K 76) 78
Abb. 48. Kettenpflöcke zum Scheren ... 80
Abb. 49. Webgeschirr ... 81
Abb. 50. Siedlung des Dorfes Lámotrek an der Lagune ... 83

4: Krämer ORJI Woleai

Seite

Abb. 51. Gehöft mit den Nebenhäusern 84
Abb. 52. Gehöft Bómaras H. 24b, mitten Grabhaus von Saualik und Sopis' Adoptivmutter 85
Abb. 53. Boothaus Aboi 85
Abb. 54. Vorratshaus mit Steinunterlagen .. 86
Abb. 55. Sechseck-Haus mit kleinem Walm. 86
Abb. 56a u. b. Giebelschmuck unter den Wälmen, Lugalap 87
Abb. 57. Zierschmuck des Boothauses Aboi . 88
Abb. 58. Baugestell 90
Abb. 59. Wohnhaus-Innenraum 91
Abb. 60. Meßleine mit Zauberknoten 93
Abb. 61a—p. Boot im Bau 94, 96, 99
Abb. 62. Holzfisch an einer Angel, Zauber . 107
Abb. 63. Zauberstrauß für Entbundene 111
Abb. 64. Kind in der Wiege 113
Abb. 65a, b. Schmückung eines toten Kindes 118
Abb. 66. Kompaßpunkte der Karolinier nach Sanchez 129
Abb. 67. Inselkarte 131
Abb. 68. Fächer zur Krankheitsabwehr bei Haus 139
Abb. 69. Punktierhaken He 2265—6 = 6039 u. 40II, 20 cm lang 140
Abb. 70. Zauberer im Schmuck 152
Abb. 71. Zauberstab *gobai* 152
Abb. 72. Purifiziertes Haus 153
Abb. 73. Geisterangen als Kopfschmuck, Länge 60 cm (Kr. 477 = 3233II) ... 154
Abb. 74. Knaller 154
Abb. 75. Hauszauber mit Kokosnuß 155
Abb. 76. Sturmzauber am Strand 156
Abb. 77. Eine Sturmzauberfigur (Kr. 484 = 3239II, 48 cm hoch 157
Abb. 78. Zauberfigur als Idol 157
Abb. 79. Ornamente (1—48) 174

Oleai

Abb. 80. Bootkanal zwischen Volea und Paliau 1906 (nach Aqu. v. E. Kr.) 199
Abb. 81. Mädchen mit Blätterschurz 221
Abb. 82. Halskette aus Muschel- und Kokosscheiben 223
Abb. 83. Halskette aus Kokosscheiben 223
Abb. 84. Halsband aus Kokosscheiben 224
Abb. 85. Kokosringe auf Stab zum Schleifen 224
Abb. 86. Fischzahn-Halsband, Länge ohne Schnurenden = 35 cm 224
Abb. 87. Zwei Testrädchen (He 8206 u. 7II) . 224
Abb. 88. Ohrring aus Mark 224
Abb. 89. Test-Fischhaken als Hänger 224
Abb. 90. Testscheibe 224
Abb. 91. Tatauierung eines Mannes, a vorn, b Seite, c Rücken ..... 226—227

Seite

Abb. 92. Tatauierung einer Frau 228
Abb. 93a, b, c. Schenkeltatauierungen von Frauen 229
Abb. 94. Tatauierhammer 230
Abb. 95. Tatauierhammer, 36 cm lang 230
Abb. 96. Kletterstock, Stock 48 cm lang, Tau 280 cm 230
Abb. 97. Holzspaten 231
Abb. 98. Löffel aus Testknochen 231
Abb. 99. Testlöffel Palau 232
Abb. 100. Zwei Stößel aus Holz, Höhe 17½ u. 21 cm 232
Abb. 101. Kokosraspel (Schabschemel) Länge 45 cm 232
Abb. 102. Fischhaken, Länge a 9, b 4, c 3, d 5 cm 233
Abb. 103. Fischdrachenblatt 234
Abb. 104. Dechselklinge 238
Abb. 105. Dechselklinge 238
Abb. 106. 17 Holzschalen a—r ..... 239—40
Abb. 107. Bambusbüchse a mit Abwicklung b 242
Abb. 108. Bambusbüchse 242
Abb. 109. Bambusbüchse mit Abwicklung b 243
Abb. 110. Bambusbüchse für Feuerholz 243
Abb. 111. Seepocke als Farbtopf 243
Abb. 112. Reißring a Haizähne, b. Nasenstacheln 244
Abb. 113. Flechtart (a, b) einer Schlafmatte 245
Abb. 114. Weberin 248
Abb. 115. Webnadeln 247
Muster 250
Abb. 116. Schlafhaus 251
Abb. 117. Sechseckhaus, Veranda offen 252
Abb. 118. Sechseckhaus, Gerüst 252
Abb. 119. Inneres des Haus 1 Sangi 253
Abb. 120. Veranda mit Stützpfosten 253
Abb. 121. Einfache Hütte 255
Abb. 122. Einfaches Haus mit zwei Tischen. 255
Abb. 123. Kopfbank, Länge 45 cm, Höhe 8½ bis 11 cm 255
Abb. 124. Dachgerüst eines Junggesellenhauses *falfalap* 257
Abb. 125. Ornamentgiebel, Modell Kr. 250 = 3035II 258
Abb. 126. Geisterhaus auf Tagaulap 259
Abb. 127. Kleines Boot 260
Abb. 128. Ausleger am Reiseboot 261
Abb. 129. Ruder mit Singknopf und Kokosfiedern, Länge 180 cm 262
Abb. 130. Kinderpaddel 270
Abb. 131. Puppe, 37 cm hoch, Kr. 284 = 3068II 271
Abb. 132a, b, c. Sturmzauber 271
Abb. 133. Zählschnur 277
Abb. 134a—d Punktiernadeln und e Bohrer 278

Seite

Fels:

Abb. 135. Sudoststrand mit den zwei Boothäusern ... 309
Abb. 136. Zauberer Mololaedjeg, indonesische Gesichtsform ... 305
Abb. 137. Besebes ♀ und Saumar ♂ H. 31, nach Phot 256 ... 318
Abb. 138. Befestigungsart der Kokosfiedern im Bastrock ... 320
Abb 139. Knabenschurz, 31 cm lang ... 320
Abb 140. Mädchen mit Kopfkranz und Halsschmuck ... 321
Abb. 141. Drillbohrer für Schalenscheiben ... 321
Abb. 142. Fingerring, Kokos, 2,4 cm Durchmesser ... 322
Abb 143. Armring, 6,6 cm Durchmesser ... 322
Abb 144. Armring, 6 cm Durchmesser, 2,6 cm Breite ... 322
Abb. 145 Pattring, 10,7 cm Durchmesser ... 322
Abb. 146. Tatauierte Frau ... 322
Abb. 147a—c. Tatauierter Häuptling a vorn, b Seite, c Rückseite ... 328—29
Abb. 148a—d Vier kreuzähnliche Muster ... 330
Abb. 149. Gestelle zum Palmweinschneiden ... 331
Abb. 150 Drei Schabscheimel ... 333
Abb. 151. Holzstößel ... 333
Abb. 152. Stampfbrett ... 333
Abb. 153. Feuerhobel ... 333
Abb. 154a Bambix ... 333
Abb 155a. Haischlinge, b mit Köder, c Aalschlinge ... 334
Abb. 156. Fingerschlinge ... 335
Abb. 157. Fischhaken aus zwei Stücken ... 335
Abb 158. Fischhaken aus einem Stück Patt, 6 cm ... 335
Abb. 159. Drachensscheibe, Brotfruchtblatt, 71 cm lang ... 335
Abb. 160. Handnetz ... 336
Abb. 161. Fischreusen ... 336

Seite

Abb. 162. Holzkohle mit Doliumschnecke ... 337
Abb. 163a—e. Holzschüsseln ... 338
Abb. 164. Farbschüssel ohne Nasen für Bootbemalung ... 338
Abb. 165. Deckelkasten ... 338
Abb. 166. Deckelbüchse, ornamentiert ... 338
Abb. 167a u. b. Körbe ... 339
Abb. 168. Feuerfächer ... 339
Abb. 169. Weberknoten ... 340
Abb. 170. Kettescheren ... 342
Abb. 171. Am Webstuhl ... 344
Abb. 172. Wohnhaus mit verdecktem Giebel 350
Abb. 173. Wohnhaus ... 350
Abb. 174. Vorratshaus ... 350
Abb. 175. Schutzhütten ... 350
Abb. 176. Inneres eines Wohnhauses (zwei Steinsäulen) ... 351
Abb. 177. Vordachgerüst ... 352
Abb. 178. Innenraum eines Nichtplankenhauses ... 353
Abb. 179. Türe ... 354
Abb. 180. Gebrannte Kokosblütenscheide ... 355
Abb. 181. Boothaus, Inneres ... 356
Abb. 182. Bootausleger, Ruder ... 357
Abb. 183. Zeremonialaxt ... 357
Abb. 184. Zauberbemalung ... 358
Abb. 185. Grab mit Steinplatten ... 362
Abb. 186. Leiche des Rog, H. 1 ... 363
Abb. 187. Ball ... 365
Abb. 188. Webespiel ... 366
Abb. 189. Inselkarte ... 367
Abb. 190. Inselkarte des Ruebong ... 368
Abb. 191. Opferplatz Gádjabuth ... 373
Abb. 192. Geisterboot ... 373
Abb. 193. Weibekorb aus Holz ... 374
Abb. 194. Loaknoten binden ... 376
Abb. 195. Knotenkette und Art der Faltung 376
Abb. 196. Sturmzauberidol ... 377
Abb. 197. Heiliger Fischhaken ... 380
Abb. 198. Span. Bootmodell ... 385

Lámotrek-Gruppe.

I. Entdeckung und Erschließung, Allgemeines.

1. Angaben der Segelhandbücher S.-H. u. P. J. P.

Position: Lamotrek mitten etwa 7° 27′ N.-Br., 146° 23′ O.-L., genau Elato 7° 29′ 30″ N.-Br., 146° 19′ O.-L.; P. J. P. gibt an 7° 28′ u. 146° 24′.

S.-H. S. 34: Lámutrik-Inseln (Lamotrek, Swede) liegen etwa 42 Sm westlich von Sátuwal auf einem dreieckigen Atoll. Die Ecken des Dreiecks bilden im Südosten die Insel Lamutrik, im Norden Puch und im Westen die Falaite-Insel; die beiden letzteren sind unbewohnt. Mitten auf Lámutrik liegt ein Moor, in dem Taro und Zuckerrohr wachsen. Auf Lámutrik ist eine Handelsstation der Westkarolinengesellschaft mit einem weißen Händler.

Durchfahrten zur Lagune gibt es mehrere. Besonders empfehlenswert ist die Durchfahrt südöstlich von Puch; die Durchfahrt weiter südöstlich und näher bei der Insel Lámutrik ist wegen der Klippen gefährlich, die dort in der Lagune liegen. Im Süden des Atolls sind außer einer guten Durchfahrt einige Bootsdurchfahrten.

Ankerplätze sind in der Lagune.

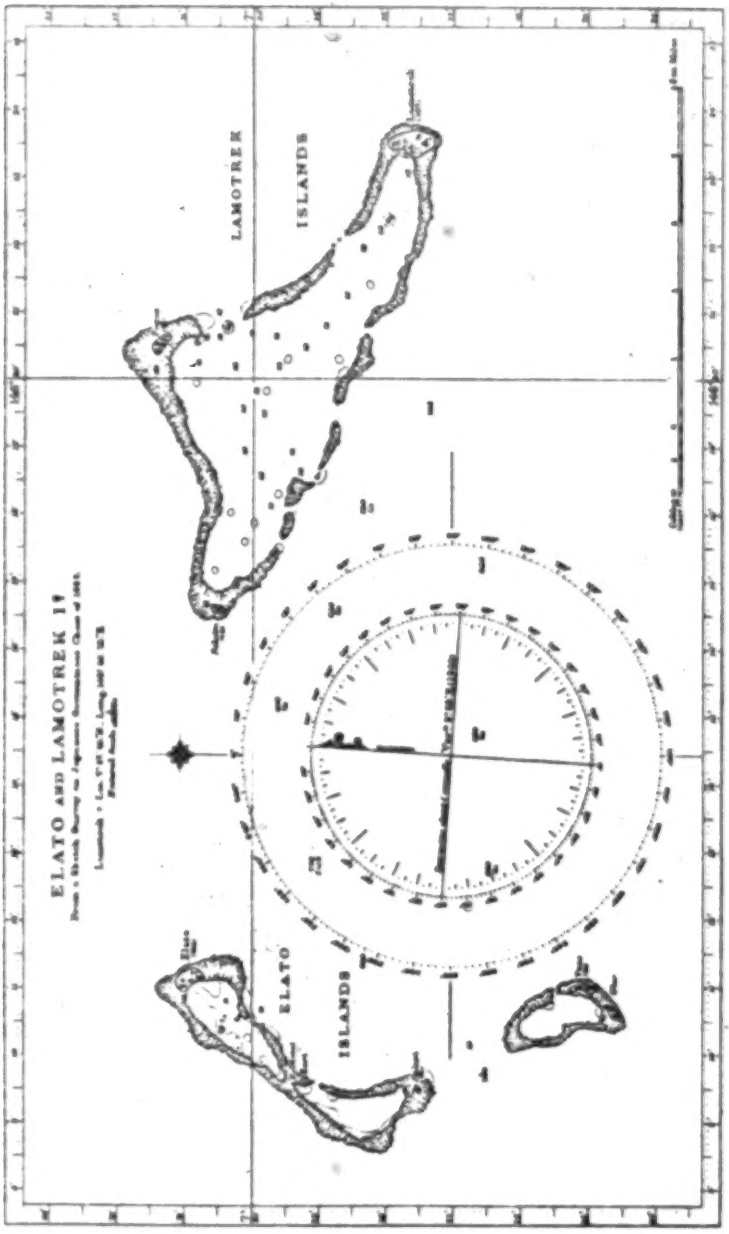
Lebensmittel: Enten, Hühner, Eier und Früchte sind beim Händler auf Lámutrik zu haben.

Eingeborene: Lámutrik zählt nur 200 Einwohner, die als Wiederankömmlinge gelten können. Vor 60 Jahren hatte nämlich die Flutwelle eines Taifuns die Bevölkerung teils vernichtet, teils zur Auswanderung nach Truk, Jap und Saipan veranlaßt, von wo sie später teils zurückgekehrt ist.

Wind und Wetter sind ähnlich wie auf Jap: von Mai bis September herrschen Stillen und unbestimmte Winde, meist jedoch solche aus dem südlichen Quadranten, von Dezember bis Mai der Nordostmonsun[1]. 1903 wehte der Nordostmonsun von Januar bis Mitte April; bis zum November blieben östliche Winde vorherrschend, aber die Luftströmungen waren unregelmäßig, Südwestwinde zwischendurch häufig. Von November bis Januar kam der Wind meist aus Südosten bis Nordosten. Taifune im ganzen recht selten, doch wird eine um das Jahr 1845 erfolgte Entvölkerung der Inseln auf einen Taifun zurückgeführt; der schwere Taifun vom 28. März 1907 machte sich auch dort durch Verwüstungen bemerkbar.

[1] Richtiger Passat statt Monsun, da eine eigentliche Monsunzeit, wie im Indischen Ozean, hier fehlt.

2 LAMOTREK-GRUPPE



Karte 1.

Regen fällt in allen Monaten, doch kommen nach den bisherigen kurzen Messungen auf die fünf Monate April bis August 1540 mm, also 56% der Gesamtsumme. Am trockensten ist der Februar mit nur 52 mm; Januar, Februar und März erhalten mit zusammen 331 mm nur 12% der Gesamtregenmenge.

Elato-Inseln, etwa 5 Sm westlich von den Lámutrik-Inseln, liegen auf einem 4 Sm langen, nordsüdlich gestreckten Riff. Die Gruppe besteht aus vier Inseln, von denen Elato im Norden die größte ist. Die Bevölkerung betrug 1903 nur 90 Menschen und ist durch den Taifun vom 28. März 1907 wohl noch verringert worden

Durchfahrt zur Lagune liegt im Osten; sie ist etwa 90 m breit und hat 9 bis 11 m Wassertiefe.

Ankerplatz. Das britische Kriegschiff »Sphinx« ankerte im Februar 1862 in der Lagune auf 20 m Wassertiefe. Der Ankerplatz lag etwa ½ Sm südlich von der Westspitze der Insel Elato; das Schiff blieb 10 Tage dort und schlug dort Feuerungsholz. Wasser wurde durch Graben von Löchern erhalten.

Toas und Ulor liegen südlich von den Elato-Inseln auf einem von jenen getrennten Riff.

Dazu Sonderplan auf Karte 93 des R. M. A. v. 1903, r. oben.

Olimaráu-Inseln (Ham. Olimarauo, Gesch. 2 von Füs) liegen nordöstlich von den Elato-Inseln; sie sind unbewohnt. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören die beiden Inseln Olimaráu und Falipi. Erstere liegt im Nordosten, letztere im Südwesten des gemeinsamen Riffs.

Sonderplan auf Karte 93. s. unten bei P. J. P.

Das S.-H. S. 5 bringt nach Hans Meyer, »Das deutsche Kolonialreich« eine Regenmessung für Lámutrik.

Monat	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Summe
Br. 7° 26′ W L 146° 30′ O	144	52	135	294	236	342	327	341	153	264	208	244	2741 mm.

Daran schließt sich eine Abhandlung über die Winde an, von denen bei Lukunor schon die Rede war (Bd. 6 I S. 30).

P. J. P. S. 504: Die **Lamotrek-Inseln,** ungefähr 5 Meilen östlich von den Elato-Inseln, bestehen aus 3 bewaldeten Inselchen auf einem dreieckigen Atoll Die Lamotrek-Insel, 107 Fuß (32,6 m) hoch bis zu den Spitzen der Bäume, liegt am östlichen äußersten Ende des Atolls. Die Passage, ungefähr ¾ Meilen südlich der Puguet-Insel, der nördlichsten Insel, ist die weiteste und beste von denen, die in die Lagune führen, aber während des Nordostpassates setzt eine schwere See in die Lagune hinein und deshalb ist Vorsicht nötig. Es ist auch eine 2 Kabellängen weite Passage mitten in der Südseite des Atolls; aber ihre Lage ist schwierig zu entdecken, aber sie ist gut, wenn der Passat stark ist. Die nächste Passage westwärts ist ungefähr 1½ Kabellängen breit; alle übrigen Einlässe sind eng.

Ankerung möglich an der Westseite der Lamotrek-Insel (Br. 7° 28' N, L. 146° 24' O) geschützt gegen nordöstliche Winde, aber es ist berichtet, daß bei westlichen Winden die See recht rauh sein kann. Landen kann man an einem sandigen Strand an der Westseite der Lamotrek-Insel. 1930 waren 165 Bewohner auf Lamotrek-Insel, eingeschlossen 1 Japaner.

Die Inseln Pugue und Falaite waren unbewohnt. Wenig Geflügel und Schweine erhältlich; Fische sind reichlich.

Karte 772.

Die **Elato-Inseln** sind etwa 20 Meilen südöstlich von Olimarao-Insel und bestehen aus 2 Atollen. Auf dem nördlichen sind vier Inseln, von denen die größte Elato ist, am nördlichen Ende; sie ist 101 Fuß (30,8 m) hoch bis zu den Spitzen der Bäume, und sandig.

Auf der östlichen Seite des Atolls, ungefähr eine Meile südwestlich von Elato-Insel, ist ein Eingang in die Lagune ungefähr eine halbe Kabellänge breit mit Tiefen von 5—6 Faden (9,1—11 m). Im Februar 1862 fuhr H. M. S. »Sphinx« in die Lagune und ankerte in einer Tiefe von 11 Faden (20,1 m), ungefähr ½ Meile südwärts vom westlichen Punkt von Elato-Insel. 1930 waren 72 Einwohner vorhanden.

Das südliche Atoll, an dessen südöstlicher Seite die Inseln Toas und Ulor sind, ist vom nördlichen Atoll durch eine ungefähr 1¼ Meile breite Passage getrennt. Eine enge Einfahrt durch das Riff ist ungefähr 2 Kabellängen nördlich von der Taos-Insel, die, ausgenommen von kleinen Fahrzeugen, schwer zu durchsteuern ist.

Dazu Sonderplan auf Karte 772 der Admiralty nach Japan. Karte von 1925.

Die **Olimarao**-Insel liegt an der nördlichen Seite des atollbildenden Riffes ungefähr 95 Meilen südsüdöstlich der Insel Gaferut[1]; sie ist mit Kokospalmen und andern Bäumen bedeckt; ganz um die Insel ist der Grund abschüssig und ist ungeeignet für Landen.

Auf Falifi am westlichen äußersten Ende des Atolls wachsen Bäume üppig, aber es sind da keine Kokospalmen.

Das Atoll hat keine ständigen Bewohner, sondern wird gelegentlich von Elato-eingeborenen besucht.

Es sind Untiefen an der Nordwestseite des Atolls, wo immer Brecher auf dem Riff sind, und es ist keine Passage in die Lagune. An der südlichen Seite sind zwei flache Passagen, von denen die östliche eine halbe Meile, die westliche 3 Kabellängen breit ist. Es wird berichtet, daß die Tiefen in der Lagune gleichmäßig sind und keine Gefahren zu bestehen scheinen. (Karte 772.)

[1] Farnalip Krämer.

5

2. Entdeckungsgeschichte.

Bei Meinicke S. 358 heißt es: »Lamotrek (Lamurec, Namurek) 1797 von Wilson entdeckt und Swede, Haweis und Low benannt.« (Krusenstern, Haweio.)

Palau I S. 14, 15 und 180 ist ausgeführt, daß die Namen der Inseln der Lamotrek-Gruppe schon 1696, dem Pater Clain auf Samal (Filipinen) von verschlagenen Karoliniern mitgeteilt worden seien, und zwar Lamurrec mit Puc und Falait (s. S. 16), dann Ylatu (Elato) und Lamuliur. Auf Clain's Karte (Palau I S. 17) von 1706 steht Falú oder Lamuirec mit Taramit (Falait?) und oben auf der Karte, davon getrennt, statt Elato die beiden Inseln Olutil (Oletel S. 17) und Falipe (Falipi), für Lamolior die beiden Tauas (Toas) und Olor (Olor), daneben westlich Olimarau (Olimarau). Zugleich wurde mitgeteilt, daß Lamurrec die größte sei und daß hier der König aller Inseln wohne (Palau I S. 15). Kotzebue III S. 99 gibt an, daß die Oberherrschaft um 1800 auf den König Toua von Oleai übergegangen sei.

Es gilt also auch für hier, was ich Truk S. 3 von den Karoliniern als den Kennern ihres Archipels gesagt habe.

Daß aber die Gruppe schon vor 1797 auch den Weißen bekannt war, geht aus Wilson's Bericht hervor, der als Capitaine empfangen wurde. Es sind also vielleicht schon französische Schiffe dagewesen. Von diesen hat der Capitaine Le Gèntil de la Barbinais 1715 Guam besucht, und zwar auf dem Wege von Peru nach den Marianen, wobei er bei seinem WNW-Kurs nach der Fahrt durch die Ralik-Ratak nördlich von den Karolinen nach Guam gelangte, wie es die meisten der spanischen Weltumsegler gemacht haben (s. Palau), wodurch eben die Zentralkarolinen erst so spät bekannt wurden.

Nach Le Gentil haben Bougainville 1766—69, La Perouse 1780—90 und d'Entrecasteaux 1791—93 den Pazifik durchfahren; sie blieben aber südlich des Äquators. Erst Maurelle 1780—81 kam wieder nach Guam, dann Marchand 1790—92 auf dem Wege von Hawaii (1828 Tromelin s. Feis). Es verlautet aber nichts in ihren Berichten, daß sie südwärts ins Gebiet von Lamotrek und Oleai gekommen wären; es ist wahrscheinlich, daß sie auf Guam mit Zentralkaroliniern zusammentrafen[1], die auch sowiewo durch ihre Verschlagungen nach den Philippinen über die Weißen wohl unterrichtet waren. Sie hätten aber *capitano* sagen müssen[2]; so bleibt das französisch gesprochene Wort noch unerklärt.

[1] Chamisso berichtet, daß sie in Guam einen Mann von Lamureck trafen.
[2] s. Namonuito Band 6 I S. 199.

Capt. James Wilson, Ship Duff[1], berichtet (S. 293ff.) von Süden kommend: Oktober 1797: »Am 25. bekamen wir ein niedriges Boot in Sicht in W z. N und beobachteten alsbald, daß einige Boote auf uns zukamen. Etwa 9 Uhr a. m. kam eines längsseit ohne die geringste Angst und Zögerung, weshalb wir annahmen, daß sie mit Europäern Bekanntschaft gemacht haben müßten; ihre häufige Nennung von »Capitaines« bestätigte diese Vermutung. Diesen ersten folgten noch mehrere andere, die ihre Fischhacken (aus Schalen gemacht) und Leinen und Kokosgarn etc. gegen alles tauschten, was ihnen gegeben wurde; und wenn mehreren von ihnen erlaubt wurde, an Bord zu kommen, zeigten sie eine beträchtliche Zeit lang keine Neigung zu stehlen. Jedoch die in den Booten gaben uns Grund, unsere gute Meinung, die wir uns gebildet hatten, zu ändern, da sie die Ruderringe stahlen, was die geschickten Freundschaftsinsulaner vergeblich versucht hatten; und daneben wurde ein Bursche gefangen, als er eine Pumpenstange in sein Boot hinüberreichte. Da wir an solche Sachen gewöhnt waren, trieben wir sie für diese ersten Plünderungen nur von Deck; aber als wir beim Essen in der Kabine saßen, hörten wir sie, als sie an der Arbeit waren, den Bolzenkopf vom Ruderring abzuschlagen, woraufhin der Kapitän einige kleine Schüsse unter sie feuerte, was sie augenblicklich davongehen machte. Gerade zu dieser Zeit wurden William Tucker und John Connelly nahe unter dem Stern schwimmend entdeckt, in der Absicht, nach den Booten zu entkommen, wobei sie durch ihr Zaudern verrieten, daß sie fürchteten, daß man ebenso auf sie schieße; aber der Kapitän, wütend wie früher über ihre Undankbarkeit und Täuschung, und Willens, vom letzteren sich zu trennen, sagte ihnen, daß, wenn sie gehen wollten, möchten sie es nur tun; er würde nicht auf sie schießen. Connelly antwortete: »Danke Ihnen, Herr«, und beide schwammen zu den Booten, und wurden von den Wilden mit großem Geschrei empfangen. Bald danach, als eine Brise von NO aufkam, nahmen wir unsern Kurs wieder auf und ließen sie zurück. (Hambruch hörte auf Elato von den Eingeborenen, daß sie sich des Anari noch erinnerten, der als Steuermann stets Streit gemacht habe.) Connelly hatten wir mit Gewalt von Tongatabu fortgebracht, weil er die Missionare bedrohte. Während seines Aufenthaltes an Bord hatte er sich ruhig betragen, und er war in die Schiffsbücher als ordentlicher Seemann eingetragen worden, der mit seiner Lage zufrieden war, bis seine letzte Handlung seine Heuchelei bewies. Die gleiche Macht betraf auch Tucker, der auch wieder eingesetzt worden war, und der oft sagte, daß er glücklich sei, daß er wieder gegriffen worden sei, nachdem er in Otaheite[2] weglief; und vielleicht sprach er so seine Gefühle aus, da Grund zur Annahme war, daß Connelly ihn zu diesem letzten Entschluß über-

[1] s. Fahne I S. 128 u. II S. 363. Litt.
[2] Tahiti.

redet hatte. Wenn Connelly wirklich ein Botanikbucht-Verbrecher[1] war (wie wir seither gehört haben), so möchten wir vermuten, daß er aus zwei Gründen gehandelt hat, aus Furcht vor Arbeit und der Furcht vor Strafe, wenn er in England gefangen wird; denn was Tucker betrifft, so hatte sein Betragen es längst klar gemacht, daß er von seinen sinnlichen Leidenschaften völlig beherrscht wurde; das ist um so mehr zu bedauern, als er der einzige Sohn einer vortrefflichen Mutter war. Dieser Fleck, auf dem sie ihre Tage zu verbringen gewählt haben, ist nur eine kleine Insel auf dem Schoß der Tiefe, die nicht mehr als 2 bis 3 Meilen Umfang hat und wo die Bequemlichkeiten und Notwendigkeiten des Lebens so spärlich sind, daß wir annehmen mußten, daß ihr ganzer Lebensunterhalt nur aus Fisch und Wurzeln, Kokosnüssen und vielleicht Brotfrucht besteht.

Die Eingeborenen sind keine starke Rasse; ihre Hautfarbe ist dunkles Kupfer, ihre Gemütsart lebhaft. Wir sahen keine Frauen. Ihre Boote unterscheiden sich von allen, die wir bisher gesehen hatten, da sie an beiden Enden hoch erhoben waren und rot bemalt: sie haben Ausleger und segeln mit beiden Enden nach vorne. Ihre Segel sind beinahe in derselben Art wie die einzelnen Segelboote der Freundschaftsinseln[2] gemacht. Die Breite der Insel ist 7° 22′ N und Länge 146° 48′ O. Wir nannten sie nach dem Weggelaufenen Tucker's Insel[3].

Mit leichten Winden aus NO rückten wir auf unserem Kurs nach W fort, Tucker und seinen Gefährten zurücklassend, damit sie über die schlechte Wahl, die sie getroffen hatten, nachdenken konnten, eine Wahl, nach allem wie es schien, so voll von Erbärmlichkeit, daß wir uns nicht denken konnten, daß eine dritte Person gefunden werden könnte, die ihrem Beispiel gefolgt wäre; aber so ist die Macht der Gewohnheit und der entnervende Einfluß der Trägheit, daß Andrew Cornelius Lind zum Kapitän kam, und ernstlich bat, man möchte ihn doch auf dem nächsten Eiland, das entdeckt würde, aussetzen. Dieser Bitte wurde nicht allein zugestimmt, sondern man gab ihm auch das Versprechen, daß er eine Auswahl nützlicher Gegenstände haben sollte, mit denen er an den Eingeborenen wohltun könnte, und um ihn besser einzuführen, und ihm eine Wichtigkeit unter ihnen zu geben.

26. Oktober 1797. Als wir etwa 10 leagues[4] weiter westwärts gekommen waren, sahen wir um Mitternacht eine andere Insel[5] im N und um 4 Uhr a. m. zwei mehr in NW, und als der Tag bald darauf anbrach, zählten wir sechs solcher kleiner Inseln, die äußersten Spitzen von NW z. N nach NO z. O: nach der südlichsten (Lamolior) steuerten wir und hatten bald eine große Zahl von Booten um das Schiff, in eines von diesen Andrew stieg, nachdem er Abschied von seinen

[1] Die convict of Botany bay, der Bucht östlich vom Sydney-Hafen, die dorthin von England bei der Kolonisierung von Ost-Australien gebracht wurden, sind bekannt in dieser Redensart. Dieses System gibt Frankreich noch in Cayenne aus.

[2] Tonga.

[3] so wurde Sittoval genannt, das 7° 22′ und 147° 8′ liegt.

[4] 1 league = 3 Meilen.

[5] Lamotrek-Gruppe.

Schiffsgenossen genommen hatte, und er wurde mit Freude von den Wilden aufgenommen. Das Boot, das ihn aufnahm, ging bald ab, und als sie wegpaddelten, stand er auf und winkte mit der Hand, denn er schien mehr gehoben (elated) als niedergedrückt durch seine Veränderung. Das sorglose Leben, das er auf Otaheite geführt hatte, die ungehinderte Leichtigkeit, mit der alle seine sinnlichen Appetite dort befriedigt worden waren, mit seiner Abneigung zur Arbeit und die Aussicht auf ihre Notwendigkeit, welche eine Rückkehr nach Europa ihm vor Augen hielt, drängten ihn mächtig, ein müßiges Eingeborenenleben auf diesen wenig versprechenden Inseln seiner Heimat Schweden vorzuziehen, das, wie er wußte, nur Vorteile für den Fleißigen bot[1].

Die folgenden sind die Sachen, die der Kapitän ihm gab: 2 Handsägen, 2 Beile, 1 Hammer, 10 Spiegel, 18 Messer, 300 Decksnägel, 2 Rasiermesser und einige Kleinigkeiten daneben; dies, mit dem was er noch sein eigen nannte besonders eine Bibel, wird ohne Zweifel ihn als einen Gewinn für die Eingeborenen darstellen und mag ebenso ein Mittel sein, den andern beiden einen Dienst zu leisten, mit denen er nach unserer Meinung streben wird zusammenzukommen. Die Eingeborenen dieser Gruppe, ihre Boote, Geräte und Gier nach Eisen usw. waren genau gleich wie bei Tucker-Insel. Der Nachmittag kam trüb und regnerisch, was aber keineswegs ein Hindernis für die Boote war, von denen uns viele folgten, bis ihre Insel außer Sicht war; und als wir sie in einer Bö nordwärts halten sahen, schlossen wir, daß sie zu einen Platz in jenem Viertel gehen wollten.

27. Um 10 Uhr a. m. kamen wir in Sicht einer anderen niedrigen Insel im SW und wir änderten unsern Kurs um nach S von ihm zu gehen; als sie im Westen von uns war, sah es aus, als ob es zwei Eilande seien: Hier kamen auch viele Eingeborene heraus und handelten, wie die andern getan hatten. Etwas, was wir als eigentümlich und bemerkenswert beobachtet hatten, war, daß bisher auf unserer Fahrt durch diese Inseln keine Frauen erschienen waren; daraus schlossen wir, daß die Männer entweder mehr eifersüchtig als ihre östlichen Nachbarn sind, oder daß sie ihren Weibern einen höheren Wert beilegten; oder vielleicht hatten sie in einiger Zeit sie vor gierigen Besuchern verteidigen gemußt. Die Breite dieser Schwesterinseln 7° 14′ N, Länge 144° 50′ O (Ifaluk). Um 4 Uhr p. m. lagen letzte in O z. N, 2 leagues. Gerade vor Dunkelheit sahen wir eine andere Insel in WNW, 3 oder 4 leagues ab; und steuernd um nach S von ihr zu gehen, um desto besser alle Gefahr auf den Wege zu vermeiden, lag sie um Mitternacht in NNO.

28. Um 4 Uhr a. m. am 28. entdeckten wir andere Inseln, und mittels unserer Nachtgläser konnten wir die äußersten von WNW nach N z. W ausmachen. Um diese Zeit war Windstille, die anhielt; und bei Tagesanbruch zählten wir 6, die

[1] daher die Benennung »Schweden-Insel«; Krusenstern führt auch »Hawes« als Namensgebung auf.

nach ihrer Größe den Anspruch auf Inseln verdienen mochten, und 7 Inselchen oder Kaie[1], allen zusammen geben wir den Namen »13 Inseln« (Oleai).

(Fortsetzung bei Oleái.)

Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß Sētoval (Sātowal) im Osten von Lamotrek nur 37 Seemeilen von diesem entfernt ist, ungefähr so weit wie Ifaluk von Oleai. Zehn Sm NNO von Ifaluk ist (s. S. 8) auf der Karte 93 eine Untiefe eingezeichnet, die 12 m Wasser haben soll; dabei steht aber »vermutlich noch flacher«. Natürlich ist sie den Eingeborenen wohl bekannt: Auf Lamotrek hörte ich, sie heiße Fas (= Stein?), und liege bei Niedrigwasser trocken. Dann schlagen die Seeen dort zusammen, so daß Wassersäulen von großer Höhe aufspritzen, die man zeitweilig von Ifaluk aus sehen kann[2].

Nach dem Vorgange auf der Duff'schen Reise, der Landung des Schweden Cornelius am 26. Oktober 1797, wurde Lamotrek die Schwedeninsel benannt, eine zu große Ehre für einen faulen, abtrünnigen Matrosen. Um jene Zeit scheint Ilematip (s. S. 29) Häuptling auf Elato gewesen zu sein, wie Hambruch erfuhr.

1801 kam nach Espinosa (s. Palau I S. 175) eine amerikanische Fregatte »La Lidia« nach den Karolinen und passierte Iselook (Ifaluk) und die Gruppe Lamursek. Es scheint aber diese Auffindung nicht ganz sicher, auch wurde nichts über die Inseln mitgeteilt, soweit bekannt.

1828 passierte Dumont d'Urville die Stelle von »Lamourseke, sah aber nichts. Bei Cheyne 1852 (s. Palau II S. 364) steht Swede Islands 6 Inseln in St. Raper's Table beschrieben usw.

Um 1860 soll das englische Kriegschiff H. M. S. »Espiègle« Cpt. Ryle die Gruppe besucht haben. Von ihm sollen die Brotfruchtbäume auf Elato umgeschlagen worden sein — aus unbekannten Gründen.

Am 5. April 1880 kam dann der Engländer Lewis nach abenteuerlichen Fahrten um Australien und Samoa in die Gruppe, als erster Händler. Er lebte etwa 11 Jahre auf Lamotrek, heiratete eine Chamorro-Frau (Tochter s. Taf. 3[d]), deren Schwester an den Händler Friedländer in Yap verheiratet war ging dann selbst nach Yap, verlor aber dort sein Geld, so daß er um 1900 wieder hierher zurückkehrte.

Regierungsvertreter haben nach 1900 nur selten die abgelegne Insel besucht. Das D. Kolonialblatt 1906 S. 263 zeigt einen Besuch auf, der hauptsächlich den Schildläusen an den Kokospalmen und der Verhinderung des Genusses von saurem Palmsaft galt. Aufenthalt 1.—3. Dezember 1905 (s. Oleai).

Expedition s. E. d. S. I S. 261: A. und E. Krämer verweilten hier vom 21. Nov. bis 10. Dezember 1909; Hambruch auf Elato vom 20.—25. Nov.

---

[1] engl. kayes, womit kleine Stein- und Schuttanhäufungen, wie die künstlichen Bollwerke, gemeint sind.

[2] Dies bestätigt meine für die Atollbildung wichtige Angabe, daß auf einem Riff Dünungen aus allen 4 Himmelsrichtungen zusammentreffen (Entstehung der Korallenriffe 1927, S. 34).

Daß ich mit Frau zur Überfahrt nach Truk nicht das Expeditionsschiff, sondern den Postdampfer »Germania« benutzte, zeigt wie Lamotrek zu jener Zeit schon an den großen Verkehr angeschlossen war. Freilich holte sie nur die Copra; von Weißen besucht war die Insel noch nicht.

3. Anthropologie (vgl. Feis VII²).

Messungen liegen von Lámotrek nicht vor. Hellbraune Zentralkarolinier. Die Bilder zeigen, daß edle Typen hier vorhanden sind. Zwar sind die Haare in Einzelfällen (Taf. 2a Volimar) locker kraus, aber das Gesicht zeigt nichts negritisches. Es ist sogar eine gute Bebartung vorhanden, die Ikisera zeigt (Taf. 2b) dessen Gesicht man an europäische Typen angliedern könnte; denn die Nasen sind wohlgeformt und haben nicht die malaiische Stupsnasenform. Diese erscheint etwas mehr bei Bóesu und Urúpo (Taf. 1a), aber Sukurang von der gleichen Familie hat sie nicht, der nur eine stärkere Jochbogenausladung aufweist, die freilich durch seine Magerkeit unterstützt wird. Auch die Mädchen (Taf. 3a, b) zeigen sehr gefällige Formen und angenehme Züge, ebenso die Frau (Taf. 3c) mit ihrem breiten Gesicht. Bei dem Halbblut Bessie Lewis (Taf. 3d) wirkt die britische Beimischung sich nicht als Vorteil aus.

Über Hambruch's Untersuchungen auf Elato liegt nichts besonderes vor.

4. Demographie.

Bevölkerung.

Wir hörten, daß auf Lamotrek nur noch 220 Bewohner vorhanden seien; um 1890 seien es noch 300 gewesen, und in früherer Zeit 1000. Das stimmt mit den Angaben der Verschlagenen von 1787 überein, die 1400 Bewohner angaben. Bei Freycinet S. 101 heißt es, daß auf Lamoursek 2000, auf Elato 1200 und auf Ulor 180 Bewohner, auf Puk 170 und Falati 130 vorhanden gewesen seien, also um 1800. Sogar auf Goulimarao (Olimarau) seien 225 gewesen. Während unseres Aufenthaltes herrschte viel Influenza und Ruhr, so daß eine weitere Senkung angenommen werden darf P. J. P. (S. 4) sagt, daß 1930 sogar nur noch 165 Bewohner auf Lamotrek vorhanden waren, auf Elato 72.

Es war also um 1800, als der König von Lamotrek über fast alle Koralleninseln herrschte, zweifellos eine reiche Bevölkerung, wahrscheinlich sogar eine Übervölkerung vorhanden, die allgemein einen Rückschlag erfuhr (s. Oleai).

5. Sprache

s. das General-Wörterverzeichnis am Schluß.

Bei der Kürze des Aufenthalts war eine genaue Aufnahme der Sprache auf Lamotrek nicht möglich; da kam die Anwesenheit eines geistig regen englischen Händlers, Herrn Lewis, sehr zustatten. Ich übergab ihm ein Heft des Wörterverzeichnisses vom Hamburger Museum, in das er seine Einträge machte, die allerdings nur einen Teil des Heftes füllen, aber doch einen Überblick über den Wortschatz geben. Die englische Lautgebung muß dabei in Rechnung gezogen werden. Das übrige geht aus dem Text hervor, wie z. B. das über Haus, Boot usw.

Auf Elato hat Hambruch sprachliche Aufnahmen gemacht und da Lewis bei 306 aufhört, so ergänzen Hambruchs Aufzeichnungen weiterhin das Fehlende, obwohl damit nicht gesagt sein soll, daß die Sprachen von Lamotrek und Elato völlig gleich sind. Die Niederschrift beider habe ich zumeist gelassen. Das Wörterverzeichnis siehe am Schluß mit Oleai und Feis zusammen.

Hinsichtlich der Konsonanten tritt hervor, daß *l* für *n* ungemein stark in Anwendung ist, weshalb Lamotrek statt Namotrek, wo es auftritt, gesetzt werden muß; ferner wird gesagt *alus* statt *anu* Geist (Truk S. 318), schon Wilson klagte, daß *l* und *n* oft nicht unterscheidbar seien.

Merkwürdig ist ferner, daß der Engländer Lewis für den *dj*-Laut (s. Truk S. 20) meist *rs* sagte, ebenso wie er das *n* dem *l* vorzog, obwohl das *l* auf Lamotrek deutlich herrschend ist.

th dem englischen ähnlich gebildet, aber hinten am Gaumen durch Kehlkopf gebrochen.

Die auf Lamotrek vielfache Gegenübersetzung von Gutem und Schlechtem[1] drückt sich in den Wörtern mit *ila* und *tip*[2] am Anfang, aus; gemeint sind gute und schlechte Gedanken

ilalang	im Himmel	*tipenlang*	weitere gute Eigenschaften sind:	
ilalal	auf der Erde unten	*tipelal*	*ila mellau*	Leben
			ilafegér	aufmerksam, ehrlich
ilāfalū	auf dem Lande	*tipelifálū*	*iladjóafidj*	fleißig
ilāfang	im Norden	*tipélifang*	*ila talingāfi*	gehorsam
ilāeaur	im Süden	*tipeliaur*	*ilagatōdjig*	sparsam, gütig
ilagétēu	im Osten	*tipeligóteu*	*ilamamai*	gutgesinnt, edel
ila ilitou	im Westen	*tipelilitou*	*ilafōggo*	liebevoll, einträchtig.

Dagegen sind schlechte Eigenschaften, die aber doch auch mit *ila* beginnen (s. Kokospalme S. 44) folgende:

[1] s. die Gesch. von Lemoupēp, S. 144.

[2] *t. le ngol* f. den Meteor, d. h. Bild. = photomachen.

ilamēs	Tod	*ilatalingeai*	unaufmerksam, nicht hörend
ilangau	schlechte Gedanken		
ilāmau	harsch	*iladjorau*	träge
ilamodjog	diebisch	*ila gatōlap*	verachtend, stolz

Ein Wort für Dank und Feindschaft fehlt.

Conjugation

		Futur			Futur
ich gehe	*i (s)jalog*	*i belēlog*	ich werde kommen	*i boēlo*[1] *butog*	
du gehst	*go (s)jalog*	*go belēlog*	du wirst kommen	*gel geboēlē butog*	
er geht	*e(s)jalog*	*ī bodlē bennog*	sie werden kommen	*ir rabobutog*	
wir	*si* ,,	*si belēlog*		*arém*	zu dir
sie	*ir* ,,	*ira belēlog*		*ērei*	zu mir.

E. K. notierte:

Wie heißt du?	*iffa itom*
ja	*ngao*
nein	*eopoē*
kein	*tore*
ich will	*i te perri, igotjui* (s. u. *i bue*, Tr. S. 34 *boē, pue* usw.)
ich will nicht	*i dēth iperri*, ich liebe es nicht *i gangova*
komm her	*kai buitoch* (*t* = *d*)
geh weg	*djümēi gira*
keine Angst	*tore mettach*
ich habe keine Angst	*i tai mettach*
woher kommst du?	*ko buitoch meidja*
wohin gehst du?	*ko boll aidja*
später	*feidgott*
warte	*uatti, gattullug ko*
ich komme morgen	*leu inga dja buitoch*
gut	*mamuai*
schlecht	*ingau*
wo ist der Weg	*iffa ennape*
sprich aus	*kabetta*
gehen	*gies ē maruemal, shi bulēloch*
dieser	*iēle*
jener	*i gelale*
jener Mann	*matalale*
ich liebe zu essen	*i amon ne mongor*

[1] Futurbildung mit *boē* wollen s. Truk S. 30, 34.

zeige mir	*kavoring ē lie*
ich will sehen	*i bue pipi* (s. o.)
komm mit mir	*būi togorei*
kaufen	*boibogadjau*
Was willst du?	*metta go teperri* (s. o.)
Was gibst du mir?	*metta go bogannčai*
bring mir (von weit)	*gagato*
setz dich	*matčtü*
aufstehen	*suthach*

Conjugation

Elato (Hambruch)

ich bin	*i dja*	ich war	*i dja i gaur* (vormals)
du bist	*ko dja*		
er ist	*i dja*	ich werde	*i buill*
wir sind	*si ar*		
ihr seid	*ko djar*		
sie sind	*ra (djar), ja ia*		
ich habe	*i djor e rei*	ich hatte	*i djor e rei i gaur.*
du hast	*i djor e rem*		
er hat	*i djor e rel*		
wir haben	*i djor e ris*		
ihr habt	*i djor e remi*		
sie haben	*i djor e erilir*		
ich liebe	*i fogó*	ich liebte	*i fōgó i gaūr*
du liebst	*chel e ko fogó*	ich werde lieben	*i būe fōgó*
er liebt	*el e fogó*	ich habe geliebt	*i ša fōgó i gaūr*
wir lieben	*si fogó*	ich werde geliebt	*i fōgō e éi*
ihr liebt	*chami géi fogó*	ich wurde geliebt	*i fōgō i gaūr*
sie lieben	*i re fogó*	du wirst nicht geliebt	*i e téi fōgó 'k*
geliebt	*fōgó*	keine Liebe	*dōr e fōgó*
nicht geliebt	*téi fōgó*	große Liebe	*e dūlāp e fōgó*
liebst du?	*kóū fōgó?*		
du liebst nicht	*kóū téi fōgó*		

i la gádji	ich renne darum	
i la mongo	ich esse	*ila pot* ich trockne (*ila* s. S. 11)
i la mat	ich bin satt	
i la uól	ich lege mich hin	
i la mesuro	ich schlafe	

mein Haus	*īm éi*
dein Haus	*īm ŏm*
sein Haus	*īm ăl*
unser Haus	*īm ăs*
euer Haus	*īm ŏmi*
ihr Haus	*īm ĭr*
er schlägt mich	*i ja gŭ ɪ*
er schlägt dich	*i ja gŭ īk*
er schlägt ihn	*i ja gŭ i*
er schlägt uns	*i ja gŭ i χĭs*
er schlägt euch	*i ja gŭ i χămi*
er schlägt sie	*i ja gŭ i ĭr*
er schlägt sie	*i ja gŭ i ĭr*
ich selbst	*nan e ruk*
du selbst	*χĕl e rŭk*
er selbst	*ĭr e rŭk*
wir selbst	*χĭs e rŭk*
ihr selbst	*χami e rŭk*
sie selbst	*ĭr e rŭk*
memia ʃoi i ri	Was macht er?

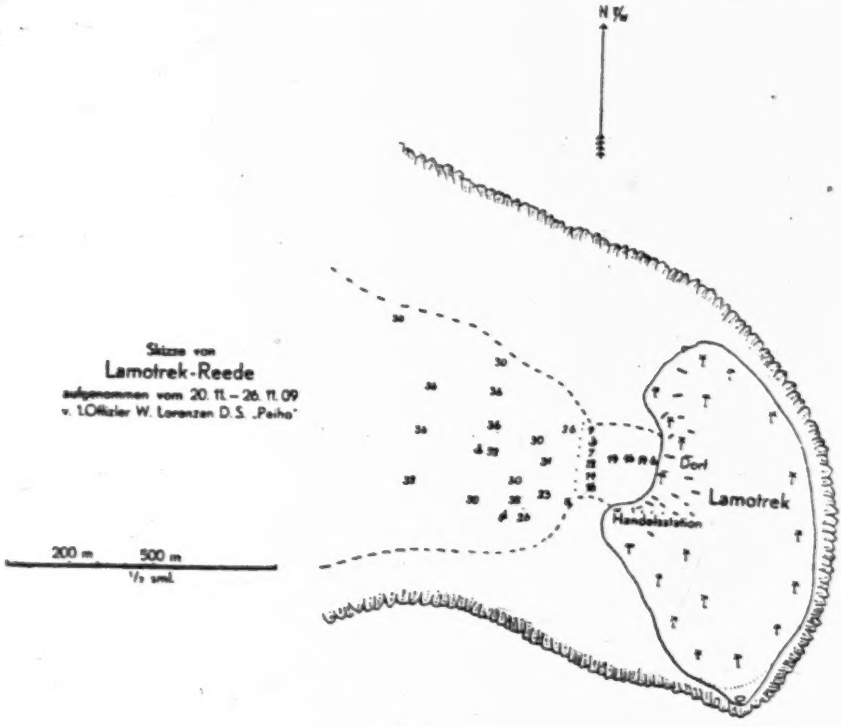
6. Mission keine am Platze,

doch ist von Truk und von Westen her Einfluß vorhanden.

15

II. Landbeschreibung und Siedlung.

Die einzelnen Inseln sind schon oben S. 1 erwähnt. Die größte, zugleich die Hauptinsel Lámotrek hat keinen besonderen eigenen Namen, sondern heißt nach der Lagune, an deren Ostspitze sie liegt; sie ist von S nach N etwa 1250 m lang und in der Mitte etwas über 700 m breit; nach Süden und Norden spitzt sie sich



Karte 2.

zu. Das Nordkap heißt Luguliong. Im Westen der nördlichen Hälfte, am Binnenwasser, ist eine Ausbuchtung, die als Landungsstelle dient. Hier liegt auch die Siedlung. Eine Karte der Insel wurde vom I. Offizier des »Peiho« vom 20.—26. 11. 1909 aufgenommen (Karte 2). Sie zeigt die Tiefen der Bucht, deren Südkap

Paliauei heißt, während die Nordecke Uŏlebuguí »an der Ecke« genannt wird (s. Haus. 30, Karte 3).

Die Bucht ist durch eine Barre von der ca. 30 m tiefen Lagune getrennt; die Barre hat von N nach S die Tiefen 9, 3, 7, 12, 14, 16 m; landwärts von der Barre ist wieder eine Tiefe von 19 m, die dem Lande zu rasch sich verringert. Diese Tiefe heißt Mólog wie der Siedelungsplan Karte 3 zeigt; südwärts endet sie in einem Bootkanal *tauali vá*. Es liegen hier also ähnliche Verhältnisse vor wie beim Ostbecken des Onoun-Atolls bei der Insel Pisaras, die nur viel kleiner als Lámotrek ist und aus der Reihe des Ringgürtels ostwärts verschoben (s. Bd. 6, I S. 191, 193). Die hübsche Lage des Dorfes an der Bucht zeigt Abb. 50; die Siedlung liegt an der westlichen hohlen Seite, einem weit geschwungenen Bogen. Innerhalb dieses ist im Süden eine kleine Sonderbucht, die aber auf Karte und Plan 3 wenig hervortritt, aber auf Taf. 1b deutlich sich zeigt. An ihr liegt das Boothaus Aboi, in dem wir wohnten. Südwärts klingt sie in den breiten Sandstrand des Caps Paliauei aus, wo das Faktaipu liegt und das Gehöft des Händlers Lewis (s. Plan 3) Taf. 1c zeigt alles deutlich.

1. Inseln der Lámotrek-Gruppe und Namen

bestehend aus 3 Atollen.

1. im O a) **Lámotrek** oder Lamutrik (Karte 93) oder Namotrek, richtig Lamodjek (s. Gesänge, und Truk S. 20) von *lámo* oder *namo* »die Lagune«, und ist *trek*, *tjek* »klein«, obwohl sie die größte von den dreien ist und länger (7 Sm) als Oleai, das nur 5½ Sm lang ist, aber kürzer als das bekannte Mokemok im W, das von S—N etwa 20 Sm mißt. Es wird aber auch gesagt, das *rĕk* sei gleich *rak*[1], die Jahreszeit, d. h. die Jahreszeit, weil hier immer gut Wetter sei; dann bleibe das t unerklärt[2].

b) **Falaite** (Karte 93) im W des Atolls, richtiger Faleit oder in alter Zeit Faleitabut; das Wort stammt von *feiabut* »Unglückskind«, weil die Leute früher dort wild gewesen seien; jetzt unbewohnt.

c) **Puch** (Karte 93) = Pik kleine Insel, im Norden des Ringes, meist Búiŭg gesprochen; das Wort stammt von *buik* Knabe (Palau) und hört sich auch oft so an; unbewohnt. Östlich von der Insel die gute Durchfahrt Taualibúiŭg. Im Westen der Insel eine Bootpassage Metaliár. Zwischen Pik und der Hauptinsel ist noch eine Durchfahrt, die auf der Karte 93 gefährliche Durchfahrt benannt ist (s. K. 1).

[1] Palau III S. 325 *rak*, Truk S. 302 *rás*.
[2] auf Cantova's und Torre's Karte steht Lamurrek.

Wenn man auf dem Riff östlich von dieser Durchfahrt, an der Südseite, also im Binnenwasser südöstlich fährt, kommt man an einen Vorsprung des Riffes, auf dem Sand ist; das ist das Sandcap Mongalepí; zieht man von diesem eine Linie nach Süden, die das Binnenwasser querend, das südliche Riff trifft, früher an dem Stein Faisar (bei letztem Taifun verschwunden), so hat man die *sósor*-Grenze (s. u. S. 47), die den Bezirk der Insel Lamotrek westwärts abschließt; östlich der Linie ist kein tabū, aber westlich muß gefastet werden, wenn man früh mit dem Boot über die Grenze westwärts fährt; auch das Rauchen ist dabei verboten.

2. **Elato** oder auch nur Elat gesprochen, weil so das Seegras[1] heißt, nach dem das Atoll und die Hauptinsel benannt ist, die im Norden des Riffes liegt. Das Riff ist nierenförmig, Bucht nach O mit Booteinlaß in eine kleine Lagune, die nur den Nordteil einnimmt (Japan Karte). Im Südteil scheint nur wenig Binnenwasser, das von dem nördlichen getrennt ist. An der Südspitze die Sandinsel Falipī, mitten (O). Die Insel der deutschen Karte mitten (W) Oletel (Ham. Oletul); Kari (Ham. Kare Riff), Tamas sind auf Japankarte nicht vorhanden. Hambruch nennt noch Merekang „scharfe Spitze", Oilipī „auf dem Sand", Toeirul „sanftes ruhiges Wasser."

3. **Lamolior** unbewohnt, 2 Sm südlich vom Elat-Atoll. »Lagune des Südens« mit Inseln Toas und Olor (Deutsche Karte Ulor).

4. **Olimarau** unbewohnt[2], Namen von *vol*[3] »gegenüber« »dem blauen Meer« (Truk *madau*); 26 Seemeilen nordwestlich von Elato. Besuch zum Schildkrötenfang. Hambruch hörte, daß um 1899 der letzte Eingeborene von Olimarau auf Lamotrek gestorben sei (S. 166 u. 182).

Faiju s. S. 164.

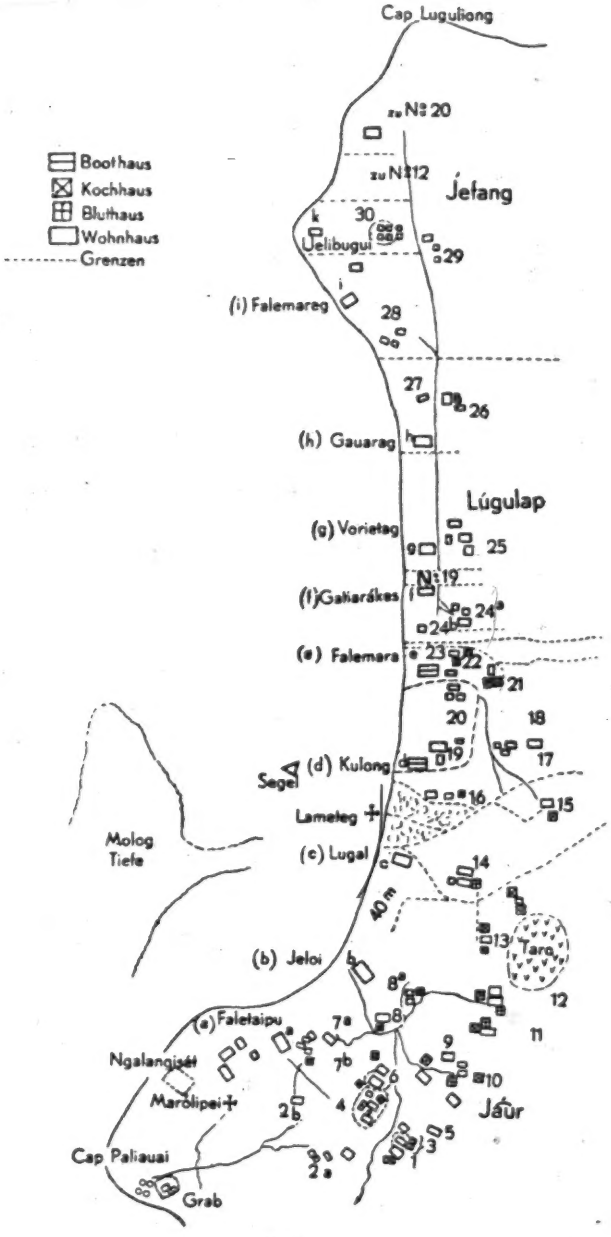
2. Siedlung Lámotrek. Aufnahme 1909.

Das große Dorf liegt, wie erwähnt, am westlichen Binnenstrande, und zwar in der Hauptsache an der Ausbuchtung (Karte 2 und Abb. 50). Der bewohnte Teil der Insel heißt *gápilam* (s. Haus 19).

Ein Gehöft mit zugehörigem Land heißt *bókut* oder *búkut* (Abb. 51 S. 109). Ein Gehöft besteht aus Wohnhaus, Vorrathaus, Kochhaus und Bluthaus.

Man teilt die Gesamtsiedelung ein in den »Süden« Jaur, wo die *fal* Boothäuser a) Faletâipu und b) das innen schön geschmückte (s. Farbtaf. II) Jelói

[1] Enhalus Truk *ibino*, Palau *gar*.
[2] nach Freycinet S. 101 sollen auf Goulimarao um 1800 an Einwohnern 225 gewesen sein.
[3] über das V vor O s. bei Oleai — Voleai.


Cap Luguliong
zu N: 20
zu N: 12
Jefang
Boothaus
Kochhaus
Bluthaus
Wohnhaus
Grenzen
k
30
Jelibugui
29
i
(i) Falemareg
28
27
26
h
(h) Gauarag
Lúgulap
(g) Vorietag
25
N: 19
(f) Galiarákes
24a
24b
(e) Falemara
23
22
21
20
18
19
17
Segel
(d) Kulong
16
15
Lameleg
Molog Tiefe
(c) Lugal
c
14
40 m
13
Tara
(b) Jeloi
b
8a
12
8b
(a) Falelaipu
7a
11
9
Ngalangiaél
7b
10
Marólipei
2b
4
6
Jáur
5
3
1
Cap Paliauai
2a
Grab

Karte 3.

(Aboi) (Abb. Taf. I b) liegen; ferner die Gehöfte 1—12. Hier lag auch der Hof des Händlers Lewis, Ngalangisét »nahe dem Meer« genannt, und südlich davon am Cap Paliauei die Gräber von Gehöft 5. Dort lag, auf dem Land des Oberhäuptling Sukurang (Taf. I), das *falᵉlaṗ* Marólipei, das Geisterhaus.

Die »Mitte« Lúgalap, Boothäuser c) Lúgal und d) Kulong, Gehöfte 13—20; hier lag auch der Hain mit dem Geisterhaus *falᵉlaṗ* Lémaṭak (oder Lámetāg), das um 1890 schon zerfallen war; dicht urwaldartiges Cordiagebüsch war dort vorhanden (Taf. 4b).

Der »Norden« Jefang: Bootshäuser e) Falemára, f) Gatía rákes, g) Voríetag und h) Gauárag (oder Gauósag), i) Falemáreg, k) Uēlibuguí; Gehöfte 12—30. Landgrenze *róros*.

a) Gehöfte (s. Karte 3).

Die eingeklammerten Zahlen beziehen sich auf die Sippen s. u.
H. = Haus, Si. = Sippe.

H. 1. Aútābā *(aut* voll, *pā* leer), Hausgeist Gábodj.
Wohn- und Kochhaus.

♂ von Oleai. Dauámeot †

↓ ↓

Ruéligar † ∞ ♀ Lemailior † Laualipo ♂ ∞ ♀ lange †

↓

a) Faragáu (Si. 2) ∞ ——— ♀ Leālósap (Si. 8)

↓

b) Jláres ♀ (s. H. 21) Repailing ♂ ∞ Lait ♀ (s. H. 24b)
Iteman ♂ 12jährig
Der älteste Repailing freite Lait, die Tochter des Feismannes Sopi (H. 24b) Járopig ♂ 10jährig
Taróalipig ♂ 8jährig
Tailug ♂ 5jährig
Taisar ♂ 3—4jährig
ein Neugeborenes ♂

H. 2a. Bēlivar (»Belohnung«) auch Beirivari.
Hausherr *a* Vólimar (Taf. 2a) (Si. 1b), Bruder von Ikesera H. 25.
∞ Laurumai (Si. 1c) vom Haus 10.

↓

α) Salima ♀
β) Latigílior ♀ ∞ Oraitug (Heirat Mitte 1909)
16 jährig, hübsch

γ) Baudjíg ♂ 3—4jährig
δ) Idjuměra ♂
ε) Asepātil ♂

Auch Tilipou vom Haus 10 (1c) und seine Frau Iladjéang wohnten im Gehöft, s. H. 30.

H. 2b. Nahe bei 2a liegt das H. Beílives, in dem früher Angareisuk wohnte, der Bruder von Sukurang, der Sopi's (s. H. 1) frühere Frau Lemáungar gestohlen hatte. A. heiratete dann eine Oleai-Frau, weshalb Beilives als Oleai-Haus gilt. Neuerdings wohnte Joseph darin, der Neffe des Sukurang (H. 24a). Nahebei am Strand das Gehöft Ngalangiset (s. S. 19) des Händlers Lewis (s. H. 23).

H. 3. Gatiauidj *(gatia* wegschieben die Banane *uidj*, weil sie so nahe war)
1 *im*, 1 Bluthaus, 1 Kochhaus
Mutter Lefailior †
↓
a) Hausherr Ikelūr (Si. 5) ∞ Lálepul (Si. 1a) von H. 10
↓
Zauberer Taf. 2d u. Aqu. 30,
s. auch die Bootbaugesänge S. 98.
b) Sēpi ♂ ∞ Laigibesáng (Si. 4) α) Mēlsug 14jährig ∞ Lealótib
↓
5jähriges ♀ Lagasigiáp β) Taoaiso ♂ 12jährig
c) Taualibi ♂ ∞ Lapiriliboë γ) Ikefeil ♂ 8jährig

Da Ikelur keine Schwester hatte, nahm er Láegeit ♀ von H. 18 als solche an.

H. 4. Légauo 2 *im*, 1 Koch-, 1 Bluthaus, 1—2 kleine Schuppen (Aqu. E.K. 33).
Latōveig †
↓
a) Saugarer ♀ s. H. 27
b) Hausherr Boésu (Si. 1c) ∞ 1. Lemalíelup s. H. 24a
Phot. 380 ∞ 2. Letāveiop ♀ (Si. 3)

Abst. s. 24a, Eigner von Boothaus b. Aboi, das bei H. 8 liegt (S. 29).
c) Alimei ♂, auf Póloat

α) Alāūtū ♂ ∞ Ledjelimar s. H. 10
β) Marólipei ♂ ∞ Lealólup s. H. 8
γ) Angaréligar ♂ ∞ Láūvemar H. 7a
δ) Ledauērimer ♀ ∞ Ngarélipigo,
Kinder Letariopur und Fagofir
ε) Legafflipuë ♀ ∞ Angaréliop Joseph
Sohn Aúrupal 3—4jährig, s. 2b u. 24

ζ) Fagómar ♀ ∞ Tamelelit, Abst. H. 9, Sohn Fagoirir
η) Olupui ♂ jung
θ) Alómalu jung

Die Hausfrau Letāveiop stammt von der Frau Lefāītit; sie hat einen Bruder Málipa, der mit Liëlifar vom H. 19 verheiratet ist; ihre Mutter heißt Lagélimar, ihr Bruder Bilimar s. H. 24a, und der 2. Bruder Górug s. H. 18. Letāveiop hat auch noch eine Schwester Lámërëlig, die drei Töchter hatte: Legauëál, Lagibesang (s. H. 3 Sëpi) und Liómai, letztere mit Ikou von Nauru verheiratet, kinderlos.

H. 5. Bólibi (= »Tarofeld mit-Sand«) 1 *im*.
Hausherr Alaulit (*a* Lólit s. H. 24a) (Si. 3)
∞ Leváerip ♀ (Looirip)
↓
α) Tilialo ♂ ∞ Lieisu, 2 Söhne Ibogu und Bulelimar
β) Faragāvus ♂
γ) Letarivolibúdj ♀ ∞ Maratil
δ) Malelipō ♂ jung
ε) Boealit ♂ jung
ζ) Letausu ♀ jung

Eigner des *fal* c, Lugal und des Landes nördlich, auf dem Lugal liegt, und südlich von *fal b*, also viel gutes Land, aber kleines Gehöft.

Lolit's Vater ist Itflimara, der Bruder von Sukurang (s. H. 24a); von seinem Vater hat er den Namen: *a lol* »die Rede« des It...., seine Geschwister s. H. 24a; seine Frau Laváerip hat noch eine Schwester Lesapítva (H. 20), deren Sohn Alefámal (1c) der Hausherr von H. 26 ist; ein Bruder Idju der Hausfrau ist tot. Über Itflimara's Tod bei »Arznei«.

H. 6. Vól'ledj oder Óness (Taf. 9a) 1 *im* und 2 kleine Häuser.

Name von *vol* gegenüber (s. Name Oleai) und *ladj* oder *ledj*, der Stein, der vom Himmel fiel, aber von Itilimara (H. 5) nach Falegiliau (H. 19) gebracht wurde. Er soll vom Boot des Lŭgeileng stammen, der ihn auf seinem Ausleger im Himmel liegen hatte, da der Schwimmer *(tam:)* zu leicht war. Als das Boot kenterte, fiel der Stein auf die Erde bei H. 6 nieder.

Hausherr Ikisamar ♂ (Si. 1b) von H. 29 ∞ (Le) Fagōrip (Si. 1c), Schwester von Olefámal, s. H. 5 u. 26
↓
Lepálimar ♂ jung

H. 7a. Lugeliór (= »mitten im Süden«) 1 *im* und 2 Nebenhäuser.
Angaréisug (Si. 1) + ∞ Levalimelup (Si. 1c) s. H. 10; s. H. 2b.

Kinder:

a) Gasepābau ∞ Fagóior ♀ (Si. 8) s. H. 9
b) Rikipou ♂ ist auf Nauru
c) Lauvemar (Ilauomar) ♀ ∞ Angaréligar ♂ s. H. 4

|

Legasegúiop ♀

H. 7b. Vélifal (Uólifal) 1 *im* und 2 Nebenhäuser mit 7a zusammenliegend. (*uō* sehen, *le fal* das Boothaus, nämlich a) Faletaipu, das dicht dabei liegt s. Plan 3).

Loálimun ♀ f

|

Laurumar ♀ ∞ Mativeliól Bruder von Fagoior H. 7a

|

Ilem'mai ♀

H. 8a. Lēuo von *uó* »sehen« = es ist zu sehen.

Marolipei ♂ (Si. 3) ∞ Lealólup ♀ (Si. 3)
hat nur ein Bein, Phot. 375.

|

α) Ikesal ♂ 12—14jährig
β) Isérep ♂ Phot. 375

Eine Schwester von Lealólup und deren Sohn Serepei sind tot.

H. 8b. Die Häuser Lēas, dicht bei Lēuo, und Fareigo sind ausgestorben. Dicht dabei liegt auch das 2. *fal* b) Aboi, das Boésu (H. 4) gehört.

H. 9. Laūretíu »nach dem Meer hinabsehen« (*tiū* s. Truk S. 49 Anm. 1), 1 *im*, 1 Kochh.

Gasepābau (Si. 1c) (H. 7a) ∞ Leimal und Fagóior (Si. 8) s. beide l. u.

↓

Letámoriol ♀
war als Säugling noch im Gebärhaus.

Lēpígaso ♂ hatte folgende Kinder

a) Fagóior ♀ s. H. 7a.
b) Tamilēlīt ♂ s. H. 4.
c) Mativeliól s. H. 7b.
d) Leimal ♀ ∞ Sagōlur, starb an Influenza
e) Láegeit ♀ ∞ Gorug s. H. 18
f) Latélimal ♀ wohnt hier in H. 9.

H. 10. Limā raurau »der blaue Himmel»; 1 *im*, 1 Kochh., 1 Bluth.
Hausherr Urúpō (Si. 1b) Taf. 4c ∞ Levalimélup ♀ s. H. 7a
Eigner des *fal* g Vorietag und Lauolivol ♀ (Si. 1c)
beide Töchter der Lagafíletag.

Urupo's Abstammung:
Stammutter Leigetafo, Schwester Rógufalū
↓
Laualimadjē ♀ ∞ Rageliol
|
α) Meifal ♂ †
β) Feilimar
γ) Tuēlimar
δ) Lepúmet ♀ †
↓
a) Urupo s. o.
b) Dāiorang ♀
↓
Ledjélimar ♀ ∞ Alāütū s. H. 4 u. 13
↓
α) Ipiól ♂ war mit Sopi, H. 1, in Feis.
β) Letaruúr ♀ (Letariour)
γ) Tekelimál ♂ jung
δ) Angareisap ♂ jung

Kinder der 2. Hausfrau:
α) Tilibou s. H. 14, Taf. 2c ♂ ∞ Ladjēang
β) Gaueléisap ♂ ∞ Leilam[1]
γ) Malieitil ♂ ∞ Leuōpi ♀, 1 Sohn s. H. 16
δ) Lalebul[2] ♀ ∞ Ikelur s. H. 3
ε) Imáleol ♀ ∞ Meisor s. H. 24a
↓ Sohn Eangolimal 16 Jahre
ζ) Laurumai ♀ ∞ *a* Volimar s. H. 2
η) Lefagōtil ♀ ∞ Ilesípou s. H. 16
Sohn Gilisap
ϑ) Lasiboa[2] ♀ ∞ Ikeséra s. H. 25.

H. 11. Lēmoi 1 *im*, 1 Kochhaus, 1 Bluthaus, Nebenhaus von H. 12.
Sōpon'g ♂ (Si. 1b) s. H. 24b ∞ Táomar (Si. 2)
(von Nauru)
↓
α) Maliēidji
β) Laurélimal
γ) Iteser ♂
δ) Laurupa ♀
ε) Leángeredji ♀ klein

H. 12. Eáupil, Taf. 8a; zu H. 12 gehört das Land Koriuvat im Norden.
Eātup von Poloat (Si. 5) ∞ Laborēitag ♀ (Si. 1c)
|
ihre Mutter Lélimar, s. H. 23; 1909 die Frau des Händlers Lewis; ihr Bruder Davaisu s. H. 27.
↓
α) Malirōitib ♂ jung, β) Vidjílipig ♂ jung

[1] Vater Ramúlu, Mutter Élimar, Schwester Fagósap.
[2] Lalebub und Lasiboa sollen Zwillinge sein, also wäre die Reihenfolge nicht richtig.

H. 13. Saridja.
Alāūtū ♂ (Si. 3) s. H. 4 ∞ Ledjélimar ♂ (Si. 1b) Abst. H. 10.

H. 14. Sebáik 1 *im*, 1 Kochhaus, 1 Bluthaus, dicht beim *fal* c) Lugal.
Tilipou (Si. 1c) s. Abst. H. 10 ∞ Ladjēang ♀ (Si. 2) s. H. 15,
wohnte früher in H. 2. war früher die Frau von Lewis
Beide wohnen jetzt in H. 30 s. H. 23, ist Mutter von Bessi
Hier wohnt jetzt Sukúlibou (1b) (s. H. 17) ∞ Letarēsug ♀
der Eigner des *fal* e) Falemára Schwester von Lolit s. H. 5 u. 24a.

H. 15. Faligádjiau »unter dem *gadjiau*«, Phot. 394.
gádjiau Baum mit roten Blüten, Ixora sp.[1]
Das Haus erhielt die Hausfrau Lalebuē von Súkurang (H. 24a), weil seine Mutter Failimys (24a) keine Geschwister hatte (?) s. u.

Leipeliól ♀ †
|
Hausherr a) Fágil ♂ (2) ∞ Lálebuē ♀
b) Ladjēang ♀ s. H. 14 | Schwester von Lolit H. 5
c) Latililag ♀ † ↓
↓ Lealósug ♀ (Si. 3) ledig.
α) Lauriang ♀
β) Ivisalimar ♂
γ) Ladjēboa ♀

Alle 3 leben im Haus des Händlers Lewis, in Ngalangiset, wo Lélimar (s. H. 12) jetzt Hausfrau ist.

H. 16. Lēmar 1 *im*, 3 Nebengebäude, Taf. 9b, Aqu. E K. 31. Ob Name von Brotfruchtteig *mar* unsicher.
Malieitil ♂ s. Abst. H. 10 (Si. 1c) ∞ Leuōpi ♀ (Si. 3)
|
1 kleiner Knabe.

Bruder der Leuōpi ist
Tóropou ♂ (Phot. 405 u. 406) ∞ Oleaifrau,
weiterer Bruder Ilesípou ∞ Lefagōtil H. 10.

H. 17. Vanlisōl »über dem *sol*-Baum«, wahrscheinlich die Barringtonie, auf Truk auch *son* oder *sol*.
Latólimoi ♀ †
↓
a) Tipisō (Si. 7) ∞ Laboreilup ♀ (Si. 1b) wohnen in H. 22

[1] Ich notierte auf Yap als ihren Namen *gāsiong*; Volkens nennt keinen; Palau IV S. 312 *gerdu*, s. das dort Erwähnte *fal'* heißt hier nicht Haus, sondern „unter" (s. Truk S. 77).

b) Uvelial ∞ Lefâibo (Si. 1b) ♀ wohnen in H. 29.

Laboreilup ♀ stammt von Labot ♀ †, einer Schwester des Sukúlibou (s. H. 14) und der Lagapileap ♀. Laboreilup's Sohn Ramón wohnt jetzt mit ∞ Laûgumen im H. 17, einer Tochter der Lamlíelup, einer Schwester von Lolit (H. 5 u. 24a).

H. 18. Beilap »großes Grab«.

Górug ♂ (Si. 2) s. H. 4 ∞ Laegeit ♀, Mutter Lêpígaso H. 9, s. auch H. 3

↓

α) Letamlour ♀ klein
β) Lagajegogur ♀ klein
γ) Tikiser (Iketor) ♂ klein
δ) Tikiboë (Tiripou) ♂ klein

H. 19. Faligiliau[1] »unter der Banyane« 1 *im*, 2 Nebenhäuser; hier ist jetzt der heilige Stein s. H. 6. Nahe lag das *fal* d) Kulong s. H. 1; dem Haus gehört ein dünner zum Strand reichender Landstreifen zwischen *fal* f) und *fal* g).

Leiesol ♀

↓

Lêigafei — Schwester H. 48

↓

Sarîevol

|

Ilima ♂ (Si. 6) ∞ Loâmal ♀ (Si. 2)

↓

Boëso ♂ jetzt auf Nauru
2 weitere Kinder tot.

H. 20. Gápilam »der bewohnte Teil der Insel«; zum Haus gehört das Land Rêpilegúl im Norden.

Lesapitvá ♀ s. H. 5 — Laurumar ♀

↓ — ↓

Ádjuboë ♂ (Si. 1) ∞ Támilêrib ♀ (Si. 1) Schwester s. H. 24b

↓

α) Ibujó ♂ klein
β) Tafogósou ♀ klein.

H. 21. Rolegilifei »Frucht von Hibiscus«.

Der Hausfrau Ilares gehört ein schmales Stück Land, das am Strand 15 m breit ist und inlands zu H. 21 führt.

[1] *giliau* für die Ficusarten statt *aoau* Truk S. 425.

Meitong † (Si. 3) ∞ Iláres ♀ (Si. 2) Schwester von Faragau H. 1
† in Saipau oder Manila ↓
α) Magóling ♂ ∞ Lêigopi s. H. 25
β) Maria ∞ Japaner, der fortgereist ist
↓
Luisa ♀, Léon ♀ und Alónso ♂
alle noch jung.

H 22. Lugoleal »halbwegs«, nahe bei *fal* e) Falemára (S. 29).
Tipiso ♂ (Si. 7) ∞ Laborêilup ♀ (Si. 1)
s. H. 17.

H. 23. Falegovól »unter dem *govóle*, richtig *goudl* geschrieben = Ficus; 1 *im*, 1 Kochhaus und 1 Bluthaus.
Der Händler Lewis kaufte das Haus von Maipil, der nach Saipan ging und dort starb. Er lebte hier mit Ladjëang (s. H. 14), die ihm hier seine Tochter Bessi 1885 gebar (Taf. 3d), der auch das Land gehört; ein Sohn ging mit O'Keefe (Yap) 1909 verloren. Eine Tochter Alice stammt von einer Chamorrofrau auf Yap; 1909 Frau Lelimar s. H. 12, s. auch H. 15. Jetzt wohnt L. im Hause Repailing (s. H. 1 u. 24b).

H. 24a. Imeailap »großes Haus« des Oberhäuptling Sukurang (Taf. 1a), 1 *im*, 1 Kochhaus, 1 Bluthaus; nahe beim *fal* f) Gatirakis, das seinem Schwager Meisor gehört.

Sukurang ♂ (Si. 1a) ∞ Legafilidjou ♀ (Si. 3)
Abst.: | ihre Mutter Sigeligáng
Tábulidj ♂ ∞ Failimus ♀ Gafileitob ♀ †
| | ein Bruder Meisor ∞ s. H. 10.
| | ihre Kinder:
| | α) Laumangér ♀ ∞ Bilimar s. H. 4.
a) Sukurang ♂ s. 1. | β) Lebagôur ♀
b) Itélimara ♂ † ..... seine Kinder:
| ↓
c) Angareisuk ♂ s. H. 2b † | α) Lolit ♂ s. H. 5
d) Levölimet ♀ † ∞ Boliman | β) Letarësug ♀ s. H. 14
↓ | γ) Lalebuë ♀ s. H. 15
α) Joseph (1a) s. H. 4 u. 2b | δ) Lemalíelup ♀ s. H. 4, phot. 395
β) Lesagomul ♀ starb jung |
Langumen s. H. 17, phot. 396.

Bei der Sippe 1 (s. u.) ist vermerkt, daß Sukurang und Boësu (s. H. 4) von 2 Schwestern abstammen.
Hauswandabwehrmatte s. Abb. 41.

H. 24b. Bómaras war 1909 verlassen s. Abb. 52. 1 *im*, 1 Nebenhaus, am Strande gelegen. Hier wohnte als Landbesitzer (Mutter aus Feis).

Sopi von Feis ♂ ∞ 1. Frau Lemálingar von Feis (s. H. 2b)
s. H. 1, 2b

↓

Lait ♀ ∞ Repailing ♂ s. 1 u. 23
| ↘ Rameéang ♂ 8—10 Jahr
∞ 2. Frau ..... Féisago ♀ (Si. 1b)
|
Igeilang ♂ ∞ Lefagosár ♀ s. H. 26.

Geschwister der Feisago
a) Lesagólup ♀
b) Feisago ♀ s. o.
c) Meireg ♂ ∞ Frau †, Kind Letáruelam ♀
d) Sopong ♂ s. H. 11.
e) Rangemai ♂ ∞ Laipei s. N. 20, Schwester von Tamilérib.

Sopi (s. Haus 1 u. 2) kam mit Meireg (s. o. c.) von Feis in den Booten Uellip und Meitop (s. Oleai H. 1). Dicht beim Hause liegt r. das Grabhaus des Saualik und der Adoptivmutter des Sopi.

H. 25. Olibābā oder Volibābā, großes Gehöft mit 4 Gebäuden; zum Teil aus Planken, s. phot. 410, 1023 u. 1025; dicht bei *jal* g) Voriētag s. Taf. 8 b, c, d.

Lativepag ♀ †

↓

Hausherr a) Ikeséra (Si. 1b) Taf. 2b u.d. ∞ Lāsibōā ♀ (Si. 1) s. H. 10
Beiname Kabúlebul s. H. 27; ↓
b) Leigesau ♀ s. H. 26 Leipogi ♀ ∞ Magoling s. H. 21.
c) Auelimar ♂ oder *a* Vólimar s. H. 2.

H. 26. *a* Bilimogol »hinter *kabil*, der Dämmerung Abend *mogol*«
Mutter Lesapitvá s. H. 5

↓

a) Alefámal ♂ (Si. 1c) s. H. 5 ∞ Leigesaū ♀ (Si. 1b) s. H. 25

↓

b) Ajubōē ♂ ∞ s. H. 20
α) Boumal ♂
β) Ikemelat ♂
c) Lefagosar ♀ ∞ s. H. 24b
γ) Malemal ♂
δ) Tetálemai ♂
d) Lefagorip ♀ ∞ H. 29 u. 6
ε) Legalidjipo ♀
ζ) Taigi ♂

H. 27. Lebul von *habulebul* »die Leuchte«.

Eebuil von Fingelap ∞ Saugárer (Si. 1b) s. H. 4

↓

Letárueal ♀ ∞ Táremai s. H. 28

↓

Kind †

Hierher gehört noch Lefisimag ♀, die den Davaisu freite, einen Sohn der Lelimar und der Bruder von Laboreitog ♀ s. H. 12; die Mutter der Lefisimag soll Lauáliar sein, deren Mutter mit Saugárer, der Hausfrau, verwandt zu sein scheint.

H. 28. Lêdjib (wie Latîu sich anhörend); dicht dabei das *fal* k) Falemareg.

Lafûsor ♀ Schwester von Lêgafai H. 19

↓

Lêtepisimal

↓

♂ Latea von Oleai ~ Leigobul ♀ (Si. 6)

↓

a) Taiman ♀ ∞ Gûleisap fuhr mit Sopi H. 1
b) Taremai ∞ Letárueal ♀ s. H. 27
c) Iketip ♂

H. 29. Marólipig (Si. 7) eigentlich *morálipig* von *mor* auftrocknen.

Uvélial ♂ s. H. 17 ∞ = Lefûbo (Si. 1b)

↓

a) Ikesámar ♂ ∞ Lefágôrip ♀ s. H. 26 u. 6
b) Melemai.

H. 30. Uôlebugui »an der Ecke«, dabei das *fal* k).

Tilipou ♂ (Si. 1c) Ladjêang ♀ (Si. 2) s. H. 23 u. 2a
s. H. 10 u. 14.

Das schon von H. 2a, 10, 14 u. 23 bekannte Ehepaar, lebt auch hier nicht fest. Das Gehöft, das in der Nähe des *fal* k) desselben Namens steht, wird gerne von den schwangeren Frauen der 1. Sippe benützt, im 10. Monat, kurz ehe sie ins *imatamai* (s. S. 89) ziehen.

Schon oben S. 17 sind die Bootshäuser *fal* insgesamt erwähnt. Sie gehören den einzelnen Häuptlingen, und diese besitzen auch das Land, auf dem sie stehen, in kleinerer oder größerer Ausdehnung; dieses Land ist auf dem Plan durch

punktierte Linien gekennzeichnet. Einzelne Angaben befinden sich bei den Gehöften.

b) Die Boothäuser und ihre Besitzer sind:

fal	Eigner	Haus
a) Faletaipu, früher Häuptlingsplatz, der nicht betreten werden durfte.	Sukurang u. Selábo	24a
b) Aboi (auch Eaboi und Iéloi) Taf. 1b u. 9c, Abb. 53.	Bóesu	4
c) Lúgal Taf. 1b.	Lólit	5
d) Kulong †	Faragaus	1
e) Falemara	Sukúlubo	14
f) Gatia rákés »nahe am Calophyllum«	Mélsor	24a
g) Voriétag oder Boerieitug	Urupo	10
h) Gauárag (auch Gauosag) »Platz des Grolles«	Ikeséra	25
i) Falemareg		
k) Uélibugui oder Uóle		30

c) Häuptlingsreihe.

Lámotrek	Elato (Ham.)
1. Súkurang (Haus 24a S. 26)	1. Mailipue 1909
2. Angareisuk »die vom langen Fischen lockigen Haare des Sukurang«	2. Fetal e tauuo
3. Teliméra oder Iteliméra, s. S. 26	3. Lóngarále
4. Uámop	4. Mangiléi
5. Gogoiaim	5. Laremát
	6. Moilt
	7. Laliigúr
	8. Ilematíp (S. 9)
	9. Foiemelaú[1] oder Oroéihaú

Lam.: Da die ersten 3 Brüder sind, so handelt es sich hier nur um etwa 3 Generationen, so daß die Überlieferung nicht über 100 Jahre hinausreicht. Es wurde nur berichtet, daß die Häuptlinge früher sehr mächtig gewesen seien, was den Angaben von Clain (s. S. 5) entspricht. Zu Lütke's Zeit könnte Gogoiaim gelebt haben. Cantova nennt Mattuson als Oberhäuptling 1722.

Von Elato gibt Hambruch 9 Häuptlinge *(pimóon, tamól)* an. Wie weit der 9. zurückreicht, ist nicht ermittelt.

[1] zu seiner Zeit sollen die ersten Weißen gekommen sein. (Wohl 1797 Duff.). s. S. 6.

3. Siedlung auf Elato (Ham.).

Von Hambruch aufgenommen. Plan fehlt.

a) Hauszählung Elato.

Größtenteils primitive Hütten, da seit dem Taifun 1907 noch kein rechter Aufbau erfolgte.

1. Ettiatiū, Buschhütte.
2. Kū ūēi, Gebärhaus.
3. Kochhaus, *māl ūm*, zugleich Schlafhaus für Menstruierende.
4. Haus für Wöchnerinnen, *im a fāliē* (s. Haus S. 89).
5. Ilaroēi, Oleaigäste.
6. Būōl i būgi, Oleaigäste.
7. Tāūiērās, Oleaigäste.
8. Fazefāl, 1 ♂, (♀ gestorben), —.
9. Faliōp, 3 ♂, 3 ♀, —, 1 Md.
10. Im mo gitigit.
11. Legóūria, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 Kn., 1 Md.
12. Fāl e giliaū, 1 ♀.
13. Gitóū, 4 ♂, 2 ♀, 2 Kn. Oleai-Leute von Uazagǫr[1], die auch hier einen festen Wohnsitz und Haus haben, und bald in Oleai, bald in Elato hausen.
14. Pāūūil, 3 ♂, 4 ♀, —, 1 Md.
    Kochhaus aus dem Deckshaus eines gestrandeten Schiffes.
    Steinfundament des ehemaligen »großen Hauses«, *mā/fūrz*.
    Reste des ehemaligen »Großen Hauses«, *eǫūr e lāp*.
15. Olegesārs, 5 ♂, 5 ♀, —, 1 Md.
16. Nogūr, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 Kn., 1 Md.
17. Lūgāl, japanische Händlerstation, verlassen.
18. Uōlēl, Leute von Pāū i ēl, hierher.
19. Kātigālū, 2 ♂, 2 ♀, 1 Kn., 1 Md.
20. Kolūng, 1 ♂, 1 ♀.
21. Uōlipār, 4 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 Kn., —
22. Kūsorōlo, 4 ♂, 4 ♀, 1 Kn., 1 Md.
23. Kāti e fāl, Haus des Häuptlings, 4 ♂, 1 ♀, — —.
24. Rolegorāl, gehört zu 23.
    Am Hause Tatauierung der weibl. Scham , *māk e boāy*.
25. Matal ie eāl, wird zur Zeit der Mückenplage bewohnt, da hier frischer Wind zu sein pflegt.
26. Mērekām. Gebär-, Wöchnerinnen- und Bluthaus der Oleai-Gäste.

[1] Votagai?

Gehöfte:	13	♂	41
Gebäude:	26	♀	32
		Knab.	7
		Mädch.	7
		Zus.	87

Alte echte Elato-Leute sterben aus.

Es sind nur die auf Elato Ansässigen gezählt. Nicht die etwa 180 Köpfe zählenden Oleai-Leute, die seit dem Taifun von 1907 hier Obdach gesucht haben, eingepfercht in elenden Hütten. Sie gedenken bald wieder nach Oleai überzusiedeln.

b) Familie, Gesellschaft.

Familien, *gr i lang*.

Auf Elato sind vier Familien vorhanden, von denen je zwei und zwei unter einander heiraten, und ferner 2 Familien, die das niedere Volk bilden.

Die Vornehmen:

1. Mā̃lipūe ∞ 3. Mā́ńā̃ li fūs
2. Gemā̃rēńg ∞ 4. Ẓā̃ fēlę

Das niedere Volk:

5. Ali ū lia
6. Ẓā̃ ūll.

Nr. 2 hatte früher den Vorrang; sie wurde von 1 verdrängt. Der erste Häuptling auf Elato ist Angehöriger der Familie Ẓā̃ fēlę.

Beim Häuptling erbt der Bruder, dann die Neffen, die Söhne der Schwestern. Der leibliche Sohn hat keine Macht. Die Brüder erben dem Alter nach.

Alle Männer können aus den niedrigsten in die höchsten Familien heiraten.

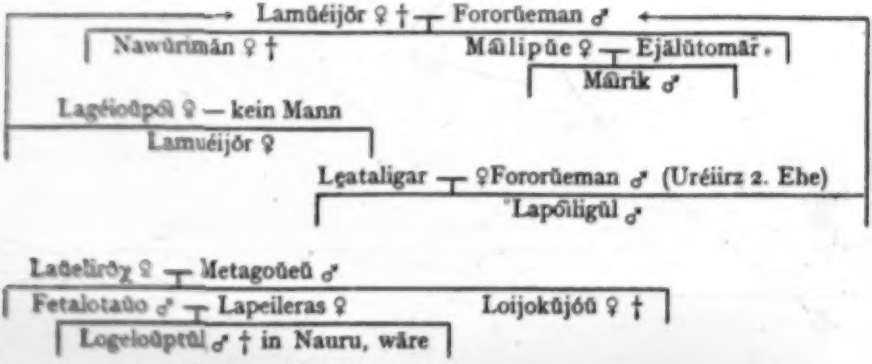
awūār, Gurkenbaum. Sie sind gemeinsamer Besitz, und die Früchte werden an die einzelnen Häuser verteilt.

Es gibt ein Mutterrecht, entsprossen aus dem Recht der Arbeit und der Pflicht; denn der Mann tut nur wenig; der Ehemann hat mit der Familie nichts zu tun, nur der Mutterbruder.

Der Frau gehört das Haus. Bei der Heirat geht der Mann in das Haus der Frau (s. Truk); ausgenommen er wohnt im eigenen Familienhaus, das aber beim Tode an den nächst älteren Mann aus der Familie des Mannes fällt. Die Kinder erben von der Mutter; der älteste Sohn geht voran, dann die jüngeren, die einen Vorrang vor den Schwestern haben.

Der Heiratskontrakt besteht darin, daß 2 Körbe Nahrung (Nuß, Taro, *mar*) ausgetauscht werden. Damit ist die Zeremonie beendet. Bei der Heirat gibt der Mann seinen, die Frau ihren Willen kund; die Verwandtschaften kochen Essen, das ausgetauscht wird. Auch bei der Geburt eines Kindes wird nichts entrichtet.

c) Stammbaum des *tamol* Mâlipue.



sonst nach dem Tode des Mâlipûe *tamol* gewesen.

d) Besiedlung von Elato.

Mǫtéijâmâû ♂ und Hawûm ♀ kamen zuerst nach Elato. Sie kamen von Lamûtšêχ, nachdem sie dort wie in Pig, Pikelôt, Setûân Kinder gezeugt hatten, jeweils einen Knaben und ein Mädchen, die dann als Stammeltern auf den betreffenden Inseln angesehen werden. Auf Elato gelten Lôîi ♂ und Lemâû û râle ♀ als Stammeltern; Lôîi ist dort 1. Häuptling. — Ifalûk, Farôîlip usw. wurden nicht von dem Paare besiedelt.

e) Geschichte.

Unter Ilematîp (S. 29) kamen die ersten Weißen nach Elato.

In alten Zeiten kam ein Häuptling Teiâr aus Truk mit seinen Leuten, unterwarf Elato und herrschte. Unter ihm kamen die Leute von Ifalûk herüber und schlugen alle Bewohner von Elato tot. Von den Ifalûk-Leuten wurde Elato neu besiedelt. — Môz war der Häuptling. Damals wurden auch sämtliche Leute von Nâmoliâûr erschlagen und die von Lamûtšîk stark dezimiert. Elato ist eine Kolonie von Ifalûk.

f) Karten.

Auf Lütke's Carte générale de l'Archipel des Carolines, 1828, steht Namourrek, Elato, Namoliaour und nahebei I. Satahoual. Das Schiff fuhr nordwärts von Fayeou Occid. vorbei.

Plan nach Karte des Reichsmarineamts Nr. 93. — 1903.

Karte Japan 1925, die als Unterschied gegen die früheren Karten die Lagune von Elato nur klein, dem Nordteil angehörend zeigt; mitten ist jedenfalls eine große Barre; es ist also anzunehmen, daß die während der 100 Jahre seit Lütke sich so verengt hat.

4. Taifune.

12. Dez. 1900 soll ein kleiner Taifun gekommen sein. SW-Wind im Januar gilt als schlechtes Zeichen.

1907. s. den Taifun von Oleai, der die Lamotrek-Inseln nicht so hart traf.

34

III. Stoffliche Kultur.

1. Tracht.

a) Kleidung und Schmuck.

(Vgl. Tafel 1—3, 10 und Farbtafel 1 und 3.)

Europäische Kleider fehlen.

Die Kleidung beider Geschlechter gleicht sich der von Truk und Umgebung an: Männer[1] tragen die T-Binde, Knaben gehen nackt, die Frauen tragen ihre Webmatten, und die heranreifenden Mädchen bedecken sich vorn und hinten gerne mit einem Blätterbüschel (Taf. 3a, b). Dieser Schurz heißt *titi*, wie ja auch auf Samoa[2] die Mädchenschürze genannt werden.

Hier werden dazu Farnblätter[3] an der Sonne getrocknet, dann folgt das Kauen *(nürei* E. K.) des Stengels, bis er weich ist. Zwei Stück werden darauf mit zwei

Abb. 1a Abb. 1b.

Blütenkopfkränze.

Stück zusammengebunden, dann von rechts und links je zwei neue darauf gelegt, und die Stiele in einen Zopf verflochten, während die Spitzen mit den Knien festgehalten werden. Auf Taf. 3b sieht man deutlich die Stiele nach oben herausschauen, das Bild zeigt auch recht schön den **Schmuck,** den die Mädchen anlegen. Als Duftgeber wurden noch genannt Parinariumnüsse, angetrieben und an den Häusern von den Frauen aufgehängt. Elato: *aiss* (s. Truk S. 97); s. Oleai.

Blütenkränze, Stirnbänder, Ohrgehänge, Halsketten aus Kokosringen *(éffirre* He.) und Scheibchen, *dagág*, aus weißen Muschelscheibchen

[1] He. 2168 Spitzhut *solivars* (fadj Pandanus = *vars*, Hut auf Truk *saim)*, so auch die lufttrockenen Pandanusblätter, die zum weiteren Trocknen noch um einen Stock gewickelt werden. Elato.

[2] Dort aus den Blättern der *ti*-Pflanze bestehend (Dracaene Samoa-Inseln II S. 290). Hier ist es meist Farn *djidji* oder *djifadjif* (Kr. 472 = 3228 II), der also auch namengebend hier sein kann. S. Bd. 61 S. 134.

madja, daneben kleine Scheibenringe aus Conusböden, *mat* und *vul*[1], und Plättchen von roten Muscheln, *faibar*[2] (*faubar* Truk).

Die Überladung, wie sie im Trukgebiet üblich ist, kommt hier und westwärts nicht mehr vor, und klingt ab nach dem schmucklosen Palau, an das der *telau* — Zwei-Kugel-Hänger erinnert (Palau III S. 21 Abb. 12) s. Taf. 2a.

An Blütenkopfkränzen beobachteten wir einige entzückende Gebilde, so ein grün und weißes aus Premnablättern[3] und Dolden der Fragraea (a); ein anderes grün, weiß, gelbes aus den weißen Blüten des Salzwasserbusches Scaevola[4] und den gelben der Trion fettia procumbens (b). E. Krämer hat beide aquarelliert; hier sind sie gezeichnet, Abb. 1.

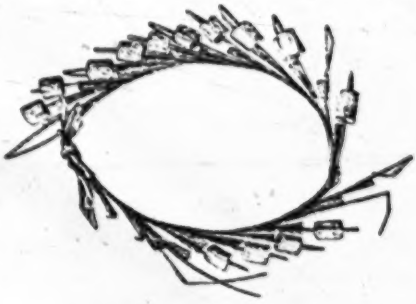


Abb. 2. Kopfkranz.

Einen eigenartigen Kopfkranz erhielt ich von einem Mann. Die Spitze eines halbierten Kokoswedels ist zu einem Kreis gebunden und an die von der Blattfläche befreiten Fiedern sind Zylinderchen angesteckt, die aus jungen Brotfrüchten bestehen sollen, Abb. 2 (Kr. 486 = 3241[II]); junge Brotfrüchte sind auf den Koralleninseln etwas Kostbares und tabuiertes, so daß man nicht leichtsinnig sie abbrechen wird. Entweder handelt es sich also um einen Brotfruchtzauber, worüber nichts zu erfahren war, oder ein Zweig mit jungen Früchten war abgebrochen.

Ohren: Gehänge, *suasua*, an den erweiterten Ohrläppchen: Ringe (s. Armringe) und Kettchen, aus Kokosschale, Patt und Conus, aber nicht in dem Übermaße wie auf Truk. Auch Uhrräder ähnliche Ringe und *tebau* kommen vor (s. Oleai S. 223 und 224).

Die schönen Gehänge in Yap I S. 25 Abb. 19, stammen nicht von Oleai, sondern von Sovol:

Hellwig gibt verschiedene Namen für den Schmuck an: 2162 *udjaūdj* aus Kokosperlen und Conusböden in 4 Abteilen; 2194 *marrigiau* oder *madsí*... mit Pterocerasknöpfen; 2199 große Kokosringe *lēlle mangár* (Uhrrad *lēli mangál*), halbmondförmig (= Fischschwanz) *pera līg*; 2224 *búrai*, 2135 *borói* große Schildpattringe (Truk S. 107 *bodj*), auch auf der Brust getragen; 2233 Schildpattringe *borál lágelag*, wie auch die Patt-Armringe genannt werden, neben *lagál*; 2260 und 80 Kokosperlenkette mit einzelnen *faubar*; 2319 rote Pilgermuschel.

Halsketten, nicht viel getragen, *marremarre*[5], aus 3—7 Reihen Kokos-

[1] wie Truk S. 95. [2] He. schreibt auch *vai parre* und *vai i par*. [3] Truk S. 419 *lior*, und Fragraea *[mosor*.
[4] Truk S. 421 *not* und Trionfettia *hun*, *liodot*. [5] Girlande *mar* S. 119.

perlen, (He. 2158 *billigorru)*, ähnlich in der Fläche gereiht wie im Bd. 6 I Abb. 15 u. 16, zeigt Abb. 3; ein Muschelstück (Blänker) hängt auf einer Bindeseite. He. 2280 = 6053[II] bemerkt, es stamme von Ifaluk. Auch dreieckige *faipar*-Stücke dienen als Hänger, wie in den Ohren (s. Oleai-Feis). Eine einfache

Abb. 3. Halskette He 2280.

Abb. 4. Halsband, 70 cm lang.

Halskette (He. 2260 = 6035[II]) hat nur einzelne, getrennt von einander eingeflochtene Kokosringe (He. *éffirre)*; das Flechtband ist aus Bananenfaser *χóloχole wüs* (Abb. 4).

Armringe s. oben S. 35 bei Ohr. S. auch Taf. 3b; aus Patt (sehr klein solche für die Ohren) und Trochusringen.

Die Haarschnüre s. bei Korb S. 68.

Die Haare werden meist kurz getragen; eine besondere Frisur tritt auch bei längeren nicht hervor. Besonders kurz trug sie die Weberin Dailemar, Abb. 5.

Abb. 5. Dailemar.

Abb. 6. Einstecker.

Nach Cantova S. 312 lassen sich die Häuptlinge der Westkarolinen lange Bärte stehen, um ihr Ansehen zu heben.

Kämme sind vorhanden, aber weder so häufig, noch in den vielen Formen wie auf Truk. Einen breiten Stäbchenkamm mit 3 fingerförmigen Strahlen zeigt Taf. 10a, einen einzinkigen Einstecker (He. 2301 = 607311) mit Fregattvogel und Hahnenfedern s. Abb. 6; ein ähnlicher (He. 2333) ist alles, was gesammelt wurde.

Zur Epilation dient die Muschelklammer (He. 2306 = 607811), Abb. 7, *kúm'u* s. *kom*, genannt. Die vorzüglich genau schließenden Schalen, die durch ein Band von Haaren verbunden sind, entstammen der Muschel Tapes litterati *kûm*. (s. Yap Taf. 8 Nr. 1 *gum* oder *gom)*, Palau IV S. 371 *gum*, s. Oleai S. 222.

Abb. 7. Epilator.

Gürtel.

Sie heißen *gabidj* (He. *χapéss*, angetan *tetár*) und sind meist dreistrangig; auch bekam ich für einen dreistrangigen, angeblich eingeführten, den Namen *tagágapaki* (Kr. 471 = 322711), wobei *paki* oder *pake* die Stege sind, die Breithalter, von denen bei Truk S. 109 als *fêken* schon die Rede war; diese sind aus weißen Muscheln oder aus der *leang*[1] (Truk *leangeéo* Pteroceras), oder auch aus Perlmutter und Schildpatt gefertigt; die Stränge bestehen zumeist aus Kokos-

Abb. 8. Gürtel, 3 strangig.

scheibchen oder -Perlen, selten aus Patt[1], wie die feinen, kostbaren, schönen Westkarolinengürtel, die *taral* von Oleai (s. S. 225), die aber immer, wenn sie getragen werden (s. Taf. 3b), eingeführt sind (Truk S. 107). Taf. 3b zeigt einen solchen siebenstrangigen bei dem Mädchen rechts, während Taf. 3c den üblichen dreistrangigen bei einer Frau zeigt; s. auch Abb. 8 zeigt. Das Mädchen links auf Taf. 3b zeigt einen einfachen Strang zum Festhalten des *titir* (s. o.), auch Photo 372 (Taf. 3c) zeigt einen solchen. Meist sind sie aus Menschenhaaren geflochten, wie die Korbbänder Abb. 42. Diese Haargürtel nennt man *toradja djiem*[2]. (He. 2146 = 3923 *tetáre sîm* von Elato.)

[1] He. 2222 = 600211 zeigt 5 unfertige Gürtelstege aus *leang*, *pakiligil*, wobei *paki* wieder auf den Steg hinweist; Bohrloch *lal wura wura (burabura* Drillbohrer S. 62); daneben eine Menge zugeschnittener Schildpattstücke *boats dibbedib* (Truk S. 107 *bodj)*. [2] Kopfhaar *djim, sim*.

4: Krämer OR21 Woleai

b) Tatauierung, Bemalung.

hat hier nicht oder nicht mehr die strenge Ordnung der Westkarolinier, nicht mehr, wahrscheinlich weil das Bild von Lütke im Bd. 6 I Abb. 24 zeigt, daß sie vor 100 Jahren auf Lukunor, wenigstens teilweise, noch vorhanden war. Dies ist auch nach den Worten von Kittlitz S. 10 anzunehmen. Jetzt hat sich auch auf Lámotrek die Ordnung aufgelöst, und es ist der Schmuck meist nur in Ornamentgruppen an den Beinen vorhanden wie die Abbildungen zeigen, besonders reich bei den Frauen. Die Männer dagegen schmücken die Beine wenig oder gar nicht, ziehen aber die Arme heran, wie Abb. 9 von zwei Innenseiten zeigt, die zahlreiche Musterreihen übereinander zeigen, dabei offenbar Speerspitzen *rasüm* (Abb. 9 b). Die Außenseiten der Oberschenkel (Abb. 10 a—d) zeigen meist nur zwei senkrechte Musterreihen von Haizähnen oder Fischen, von denen der *pup* (Nr. 23) (Truk S. 150 Fig. x Balistes) und der *küe* (Nr. 26) (Truk S. 113 Fig. i *ku*, Doppelform erscheint erst in Pollap Bd. 6 I S. 257) besonders bevorzugt sind; diese erscheinen aber auch bei den Frauen, Abb. 11 a, b (Frau Netailemoar) u. Abb. 12 neben den vielen andern Mustern, die aus Abb. 79 ersichtlich sind. Die Anordnung zeigen die erwähnten Abbildungen, von den die bei der Frau Loalimul (Abb. 13) besonders reich ist; bei ihr ist eine Platte an der Seite, nach vorn von der Gesäßbacke, also über dem Hüftgelenk; von da zieht ein breites Schmuckband an der Außenseite des Oberschenkels nach dem Knie hinab, wo einige Ringe, die an der Seite offen sind, das ganze Bein umziehen; in der Kniekehlengegend sind dann noch einige lose Muster.

a b

Abb. 9. Armtatauierung.

Erwähnenswert ist noch, daß der Mons veneris das schwarze Dreieck *puáre* zeigt, über das schon von Palau III S. 35 berichtet ist, allerdings auch auf Ponape (Joest S. 90) vorkommt, aber nicht auf Truk, beobachtet wurde. Als Hausornament *māk e boár* sah es Hambruch auf Elato, hier S. 30. Taf. 11 b.

Über die **Ornamente** (Abb. 79 s. Kunst) wäre noch zu sagen, daß die schon erwähnten Fische auch gleichnamig auf Truk vorkommen, aber dort Delphine sind, nur nicht in Doppelform. Gleich mit Truk ist auch der übliche Haizahn. Aber die weiteren Muster sind meist anders, und ebenso sind die Bezeichnungen ganz verschieden. In der Form gleich ist das Kreuz *langetor* mit dem *blutal* von Palau

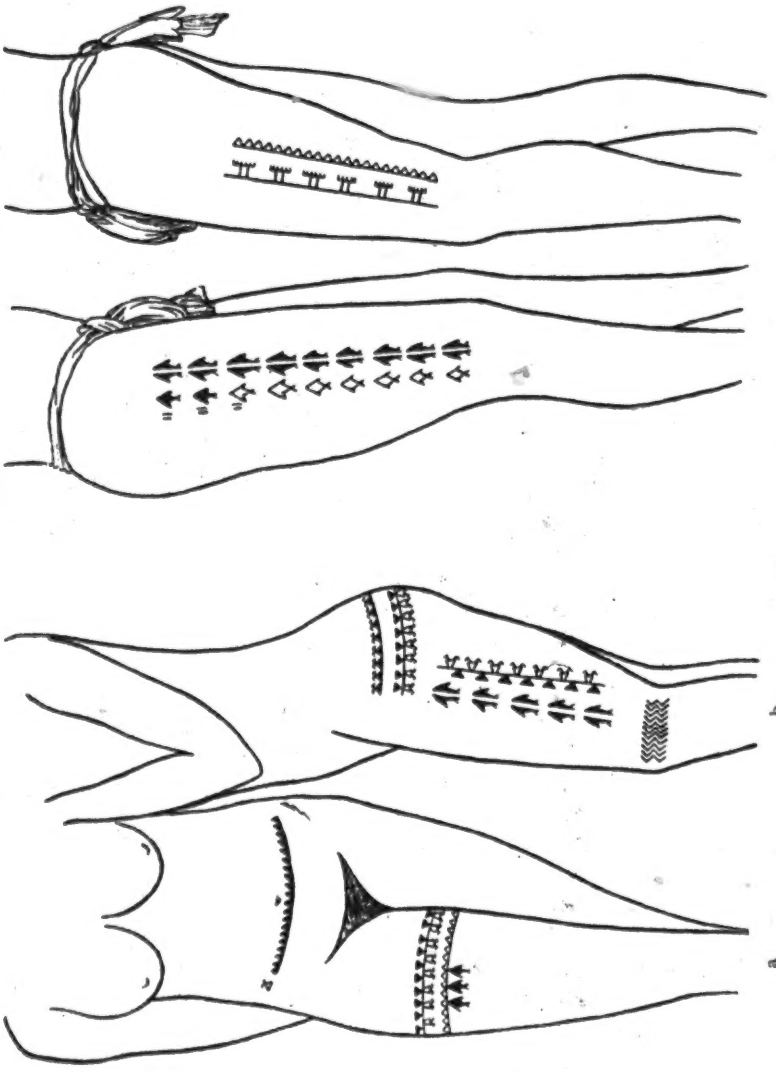


Abb. 10. Oberschenkeltatauierung der Frauen.

40

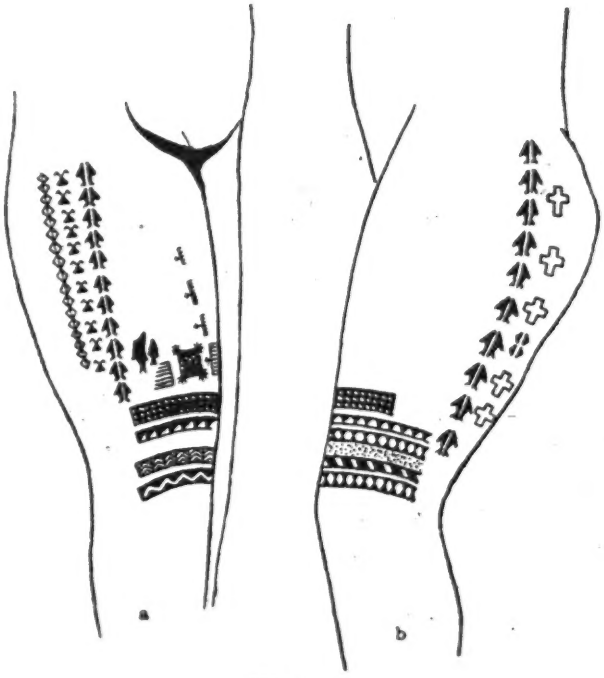


Abb. 11. ♀

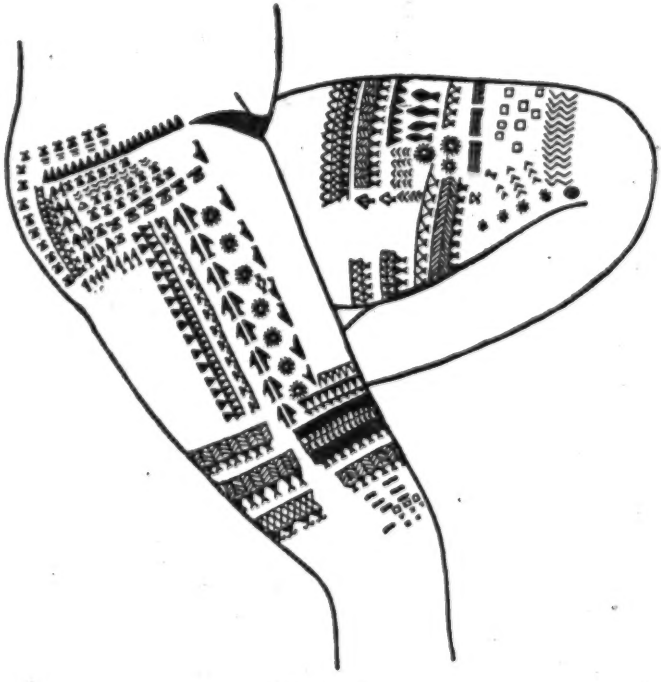


Abb. 12. ♀

III S. 39 Fig. t; dagegen die Strahlensonne auf Abb. 13 wieder gleich mit Fig. z in Truk S. 150.

Für die vielen Bezeichnungen auf Abb. 79 fehlt, von den erwähnten abgesehen, die Bedeutung. Der ornamentierte Hausgiebel (wie z. B. in Palau) heißt *tabau*, ist also bekannt.

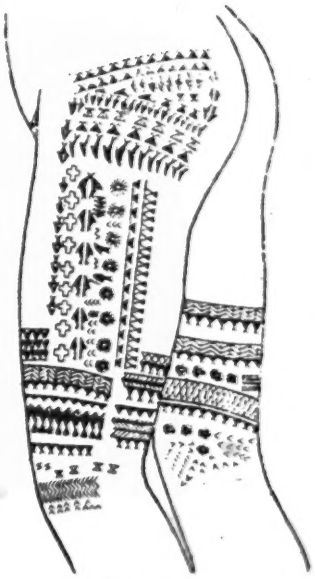


Abb. 13. ♀

Über die Ausführung wurde nichts besonderes bekannt. Hacke wie ein Geschwürsöffner (Abb. 134) aussehend. Den Ruß für die schwarze Farbe gewinnt man statt aus *savani* Nüssen (He. 2138), aus angetriebenem Harz *h urú*, das auf mildes Feuer gelegt und mit einer Kokosschale überdeckt wird, die man mit Blättern abdichtend bedeckt; der Ruß schlägt sich dann innen nieder. Auch Paraffin *rās* oder *matiga* (= Fett, weil die Eingeborenen es für Fischfett hielten) trieb an, ist aber dafür nicht brauchbar.

Über **Bemalung** nichts besonderes bekannt. Gelbwurz (S. 58 Ges. XV) wie auf den andern Inseln im Tausch erhandelt, aber selten gebraucht. Die rote Farbe der Boote usw. stammt als rote Erde, *lap*, von Yap oder Truk. Die von Yap gilt als die bessere (s. S. 97). Daher Farbschüssel *tabbi en lap* mit Pinsel *goleliē* (s. S. 64 u. 97).

2. Ernährungs-Wirtschaft.

a) Arbeitsteilung.

Den Frauen liegt ob: Feldarbeit, Feuerholz holen und Kochen; die Männer treiben Fischfang. Über jährliche Lebensmittelknappheit s. S. 193.

Abb. 14. Holzspaten.

Für Tarofeldbau sind Spaten vorhanden (He. 2234 = 6021[II] *kóa:* (vgl. Kokosöffner), auch *otēlipoa)* vgl. Ku. Bd 6 I S. 50; eine nette, gefällige Form zeigt der Spaten (He. 2244) Abb. 14, der 62 cm lang ist.

b) Koch- und Eßgeräte.

Kochen *üm.* Feuermachen s. Truk S. 124, Büchse für Stein und Stahl, *gaigers*, He. 2210; auch *gulegul*, s. S. 65.

Die Kochschnecke, Cassis cornuta (He. 2098 *maiāle, mēal*, s. Truk *moēal)*, ehemals viel benützt zum Kochen, jetzt als Wasserbehälter geschätzt; s. auch Taf. 7 vom Linden-Museum Stuttgart.

Kokoshülsenöffner (He. 2223 = 6003II), *kóát* (s. Spaten), Holz *kaingi*.

Die Kokosraspel ist sehr einfach, zweibeinig, Abb. 15, (He. 2302 = 6074II *waigin* oder *wegang*, Sitz *mattótu* aus Brotfruchtbaumholz) 67 cm lang, 20 cm hoch. He. 2319 nennt als Klinge eine rote Muschelschale *belig*[1] (Truk *perri* Venus m.); es wird aber meist ein Stück Kokosschale als Schaber, *metál*, benutzt, festgehalten durch Verschnürung *(gágá* He. 2092).

Abb. 15. Schabschemel.

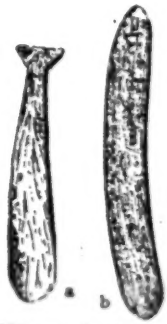


Abb. 16a, b. Spatel.

Spatel in Fischform *falalio* (He. 2252 *itik eü le wong)* aus Schildkrötenbauchpanzer, Abb. 16a, 17 cm lang; Abb. 16b, rippenförmig mit Öse 21½ cm lang (Kr. 453 = 32091I) zum Schaben und Essen. Knopf *arrepél*. He. 2324 aus Perlschale; s. auch Taf. 7 Linden-Museum Nr. 41269.

Abb. 17. Löffel.

Löffel *itit*. (He. 2220 = 6000 II 12 cm lang, Abb. 17 nach Palauart mittels Holzpresse hergestellt (Palau III S. 125), He. Griff *erál*, Rand *narél*, Höhlung *lál*, Bauch *lúgul*. Ein Sorol-Mann, der zu Besuch war, brachte den Löffel mit. Sonst dienen die Spatel als Löffel.

Stampfer aus Corallenstein (He. 2299 = 6071II *vai lu pó(a), vairúpo,)*, nicht so schön wie die von Truk S. 125, aber doch eigenartig mit Stufen und Hut an der Spitze, Abb. 18, Höhe 15½ cm; meist sind sie aus Holz (He. 2289 Holz *kil* =

Abb. 18. Stampfer.

Abb. 19. Holz.

Abb. 20.

[1] He. 2113 *pelig* Spitze einer Kokosnuß zum Brotfruchtschaben; Spitze *topalle*.

tia Mangle?), Kopf zylindrisch (vgl. Palau III, S. 97, Abb. 87 u. 88) Abb. 19, oder kegelförmig mit Ösenaufsatz, Abb. 20, Höhe 20—23 cm; letztere Form fand ich auch fast ganz gleich in Weimar und ähnlich (Ösenaufsatz rhombisch) in Berlin (VI 25378), ferner im Linden-Museum Stuttgart Nr. 41245 (s. Taf. 7).

Einen großen Mörser (75:65 cm) *annif* genannt, machte sich Ikisera. Abb. 21.

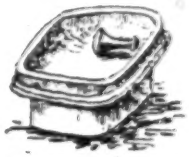


Abb. 21. Großer Mörser.

Zange aus Kokoswedelstil (He. 2094 = 5894II *umär)*.

Feuerfächer (He. 2112 = 5889II *saipe*, Truk S. 126 *sëiva)*.

Messer *ser*, wenn Perlschale s. Abb. 40 Faserschaber, *djële* gleich Truk S. 125; eigenartig die Scheide *tangitangi lü djële* aus einer Schildkröten-Gurgel (He. 2310), oder aus Kokosbast *üdi* (He. 2311).

Trinkröhre (He. 2160 = 5933II *mangauru)* Bambusröhren, um bei Wassermangel aus Wasserlöchern mit schmutziger Oberfläche Wasser zu saugen (vgl. Buschmann SW-Afrika).

Gefäße s. S. 63; Bastklopfer s. S. 62. Hängebrett für Essen *failupö*.

c) Nahrungsmittel, Kochen.

lü	Kokospalme	Feigen	*gouall*
mei	Brotfrucht	Crataeva	*gavudj* (Truk *abut)*
uidj	Banane	Zuckerrohr	*uóu*
uot	Edel-Taro	Pflanze	*fatógi*
fillë	großer Taro (Truk Waldtaro)	ähnlich	*burak*, *bullok* (Truk *pula* u. *mulek)*

Der Tarobau ähnelt dem von Palau. Die Feldarbeit heißt *gelligel*; meist sind es Sümpfe, *buorü*, in denen der Taro angepflanzt wird; ein Feld im allgemeinen *bol*, ein Einzelstück *buonnü djemalü*, ein Komplex *bonnap*[1]; sind die Rüben reif, folgt das Herausnehmen *üfül (uot)*, *gebuá (bullok)*, Abschneiden *djarü* des Krautes (= Setzling *bagü)*. Abschaben des Schlammes von der Rübe *üüegarre*, waschen *djiri*. Das Gründüngen (wie auf Palau) *uállü uot*, d. h. hinlegen der Blätter nach Abrupfen, *go uallü*, und sammeln in Körben, *djuge*; weghäufen des Leberkässchlammes *djioie medjaro*. Dann werden die Setzlinge eingepflanzt. Der Edeltaro braucht etwa 6 Monate; er macht Seitentriebe, *töallag o li uot*; *burak* und *fillë*[2] brauchen länger; *fillë* soll auch gut sein kurz vor der ersten Blüte, auch noch kurz nachher, etwa 9 Monate nach Pflanzung.

[1] Es heißt auch: ein Feld setzt sich zusammen aus großem Stück *djeadjüual*, einem kleinen Stück *ddjalo* und *eaballüngüpei*, einem kleinsten *eagullung*.

[2] s. Bd. 6 I S. 238.

Hambruch nennt:

Nahrungspflanzen.

Sumpftaro	*uōt, file*	Papaya	*papuā*
Bergtaro	*bulāk*	Zuckerrohr	*uāū*
Brotfrucht	*mai*	Süßkartoffel	*gamōti*
Banane	*uīs*	Pandanus wird nicht genossen	
Feige	*faltap*	Kokospalme	*liu*
Gurkenbaum	*awūs (gavudj* Kr.*)*	Huhn	*māluk* } Tiere
Kürbis	*kālāvās*	Hund	*gāldgo.* } Tiere

Worte um die Kokospalme.[1] (Wachstum usw.)

iláfat[2]	ich pflanze
iláfas	ich wachse
ila uógor	Wurzel austreiben
ila djep	dicker Wurzelstamm
ilagága	Stamm wachsend
ilámedj	schlank emporwachsend
ilapálei	Zweige bekommen
ilatūl	Blattscheide kommt hervor
ilastap	Herztrieb
ilatét	Fruchttrieb kommt
ila medjó	Fruchttrieb anschwellend
ilatāl	Blüte
ilagurúp	Früchte haselnußgroß
ila rongētām	Früchte faustgroß
ila mésabuil	etwas größer, groß genug
ila ūbudjig, luk	kindskopfgroß (Trinknuß), für Arznei *(tafei)* Wasser
ila ūbelap	große Nuß (Kern dünn)
ila métaup	Kern etwa 6 mm dick
ila sōigodj	Kern dick und zart
ila sōi mámau	Kern dick und hart
ila liu mésó	noch härter (Fruchtwasser noch ohne Schüttelgeräusch)
ila rō mâur	Nuß noch grün, Schüttelgeräusch
ila rō (droa) = *(djō* Truk S. 127)	Nuß reif, braun
ila gotta	brechen

[1] Die Augen der Nuß sind die von Lugeileng S. 122; *bgilimdi*, eine Ratte von Fadjunai, brachte die Nuß herab Ligedjuged). In Gesang Regenvertreibung Z. 1 *solevig* 2—3jährige Palme.

[2] *ila* s. Sprache S. 11; Fritz *fai* pflanzen.

ilá gori	schaben
ilá repi	in kleine Stücke brechen
ila gúi	aus der Schale beißen
ila gaték	ausschneiden
hóat	Holz zum Öffnen der Hülle[1]
ila gotĕi	enthülsen
Hülle	*padjenn*
Schale	*tagach*
Kern herausschaben	*gorregorre drao*
auspressen	*apitale*
die Kokosmilch	*arronge*
Palmsaft	*garri* (He.)
Wedel	*gas, róurou, ngadjelle*
Mittelrippe	*góliſa* (der obere Streifen der Rippe = *ſa* dient zum Binden)
Fieder	*sĭĕalli*
Fiederrippe	*loch*
Fiederstreifen	*sigerára* (s. S. 67)
junge Fieder	*uvudj* (s. Zauber)
Blattscheide	*ŭdi*
Blütenscheide	*ŭilliu.*

Obwohl die Kokospalme als Nahrungsquelle an erster Stelle steht, wird doch auch der Brotfrucht, *mai*, große Beachtung geschenkt. Deshalb sind die Tabu's, die der Brotfruchtgott Sauaur (s. Religion) (s. auch Truk S. 324) auferlegt, von besonderer Wichtigkeit. Im September sucht man die Zauber, die Orakel für die Reise nach Guam herauszufinden, welche Boote gut und glücklich sind. Dann beginnen die Brotfruchttabus. Es dürfen jetzt keine Bäume geschlagen werden, kein *bulis*[2] gewonnen, keine Holzschüsseln und Holzkasten, keine Netze geflochten (auch keine Stilnetze *róu*). Man darf keinen Faden drehen, keinen Kalk brennen, keine Pandanusblätter für Segel bereiten usw. Im Juli erst ist das Ende der Brotfruchtreife, das *samóimai*.

Dann das feierliches Festessen *iles* abends, das besonders zurückkehrende Fischer oder Seefahrer erhalten, die bis dahin gefastet haben; dabei kleines Gebet, um Übles abzuwenden.

Wie Truk S. 131 wird auch hier Brotfruchtteig, *mar*, bereitet; er soll vortrefflich zum *tak*-Belone-Fisch schmecken.

Brotfruchtdauerspeise *már* auf Elato (Hambruch).

[1] He. 2223 = 600311 ist ein zweispitziges Stück Hartholz (*karngi*), wie eine Pfrieme aussehend. (s. S. 42)
[2] Fritz, Milchsaft des Brotfruchtbaumes s. bibs S. 93.

Wenn die Brotfrucht reif ist, wird sie gepflückt, die Rinde abgeschabt, in Körbe gelegt und für 5—6 Stunden in Salzwasser gelegt; darauf läßt man das Salzwasser verdunsten. Zunächst tut man die Früchte dann in seichte Gruben, die mit Blättern ausgekleidet sind und deckt sie mit Erde zu. Vierundzwanzig Stunden müssen sie hier liegen, bis die Früchte ganz weich geworden sind. Die weiche Masse wird dann mit Blättern gehörig durchgeknetet und in tiefe, ausgekleidete Gruben gepackt, mit Steinen zugedeckt, wo sie nun viele Monate und Jahre sich hält.

Zum Essen wird 1 Teil *mâr* mit 3—4 Teilen Wasser versetzt und die Masse in einer alten Kleidmatte tüchtig ausgewrungen; darauf gebacken oder gekocht, und soll eine nahrhafte, allerdings nicht sehr wohlschmeckende Speise sein, zu der hauptsächlich Fische gegessen werden.

E. Krämer notierte die Herstellung auf Lámotrek so: Unreife Brotfrüchte werden geschält, entkernt, in einen Korb gefüllt, der einen halben Tag lang in stilles Seewasser gelegt wird. Dann werden sie in einen andern Korb gegeben, der mit *fillē*-Blättern ausgelegt ist und 24 Stunden lang aufgehängt. Dann kommen sie wieder in einen neuen Korb, der mit Brotfruchtblättern ausgelegt ist; er wird eine Woche lang aufgehängt. Darauf wird ein Loch von 1 m Tiefe gegraben und mit viel Brotfruchtblättern ausgelegt; darauf kommen Bananenblätter und darauf die Brotfrüchte; darauf wieder Brotfrüchte und Bananenblätter. Statt Brotfrucht kann man auch *gull*-Blätter nehmen, die noch länger haltbar sind. Während eines Jahres werden die Blätter aber alle 3 Monate erneuert. Viel Regen macht den *mar* faulen. Herausgenommen wird der Teig in Süßwasser geschlemmt, bis die meiste Säure heraus ist; dann wieder gekocht, aber immer nur soviel, als zu einer Mahlzeit gebraucht wird. Ein Gericht heißt *lūggum mēlli mare*: Wasser von 2 alten Kokosnüssen wird in den *mar* geknetet; dann eine halbe Nuß geraspelt; ein Teil mit wenig Wasser ausgepreßt und gekocht, der andere mit mehr Wasser ausgepreßt und mit dem *mar* vermischt. Dieser letztere Teig wird schichtweise auf Blätterpakete gelegt; auf jede Schicht kommt dann von dem ersten Teil, der gekochten Kokosmilch, etwa 3 Lager. Dann wird mit Kokosfiedern zusammengebunden, in etwa 4 Brotfruchtblätter und ein Bananenblatt gegeben und im Ofen gekocht.

Worte zur Kocherei.

Geräte oben S. 42.

Ofen	*um*
Loch für Ofen graben	*earūa um*
Feuerholz	*saffi*
Feuer	*eaf*
Steine für den Ofen	*faiūl um*

heiß	*apuósch*
heiße Steine auslegen	*räggú puori*
Schälen[1] des Taro	*faletti uot*
Taro einhüllen	*tügguluggu uot, iffëri uot*
Blatt	*drö (drôk* reife Kokosnuß)
Zudeckblätter	*üff el um*

Viel Taro wird mit Kokospreßmilch gekocht, wenn Feste gefeiert werden, z. B. bei der Essenslieferung *pailügogo* für Leute, die bei einer Beerdigung geholfen haben.

rouari uidj, unreife Bananen werden von der Hülle befreit, und in Topf mit Wasser und Kokospreßmilch gekocht.

3. Fischerei.

a) Allgemeines.

. Der *alu* Saulal[2], von dem schon bei Truk S. 359 die Rede war (s. auch Religion), ist für viele Tabûs verantwortlich, die beim Fischen gebraucht werden. Er hat ja auch eine innige Beziehung zum Meer, in das er seiner Schlechtigkeit halber (vgl. Olifat S. 147) tief hinab gesteckt wurde, weshalb ja auch die Seelen der Schlechten nach ihrem Tode zu ihm wandern. Er hatte 3 Diener: den Alusitét, auch sein Sohn genannt, der kommt, wenn jemand ein Tabû bricht (s. Gesang unten); den Pónerol und die Lepériperûodj (von *périper* schneiden = *falafal* s. Bootbau, und *uodj* Riff also „Riffschneider"); er sendet sie zur Hilfe für die Menschen. Durch Soulal erhielten sie die Schildkröte, die er hart und stark machte. Wollen die Menschen aber Nutzen von ihm haben, müssen sie seine Gebote halten, die Tabû's z. B. ein Mann muß nach Beischlaf 10—20 Tage warten, bis er wieder fischen darf, den Blänker *pâ* für den Bonitofang darf er einen Monat lang nicht berühren, sicher nicht vor dem nächsten Neumond, und bei Flederfischfang (s. u.) muß der Fischer sogar 2—3 Monate warten, bis er wieder zu seinem Haus gehen darf.

Auch die Wasserlöcher, in denen die Kokosfasern geweicht werden, darf der Fischer nicht berühren; sonst muß er 4 Tage lang warten, und darf auch 4 Tage lang keinen Bonito essen, wenn er Kokosfasern geschlagen hat; auch wer Kot berührt. Alles gilt auch für die Frauen; sie dürfen überhaupt keinen Bonito essen, so lange sie im *imatamai* sind, und nach dem Verlassen 3 Monate lang nicht. War eine Frau im *imafatiu*, (s. Haus), so muß sie noch 10 Tage warten.

Von den Tabûs westlich der *sósor*-Grenze wurde oben S. 17 schon berichtet; *sósor* heißt der Fischgrund im Binnenwasser hauptsächlich westlich der genannten Grenze. Wenn man dort fischen will, so darf nach 10 Uhr Nachts kein Feuer im

[1] mit Muschel *pelligelli ralat*.

[2] er gilt als der älteste der beiden Brüder des Alselap s. S. 144.

Abb. 22. Zeremonialaxt.

Dorf mehr sein und es darf auch nichts mehr gegessen werden. Die Boote, die dorthin fahren, müssen zuerst die Inseln Puſk (Búiûg) und Faleit anlaufen, ehe sie mit dem Fang beginnen. Bei Tabubruch sollen Beine und Gemächte anschwellen.

Zu den Heiligen Handlungen gehört auch das Töten der Fische mit der Zeremonialaxt *tellē i lolomai* (Kr. 443 = 3197II u. 477) die auch beim Bootbau (s. S. 92) gebraucht wird, s. Abb. 22. Für die Frauen sind verboten auf Elato der *goruriâp*, *sonmalol*, *sóu* (Makrele) und der *skipiiaχ*, der auf Satoan heilig ist und vor dem man sich verbeugen muß.

b) Rifflese; *guis* Fang.

Die Löcher auf dem Riff sind durch den Kies erkennbar, der neben ihrem Eingang liegt. Mittelst eines 2—3 Fuß langen dünnen Stockes untersucht man die Höhlung, ob etwas darinnen ist. Der Octopus kommt dann heraus und wird gespeert. Bogen *liketáfedj*, Pfeil *eaûten* sehr einfach. Fischspeer He. 2235 = 6014II *tolig*, Holz *vas*, Zacken *rúmul*, *χobailitêto lig* aus Kokosholz, Spitze *metale χobai*, Ende *sabille*. Elato He. 2171 = 5944II.

c) Angelfischerei.

Von den westlichen Haken war schon bei Lukunor (Bd. 6 I S. 53) die Rede. Einige Abbildungen 23a, b, c Kr. 498—506 zeigen die breiten Blänker und die nach unten gedrückten Hacken, während die von Lukunor ähnlich denen von Ralik (s. dort) mehr nach oben streben (vgl. Naûru Hambruch), Länge ca. 6cm.

Unterbringung der Haken in Büchsen *sóp* (Kr. 479 = 3235II). Der ursprüngliche Haken war aus Kokosschale geschnitten, wie er bei Feis abgebildet ist, das mit einem solchen emporgezogen wurde.

a b c

Abb. 23. Drei Fischhaken.

Die Fischleinen meist aus Kokoshüllenfasern (s. Seilerei) gefertigt. He. 2157 = 5930II Elato *djalûig* (S. 72). Auch Angelruten (He. 2339) sind vorhanden.

Für das Drachenfischen, *gedjeg*, ist eine dünne Leine, *dja lûga*, aus *dromá*-Faser (He. 2296 = 6066II) nötig; der Drachen wird stets neu aus einem Arto-

carpus-Blatt gemacht; als Köder Haihaut *goilül lü baggo*, in die sich die Hornhechte verbeißen[1] (s. Lied unten).

Fischen mit der Handleine vom Boot aus.

Am Haken als bester Köder Octopus. Der beschickte Hacken wird mit Schlipknoten um einen Stein gebunden und dieser vorsichtig versenkt. Liegt er am Meeresboden, so stoßen die meisten Fische langsam nach unten, um den Köder zu bekommen. Beim ersten Zittern der Leine muß die Leine mit einem Ruck angeholt werden. Hat der Haken gefaßt, so zieht man den Fisch herauf, wobei er aber häufig von Haien weggefangen wird, die um Lamotrek häufig zu sein scheinen. Ist dies der Fall, so muß man die Haie erst wegfangen, um ihnen möglichst die Beute abzujagen und den Haken wiederzubekommen[2]. Die Fische sind aber im Haimagen schon nach einer halben Stunde so verdaut, daß der Fisch kaum mehr kenntlich ist. Ein schwarzer Hai, *modjog*, ist deshalb gefürchtet.

Die *lukapá*-Haken (He. 2232 = 6011[II], *pa sar*, Abb. 23a) sind für *gali* und *etam*, die besonders bei Nacht gefangen werden; der *etam*-Seebarbe ist nachts nahe der Kabbelung im stillen Wasser der Riffeinlässe, bei Ebbe innen, bei Flut außen.

Abb. 24. Fischhaken aus Schildpatt.

passár (He. 2068) Blänker Perlschale, *faipar* (He. 2077) oder *sárrurod* (He. 2076). He. 2032 Perlschalblänker mit Eisenhaken ohne Widerhaken; Kr. 498—506 = 3252—59 neun Haken aus Schildpatt, von denen einer (499) einen Widerhaken, *rom*, nahe der Spitze, außen hatte; Blänker schwarz, rötlich aus Meleagrina. Der *páluk* (Abb. 23b) (Kr. 470 = 3226[II]) ist für *etam* in der Nacht. Auch He. 2239 = 6018[II], Abb. 23c, wird dafür benutzt mit einem braunglänzenden Blänker aus Tigermuschel (Cypraea) *ûpuil*; als Blänkerbärte nimmt man Hühner- oder Fregattvogelfeder (Eláto) oder Gras *bûgor*, wie der *pa wai* Haken aus der schwarzen Perlmuttermuschel *wai* (He. 2063).

Der Schildpatthaken, *gôbodj*, Abb. 24 (Kr. 469 = 3225[II]), (He. 2208, 2249 u. 2274), (He. *χâ bors, χalû daidjau*) dient für größere Fische, *daidjau*, Breite ca. 5 cm; Die stark nach innen gebogenen Spitzen heißen *lámagap*. 1910 nicht mehr im Gebrauch. Über Angeln für Zauber s. d.

Der Fang der Flederfische, *mangar*, geschieht mit dem Winkelhaken (Palau III S. 77 Abb. 62a) s. S. 335, und zwar im Dezember. Auf Sêtowal wird er noch geübt, wenn die Boote von Poloat zurückgekehrt sind. Dann gehen die Fischer ins Bootshaus, und die Zauberer singen nun ihre Lieder, z. B.:

---

[1] Auch Fang mit der Schlinge *lóma pâgo* zwecks Gewinnung der Hautsehnen *gûlulil* für den *tag*-Fang (Belone) mit Drachen (s. o. S. 48). Hautsehnen bleistiftdick, oft 1—2 Fuß lang.

[2] s. Gesang S. 53 Haivertreibung.

Saual *ã gō caitalebóng*[1]	Saulal, ich träumte in der Nacht,
gel e lut epelepel	du springst sehr viel
e lon e fō leoai	in die Mitte meines Bootes.

Die Treibangel, *pil*, wie sie ähnlich schon bei Onóun[2] abgebildet ist, wird nun fertig gemacht (s. auch Truk S. 142). Der winkelförmige Haken wird aus der Kokosschale geschnitten, und an die verkorkte Kokosflasche als Schwimmer gebunden. Der Haken muß natürlich einen Köder haben; dieser ist ein Stück jungen Kokoskernes, das man aus der Schale mit dem Spatel herausgehoben und mit einem Bambusmesser in Gestalt eines Octopus zurechtgeschnitten hat; dieser Köder wird mit einer feinen Bananenfaser an ein Ende angebunden. So wird die Treibangel ausgesetzt und von der Sonnenseite her beobachtet.

d) Bräuche beim Fischfang.

Später folgen weitere Verbote und Zauber, und es folgt auch das Nachtfischen mit der Fackel.

Der Fang der Fledermäuse dauert vom Dezember ab fast die ganze Passatzeit; erst wenn der Fang zu Ende ist, kann der Fischer, nach 4 Tagen, in sein Haus zurück.

Der Fang *(búil)* des Bonito *garangāp*, (Truk S. 142 *karangāp*) ist noch in Übung. Der erbeutete Fisch ist aber nur heilig, wenn er mit dem Blänker *pa (bā)* auf See gefangen ist, was ganz den polynesischen Gebräuchen entspricht[3]. Von den Tabugebräuchen wurde eben schon berichtet; sie sind besonders streng.

Schon der frisch gefangene Fisch wird alsbald mit einem *ēār*-Zweig von allem unreinen befreit; ein Ruf begrüßt seinen Fang. Der Fischer, der frierend heimkehrt, wird verlacht. Wer nichts fängt, erfreut sich nicht des Wohlgefallens der Frauen. Fasten in der Passatzeit nötig, dagegen nicht im März bis September. Abendessen, *ilea*, s. S. 45.

Beim Landen legt man die Fische sanft hin, mit dem Kopf landwärts. Sie werden am Schwanz angefaßt und getragen. Beim Tragen darf der Fisch nicht geschwungen werden; trifft der Träger auf dem Wege jemanden, so darf er nicht stehen bleiben. Am Hause niedergelegt, muß er längs dieses liegen, den Kopf nach der See zeigend. Dann wird zuerst der Ofen, *um*, in Gang gebracht. Brennt er und ist heiß, dann erst wird mit dem Zerteilen des Fisches begonnen. Dazu legt man ihn auf den Rücken und hält das Bambusmesser (nicht Eisenmesser) in der Rechten. Auch ein Kokoswedelstiel darf in Anwendung gezogen werden. Es wird ein Quer- und ein Längsschnitt gemacht, dann wird mit dem Zeigefinger losgelöst und die Bauchhaut nebst der der Kehle abgerissen, im Rauch eines Feuers gewirbelt, das man auf einem Kokoswedel *róurou* angezündet hat, in Brotfruchtblätter, *magárigar*, gewickelt und in den Ofen gegeben.

---

[1] *sal* träumen, *bong* Nacht. [2] Bd. 6 I S. 222.

[3] s. A. Krämer, Die Samoa-Inseln Bd. II S. 195. Im Netz gefangene Bonito sind wie andere Fische.

Die Eingeweide, zuvörderst der Rogen werden roh gegessen, nachdem sie etwas im Rauch geschwenkt sind, ebenso das Herz; die übrigen Eingeweide werden gekocht. Der abgeschnittene Kopf, die Schulterstücke, dann der Schwanz ohne Knochen, die Rückenstücke, alles wird auf Blätter ausgelegt, dann eingewickelt und auf heißen Steinen gekocht. Das Kleid für den *karangāp*-Fisch heißt *magárigar* (s. o.). Dann sind die Tabûs beendigt.

Wenn ein Fischer das Tabû der Frauen gebrochen hat und nach dem Fischen krank wurde, gilt der Alusitét (S. 122) als Urheber, und ein Zauberer spricht deshalb zu ihm ein Gebet, 2 Kokossträuße, *meseli pálū*, in den Händen haltend.

Ich gebe einige Gedichte im Urtext wieder, obwohl sie angeblich von Oleai stammen; aber Agupelior von dort kannte sie nicht. Über den Anzug s. bei Zauber.

e) Gesänge beim Fischfang.

I. Sang (unübersetzt).

1. *ē lámu fēlivot*
2. *pingarō gamáiva*
3. *ngaregē le tāt e melē-*
4. *isámelāū bagoēla*
5. *seraudla*
6. *igabūa*
7. *isetilimē*
8. *imetau vēla*
9. *igerigerig*
10. *igamálamal*
11. *metal e fale ángilē*
12. *i sū ēgelū*
13. *vótavol ē góragor*
14. *i sagordgumo*
15. *góbēle mágut* S. 173 Z. 15
16. *ma gobēle ivas*
17. *ma gobēle sōusóu* (*sou* wegfahren eines Bootes).

II. Sang.

1. *mimiaoei* (ein Mund)
2. *edoei mēlemel*[1], Lûgeileng
3. *gasiētib*
4. *i toiēle*
5. *malégang iē* K.
6. *ērima rimái*
7. *lēlamá lēlamái*
8. *lālē fidjefidj*
9. *lālē málimen*
10. *lētipom*
11. *garegē* Alusitét
12. *mēlē sūsū tepóm*
13. *oāli mālel (djobut)*,
14. *e māi tepom* (gut deine Gedanken)
15. *e māi lalóm*
16. *i ēli go máiva*
17. *lalē fidjefidj, lalē malimen*
18. *ē lalē fagóuva*
19. *ē liáro, liáro lemāūrum*
20. *iáro le melevom.*

III. Sang.

1. *mālemat*, Alusitét (S. 122)
2. *masllauor*
3. *govē tagári auámo*
4. *od mamái*

[1] Ein schöner gut gejäteter Platz, klären s. Regenvertreibung.

5. *iêsaū lētive*
7. *i vāse māgolog*
9. *góbolē mágut, góbolē sou*
6. *gapil lēngemāi*
8. *i vaisi mágo ūmulē*
10. *sousou lago lēmetau* (Meer).

IV. Sang in 2 Wiedergaben.

a.	b.
itemáita	*itemáita*
soboaibo	*daeai voiel ali* Lugeileng
ealemálē, Lugēileng!	*daeai metagil*
saboiā metag a Lugeileng	*ealemalē* Lugeileng
5. *saboiā támelēl a* Lugeileng	5. *daeai daiel a* Lugeileng
itemēita	*itevóriver*
itēvaruer	*itemélimel*

V. Regenverjagung.
(unübersetzt)

1. *begibegi lei taui* (Tritonshorn)
meserátal alus eai (mein Geist)
sēlu giliau rērē
eāsilam eē silamúla
5. *ngai selai lōm loleáp*
itelóngomo
gagi māfang
giomgiom giēlóula
mákoi tóbula
10. *ngē alogotogo méia*
ngé a togotogo mapania
mo govei te longomo
le mákuleng
fagomáruru
15. *ē fisigi langīl*
ē makolangíla
ē silabulobúla
eā silabulobúla
fali berów a (Stein)
20. *sa babātag*
lemakuléngi
silēlē mélēmeio
leiliára
lōmó loleápa
25. *djī le meiomáio*
le *makutop*.

VI. Regenvertreibung.

vólorigi taratogó	Mit jungen Wedeln wegtreiben den nahenden Regen.	*vólorig* 2—3 jährige Kokospalme, *toroi* wegtreiben. *taratog* Regen kommt!
taraéa fisigia	treibe fort mit Feuerschnelle,	*taraeúa* beendige das,
gauvária gomalóa	sehe zu, kläre auf,	*vāri* sehen, *melemel* klären
ē langia	daß ich sehen kann.	

VII. Vertreibung einer Windhose *saubarērē*[1].

Alle Mann schlagen schreiend mit Tauwerk um sich im Boot.

1. *e siu siu bāleiō*	Es steht auf die Wasserhose;	*siusiu* aufstehen, *balei* östliche Wasserhose.
mogologologū mogologō teleā	jage (sie) weg, jage (sie) weg mit der Axt,	*gológolog* wegtreiben
tiuorōdjo divorodjō	herab kommt Dunkelheit,	*rodj* dunkel, *liu* herab.
ngērangngērang boē taigóa	gelbe dich ein, wolle dich mit Reng beschmieren!	*taig* = *teik* Truk S. 116, gemeint der Wasserhosengeist,
5. *boē rigi lēvā*	Willst du rennen auf dieses Boot?	*rik* rennen
farag i lēva	Gehen auf dieses Boot?	*farag* gehen
ngeisataraga bāum ia	Nimm deine Hand weg von uns,	
songosong le pē limál	ärgerlich (wie) die Hand eines Mannes	*song* ärgerlich
ē maratīlo	Maratilo,	Name für Wasserhose
10. *ē loūliar ēia*	zum Regenbogen, geh!	*ēia* geh weg!

VIII. Haivertreibung.

Es wird Arznei ins Meer geworfen, damit die giftigen Fische kommen und den Hai vertreiben.

lāūleaṗ ērāleaṗ	lāū von Yap, ēra von Yap,	*lau*, *lou*[2], *nō* Synanceia, *ēra* Seeigel mit roten Stacheln.
buūtog bóurur	kommt spielen,	*ur* spielen, tanzen
djuli tágēām	spielen auf deinem Boot.	*tatág* an Bord sein, *tágeiom* dein Fahrzeug
lālōr, lālefang	Dünung aus Süd, Dünung aus Nord,	
5. *lalabélabal metāū*	die große Dünung des Ozeans.	aus NO, soll die Fische bringen.

Auch beim Walfisch wehrt man mit Gesang ab, damit er das Boot nicht ramme, man bemalte sich mit Gelbwurz und Lavendel, sprang auch ins Meer, oder zerrieb die Kräuter hinein.

---

[1] *ētibasō* und *saubarērē*, s. auch *balei* Z. 1, haben schon viele Boote vernichtet, weshalb unter der Besatzung immer ein Sangeskundiger zur Beschwörung zu sein pflegt.

[2] *lou* Palau IV S. 354.

IX. Bootsgesang beim Passieren einer Untiefe.

Der Sänger winkt mit den Armen das Unheil ab.

rangatĕ, rangatĕ		
bouteregerengír	es will kratzen,	*ngerengér* das Schaben beim Auflaufen
bou tangerangár	es will kratzen.	
oá limetá	Was ist das für ein Boot?	
5. *vā li garangāp*	Das Bonitoboot.	
oá limetá	Was ist das für ein Boot?	
vā til	Ein *til*-Boot	Fisch *til* Sardine
vaurûr	Glück auf,	
vadjépdjep	ein volles Boot.	

X. Boot zum Fischen fahrend.

Limagél, Limagél	Limagei, Limagei	Geist S. 106, 109
gagārávoi	hilf zur Ausfahrt	Bootausfahrt bei Buik.
ţālaróti labeláb	unter großem Regen.	*aroit* = *gorów* Regen poet
lĕsĕt mādjedjil	Das Meer (sei) glatt,	*madjiedji* glatt
mĕllĕ sagadjeli eál	auch mach glatten Weg	*mallĕ* auch, *djeli oder rali* glatt
beigaue sĕil Lamodjek	früher das Boot L.	
itī tiróg lĕseti tót	.. .. das Meer bald.	*tot* = *djot* wenig, bald

XI. Fischlied.

Lemagél, Lemagei	Lemagél, Lemagei	Geist
imīmiamó	bewahre	
gotol ĕ vávāi gotolīg	das Grundberühren des Bootes, die Berührung,	Grund *got* berühren galt als schimpflich
gotolī váe	das Grundberühren des Bootes	

XII. Der Fang des Bonito *garangāp*[1].

1. *i buro* Faier	Ich trete auf, Faier,	Faier sei ein schlechter Gruß bei Saulal S. 144
a ţĕlă ma djĕl ĕdó	zu leiten sein Auge, zu kommen,	*ţel* belehnen, leiten, daß sie wollen kommen.
ĕdó	zu kommen,	*ĕĕdo* kommen, Truk *etto*.

[1] Tóropou (s. Haus Nr. 16 S. 24) bekam den Gesang von Berĕlug auf Póloat, der nach Saipan verbannt wurde; sein Sohn Eábau war 1910 noch auf Póloat (Bd. 6,2 S. 127 nicht genannt).

tágŭ ălĕ boĕ ĕil	der Taku da und Eil wollen	*tagu*[1] männlicher Bonito; *ŏil eil* andere große Art.
5. *bŏ falu*	aufs Land	
boĕ ĕ găl ĕ ăitog	wolle herwinken schnell,	*gal* winken, *itog* her, *ilog* weg, *gailog*[2] schnell
boĕ faliú ĕ mĕ e ăĭul	er wolle aufs Land der Eil	*sefesef* schnell, *ŏrodj* nahe uns
sáfesaf ali ŏro	schnell in meine Nähe	
mădjiliŏro igel	siehe, daß nahe uns der Fisch,	*madj* = *mes* sehen, d. h. aufpassen, daß nichts geschieht, was denFisch abwendet.
10. *ngaráitiu ĕ ădŏ*	hinab, er komme,	*tiu*[3] hinab (ins Wasser), *ta* hinauf ans Land Fritz: *tau* weit
ĕ ădo, ĕ ădo beibéilong	er komme, er komme, treibe herein,	
béibei táuo	treibe.....	*táuo* von außen herein?
ĕ ădo, beibeilóngo	er komme, treibe herein,	
garangăp ale faliuéi Lamodjeg	den Bonito nach meinem Land Lámotrek;	
15. *boĭgallĕla ĕ ăs*	nachkommen den As,	*ăs* (*ias* S. 57) feiner Name für den Bonito, *ligăsamai* halbarmlang, *igelap* ganzarmlang (Z. 27)
ĕ boĕtog váretok	sie sollen kommen zu sehen	*vĕr* sehen, Fritz *uĕri*.
mórumor lĕset	das Hüpfen der Wasseroberfläche	das rippelnde Wasser von den Schwänzen, Oberfläche *áitel*
faliuéi Lamodjek	(für) mein Land Lámotrek.	
ipagúi tărădjig	Erfülle mein kleines Begehren	*ipagui* ein Stück abschneiden, für Wünsche die die *alus* stützen, damit sie passen.
20. *i pagúi táralap*	Erfülle mein großes Begehren,	
emĕtŏráidjig	daß ich sehe die Seebarbe,	*met* = *mes* sehen; die 2 alus, Foraidjig der Mullus *uŏrik*, u. Forailap = Bonito
emetorailap	daß ich sehe den Bonito.	

[1] Palau *teku* Albacor, Truk *toku*. [2] Fritz *kai*. [3] Truk S. 49[3].

56 LÁMOTREK-GRUPPE

góbuitiu Móroa	Du komm herab, Móroä,	Windgott s. S. 383 von *mor* Sturmwind
goſelẽta tílevẽ	du treibe die *til*-Fische da,	*til* s. S. 60
25. *búdjei* Lugeílleng	die Sprossen von Lugeileng;	
ígarang ẽl igákit igalᵘlap	da tanzt das Wasser, da kleine und große Fische,	s. Z. 15. *igelap*; *ig* Fisch.
igadjili metáu	Fische vom fruchtbaren Meer;	*gadj* Seegeruch
erádj agálẽ gangi	die Wale tun essen;	*radj* Wal (Truk *rau*),
gamóromor átag	laß es aufquellen!	*gangi* essen, *átag* hinauf (Póloat).

XIII. Bonitolied.

1. *meisere, meiser*	Lauf gut, lauf,	*sér* auf etwas hinauflaufen, das Boot.
meisere málog	lauf gut, zerstreue,	wenn das Boot durch den Bonitoschwarm läuft, wird er zerteilt.
málog gataſalátog	zerstreue, kommet zurück	
ſaliuái ſalibái	unter mein Boot, unter meinen Haken	*jan* unter
5. *meisere meiser*	Lauf gut, lauf,	
meisere málog	lauf gut, zerstreue,	
meisere meiser	lauf gut, lauf	
meisere budj	lauf gut, häßlich Ding;	*but, djõbut* zerbrochen, häßlich
meisere meiser	lauf gut, lauf,	
10. *meisere málog*	lauf gut, zerstreue,	
meisere meiser	lauf gut, lauf,	
meisere mudj	lauf gut, *mudj*	kleiner schwarzer Fisch, mit 2 Dornen am Schwanz.
málog gataſalátog	zerstreue, kommt zurück	
ſaliuai, ſalibai	unter mein Boot, unter meinen Haken	
15. *bólik matadjá*	stinkend wie ein Rotauge.	Beryxart, wurde so beleidigt, daß er biß.

Weitere Fortsetzung:

XIV. Ruf aus der Ferne an die Fische aller Inseln, herzukommen.

1. *i uili ingai gatáma*	Ich leite gerade in die Tür	1. Z. 13, *uilli*
iás ali faliuẽi Lúgeileng	den Bonito, in mein Land, Lúgeileng,	Gott S. 122.
i boẽ angámo	ich will greifen	*angámo* auch das Messen der Bäume
mei li Ratak	die Brotfrucht von Ratak,	
5. *boá mei li faliuẽi* Lúgeileng	will Brotfrucht in mein Land, Lúgeileng,	
i vili ngai gátama	ich leite gerade in die Tür	
iãs ali faliuẽi Lúgeileng	den *ias*, in mein Land, Lúgeileng,	*ias* S. 55
i boẽ angámo	ich will greifen	
mai li faliuẽi Lúgeileng	die Brotfrucht für mein Land, Lúgeileng,	
10. *i vili ngai gátama*	ich leite gerade in die Türe	
ias ali faliuẽi Lúgeileng	den *ias* in mein Land, Lúgeileng,	
i boẽ angámo	ich will greifen	
mai li Falopei	die Brotfrucht von Ponape	
boẽ mai	ich will die Brotfrucht.	

So beliebig wiederholt für alle Inseln.

Dann folgt:

15. *i bura sólol*	ich betrete den Erdboden,	
ngẽ fangilẽ sólol	ich erwecke den Erdboden,	
ngẽ sólol e Sóleda	den Boden des Sóleda,	
ẽ solol e batabáta	den Boden, den feuchten;	*pẽta* »brakisch«, auch »mischen« von Flüssigkeiten; *bãtamata* weichreif, feucht
i boẽ sa uẽti	ich will warten	
lẽ fõl Lóbul	beim Haus Lõbul	*fõl* = *fal*, Haus des Sóleda, nicht im Himmel, mehr unten im Luftraum,
lẽ fã séram	unter dem Himmelslicht,	bis du kommst!

mĕ Edjäfa *ŭloul*	und Edjäfa, der wurde	die Seegurke Synapta, als Geist, der die Brotfrüchte wachsen macht, unterirdisch vordringend und die Früchte durch Bewegung treibend.
maugóug alelóng	geboren in der Nacht,	
ĕ sauet ĕ ralit	(bringt) die junge Frucht an die Zweige.	*sauet* junge Frucht; Lam. *ralil* Zweig, 181b. *rahl*.
gumúge mai	Leite du die Brotfrucht,	*gumú* führen, *gumúg* du führe, *i gomúg* ich führe dich.
i sa vórog e mai	ich sehe die Brotfrucht,	
ia bŏla djudju	ich will sie sammeln	
ma uoi tol igiér	von dem Land der Fichten.	*tol* Land, Grundstück (Truk „Berg"); *gier* gemeint die redwood-Fichten Kaliforniens, deren Größe die Brotfruchtbäume erreichen sollen!
‖: *o mai ia* :‖	‖: Heil der Brotfrucht :‖	

Eine Art Fortsetzung vom *garangăp*-Gesang ist der

XV. Gesang[1] über die Curcumablätter.

óngonik, die in der Hand zerrieben werden (Palau III S. 40 *reng* = *ong*).

1. *iasŏu rékerek*	Ich setze in Reihen,	*rĕkerĕk* in Reih und Glied
iasŏu măitok	ich setze sie in gute Richtung her,	
leióng ali veila véitok	meine Curcuma wird sie bringen,	*ong* = *reng* s. o.; *ŭaitog* = *veitog* = *veila*
veiveităt̆ok	bringe sie her	*veivei* bringen
5. *ĕgiom ĕgă ăs i*	deine Matte, du Fisch da,	*ga* = *go*, *ăs* = *garangap* s. Ges. S. 55 = Z. 15;

[1] Was das Singen betrifft, so hielt der Vortragende seine Stimme annähernd im tiefen C, nur selten 1—2 Töne nach oben schwankend. Dabei wurde der Text deutlich ausgesprochen. Vormittags 11 Uhr, konnte ich diesen tiefen Ton kaum erreichen.

giegi Matte, *giom* deine, dein Lager.

tomareirei recht viele *ngareirei* zahlreich
lisĕtil faliuĕi Lamodjeg an die Oberfläche, mein Land Lamodjeg *sĕt* Meer

iasŏu rĕkerĕk
iasŏu măitok
10. *leióng ali veila veitok*
vei vei tătok
} s. Zeile 1—6

Der Sang wird bis hierher öfters wiederholt, zuerst für den *garangăp*, dann für den *tágu* (S. 55), dann für den *eil*, dann für den *til*, dann für den *uŏrik*, dann für den *mamodjek*.

ĕ gióm go tágu deine Matte, du Bonito,
i uílli ngai gătama Ich leite gerade in die Tür *ngai* oder *mai* s. Z. 5.
iăs faliuĕi Lúgeileng den *ias*-Fisch, in mein Land, Lúgeileng,
15. *i boĕ angámu* ich will greifen
iăs faliuĕi Lúgeileng den *ias* für mein Land, Lúgeileng,
mai li Lamodjek die Brotfrucht von Lamodjek,
mai li faliuĕi Lamodjek Brotfrucht von meinem Land Lamodjek.

Hier schließt sich ein Brotfruchtgebet mit an, das *gatóketok ali mai*, das Bringenlassen von Brotfrucht. Die zerriebenen *ongorik*-Blätter werden zugleich geschüttelt und ausgestreut.

f) Netze *djāŭo, djrou.*
(vgl. Tafel 5.)

Schwimmer *ugopĕs*, Senker *faurem.*

Die Herstellung geschieht wie üblich (nach Hellwig) mit dem Maschenstab *djāf*, der die Breite der Masche *metăl* (»sein Auge«) haben muß, gesichert durch den Knoten *búgabug* (He. 2095). Das Garn ist um den Schützen *kadjāp* geschlungen, dessen gabelförmige Enden *ewăle* oder *kadjāp* heißen.

Während der Maschenstab aus *arŭr*-Holz zu sein pflegt, ist der Schützen aus Bambus, *budi*, der aus Westen (Yap) stammt.

Das Garn, *gologól*, (s. S. 72) wird aus den Hüllenfasern junger Kokosnüsse bereitet, die zuvor 3—4 Monate im Wasser liegen müssen, ehe sie mit dem Bastklopfer, *pelai* oder *komang*, bearbeitet werden. Dann werden sie auf dem Oberschenkel (oder

mit Drehapparaten) (s. Abb. 44), zu Kardeelen, *mut*, gedreht, deren 2, seltener 3—4, den *gológól* geben.

Hergestellt aus Kokosgarn.

garom Masche bleistiftdick, rechteckig, Netz ca. 2 m lang und 1 m breit, von 2 Männern gehalten, s. unten.

ugali vomei Masche Fingerdick *(vómei* Tiefwasser)

ugalei Masche 4 Finger dick

ieting (aating) Masche 6 Finger dick.

Schwimmer oben *náres*

Senker unten *baurem*

gal Netz nach Ifaluk-Art, ein Sack an 3 Henkelschnüren, an denen er aufgeholt wird; in den Sack wird unten ein lebender Fisch getan; Durchmesser ½—2½ Fuß; als Köder *rō* und *gidjegidj*. Gefangen meist Scarusarten, oft 5—10 von ½—1 Fuß Länge in einem Zug.

ū til (tin) dient zum Fang des kleinen (5—8 cm lang) *til* = Fisches S. 60, der Sardine ähnlich; *gosi met a til* »fangen Auge des *til*« heißt ein Gesang, der am 4. Tage nach dem Fangbeginn von den Frauen angestimmt wird, und der mit einem allgemeinen Aufschrei endet, denn die ersten 4 Tage dürfen sie noch keinen *til* essen, zumal da der Fang anfangs noch recht spärlich ist; man ißt den *til* unausgebeint, indem man ihn den Kopf voran in den Mund steckt, weil sonst der Fang schlecht wird. Das Netz ist ein langer Sack, dessen Mund durch zwei gleichlaufende Stäbe gesperrt gehalten wird; ein weiterer Stock läuft mitten über die beiden, wie ein Stiel. Wie groß der Fang dieser Sardinen ist, zeigt die Zählung bis zu einer Milliarde (s. Feis Schluß).

ugalei (wie *garom* oben) als Netzsack dienend, wenn durch *rul*-Leinen (Palau III S. 86), hier *rob* genannt, ein Trichter auf der Riffplattform bei Ebbe hergestellt wird, durch den die Fische in den Netzsack gejagt werden. Das *ugalei*-Netz ist oft im Halbkreis aufgestellt; als 2. Sack kommt oft noch ein Korb *u le moróuel* (s. o.) hinzu, (s. *kesókes* Palau III S. 87 Abb. 80a) für *garom* sind es meist *modj*, *márafas* usw.

Ein Ramennetz, *djrou soiloile* (He. 2225 = 6005II), zeigt Taf. 5a.

Der Rāmen heißt *atil*, die Gabel *ekan*, die Verfalzung *básebas*, die Verschnürung *vōtō*, die Masche *metál*, der Knoten *bugabug*, die Netzzipfel *fangál*, der Griff *komásu*.

He. 2169 = 3942II Fischnetz *djrāuō*, vorderer Ramen *gatille*, hinterer *vaibále*.

He. 2195 = 5969II Fischnetz *djrāuū*, Rahmen *atil* (s. o.).

Kr. 489 = 3243II. Taf. 5b ist ein Seelenfangnetz des Ikelur (s. Palau IV S. 74 Gesch. 29), *djrou i alus* genannt, weil man damit auch ausgetriebene böse Geister fangen kann.

Gesammelt wurde noch ein großes Fischnetz Kr. 485 = 3240II.

g) Fischkörbe

ū (Truk S. 143), *ūl marāuel* (*moróuel* S. 61).

(vgl. Tafel 4 und 5.)

Entleerung bei winkeligen Körben nicht durch Umkippung, sondern mit einer gebogenen Hacke *tangak* (He. 2100 u. 2307).

h) Treibholzstämme mit Fischkörben bewaffnet *(gabêibei)*.

Treibholzstämme wurden schon früher als willkommene Bringer von Fischen gemeldet, die sich um sie versammeln. Beim Suchen[1] und Finden nehmen die Eingeborenen den Hut[2] ab, und stehen im Boot nicht mehr auf, weil es der *alu* Tautup verübeln würde. Ehe sie nun die Körbe an den Stamm binden, singen sie ein Lied an den Tautup, so z. B.:

go vôlebu iai Tautup	Du bring Glück mir, Tautup,
go vôlebu ẽai êrei Tautup	du bring Glück mir, Tautup,
gali a baâi[3] *galiabalei ũ*	gib guten Fang mir, mach erfolgreich den Korb
vole vã i vai	auf meinem Boot,
‖: *galiabaâi rok* :‖	gib recht guten Fang mir,
ẽ bõẽpulêlipei[4]	es will sich freuen mein Herz
vôli va[5] *i uai*	in meinem Boot
lugul[6] *efaliõ* Lamotrek	außerhalb meiner Heimat Lamotrek.

Danach bindet man die Fischkörbe *ũ le moróuel*[7], seitlich an den Stamm; einige hintereinander, den Boden des Korbs nach oben und die Öffnung nach hinten, auf der Leeseite. Der achterste gilt als der beste. Darauf macht man den Stamm fest und nimmt ihn ins Schlepp. Meistens werden Brassen, *rell*, gefangen.

Das Anbinden der Körbe an den Stamm gilt als nicht ungefährlich, weil auch Haifische den Treibholzstamm zu umschwärmen pflegen; die Eingeborenen erzählten, daß jüngst ein Hai einen Fischer gebissen hätte, der einen Fisch im Mund hatte.

Fischkörbe werden im Binnenwasser 1—2 Faden tief versenkt; man merkt sich die Peilung vom Lande und pflegt sie dann ohne weiteres zu finden. Das Hochheben, *buẽ* oder *pio*, geschieht mit dem *kaſáigo*[8], Hebhaken, der in Palau III S. 82 Abb. 67 schon abgebildet wurde; von *pio* heißt auch ein Korb *ũ lepio*, sonst *ũ le ſato*. (Es gibt auch eine Harke *tangak*, He. 2100 = 58_{77}^{II}, zum Herausheben der Fische aus dem Korb.)

Aber in den Durchfahrten und weiter draußen wird in 7—8 Faden, ja gelegentlich in Tiefen von 20 Faden versenkt; dann müssen die Senksteine *ſaiṗis* auch groß sein, und man wählt solche Tiefen auch nur im März und April, wenn geringer Strom ist und während Niedrigwasser; sie wissen meist genau den Platz, suchen mit den Haken, heben an, lassen fallen, damit der Haken eindringt und holen dann den Korb auf. Weitere Korbarten:

---

[1] Das absichtliche Suchen heißt *tôjema*, eigentlich »weithin sehen«.
[2] Sonnenschutzspitzhut s. Truk S. 181.
[3] *galiaṗ* (*b*) guter Fang, Glück.
[4] *pul* glänzend, hell.
[5] *vôli va* im Boot.
[6] *iuk* mitten, *lugul* außen.
[7] Vom Verbum gehen zum Fang: *ẽ le moróuel* er ist gegangen.
[8] He. *ŧavaigo*, Holz *kaini* (He. 2298 = 607011), He. 2100 ein Schürhaken ähnliches Zweigstück von 84 cm Länge.

ûs'sŏ zum Fang des Sandmullus *sŏ*, bei dem kein Köder in Anwendung kommt, nur Sand um die Mündung gehäuft wird. Wo Seegras, *pom*, vor dem Sandstrand liegt, setzt man die Körbe in dieses, nicht in den Sand.

û le pâm für die kleinen Sandbarben *uorik*, für die ein Köder *pa* (= *pa* Blänker) aus *rakum* oder *rakung le bĕap*, den Landkrebsen, eingegeben wird. Eingang *ûsig* (He. 2294).

ûlam kleine Körbe für Knaben mit Köder in Flachwasser; runde Form.

4. Geräte, Gefäße und Waffen.

Das Handwerk erfreut sich keiner besonderen Pflege. Beim Schmuck wurde schon erwähnt, daß die guten Stücke meist von den Inseln im Westen und Osten eingetauscht sind.

a) Geräte.

(vgl. Tafel 7.)

Eine Beilklinge, *ētiligi*, erhielt ich noch (Kr. 495 = 3249^{II}) (Truk S. 146 *ē dinnigi*)

He. Tridacna *djim* (Tr. *sim*), Cassis (2213).;

He. 2114 = 5891^{II} ist ein Hohlmuschelbeil *korolimang*;
aus *lēang* Muschel von Elato.

He. 2136 Eláto Muschelbeil *marâli délla* (Klinge *délla*), Terebra *talingawat*, Klingenlager *rodjâl ĕ (rosâl ĕ)*, Nacken des Stiles *apirri güle*, Griff *erálle*, Verschnürung *vâvâ*, Holz *djálo*., Zeremonialaxt *tellē i lolomai* s. Fischerei Abb. 22, Bootbau S. 92; Klinge, Meißel *pérogol*, Axtschlag *tellē i faleſal*; *apúnga sillē* Ton des Schlages.

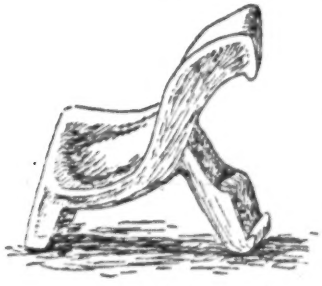


Abb. 25. Stuhl.

Drillbohrer (He. 2115 = 5892^{II}) *burabûra* Elato. Scheibe aus Patt, Bohrspitze Haizähne. Handbohrer s. Abb. 134e.

Zum Glätten des Holzes dienen Korallensteine *faiürr* (He. 2312) (Truk S. 147 *fauir*), oder Rochenhaut (He. 2325 u. 2273 *gillivai*) und Bimsstein *miûr*, *mür*, der angetrieben wird (He. 2159) (s. Bootbau S. 96).

Bastklopfer, *kománg*, He. 2288 = 6060^{II}, Holz *kaini*, von Pik (S. 16) stammend; mit Knopf am Stielende, s. Abb. 94 u. Bd. 61 S. 223.

Hauptprodukte: Holzschüsseln, Haus und Boot, kleine Idole, Vögel (Farbtaf. 2). Unter den kleinen besonderen Gegenständen befindet sich ein Stuhl (Kr. 945 = 3656), der von Ikesera einem Deckstuhl, wie er sie auf den Schiffen

sah, nachgebildet wurde. Photo Nr. 1026 zeigt Ikesera auf dem Stuhl sitzend (Abb. 25).

Über Bemalung s. Bootbau S. 97.

b) Gefäße *tébbi* (He. *tapi*) Teller *rölig*.
(vgl. Tafel 7.)

Herstellung aus Holzklötzen oder Scheiben, die an Taf. 8b vorhanden waren. *bóati* = Nasen sind vorhanden, wie die Abbildungen zeigen (wie auf Truk, Palau usw.). Die Schüsseln sind in verschiedener Form vorhanden: Fuß rundlich

Abb. 26. Holzschüssel.

Abb. 27. Holzschüssel.

(Kr. 451 = 3206[II]) und erhöht; die ganze Höhe ist 13 cm, die Breite der Schale 32 cm; der Rand der Schale ist oft fast sechseckig[1], Abb. 26 (a); der Fuß kann aber auch zweibeinig sein (b). Zwei hohe Füße mit Bodenplatte hat die Rundschüssel Abb. 27 (Kr. 452 = 3207[II]) für bequemeres Essen; die ganze Höhe ist hier 25 cm, die Länge der rundlichen Schale 24½ cm (He. 2091 Fuß *perél*).

Abb. 28 zeigt einen niedrigeren Fuß (He. 2335 = 6103[II]) denn dieser ist nur 6½ cm hoch; er ist eigentlich ein niedriger Hockerstuhl mit 4 Beinen, auf dem eine längliche Schale von 21 cm Länge und 13 cm Breite ruht. He. 2336 ist ähnlich geformt.

Abb. 28. Holzschüssel.

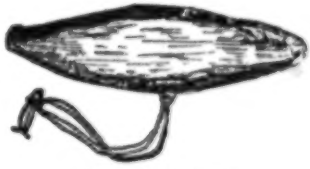


Abb. 29. Fischeßbrett.

Abb. 29 ist ein Fischeßbrett (Kr. 491 = 3245[II]) das keinen hohen Fuß hat; aber eine kleine Erhöhung ist doch auch rechts auf der Abbildung zu bemerken; ist es spitzoval, 42 cm lang und 22 cm breit, und hat am Rande eine kleine Leiste,

[1] Eine Holzschale in Weimar ohne Fuß zeigte das Sechseck deutlich.

die wie ein Zaun wirkt; an einer Seite ist in ihr ein Loch für die Aufhängeschnur.

He. 2226 = 6006[II], *tapi lemálu wulól*, längliche Form wie Palau III Taf. 5 Nr. 15 u. 18, aber nicht rotgefärbt und ohne Perlmuttereinlage.

Drei Schüsseln sind auch im Lindenmuseum zu Stuttgart mit Lamotrek bezeichnet: eine flache ovale Nr. 41247, eine rundliche, flache breitgequetschte Nr. 41263, und eine tiefe ovale mit 2 Vogelköpfen anstelle der Nasen, der Fuß niedrig, ein geschlossenes Viereck darstellend Nr. 45454, s. Taf. 7 unten.

Deckelschüsseln (s. Truk S. 155 Abb. 123 u. S. 156) vorhanden. Die oben S. 48 erwähnte Fischhakenbüchse, *sóp*, ist ein solches truhenähnliches Gefäß, s. Abb. 30. Länge 12,4 cm, Breite 3,8 bis 6 cm, Höhe 4 cm; He. 2227 Deckeldose *sáp*: Kasten *bassobasso*, Deckel *gárebal*, Knopf *bóatil*, Rand *nadjel*, öffnen *sugi*.

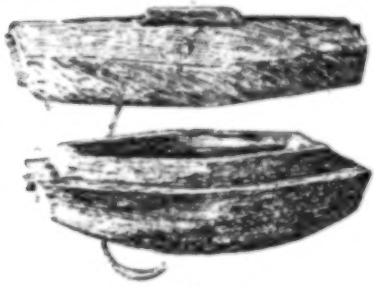


Abb. 30. Deckelkasten.

Merkwürdig ist eine mit griechischen Figuren verzierte Deckelschüssel, eine sitzende an der Breitseite, und eine stehende an der Endseite. Sie soll von einem Spanier Gulio verfertigt sein, der beim Taifun 1907 auf Lamotrek war; 77 cm lang, 27,6 cm hoch und 27,5 cm breit. Abb. 31.

Die Vogelschüsseln gleichen denen von Truk S. 155. Kr. 493 = 3247[II] hat einen hufeisenförmigen Fuß, da die beiden Vogelfüße ihn bilden, Abb. 32. Länge 37 cm, Höhe 20½ cm. Vorwurf der Fregattvogel; He. 2229 nennt sie *tapi e gataf*, Zweck Farbschüssel für Yapfarbe; *tapi e láp* heißt Kr. 453 = 3208 und ist fußlos, deshalb aufgehängt; 48 cm lang, mit Malholz (s. oben Spatel *falalio*, s. S. 41, 42), da eben die Schüsseln für Farbe verwendet werden, Abb. 33.

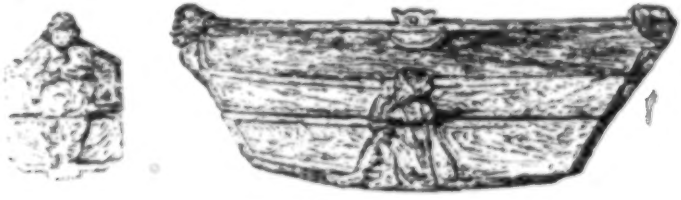


Abb. 31. Figurenkasten.

Eine dieser sehr ähnliche Form ist in Berlin VI 25365, s. Oleai, und eine mit geducktem spitzen Kopf und Gabelschwanz von Elato, Berlin VI 29471, 50 cm lg.

Zu den Gefäßen rechnen auch die Kokosschalen, von denen eine, He. 2282 = 6054[II] *dagág a tál*, auf einen runden Fuß gesetzt ist, Abb. 34; sie hat auch

4: Krämer OR21 Woleai

einen Henkel und soll von dem 7—8jährigen Jungen Malüvit erfunden worden sein, der sie auch selbst zum Tausch brachte. Hier handelt es sich natürlich um

Abb. 32. Vogelschüssel mit Fuß.

Abb. 33.
Vogelschüssel ohne Fuß, hängend.

Abb. 34. Trinkschale aus Kokosnuß.

fremde Beeinflussung, oder man muß es als altes indonesisches Traumgut auffassen, da ja gefußte Schalen, gelegentlich auch mit Henkel, in Westindonesien vorkommen. Zweck zum Trinken von Wasser oder *garri* (Palmsaft) (13,5 cm breit).

Die Büchsen aus Kokosnüssen heißen *wäre*; sind entweder in Nußform, He. 2327 = 6096[II] Abb. 35; Länge 15 cm, Breite 8 cm; oder sie haben Deckel *(pelipelal* He. 2104) und Boden, He. 2246 = 6023[II] Abb. 36; Höhe 7 cm. Zweck: Aufbewahrung von Fischhaken, Arznei usw.; auch als Feuerholzbüchsen, *gulegul*, werden sie verwendet. Aber auch Büchsen aus Bambus gibt es, die wie

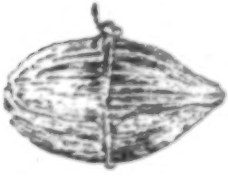


Abb. 35. Kokosbüchse, längs gespalten.

Abb. 36. Kokosbüchse.

Abb. 37. Bambusbüchse.

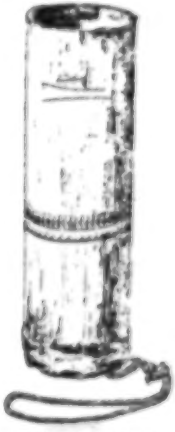


Abb. 38. Gefäß.

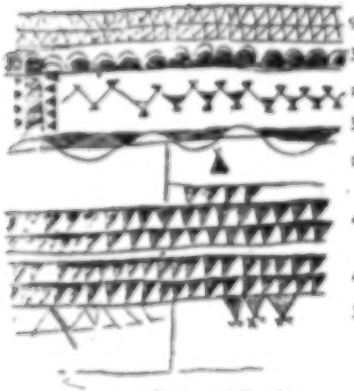


Abb. 39. Zierat auf Bambus

in Indonesien geschmückt werden. He. 2228 = 6008II Abb. 37 ist mit *arepél e bulugale* »Schwänze des b.« und mit Haizähnen ausgestattet, in 6 Reihenbändern. He. 2329 6098II Abb. 38, 24 cm hoch, mit 2 Bändern, von Fischen und *kurugago* (s. Abb. 79 Nr. 31); He. 2330 = 6099 Abb. 39 zeigt verschiedene Ornamente Nr. 9, 11, 22, 33, 43 und die *pup*-ähnlichen Männchen, 23; halb und gedoppelt. He. 2118 hat eine Ritzzeichnung von *kirigi*-Spitzen.

In Berlin VI 7749 ist ein Bambusrohr mit vielen Ritzzeichnungen an Vögeln, Kreuze, Sonnen, Zähnen, ähnlich, wie sie von Oleai abgebildet sind.

c) Waffen.

Bei der friedlichen Art der Bevölkerung fehlen Keulen und Speere. He. 2161 = 5934II, it 2176 Schlagring *radjevas*, mit Fischstacheln *ig e valeval*.

5. Maaße.

Christian's Angaben S. 391.

gal, sigal	1 Fingerlänge	= 3 Zoll
ruagal	2 Fingerlängen	= 6 Zoll
siligal	3 Fingerlängen	= 9 Zoll
fägal	4 Fingerlängen	= 12 Zoll
ang, siang	1 Spann	
ruang	2 Spann	
siliang	3 Spann usw.	
rolibos	½ Elle	
gopa	1 Elle	
sipap	von Fingerspitze bis Brustmitte.	
singaf	1 Faden	
sigip	1 Fuß	

6. Flechterei. *feifei* oder *feifeu*.

spalten *gassiei*.

Bastklopfer s. S. 62.

Perlschale *baura*(?) zum Glätten der Streifen und Schaben der Fasern Abb. 40 (Kr. 473 — 3229[II]) (insbesondere der Bananen, früher nicht abgebildet). s. u: S. 75.

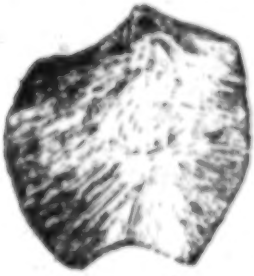


Abb. 40. Faserschaber.

a) Matten.

Matten, zweiteilige Kokosmatte *girre* (Truk S. 162 *hinni* oder *hiri* S. 164).

He. 2278 = 6051[II] Abb. 41 *gilli*, kleine Kokosmatte für Wasserableitung, wenn bei Regenwetter Auswaschungen des Bodens an der Hauswand entstehen, durch welche das Wasser nach innen fließt; mit einem Griff wird die Matte an der Notstelle zwischen die Matten der Hauswand geschoben, so daß das Wasser abgelenkt wird. Von Hellwig bei Haus 24a Imeailap beobachtet. (Größe 30 cm).

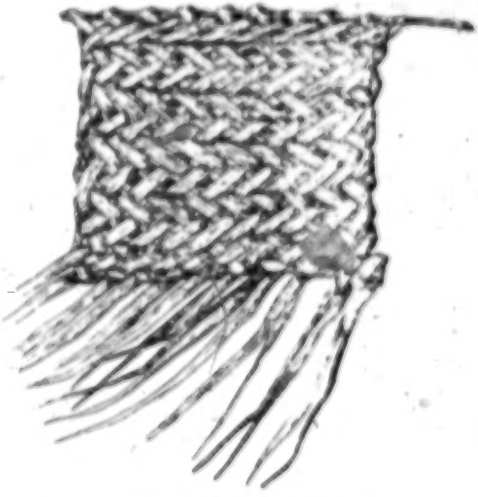


Abb. 41. Wasserabwehrmatte.

Kr. 478 = 3234[II] *gillitilimes* Abwehrmatte (s. Medizin und Zauber).

He. 2258 = 6033[II] Kokosmatte *ulaf* für die Schutzhäuser auf der Bootplattform (Ifaluk-Mann). Pandanusmatte *hidhi* (Truk S. 162), die wie alle Pandanusflechtereien vorzüglich auf den Koralleninseln hergestellt werden, so auch von den Trukinseln eigentlich nur auf der Riffinsel Pis.

b) Körbe:

Über Korbflechten s. Truk S. 168. Einige von Lamotrek und Elato sind hier auf Taf. 5 abgebildet. Zunächst seien erwähnt die aus Pandanus gefertigten Taschen, die Deckelbehälter, wie unsere Futterale aussehend, und die offenen Taschen.

Deckelbehälter.

Taf. 5c: He. 2158 = 5931[II] *sigerára*; so heißen auch die Fiederstreifen an der Meßleine (Kr. 458) *tal i felefel*.

c) Offene Taschen.

Taf. 5l He. 2261 = 6036[II] *gaigérs* von Lamotrek; He. 2102 eine gleiche *gaigérs* von Elato; Taf. 6m He. 2261 = 6037[II] *gaigérs* mit Henkel. He. 2257 = 6032

ist ein ebensolches Täschchen *gaigers*; die verflochtenen Pandanusblattstreifen heißen *faitoi*, die absteigenden *ealle*, die aufsteigenden *ifak*. Hellwig schreibt auch *gaigerrē*[1], während ich für Taf. 6f (Kr. 461 = 3217[II]) *gaigadj* verzeichnet habe. Das r bei Hellwig deutet ja auf den dj-Laut hin, vgl. Truk und Djuk.

Taf. 6k Kr. 480 = 3236[II] *gatofadj* ist gröber geflochten, er dient zu Essen aufnehmen. m. *gaigers*, f. *gaigadj* und k. *gatofadj* haben einen Henkel, der bei f. zwei Beine jederseits am Ansatz hat; während k. u. m. den Ansatz in den Ecken des taschenförmigen Korbes hat, so stehen die 4 Beine von f. in der Mitte der Seiten, die aber schon geöffnet erscheinen.

Ebenso ist dies bei den Kokosblattkörben Taf. 5n Kr. 454 = 3210[II] *büro* und 5e Kr. 481 = 3237[II] *gad*, für Hochzeitessen der Fall, die gegenüber dem Pandanusgeflecht sich etwas roh und flüchtig gearbeitet ausnehmen. Dieses Wort *gad* oder auch *gadō* (Kr. 459) (He. 2318 *kad*) wurde mir auf Truk nicht bekannt.

Abb. 41. Haarschnur.

Auf Oleai heißt ein Korb *gad* oder *kaporro* (He. 2285 *kaporro*, Körbchen aus Kokos, Lamotrek); *gad-gadō* erscheint oben (k) in dem Worte *gatōfadj*, also ein *gatō* aus Pandanus *fadj*, und will sagen, daß der *gad*-Korb aus Pandanus gefertigt ist und demgemäß feiner, besser; ob in *gaigadj* oben 6f. sich auch *fádj* verbirgt, ist wahrscheinlich.

Eine Tasche *djotudrē* He. 2093 = 5868[II] *drotūare* von Elato hat eine Öffnung *ewālē* und Ringe *talinal*.

Nr. 5c *gad* zeigt nun die beiden Enden nach oben strebend, während die folgenden 3 henkellosen Kokoskörbe g, h u. i gerade im Gegenteil nach unten weisen.

Es sind die schon bei Truk S. 174 (Abb. 146a u. b), erwähnten *wotau*-Körbe, von denen ein aus Pandanus geflochtener auf Taf. 16c dort abgebildet ist, der dem Taf. 6e hier abgebildeten und oben *gaigers (gaigadj)* genannten gleicht; Truk S. 174 wird der Kokosfadenkorb *boddou* (He. *bōtau* und *bodau*) genannt, und He. 2251 = 6027 nennt ihn von Lamotrek *watauro* mit Henkel *djālē*, so daß also ein Korb in abgebildeter Form, sowohl aus Kokosfiedern als auch aus Schnur *wotau* oder *boōtau* heißt.

In der Sammlung sind vorhanden, aus Kokosfiedern hergestellt: Taf. 5g Kr. 456 = 3212[II] *wotau*; Taf. 5h Kr. 457 = 3213[II] *wotau*, Verschluß mit Haarband, an dem Schnecken hängen; Taf. 5i He. 2267 = 6041[II] *watau*; auch He. 2202 = 5976[II] *watau* ist mit einem Haarband versehen; es heißt da: mit 3 Verschlüssen

[1] He. 2111 = 5858[II] *gaigērse* oder *gaigerre djelā* mit innerem Abteil *djelā*; mit Haarschnur.

durch Haararmbänder *sim* und Schnecke *tigere* (Elato). He. 2321 = 6091[11] ist ein solches Haarband, das Abb. 42 zeigt, das auch gelegentlich als Armband getragen wird; es ist 75 cm lang. Die Schnecken sind Doliumähnlich.

Da die ganze Herstellung eines *wotau*-Korbes bei Truk unterlassen wurde, sei sie hier nachgetragen. Die 4 ersten Flechtstadien a—d sind bei Truk S. 172 auch vorhanden.

d) Technik beim Korbflechten.

Der *bottau*-Korb

nach Aufnahme von Elisabeth Krämer

Von einem jungen, schon grünlichen Wedel einer alten Palme werden je etwa 18 Fiedern gleicher Länge abgezählt und die beiden, zum Flechten bestimmten Wedelhälften rechts und links von dem Wedelstiel abgetrennt, und diese beiden Stücke, die die beiden Korbseiten geben sollen, werden zum Flechten vorbereitet, so wie es im Band Truk S. 173, Fischkorb, beschrieben ist. Es wird nämlich das Stück mit der Rippenseite der Fiedern nach oben gelegt und mit dem Daumennagel von den beiden Rändern jeder Fieder (die ja beim jungen Wedel zusammengefaltet liegen), ein schmales Stück heruntergespalten (Truk S. 172 Abb. 142a), so daß etwa die Breite von 1½ cm übrig bleibt. Diese abgespaltenen Fiederränder bleiben an der Hauptrippe (»Seitenstrang des Wedelstiels«) hängen, wo sie zum Schluß mit einem Stück dieser Hauptrippe heruntergerissen werden. Nun wird jede zusammengefaltete Fieder auseinandergebogen und in der Mitte ihrer Rippe gespalten (Truk b), so daß aus je einer Fieder deren zwei geworden sind. Nachdem das Flechtgut 4 Tage in der Sonne gebleicht worden ist, beginnt das Flechten. Es wird dadurch ermöglicht, daß die eine Fiederhälfte in ihrer Richtung bleibt die andere im rechten Winkel gefaltet über sie hinweggebogen wird in entgegengesetzte Richtung (Abb. 43c). Danach wird 3—4mal »über eins« geflochten (Abb. 43d). Dies gibt später die eine Seite des Korbes. Bei der anderen kreuzt die aus ihrer Richtung gebogene Fieder nicht über, sondern unter die gebliebene (e) und wird dann ebenfalls »über eins« verflochten. Ist die Flechtung auf beiden Korbteilen gleich weit vorgeschritten, z. B. dreimal, so werden sämtliche Fiedern mit dem Fingernagel in 4 Teile gespalten (f), und von nun an die schmalen Flechtstreifen mit einander verflochten (g), wie man sehr deutlich sehen kann auf dem Lichtbild des Korbes Taf. 5g. Bei diesem Korb kommen nun mehrere Reihen Flechterei über 2 (Köperbindung), darauf ein ebensolches Stück über 1 (Leinenbindung) dann wieder über 2, wie es auf Taf. 5g deutlich zu sehen ist, bis jede Korbhälfte als geflochtenes Dreieck fertig ist (h), dessen Basis den Ausgangspunkt der Flechterei bildet, nämlich den Seitenstrang des Kokoswedels, an dem die Fiedern angewachsen sind. Diese beiden »Seitenstränge« werden auf die Flechterin zugekehrt, nebeneinander gelegt und da, wo sie einander berühren

und die Fiedern zusammen stoßen (bei Stelle a), werden diese genau nach dem Muster sorgsam in einander übergeflochten, erst die dicken natürlichen, dann die gespaltenen bis unten hin.

Es folgen die beiden anderen Seiten nach Zusammenbiegen des Geflechts

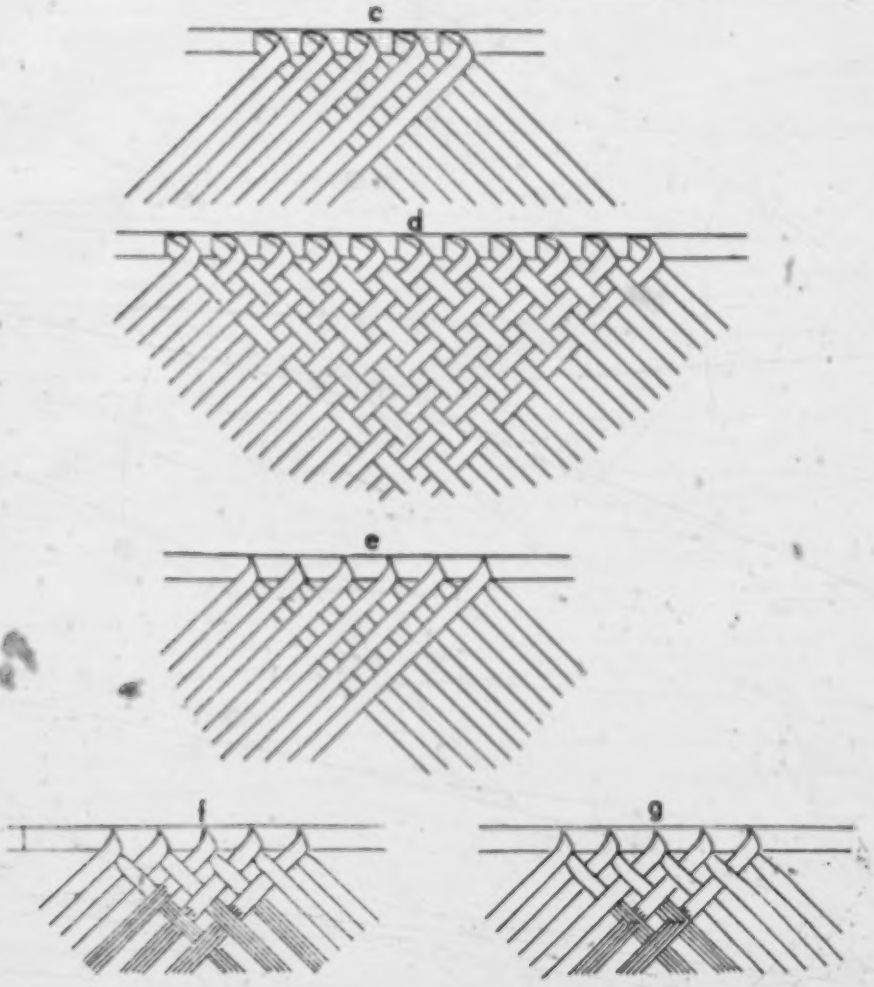


Abb. 43c—g. *bodiau*-Korb.

und eine offene Röhre ist entstanden. Ist der Korb lang genug, so werden die Fiedern der einen Richtung zu einem Schutzrand, der das Geflecht vor

dem Auflösen schützen soll, umgebogen (i), zu 2 und 2 (α, β). Die zwei ersten Fiedern, nach vorn rechtwinklig gebogen, werden hinter die zwei folgenden gesteckt, diese machen es ebenso mit den nächsten und so weiter, um den ganzen Korb herum. Die Fiedern der anderen Richtung (γ), hängen heraus, diejenigen der vorderen Korbseite kreuzen die der hinteren. Letztere werden nun alle in Richtung der ersteren gebogen, damit der Zopf (k), der den Korbboden bildet,

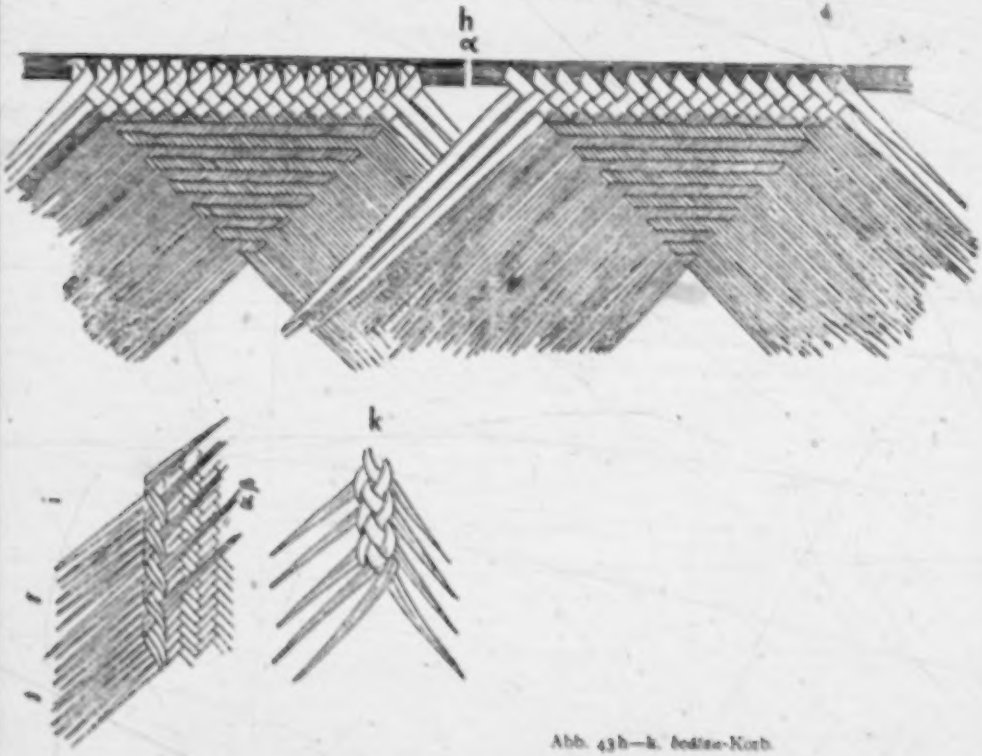


Abb. 43h—k. Sedise-Korb

geflochten werden kann. Er ist bei diesem Korbe besonders kunstvoll, dreiteilig mit 2 Streifen, statt einem geflochten, erinnert er etwas an Peitschenschnur.

Jedes Zopfglied nimmt zwei neue Fiedern, abwechselnd von rechts und links auf, die durch die nächste Zopfmasche (oder -glied) überflochten werden. Die Überflochtenen bleiben rechts oder links herausragend bis zwei weitere hinzugekommen sind, dann kommen sie, die vorletzten daran und werden mit dem Zopf verflochten.

Auf diese Weise entsteht ein fester, flacher Zopf, der den inneren Korbboden

bildet. Ist diese Flechterei am anderen Ende des Korbes angelangt, so werden die vorhandenen Fiedern weiter als freier Zopf verarbeitet und wie üblich mit Knoten gesichert und durch eine Masche des Korbes gesteckt.

Nun wird der Schutzrand aufgelöst und die Fiedern so gebogen, daß sie gleichfalls zum Zopf klar liegen. Dieser zweite Zopf, der den äußeren Korbboden abgeben soll, bewegt sich in entgegengesetzter Richtung wie der innere, wird genau so gemacht wie jener und endet, wo der andere anfing. Auch hier wird das freie Zöpfchen der restlichen Fiedern in die Korbmaschen gesteckt.

Endlich sei hier noch erwähnt, daß auch der Rundkorb, He 2109 = 5883, *kapéas* oder *apéase*, vorkommt, der schon von Truk S. 169 Taf. 17d u. 18e u. i als *abéas* gemeldet ist.

Ebenso der **Fächer**, He. 2112 = 5889[II], *saipe* (Truk S. 175 *áliba* oder *saiba*). Spitze *botili á lipe* (s. Truk *áliba*), Griff *eráll(e)*. Ein *gáliba* (Truk *áliba*)-Fächer wird für Zauberzwecke gebraucht (s. Abb. 68).

7. Seilerei.

Über die Anfertigung von Schnur, *gólogol*, s. o. S. 59; Handbewegung beim drehen nieder und auf, rechtshändig *(gel)*, linkshändig *golemong* (*mong* links).

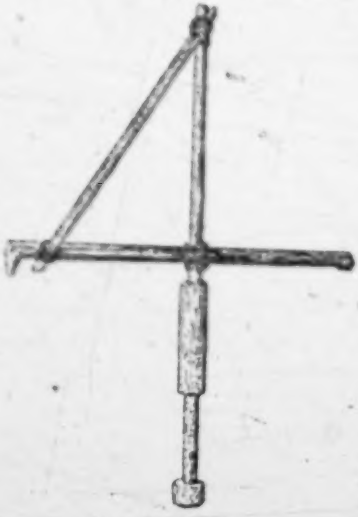


Abb. 44. Seildreher.

Der *gólogol* ist rechtsdrehend, zweikardeelig, elastisch (Kr. 448); ein Bund von 3 Schlingen *vóngalima* (K. 450 Abb. 610) dient zum Auffangen des vom Boot abgelösten Schwimmers; die Schnur ist 3 mm dick; *mut* Kardeele (Kr. 449). Rolle He. 2108 *baidjórro* Netzflechten S. 60, Fischleinen S. 48.

Der *golomong* ist ein aus 4 Kardeelen links gedrehtes Tau, für die Takelage, gedreht durch Handbewegung auf und nieder. Seil *pelitél* (He. 2096).

Seildreher He. 2140 = 5920[II] *waitilidja* Elato, 2297 = 6067[II] *bait*; also erstes Wort *bait ili djó* »Dreher für die reife Nuß[1]« (Truk S. 127), auf Truk nicht beobachtet, aber in Póloat Abb. 44, He. 2297 = 6067 zeigt den *bait* und seine Teile: Stock *kalaniál*, Querstab *páile*, aus Holz *nga*, Bambusröhre *ngat*, Knopf unten *korodjöl* (He.).

[1] s. auch oben bei Schüssel He. 2091 Schnur *djál* oder He. 2296 Fischleine *djálüga*.

8. Weberei[1].

von Elisabeth Krämer.

Als wir am 22. November 1909 auf die Insel Lámotrek kamen, war uns gerade ein großes Sterben vorausgegangen, eine ansteckende Krankheit, die viele Männer, Weiber und Kinder dahingerafft hatte, und da diese Menschen ihre

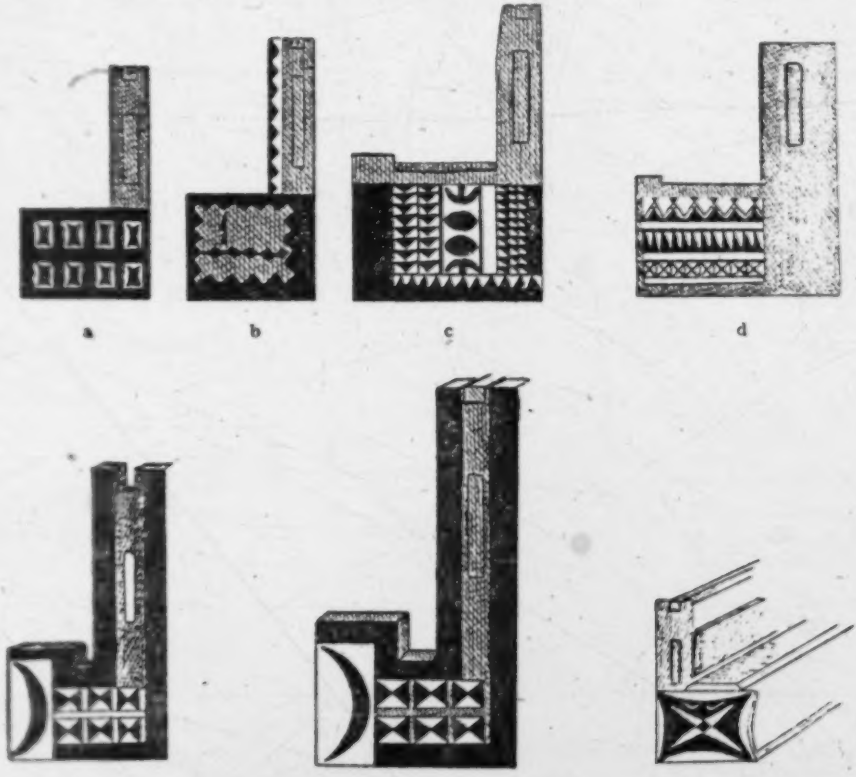
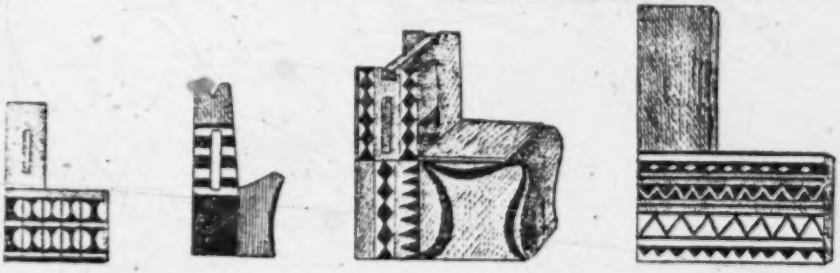


Abb. 45a—g. Schmuck-Webstühle von Lamotrek.

Toten schmücken und umgeben mit dem besten, was sie haben, so war der größte Teil der gewebten Kleidmatten, und davon die schönsten und feinsten, mit beerdigt worden. So kam es, daß ich nicht alles an Weberei dieser Insel zu sehen bekam und vorlieb nehmen mußte mit dem, was da war. Freilich waren die Frauen fleißig dabei, neue Matten herzustellen, und ich konnte diese Arbeit von

[1] s. Spinnengöttin S. 147.

Anfang an verfolgen und studieren. Daß die Weberei auf dieser Insel hoch geachtet ist, zeigen die vielen, geschmückten Webegestelle, oder Webstühle, die wir auf anderen Inseln der Karolinen nichtgesehen haben (Abb. 45 a—l). Ihre



h i k l

Abb. 45 h—l. Schmuck-Webstühle von Lamotrek.

Bretter dienen zur Aufnahme der Kette und Gegenstemmen der Füße der Weberinbei ihrer Arbeit. Abb. 46. Die Vorbereitung der (fortlaufenden) Kette geschieht, wie auf Truk, Tabi und den meisten anderen Inseln an den schon beschriebenen Kettpflöcken, die in gewissem Abstand von einander in die Erde

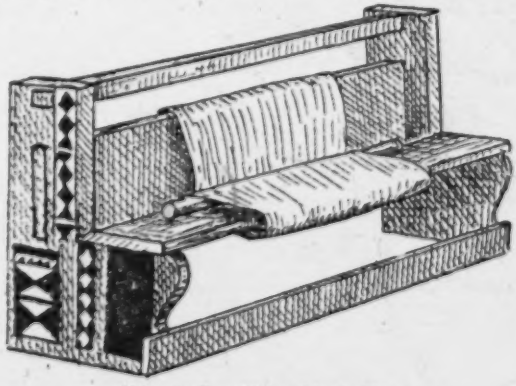


Abb. 46. Orn. Webstuhl mit Kette.

gesteckt werden, und um diese wird in bestimmter Ordnung der fortlaufende Kettfaden gelegt. Das Material der Matten ist wie überall in der Südsee Hibiskus- und Bananenbast.

a) Hibiskusbastgewinnung.

Man nimmt Gerten von einer buschartig wachsenden Hibiskusart, oder, lieber noch, solche von der selteneren baumartigen, und entrindet sie in möglichst

breiten Streifen. Diese werden für 4 bis 8 Tage in Meerwasser gelegt oder in den Tarosumpf, dann herausgenommen und der Bast von der harten, äußeren Rinde befreit, so daß er schmiegsam ist. Nachdem diese Baststücke in Süßwasser gewaschen und aller Saft herausgespült ist, werden sie getrocknet, geteilt, in dünne Fäden gespalten, die aneinander geknotet das Material für die Längsfäden (Kette) geben. Sie haben eine helle gelbgraue Farbe von Natur, werden aber auch schwarz gefärbt verwendet.

b) Die Bananenfaser.

wirkt heller, feiner und seidiger und bildet bei manchen Frauenmatten einen hübschen Gegensatz zu den matteren Hibiskusfäden.

Von einem Bananenstamm werden für den Gebrauch die äußeren 7—8 Blattschäfte abgetrennt, die zurückbleibenden inneren sind zu weich. Mit einer Perlmuschel, in die eine Höhlung geschliffen ist (s. Abb. 40), wird jede dieser fleischigen Schäfte, die man auf ein Rundholz gelegt hat, ausgestrichen, bis alles feuchte Blattfleisch herausgeschabt ist (vgl. Kusae I S. 172) und die meisten Fäden zum Vorschein kommen, die dann gewaschen, getrocknet, in gewisser Dünne abgeteilt werden und an einander geknotet, das Bananengarn abgeben.

uidj	Bananengarn.
gassäi uidj	Bananenschäfte vom Stamm abtrennen.
ligätang	Seitenrand jedes Schaftes.
raruidji u. *ra ri uidji*	ausschaben (der Schäfte).
puai	Perlmuschel mit ausgeschliffener Höhlung.
bigugal	schwarz gefärbtes Bananengarn.
gilifer	Hibiskusbast.
tafä engang	spalten mit dem Nagel (Hibiskusgarn).
litelli moei	loses Material zum Anknüpfen gerissener Fäden auf dem Webstuhl.

c) Das Färben.

Sowohl *-gilifer*-Hibiskusbast, wie *uidj*-Bananengarn, färbt man schwarz, um Muster hervorzubringen. Das Garn wird vorgefärbt in einem grünlichen Saft, bestehend aus zerstampften Terminalienblättern und Wasser. Darauf wird schwarzer Bimstein mit Wasser auf Eisen abgerieben, junge Kokosnußhüllen in die Flüssigkeit geworfen, auch eine besondere, angetriebene, fette Erdart dazugetan, und in diese farbstoffreiche Flüssigkeit werden die Fäden für 24 Stunden gelegt. Darauf ausgespült und getrocknet. In neuerer Zeit kommen auch vereinzelte rote Fäden bei den Matten vor, diese sind dann mit künstlichen, erhandelten Färbmitteln, rot, grün, blau und lila, hergestellt und nicht ortsecht.

So z. B. Kr. 518 mit 3 roten Streifen, ähnlich Kr. 519 *(najelle malu galapal* mit schmalen Stichen *gukudj)*; Kr. 460 *dōr peig* (s. S. 77) mit drei grünen Streifen, ebenso Kr. 520; Kr. 521 *paliäläuf*, am Rand je ein roter Streifen, mit 3 Streifen, 1 rot zwischen 2 grünen (ähnlich Taf. 7e); He. 2272 am Rand je 2 grüne, mitten 3 = grün, schwarz, grün; Kr. 515 ähnlich, Streifen gesprenkelt, rote Querornamente *galut ma dab*.

d) Mattenarten.

1. Mattenart.

(Vgl. Tafel 6, 7, 10).

Die siebenstreifigen Matten aus Hibiscus werden von Frauen getragen, während siebenstreifige Männermatten aus Bananenfaser bestehen.

Die *ellepat a le gilifer* ist eine solche Frauenmatte aus Hibiscus mit sieben schwarzen Streifen und sechs hellen Zwischenräumen von gelblicher Naturfarbe, in denen einzelne Gruppen von den weißglänzenden Bananenfäden Wirkung (Effekt!) bringen. Auch in die schwarzen Streifen sind weiße Bananenfäden eingereiht, abwechselnd einzeln und zu zweien, und dies so fein und dünn, daß sie den Eindruck von schwarz nicht abschwächen. Bei den erwähnten meisten Doppelfäden im schwarzen Streifen ist eine Schmuckwirkung gleich losen schwarzen Maschen erreicht, wie sie in Kusae Bd. I S. 185 u. 186 beschrieben ist; es sind hierzu vier Fachbildungen nötig, während die ganze übrige Matte nur mit den 2 Fächern der -Leinenbindung gewebt ist; Vierfachweben der Zierstiche heißt *gásuitiēb*, Zweifach- oder Leinenbindung = *aláli pelách*. Ich bezeichne jetzt diese Webarten mit den eingeborenen Namen; ebenso Bananenfaser = *uidj*, Hibiscus = *gilifer*.

garier ist der Name für die siebenstreifige Männermatte aus *uidj*. Sie ist feinfädiger als die Frauenmatte, bei ganz besonderer Feinheit heißt sie *garier hénusch* (Taf. 6i).

Meist besteht Leinenbindung = *aláli pelách*, aber auch Drei- und Vierfach-Bindung = *gásuitiēb*, mit der beschriebenen Zierwirkung im schwarzen Streifen kommt vor; *galut* heißt eine siebenstreifige Matte, bei der das Muster in *gásuitiēb* auf beiden Seiten gleich erscheint. Es ist Vierfach-Bindung.

Von gestreiften Matten kommen noch vor: *marŭp* aus *gilifer* mit 5 oder 6 Streifen, grob, in Leinenbindung und oft mit Händlerfarben getönt[1]. Die schwarzen, grünen oder dunkelblauen Streifen sind unterbrochen durch weiß, rot oder andere Farben, die Zwischenräume erscheinen einfarbig hell. Diese Matten sah ich nicht weben, sie kommen auf Sētoval vor und mögen von da her vertauscht sein. Sie sehen neuzeitlich aus; und tatsächlich erfuhr ich, daß die umliegenden Inseln Sētoval, Pollap u. a. früher nicht gewebt hätten, weil es tabū für sie war.

[1] s. Kr. 522 von Elato, grobe *garŭr*-Matte, E. K. *palialuf* s. hier oben.

Bei den charakteristischen dreistreifigen Matten, die nun beschrieben werden sollen, kommen als weiterer Schmuck die in Schußrichtung durchgezogenen schwarzen Musterungen hinzu, die Querbänder an Anfang und Ende der Matte darstellen. Schwarze *gilifer* Streifen werden während des Webens zwischen jedem Schuß mittels eines Holzstäbchens durch die Kettfäden geflochten und durch den folgenden Schuß befestigt. Das ist Flechtweberei namens *dab*.

2. Mattenart.

Die *peig*-Matten sind dreistreifig, aus feiner, weißer *uidj*-Faser mit schmalen, schwarzen Randstreifen, und einem breiteren schwarzen Mittelstreifen[1], dessen Gestaltung wechselt. Er kann ein- oder zweimal durch weiß unterbrochen sein[2], auch kommen ganz schmale rote Fäden in der Mitte vor, Taf. 6a—f.

Über die abnormen Farben s. S. 75.

Dazu kommt bei den meisten *peig* noch die *dab*-Musterung, Querstreifen an Anfang und Ende, die bei diesen feinen Matten sehr zierlich sind.

Die schwarzen Streifen in der Längsrichtung sind *uidj* oder *gilifer*; die *dab*-Muster werden immer mit *gilifer*-Fäden hergestellt, die sich in ihrer stumpfen Schwärze gut von dem glatten, hellen *uidj* abheben.

Ich hatte bei meinen Webestudien eine große Hilfe an Bessi (Taf. 3d), der Halbbluttochter des englischen Händlers Lewis. Sie sprach gut englisch und konnte mir vieles erklären; auch war sie selbst eine geschickte Weberin und verstand meinen Lerneifer gut. Um mich mit den verschiedenen *dab*-Mustern bekannt zu machen, webte sie für mich eine besonders schöne, reiche Matte (Taf. 7d), die ganz mit Quermustern durchgearbeitet war, (Abb. 49). Sie trägt den Namen: *najile malugalep al -dab o fasch* und gehört zu den dreistreifigen *peig alali pelach* (mit Leinenbindung). Der breite Mittelstreifen ist unterbrochen durch zwei weiße und einen roten Streifen. Auch bei der Flechtarbeit, *dab*, sind neben schwarz auch rote und grüne Fäden verwendet, die ein Zugeständnis an die Neuzeit bedeuten. Die Muster jedoch sind echt und haben Namen und Bedeutung. Angeblich stammen einige von andern Inseln. Fängt man am oberen Ende an so kommt zunächst

1.	A. *uassüch*	Anfangsmuster.
2.	B. *langodab*	ein winziges Börtchen, das zur Einfassung eines Musters dient, unmittelbar über C.
3.	C. *sepasse iliuil*	Kanusegel mehrerer Boote, die miteinander segeln.
4.	B. *langodab*	s. B, unmittelbar unter C.
5.	D. *uadj*	Halstatauierung eines Mannes.
6.	B. *langodab*	s. B.

[1] Kr. 511 (Taf. 6b) hat drei breite Streifen *peig na tas*.

[2] s. Taf. 7c u. d, letztere *gasuitlib*-Typus s. S. 76, Kr. 513 *gasurlib* ähnlich.

7. E. *fäsilümat* Auge (von Faraulap)
8. B. *langodab* s. 6. B.
9. D. *uadj* s. 5. D.
10. F. *uägüpä* unerklärt.

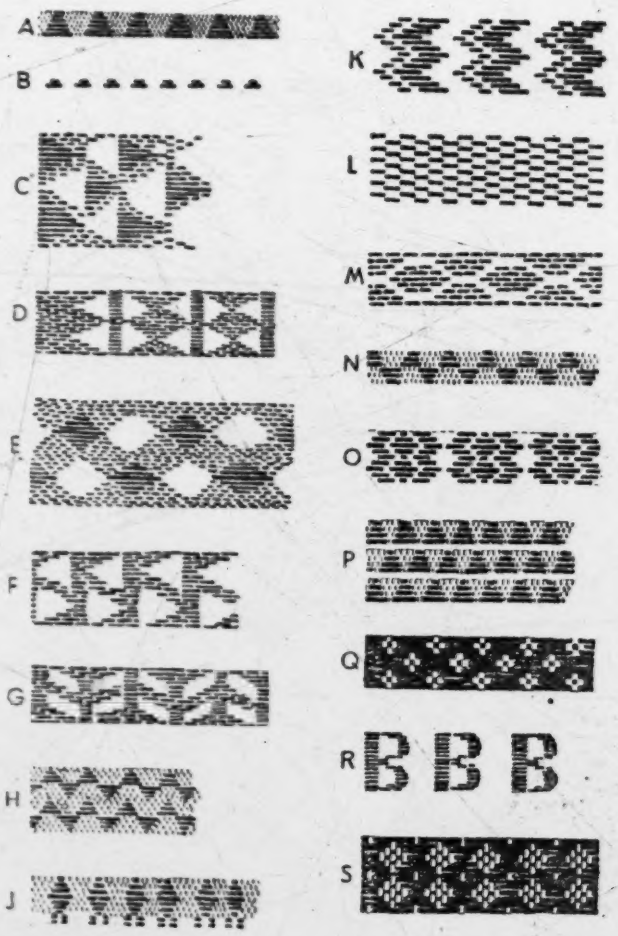


Abb. 47. Muster der Matte. Taf. 7d. Reihenfolge s. Index.

11. G. *garrach* Pflanzenmuster von Ifaluk.
12. H. *ngingi* Halstatauierung vom Mann.
13. J. *bub (pup)* ein Fisch (s. Truk S. 150 x).

14. K. *päülümel* fliegender Vogel.
15. J. *bub* Fisch s. 13.
16. C. *kusae* Muster von Kusae.
17. M. *fäülümat* Auge, von Ifaluk (s. 7.)
18. C. *kusae* s. 16.
19. N. *gogotjub* s. 12.
20. O. *pöulul* »runde Sache«.
21. P. *ngilipaggo* Haizahn (Truk S. 188 b).
22. Q. *ligongare* Ifaluk-Muster.
23. R. B = Bessi, die Flechterin.
24. S. *fatarigavüong* aufgereihte kleine Seetiere.

Die Mehrzahl dieser Flechtmuster haben eine unrechte Seite, doch sind auch solche darunter, die auf beiden Seiten gleich erscheinen. Sind solche letzteren bei einer feinen *peig*-Matte verwendet, treten auch die Ziermaschen in den schwarzen Längsstreifen auf beiden Seiten gleich hervor, so haben wir es mit einer seltenen, wertvollen Matte zu tun, einer *peig galut*, Taf. 6h (s. S. 76).

Daß es auch *peig* ohne *dab*-Muster gibt, ist schon erwähnt und zeigt Taf. 6d u. f. Schließlich seien noch die *lugüllü uidj* erwähnt, Matten aus grob gespaltenem Bananenbast, vergröberten *peig* vergleichbar. Wie bei den *peig* gibt es verschiedene Abarten: 1. ganz schmucklos weiß, 2. mit schwarzen Streifen an beiden Seiten, mit und ohne *dab* Taf. 6h, 3. mit einem Mittelstreif neben den Seitenstreifen, also dreistreifig. 4. Dreistreifig und mit *dab* verziert, an beiden Enden grobe, einfache Muster mit starkem schwarzen *gilifer* hergestellt (Taf. 6c). Alle diese *lugullü uidj* haben Leinenbindung. Außer den einheimischen Webereien sieht man solche aus Truk, besonders bei den Männern ist die einfarbig weiße Bananenmatte, *aliel*, beliebt; eine gelbliche Abart heißt *garite; ngäremus* und *pazutiu* sind zwei Arten Frauenmatten aus Truk.

Worte:

fisudab durchflechten (von *dab*-Mustern)
djuidab Durchflechtstäbchen
famalüdab Muster vom *dab*.

e) Technik des Webens.

Kette wickeln.

Kettpflöcke *maiuel*. Zum Vorbereiten der hier, wie bei aller Südseeweberei, fortlaufenden Kette dienen 5 Kettpflöcke, die in bestimmtem Abstand von einander in die Erde gesteckt werden. Ich konnte 4½ Handspannen messen vom 1. bis zum 5. Pflock. (Abb. 48).

Es wurde von rechts nach links gezählt und die Kette für Leinenbindung gewickelt in der üblichen Weise, so daß bei Nr. 2 die Litzenschnur eingelegt wird, Nr. 5 das Kreuz bildet, Nr. 3 das hintere Spannbrett, (übertragen Kettbaum) und Nr. 4 den Trennstab.

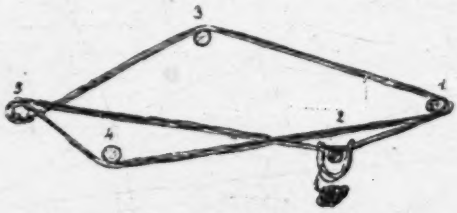


Abb. 48. Kette scheren.

Die beiden Fächer der Leinenbindung werden bei der Kette vorbereitet durch eine Doppeltour. 1. Hälfte: Der Kettfaden beginnt vor 1 und läuft hinter 2, vor 4, von hinten um 5 herum, kreuzt und hinter 3 nach 1 zurück. 2. Hälfte: hinter 2 (Litzenschnur herumgelegt) hinter 4 und weiter um 5 und 3 zurück. Diese Doppeltouren bleiben immer das gleiche, nur daß die Litzenschnur den Kettfaden einmal rechts, einmal links vom Pflock 2 erfaßt.

Zwei Doppeltouren stellen sich in Zahlen folgendermaßen dar, wobei nur der Pflock genannt ist, der vor dem Faden bleibt. 1, 2 und 5 sind immer gleich und bleiben unerwähnt; von rechts nach links gewickelt heißt es:

2
4 L 2
2
4 2 L x

soll die Farbe gewechselt werden, beispielsweise von weiß auf schwarz übergegangen werden, so wird gleich nach Nr. 1 abgeschnitten und der schwarze Faden angeknotet (x rechts von 2).

Für die feinen weißen *uidj*-Fäden im schwarzen Streifen ist nur ½ Doppeltour nötig; so wickelt man 2½ Doppeltour schwarz, ½ weiß *uidj*, wieder 2½ schwarz. Das gibt nachher beim fertigen Stück, z. B. den gestreiften Männermatten, die weißen, gleichartigen Fäden im Schwarzstreifen.

Bei der zuerst beschriebenen Frauenmatte wechseln dünne Einzelfäden im Schwarzstreifen ab mit den Ziermaschen, wozu 2 weiße *uidj*-Fäden nötig sind, die in einer Doppeltour gewickelt werden. Auch zwei weitere Fachbildungen kommen für diese Wirkung hinzu, die in der Kett-Bereitung nicht berücksichtigt werden, sondern erst später beim Weben nachträglich geschaffen werden müssen.

Ist die ganze Breite der Matte auf die Kettpflöcke gewickelt, so wird sie in der üblichen, vorsichtigen Weise von 2 Frauen abgenommen, auf den Webstuhl gebracht und auf ihm geordnet; Kette ordnen *gaporette*. Zwei flache Stäbe und mehrere dicke Baststücke werden eingewoben, sie dienen als Breithalter, und an ihnen werden die Kettfäden so verteilt und geschoben, bis sie in der ge-

wünschten Mattenbreite liegen. Das Weben beginnt mit Trennfach und Litzenfach, um bei allen Matten in Leinenbindung so bis zum Schluß zu bleiben.

Nun gibt es aber auch die erwähnten *gasuitiēb*-Matten mit den schwarzen Schmuckmaschen. Die hierzu nötigen Fachbilder werden eingefügt, nachdem die Matte etwa handbreit in Leinenbindung gewebt ist. Das Schwert ist durch das Litzenfach gesteckt, die meisten Zierfäden der Kette im Schwarz liegen oben, die angrenzenden schwarzen sind unter dem Schwert und über dem nach hinten gerückten Trennstab. Es wird ein flaches Bambusstück, der *gasuitiēb*, hinter dem Trennstab so durch die Kette geführt, daß es nur die zu Ziermaschen bestimmten, dem weißen *uidj*-Faden benachbarten, schwarzen Fäden bedeckt und alle anderen über sich läßt. (Abb. 49). Ist der Stab darin, so wird er gleich beim folgenden Fach mit dem Trennstab zusammen gebraucht, so daß die von ihm bedeckten Fäden nicht hoch können, sondern unten bleiben und dort auf der Rückseite der Weberei die schwarzen Maschen geben. Der nächste Schuß im Litzenfach läßt sie wieder unten, und erst im folgenden Trennfach wird der Stab zurückgeschoben, so daß die Fäden wieder erscheinen. Sie waren dreimal bedeckt und bildeten so auf der Rückseite die Masche.

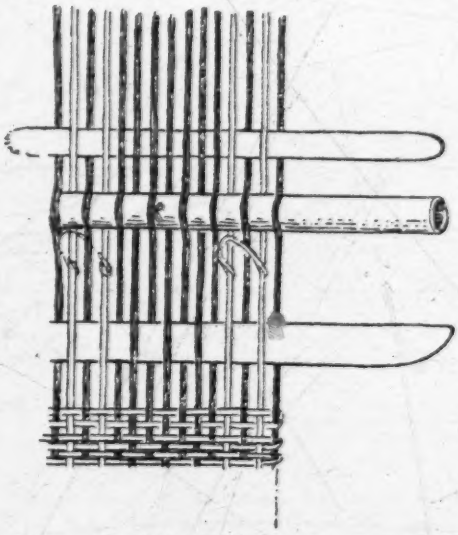


Abb. 49. Webgeschirr.

Trittweise[1]: Trennstab mit *gasuitiēb*
Litzen
Trennstab
Litzen
Trennstab mit *gasuitiēb* etc.

In dieser Weise wird weiter gewebt und nur am Schluß in Handbreite Leinenbindung wie am Anfang, und das gibt eine Matte mit einseitigen losen Maschen, wobei die Unterseite die rechte Seite wird; sie hat 3 Fachbildungen. Soll die Matte vorder- und rückseitig gleich sein, so tritt noch eine zweite Litzenschnur

[1] technischer Ausdruck, vom Leinenwebstuhl entnommen, meint Reihenfolge der Fachbildungen; ebenso Effekt S. 76.

dazu, die dieselben schwarzen Fäden erfaßt und mit den Litzen zusammen hebt, um die Ziermaschen auch vorderseitig hervorzubringen.

Trittweise: Trennstab mit *gasuitiëb*
Litzen
Trennstab
Litzen mit 2-Litzen
Trennstab
Litzen
Trennstab mit *gasuitiëb* usw.

So entstehen auf beiden Seiten lose Maschen, hebt die sonst unten bleibenden, weil dem Trennfach angehörigen Fäden, mit hoch, so daß diese dreimal unbedeckt vom Schuß bleiben.

9. Handel (s. Navigation).

Auch hier vornehmlich Handel mit Truk, worüber dort S. 95, 161 und 301, schon berichtet ist. Auf letzter Seite wird der Tributfrage mit Yap gedacht. Mir wurde darüber folgendes mitgeteilt: Eine Frau Lefagemai von Lamotrek vertrieb nach Westen, und gelangte nach Yap, wo sie von den Häuptlingen freundlich aufgenommen wurde. Als sie sich zur Heimfahrt anschickte, erhielt sie Geschenke an Gelbwurz *reng* (z. S. 58) für sich, aber auch für alle Häuptlinge der Inseln die aber dafür zur Tributleistung verpflichtet werden sollten.

Hambruch erfuhr auf Elato: Yongelăp (Yap I S. 307 Yänólop ältester und höchster Gott) war auf Yap, wohin ihm Abgaben entrichtet werden mußten. Die Lamotreker und die von Sëtoval bringen ihre Sachen nicht direkt nach Yap, sondern nur nach Oleai, von wo aus nach Westen gefahren und in Gatspär gelandet wird. An dieser Fahrt beteiligen sich Leute von Ifaluk, Fáraulip und Aurepik, die sich alle auf Oleai versammeln. Die Fahrt geht über Sorol, Uĕjü (s. Feis) und Mogemog. Wie Mogemog den Handel von Feis mit Yap zu monopolisieren versucht hat, s. Feis.

Seit Alters wurden von Lamotrekern die Fahrten nach Guam (s. Navig.) ausgeführt zwecks Handel mit Tauen, Faden, Matten, Muscheln usw. Die ertauschten Sachen verhandelten sie nach Poloat, von denen sie Gelbwurz *räng* und rote Muscheln *faibar* erwarben, ohne daß aber dadurch etwa die Poloater von ihren Fahrten nach Guam sich abhalten ließen; aber sie frugen deshalb sozusagen um Erlaubnis auf Lamotrek an, da dieses über die See bis nach Poloat und Ifaluk herrschte (s. die Namen der Meeresteile S. 125). Hinsichtlich Yap noch folgendes: sie sandten ihre Handelsgegenstände nach Oleai, nach Vótagai, denn sie fürchteten die Yaper als Leute mit stärkerem *mádjemadj*-Zauber hinsichtlich

der Taifune und Krankheiten. Lamotrek's Sachen gehören den Häuptlingen Rúebong[1] und Inefel; Rúebong ist der Große, Inefel sein Gehilfe.

Als der Händler Lewis zu Gogilrau[2] kam und ihm Vorwürfe machte, warum er seine Kinder auf der Insel verdürbe, sagte er: Wir sind es nicht, es sind ihre eigenen Götter, die sie verderben, weil sie die alten Tabûs gebrochen haben; Alúelap gebe ihnen die Frauen zum natürlichen Gebrauch, aber sie mißbrauchten sie.

10. Haus.

a) Anlage, Baumaterial.

(vgl. Farbtafel 2, 3 u. Tafel 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 u. 12.)

Wie die Häuser liegen zeigt Abb. 50 und Plan 3. Ein Gehöft mit seinen Nebenhäusern Abb. 51 s. die Siedlung S. 17.

Auf Lamotrek ist das Ramenhaus aus Werkholz ebenerdig[3] für Wohnzwecke durchaus vorherrschend; fast alle Abbildungen zeigen es; am besten sieht man deine Bestandteile, die übrigens im Bd. 6 I (Inseln um Truk) S. 69 u. 70 schon

Abb. 50. Siedlung an der Lagune, im Vordergrund *imatamâ*-Hütte.

gezeigt wurden, auf der Abb. 52 u. 59: doppelter, oberer und unterer Ramen, Wand aus Brettern, darin Tür sowohl an der Giebel-, wie an der Langseite (s. Abb. 51).

[1] Yap I S. 312 Rúepong von Gatsapár (Taf. 5[3]). [2] anderer Name von Agupelior auf Oleai?

[3] Dr. Herbert Tischner erwähnt in seinem Buche »Die Verbreitung der Hausformen in Oceanien«, Leipzig 1934 S. 56 Steinfundamente für Lamutrek, was auf einem Mißverständnis beruhen muß. Hambruch nennt nur für Elato das Steinfundament eines ehemaligen großen Hauses S. 30, Siedlung 290, s. aber Oleai. Für die Werkholzhäuser kann man nur einen gehobenen Plankenfußboden annehmen, wie ihn der Bd. I Inseln um Truk S. 70 Abb. 54b zeigt. Das Buch wird S. 2 der H. S. E. gerecht.

Giebel abgedeckt durch Gräting mit Kokoswedeln oder Matten darauf. Von außen zeigt Abb. 72 deutlich die Giebelseite des Hauses Lëmar, an dem man auch Reife von jungen *ubud*-Fiedern sieht, weil es durch Zauberspruch gereinigt worden ist. Meist ragen die unteren Längsramenbalken über die Giebelseite so hervor, daß man eine Planke auf die beiden Enden legen kann und so eine Bank schafft (Taf. 8c). Sind auf die Tampen Pfosten aufgesetzt (Taf. 8a) oder ist auf die Tampen ein Balken aufgelegt, der zur Stützung der gleichfalls vorragenden Firstspitze in der Mitte eine Stuhlsäule trägt (Taf. 8d, s. auch Oleai), so entsteht eine Veranda, die offen oder zugedeckt sein kann, wie Taf. 9a zeigt.

Abb. 51. Gehöft mit Nebenhäusern. Hütte rechts *imafatiu*.

Alles dies wurde schon bei Lukunor gezeigt, dem östlichsten Vorkommen dieses Ramenhauses. Es kann auch ein Walmdach an den Giebel angesetzt sein, das dann durch ein paar Stecken unordentlich gestützt ist (E. K. aqu. 33, H. 4 Légauo, s. auch Oleai).

Auf Elato findet man den Giebel durch ein halbkegelförmiges Dach abgewalmt und der untere Teil, die Hauswand, wird durch Kokosmatten gebildet (Abb. Taf. 12a). Auch findet man vom First aus direkt Kokoswedel angehängt, den Ansatz nach oben.

Solche Halbkegel sieht man als Walmung auch an den Boothäusern (Abb. 53) die aber ringsum unten offen, also ohne Wände sind. Hier sind die unteren

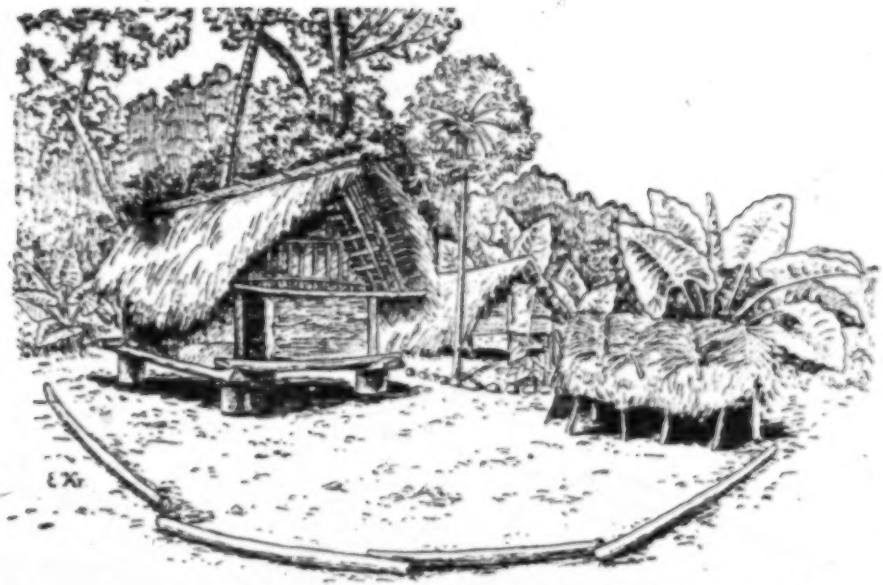


Abb. 52. Gehöft Bómaras, H 24 b, mitten hinter Papayabaum Saualik's Grabhaus.

Abb. 53. Boothaus Abui.

Ramenschenkel nicht vorhanden, sondern nur der obere Ramen ist da und besteht aus viereckigen behauenen Balken (Taf. 9c). Sie sind oft reich ornamentiert, wie z. Teil auch die viereckigen Pfetten (Farbtaf. 2 u. Taf. 4a)

Die kleinen Häuser sind zum Teil auf den Boden unmittelbar aufgesetzt; es berühren die Traufen (s. Abb. 50 u. 51) fast die Erde, weshalb auch das Blut;

Abb. 54. Vorratshaus *imspo*.

haus *imafatiu* heißt, von *fátogitiu* »setze es hinab«, weil es auf den Boden gesetzt ist. Selten stehen Häuser auf Pfählen (Abb. 52) oder es ist eine Steinerhöhung vorhanden. Vorratshaus Abb. 54. Dagegen werden gerne Korallenkiesel ums Haus herum gestreut; seltener ist eine Steineinfassung *(óror)* vorhanden Abb. 68 oder Balken Abb. 52. Beim *im* ist die Dachtraufe häufig 1—1½ m über der Erde.

Bei den sechseckigen Häusern Abb. 55, die bei Oleai stärker auftreten und dort auch näher beschrieben sind, tritt unter den Vordächern häufig eine

Abb. 55. Sechseck mit kleinem Walm.

Ornamentierung des Giebels auf, die in 2 Fällen, Abb. 56a u. b, wiedergegeben ist. Die Muster sind Fische, Rauten, Haizähne usw. (s. die Zusammenstellung Abb. 79). Über die Ordnung näheres bei Oleai. Man könnte an-

nehmen, daß eine Entlehnung von Oleai vorliegt, wenn nicht auch sonst noch eine große Zierlust hervortrete, so z. B. an dem Boothaus Aboi, von dem E. Krämer ein Aquarell (Farbtaf. 2) angefertigt hat, um den Eindruck zu ver-

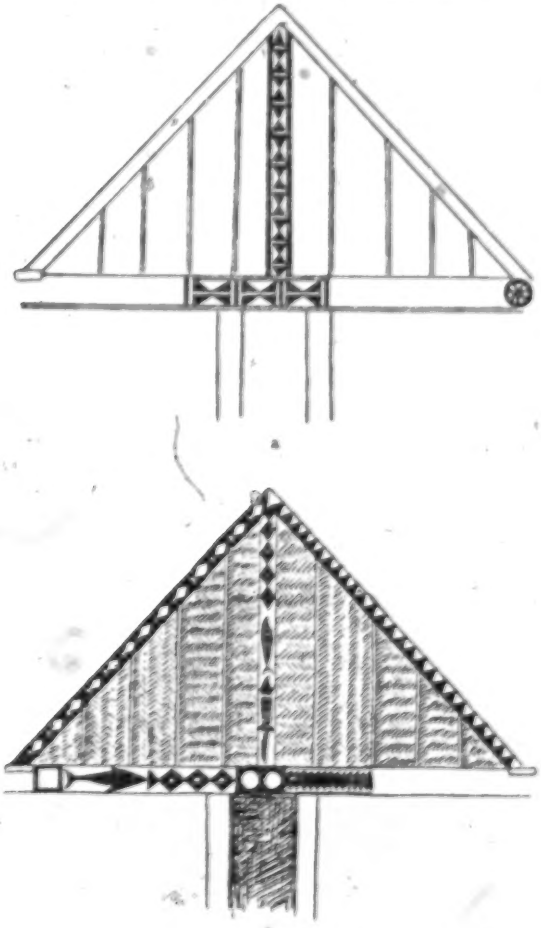


Abb. 56. Giebelschmuck a u. b (Lugalap).

mitteln. Was dort an Mustern an den Innenseiten der Rahmenbalken und an den Sparren (vgl. Truk Taf. 23 u. 24) vorhanden war, geben die Abb. 57 im einzelnen wieder. Ähnliches sahen wir auf Oleai nicht, und auch nicht die prächtig geschmückten Webstuhlgestelle, die bei der Weberei gezeigt wurden.

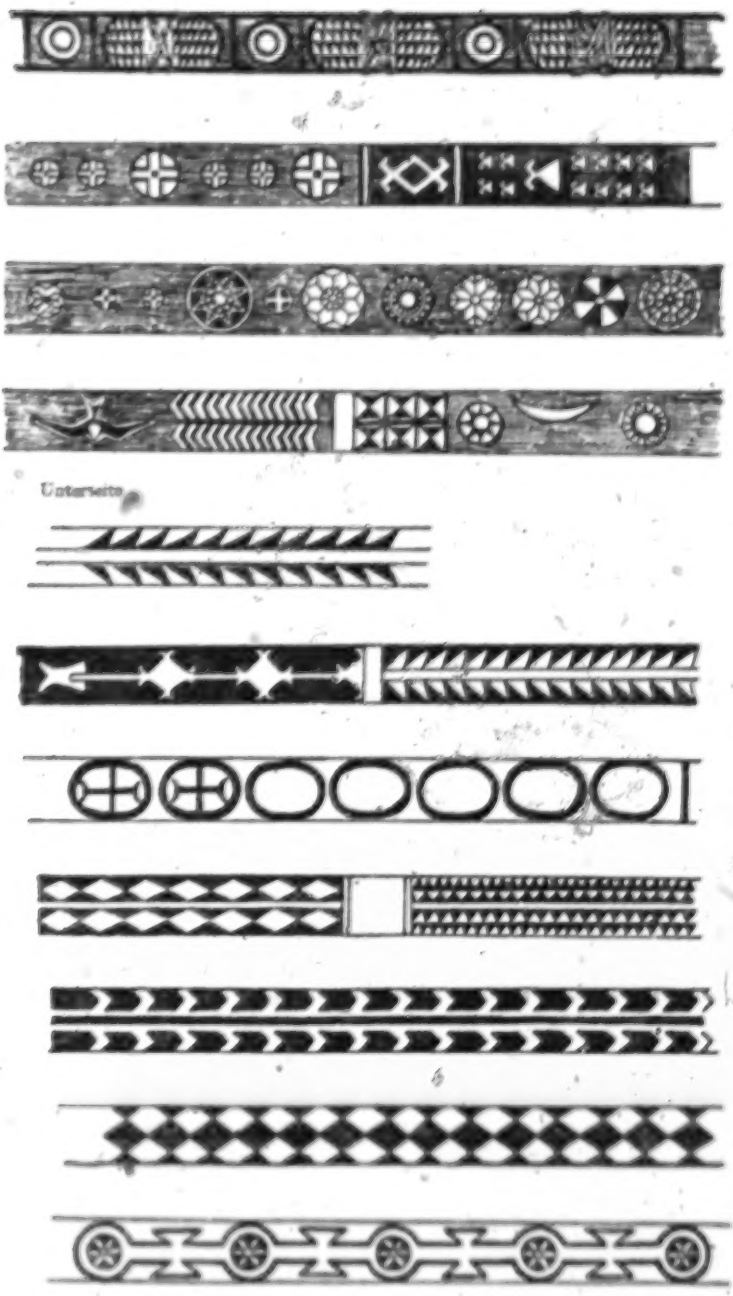


Abb. 57 Im Boothaus Abot (s. Farbtafel 2).

b) Die Arten der Häuser.

fal'lap	»große Häuser«, wohl eine Art Tempel, s. Religion und Oleai.
fal	das Boothaus, Haus für Fremde.
im	das Wohnhaus
meripann aie, imepō	Vorratshaus (Planken Abb. 51)
mālimes, malum	das Kochhaus (Herd *nim, lim*)
fēlang	für Feuerstelle, erinnert an das *faláng*. Truk S. 221
im ali pel und *im faliu* (S. 30)	das Bluthaus, s. Familie
imareipel	Haus für Schwangere
imutamāi	Gebärhaus, s. Familie, S. 111
imaligat	Haus für Kind (*im alipel* Sētoval).
imalifam und *im ale gogóbong*	s. S. 113 und Oleai.
im ali bōlebol	Zauberhaus, S. 151.

c) Benennung der Haustelle.

Mittelraum	*lim*
Veranda	*fāliping* (Giebel kurzweg auch *tēbau*, s. Feis), Querramen bei abgedeckter Veranda *abilebing*
Giebelmatten	*úngolim*
Dach	*tēbau, gili* (s. Stuhlsäule)
Türöffnung	*galam*
Türöffnung Giebelseite	*aleping*
Türöffnung, Seite	*alepēig*
Oberer Längsramenbalken	*pēig* (vergl. Matte S. 77)
Unterer Längsramenbalken	*gogodj ale peig*
Oberer Querramenbalken	*tāp*
Unterer Querramenbalken	*gogodj ale tap*
Wandbretter	*bāb*
Eckpfosten, Türpfosten	*djul, sul*
Fang	*fāng* (s. Feis)
Stuhlsäule	(*tēbau* s. Giebelmatten) *suretái bōt* (s. Feis)
Unterer Firstbalken	*ónugodjik*
Oberer Firstbalken	*óngolap*
Große Sparren	*uói*
Kleine Außensparren	*gāt*
Pfetten	*gapangág*
Diagonalleisten	*gaimodm*

Dachstäbe	*cás(o)*
Schlafbalken	*ülül*
Feuerstelle	*fĕlang* (Kochhaus)
Zaun (Steine)	*áioi* (s. o.)
Umzäunung	*orór.*

d) Hausbau.[1]

Es gibt hierzu eine eigenartige Einrichtung, nämlich ein Gestell, das eine Art Balkenheber darstellt, Abb. 58. He. 2305 = 6071[II] ist ein Modell von 72 cm Höhe; er notierte *ligāse rumrum* für den Balkenheber; Gestell *wūsal*, Kopfteil mit Kreuzleisten *vaiṗ*. Hellwig: Dient dazu um die schweren Balken auf ihr Lager zu bringen oder davon wegzuheben. Hebebäume werden zwischen die Sprossen des Gestelles und der Leiter von beiden Seiten in Hebellage gebracht und der auf dem Kopfteil aufliegende, an den Kreuzleisten festgelaschte Balken durch die Hebelkraft gehoben. Bei größeren Neubauten (Bootshäuser) verwendet man Balkenhebegestelle verschiedener Größe bzw. Höhe. Der Anhub eines Balkenendes durch Hebebäume vom Boden aus endete mit dem Auflegen des Endes auf die unterste Gestellsprosse; zur Weiterhebung auf die nächste wird das Gestell weiter herangerückt, und so fort bis zum Kopf zumeist wird der Apparat aber benutzt zur Erneuerung von Pfosten *sul* in den Bootshäusern, für deren Balkenhöhe er von vornherein gebaut wird. Seit Jahren soll solch ein Apparat nicht mehr in Gebrauch gewesen sein.

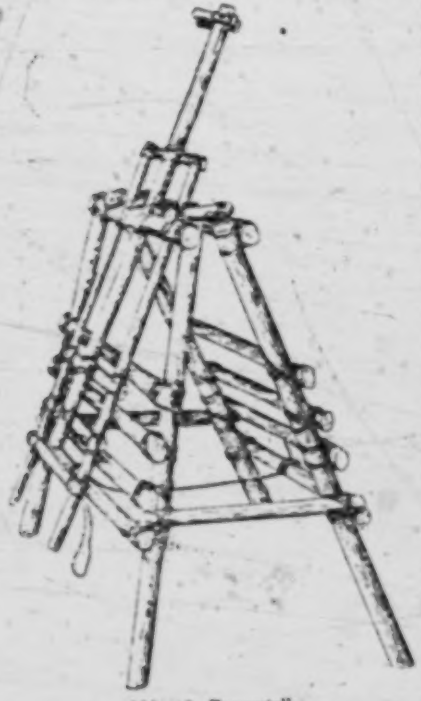


Abb. 58. Baugestell.

Haustüren vorkommend als viereckiger Ramen, durch Gitter oder Parallelstäbe gefüllt, 90:50 cm.

[1] Baumeister *ulilap* s. S. 92.

e) Hausrat.

Innenraum (Abb. 59) meist leer.

Neben Holzhaken *taumi* (He. 2103) zum An- und Aufhängen von Körben usw. (Geräte Abb. 25ff.) Gretings (= Aufhängegitter) *váng* (He. 2314), aus Pandanus-

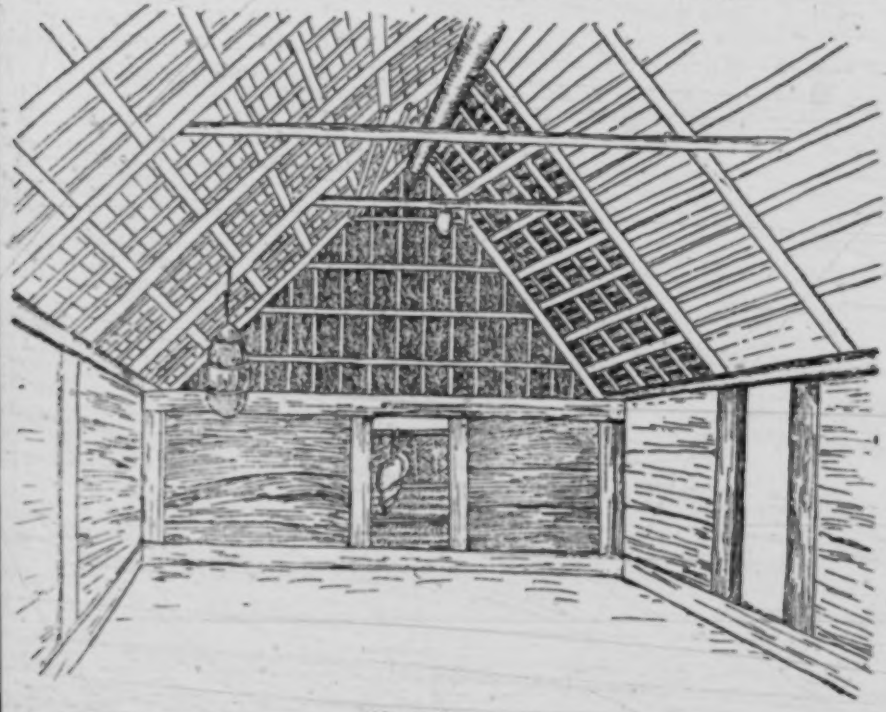


Abb. 59. Innenraum.

holz, zur Aufbewahrung kleiner leichter Gegenstände (He. 2314 = 6085[II], Taf. 7 s. auch Abb. 75). Wir trafen auch einen Lehnstuhl, *limasa*, Abb. 25 (s. auch Phot. 1024), den Ikisera sich angefertigt hatte, um wie ein Weißer zu sitzen.

11. Boot.

Wie bei der Navigation s. S. 121: erhellt, ist Alúluel der Gott der Schiffer, aber auch Lugeileng ist eng verbunden mit der Seefahrt.

Als Bootbauer aber steht er an der Spitze. Er hat viele Gehilfen als Sélang, Semalegóror, Sémadjek usw. die S. 144 bei der Religion näher bezeichnet sind, sowie auch dort ihre Ämter genannt werden.

a) Tabus, Zeremonien beim Bootsbau, Technisches.

Hier wird der Bau des Reisebootes eingehend behandelt; wegen der Abbildungen ei auf Lukunor in Bd. 6 I Inseln um Truk S. 74 verwiesen. Der Oberzimmermann *sêllap* (Truk S. 242 *silêlap)* und sein Gehilfe *rolifêleſêl* dürfen während dem Bau eines Bootes keine andere Arbeit tun, höchstens Dachdecken; erst nach dem 5. Tabûtag *póuſar* (s. S. 95) macht *álisulaṗ (Alúelaṗ)* die Zeremonie *lulur*, worauf die Gehilfen frei sind, der Oberzimmermann selbst aber erst nach dem Schluß es ist.

Während auf Palau III S. 185 das Schlagen des Baumes mit vielen heiligen Handlungen verbunden ist, geschieht es auf Lamotrek ganz ohne Zeremonie. Das Fällen eines Brotfruchtbaumes heißt *komádj ali mai*, das Schleppen des gefällten Stammes *urur ali mai*, wobei alles hilft. Man holt ihn nämlich zum Strand, wo er behauen werden soll. Um ihn schleppen zu können, umgibt man den liegenden Stamm mit Kokoswedeln, deren Fiedern untereinander verflochten werden. Sowohl Stamm als Wedelstiel werden gekerbt und festgebunden, so daß sie beim Ziehen nicht abrutschen können. Dadurch werden Schleppseile gespart, und durch Leichtermachen des Klotzes. Eine ganz rohe Bearbeitung findet nämlich meist schon im Busch statt, unter Überwachung des Gottes Simalegodjúat (s. u.). Wenn der Stamm dann am Arbeitsplatz in der Nähe des Strandes liegt, beginnt die Bearbeitung, das Behauen *fdleſál*[1] mit dem Dexel. Dabei findet gelegentlich eine Ausstellung der Zeremonialaxt statt (vgl. Palau III S. 187), die schon S. 48 erwähnt wurde; die Klingen aus Tridacna wurden schon S. 62 erwähnt (Abb. 182).

Die Behauung wird mit Fasten begonnen; Frauen dürfen auf den Arbeitsplatz nicht mehr kommen, sonst müssen aber keine besonderen Tabûs eingehalten werden. Nach dem Fasten werden junge Kokosnüsse getrunken und ihr Kern gegessen. Das Brechen der ersten Nuß, *gilegil*, ist heilig; es heißt nach dem Stocke *got*, als Handlung *molegot*. Die Nuß wird vor dem Brecher und vor dem Stock hingelegt und der Geist Tautúp[2], der Geber angerufen.

Das Essensgebet heißt:

alesû sêpôê	Geist, (blicke nach) außen	d. h. wende mir den Rükken zu, damit ich essen kann, etwas Taro und Augen vom Fisch
menêgilegil galêi	meine erste Nuß, mein Essen,	*gilegil* (s. o.) oder *kakilet* das erste Brechen und hauen
uômigami Tâutup	ich gebe es dir, Tautup!	Zuwerfen der Fischaugen und des Taro

[1] Vgl. Truk S. 146 Dechsel *selle, falafal*. [2] S. auch Gesang bei Medizin, wo der Arzneimann *tautafê* heißt.

Dann beginnt der erste Axthieb *kakilet* (s. Z. 2), die rohe Bearbeitung, noch ohne Leine.

Es folgt die weitere Zurichtung des Brotfruchtbaumstammes, in den Gesängen kurzweg *mai* genannt. Bei Erläuterung des 2. Gesanges durch Faragau (Haus 1) kam heraus, daß in alter Zeit die Stämme innen im Schlagraum und außen auch mit Öl getränkt und angekohlt wurden, zwecks leichterer Weiterbehandlung mit dem Dechsel. Aber die Behauung mit der Axt, der 1. Axthieb und die erste Arbeit wenigstens, war immer allenthalben fachmännisch wichtig und allein kunstgerecht; eine weitere wichtige Handlung, die aber noch ohne Zeremonie stattfand, war

1. das Kiellegen *tilegab* (*solegab* der Kiel), wobei der Kiel roh ausgearbeitet wurde, damit die Linien gelegt werden konnten. Dieses erste Abschlagen des Holzes heißt *kuṗ*. Beim Kiellegen wird den ganzen Tag gefastet, nur Kokosnuß getrunken, namentlich wenn die Leine, *tal e ṭáleṭal*, gelegt ist. Erst am Abend das Nachtmahl, *iles*. Am zweiten Tag, am Tage darauf, geschieht
2. das *gapileval*, was »Kiel des Buschese« heißt. Es bedeutet das Abmessen des Stammes für den Rumpf *bul* mit der Leine *tálefálźel*[1], Abb. 60, die nur für Boote benutzt werden darf; wird sie verletzt, so ist es eine schlechte Vorbedeutung; sie darf nicht geknüpft werden. Erst wird die ganze Länge gemessen, dann, durch Zusammenlegen der Leine, die Hälften, die Mitte *lug* (Abb. 61a). Ebenso werden die Viertelteile gemessen und markiert. Denn direkt unter 2 dieser Viertelmarken sind die beiden Enden *(ṭétang*, Oleai *ṭátang)* des zu tiefst liegenden Kieles *gapiálei*. Von den *ṭétang*-Spitzen steigt der Kielgrat ein wenig an, beiderseits in der Längsrichtung bis zu der weiteren Ecke *gom*; die Strecke zwischen beiden Ecken *ṭétang* und *gom* (Oleai *ṭalegóm)* heißt *gapiléisaṗ*; die Strecke endlich von der *gom*-Ecke bis zum Bug, wo die Gallion sitzt, heißt *ṭaisaṗ* (Oleai *ṭátoṓ)* (Abb. 61a). Die *ṭétang*-Ecke richtig zu legen, ist wichtig, ebenso den Kiel zwischen

Abb. 60. Meßleine mit Zauberknoten.

[1] Es gibt 4 verschiedene Meßleinen *tál*, a) *tál i motáisam* (Geist der 1. Sippe S. 114), b) *tal i ugulu*, c) *tal ṭgedj* (dazu 4. Bootbaugesang S. 105), d) *tal i gudj* (dazu 2. Bootbaugesang). Für jede Meßleine ist ein besonderer Gesang nötig; auch wechseln mit ihnen die Tabû's; weiteres s. u. Vgl. Truk S. 242.

beiden *fétang* gerade zu machen, damit das Boot nicht giert[1]. Zu beiden Seiten der oberen Längsleine, zur Messung der Länge, wird je eine rote Linie mit einem Pinsel (s. S. 41) gemalt, denn schwarz würde die Geister erdrücken. Im senkrechten Durchschnitt durch den Bootsleib mitten (*lûg*) treten folgende Linien in Erscheinung: Der Kiel *gapiâlei*, darüber die Aushöhlung *djöliſadj*, wie ein »Pandanusblatt« aussehend, darüber als obere Abgrenzung die Kante *ulut*, die auch schon auf dem Längsbild, Abb. 61a, angedeutet ist. Die *ûlut*-Linie bildet innen die

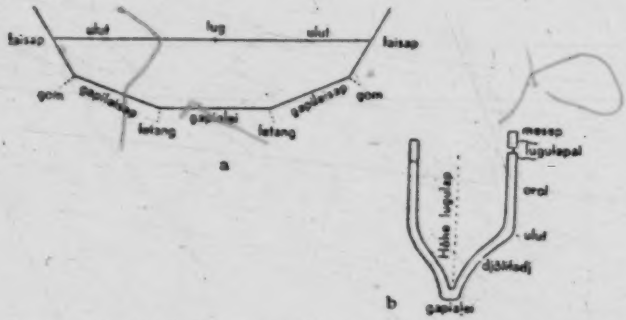


Abb. 61a, b. Boot in Bau: a Seite, b von vorn.

Grenze der Bilsche. Über ihr ist die Schiffseite *órol*[2], am oberen Ende verdickt *lugulepal*; auf diesem Bordrand liegt eine Holzlatte als Reeling *mesép (papa le vá)*, festgebunden durch einen Strang *ngareliva*. Besondere Sorgfalt wird auf die Aushöhlung über dem Kiel, den Bilscheraum (He. *niua)* verwendet. Der Boden, *laudâlol* Gräting, wird mit Kokosfiederrippen in 3 Teile geteilt, ähnlich wie die Deckfläche die 3 roten Linien hatte. Dann wird ausgehöhlt, ohne die Schotten *kábong* zu vergessen. Dann wird eine Leine an der *orol*-Seite gelegt. Auch der Bänke *tô*[3] wird gedacht: 1. *tolefatefat* 2. *metangór* oft mit *failo* = Verstärkung (Truk S. 229 *faulo)*
3. *tipalefang* 4. *ti válim*
5. *sáragio* 6. *fatamat* mit dem unteren Ossitz.

Alles dies geschieht am zweiten Tag. Dann wird die Leine zusammengerollt. Während des Behauens werden oft als Arbeitszeichen viele Matten ausgehängt, und die Passierenden mit dem Gruß *fâro* angerufen, damit sie nicht durch Übelwollen etwas verderben.

---

[1] s. Truk S. 242.
[2] Von dem Gotte Semalegóror, der die feine Form am Boot überwacht, s. Religion u. S. 121.
[3] Auch Schotten S. 266 oder Sitz, da die Bänke auch *fólog* heißen; *fo* die Last; Truk S. 228 *só*.

3. Tag: *vēlap*. Das Ganze verbessert und die genauen Größen der Flächen bestimmt. Die oberste Linie gibt die Grenze für die Arbeiten. Alles darunter liegende bedeutet heilige Arbeit; was darüber sich befindet, ist gleichgültig. Alles dreht sich also um den unteren *búl*-Teil, von dem man so viel als möglich stehen läßt. Die Planken werden dann zurechtgeschnitten, für beide Enden das Gallionstück, unten *padj* genannt, wo es in einen staffelförmigen (s. Bd. 6 I Abb. 60a Sopon) Ausschnitt über der *gom*-Ecke eingepaßt wird, alsdann die Strecke *faisap* (s. o. 2.) bildend; sie reicht, wie ein Oberschenkel, bis zum Knie *borolemet*, wo das Holz sich nach innen zu wendet, so daß die Ferse *monga* Sëlang (S. 149) wieder in den nach außen weisenden Fuß übergeht, den gabligen *metál i va* »Schiffsauge« (Bd. 6 I Farbtaf. 2 und S. 102. Die beiden Gabelzinken heißen *mongarēdj*, die obere Fußsohle *seapolimet*.

4. Tag: *vēdjik* ein Tabūtag, weil feinere Ausbesserung des am Kiel Vorbereiteten vorgenommen wird. Alles wird überholt und feiner nachgearbeitet, auch die Planken. Hier sorgt der Gott Mesélseit (s. S. 122).

5. Tag: *póufar*. Jetzt erst steht das Boot auf dem Kiel. Es ist auch ein Tabūtag, an dem nichts behauen wird, nur Aufbauarbeit geschieht. Die hergerichteten Planken werden aufgesetzt, aber nur vorläufig geheftet mit Bast von Hibiscus *(gilifau)* und mit Keilen *djib* oder *kadjór* versehen, was eine scharfe Aufmerksamkeit und Überwachung erfordert. Dabei betet man zu Bórumai[1] = steigendes Wasser *bor*, gut *mamai*, d. h. schöne Flut; *lulur* = Gesang:

Bórumai *go boē dju*	B., du sollst geben
ngaliēi mellauāi	mir mein Leben
mērāmu Bórumai	von dir, B. *mērem* von dir

Das Boot wird mit Kokosnüssen und Essen für den Gott gefüllt.

Jetzt können die Gehilfen vom Baumeister entlassen werden. Das endgültige Aufsetzen der Planken geschieht mit Kokoshüllenscheiben *pal ali va*, die man dazwischen legt, nachdem Artocarpusharz *bilis*[2] aufs Holz gegeben wurde, das aber auch nach dem Einsetzen aufgetragen wird, indem man eine glühende Blattscheide neben den mit *bilis* armierten Stock hält. Naht *péret*; besonders schwierig das Annähen des Gallionstückes *padj*, das *bauuipadj*. Das Nähen durch die Löcher mit *gólemong*-Schnur (S. 72) heißt *yógeyog*.

[1] Gehört zu Semalegóror, s. S. 122.

[2] Die Brotfruchtstammilch *ralimei* (s. u.) wird in Kokosschalen gesammelt; man läßt sie sich setzen, gießt das Wasser ab und wäscht den Satz in Seewasser, dann in Kokosblattscheide gewickelt und aufbewahrt; jetzt *bilis* genannt.

6. Tag: *kabukio* mit Tabûs. Zum »Einpassen, *kabuk*, der *kio*-Auslegerbalken« werden Ausschnitte, *uós*[1], gemacht. Man paßt möglichst genau an. Die *kio* ruhen in Lee auf den *geligesá*[2]; in Luv auf den *faramoe*. Zum Festschnüren bohrt man unter die *uós*-Ausschnitte „Löcher" *ngata le olotráol* (Abb. 61c). Der Bohrer *kabuiabui* ist gleich einem Meißel, neuerdings aus einem Eisenstück, *búrubur*, gemacht, sonst nur für Kokosscheibchen (s. Schmuck) gebraucht — in alter Zeit ein Madreporenstück. Beim Durchstoß des Bohrers geschieht ein Zauber. Es handelt sich darum, die bösen Geister zu vertreiben. Es geschieht dies durch den Ruf aller Anwesenden: *ēho! ēho! ēho!* Dem folgt ein großer Lärm durch Schreien, Schlag auf die Arme usw[3]. Dann wird alles vorläufig oder dauernd angeschnürt. Dazu werden auch die *sórang* gemacht, die Einschnitte zwischen den Löchern für die Schnürungen.

Abb. 61c.

7. Tag: *votaṗ*. Der Bootsleib wird aufgestellt, den Kiel auf *longēs*-Hölzer gesetzt, kleine Holzbalken, die mit Kerben versehen sind, in die der Kiel hineinpassen soll; ist der Einpaß nicht genau, hilft man mit Kokoshüllen nach. Steht das Boot gut und richtig, kann besser gearbeitet werden. Alles wird jetzt für die Dauer gemacht. Dabei wird alles gut gerichtet und in Form gebracht, wegen Schwinden des Holzes beim Trocknen. Alle kleine Stücke werden jetzt auch hinzugefügt.

8. Tag: *kámor* mit Tabûs. Hauptsächlich erfolgt jetzt das Glattmachen des Bootleibes. Durch Ausspannen der Leine gewahrt man die unebenen Stellen; sich heraushebende werden abgehauen, aber nur in feineren Schnitzeln. Das ist das *kalúl ali metál e boédj*, das »Schönmachen für das Gesicht des Kalkes«. Die Kalfatermasse, der Zement *boédj ali va* »Kalk für das Boot«, wird nämlich aus gebranntem Kalk bereitet, der mit möglichst viel Kokosholzkohle gemischt und dann mit Wasser von den jungen Kokosnußhüllen angerührt wird[4]; er wird dann in Löcher und Spalten gepreßt, und das überstehende mit Calophyllum-Blättern geglättet. Die Kalfaterung darf aber erst erfolgen, wenn das Boot keiner Erschütterung mehr ausgesetzt ist, auch muß vorher das Schönmachen

[1] Gleiches Wort wie Korallenriff, weil der Ausschnitt ebenso fest und traghaft sein soll.
[2] *olotrau* der Bund der *kio* am Leebord außen.
[3] Vgl. Palau III S. 353. Totenbestattung.
[4] Es wird auch die Fixierungsmasse für Schwarzfarbe aus Manglerinde *ualisóng* zum Einpressen *(buiiiong)* benutzt, s. S. 97.

beendet sein, wobei auch Rochen- und Haihaut benützt werden, oder Korallen. Das *fér* »abreiben«; s. *faiür*.

Nach dem Kalfatern kommt erst die Bemalung. Vorher muß aber noch die Ausgestaltung des Auslegers mit dem Schwimmer *tam*, das *fai eám* (beim Tabū *val e vé*, wohl »Buschzauber« s. o.) erfolgen, das Festbinden der Gabelstützen *ám* an den Auslegerbalken *kio*. Dabei wird gefastet, denn das *anganga sórosol*, das »Arbeiten am frühen Morgen« ist dabei nötig.

b) Bemalung.

Das Bemalen kann jetzt stattfinden, wird aber meist noch verschoben. Nach Zementeinsetzen, *bedjē vā*, an beiden Seiten des Loches wird, nach 4 Tagen mindestens, das Boot ins Wasser gesetzt; dabei wird die Feierlichkeit, *gafé̱fei*, ausgeübt: Das Boot wird mit jungen Kokosfiedern *úbudj* (s. Zauber) geschmückt; alle Fischerboote, die vorbeikommen, werfen Fische hinein, so daß sich ein Essen schon daraus ergibt. Es ist ein großes Festessen des neuen Bootbesitzers an den *sellap* und die Gehilfen, wobei Gaben an die Götter nicht fehlen. Aber noch fehlt die Takelung und der Segelaufbau, deren Namen alsbald verzeichnet werden. Jetzt folgt als Weihe, der *tárabos*-Gesang (s. S. 102 Nr. 1), die letzte heilige Handlung vor dem Aussegeln. Alle Tabūs werden jetzt gelöst.

Wenn das Bemalen noch nicht erfolgt ist, wie oben bemerkt, so geschieht es jetzt: der untere Teil des Bootleibes wird schwarz *le djól le vá*, die obere Grenze *máted gol*, die seitlich ansteigenden Schrägungen *lēllap*; über der Fläche das einzelne Längsband *far*, über und unter dem der Leib rot erglänzt (Bd. 6 I Farb. Taf. 2).

Die rote Farbe *lap* kommt von Yap (s. o. S. 64 u. 149); das Färben wird *madjágos* (von *dja* rot) genannt. Die rote Erde wird mit Wasser in der Farbschüssel *tabbi lap*[1] angerührt und mit dem Pinsel *gololiē* aus der Kokosblütenscheide aufgetragen; bei großen Flächen nimmt man eine Kokosnußhülle. Wenn die Farbe trocken ist, überzieht man sie mit Artocarpusmilch, *ralimei*, die oben schon erwähnt wurde.

Die schwarze Farbe *rēl* aus Hibiscusholz *(maraſai)* oder Kokoshüllen (nicht Schalen) wird gleichfalls mit Wasser angerührt. Man fixiert sie mit einer Masse aus der abgeschabten Haut und dem Saft der gestoßenen Ipomoea *djaival* Ligadjelap ist Gott der Maler, s. S. 122. Schwarz-rot gestrichen, wie Farbtaf. 2 im Bd. 6 I Inseln um Truk zeigt, ist das Boot erst segelfertig für die große Reise. Farbschüssel und Pinsel dürfen nicht verlegt werden.

Der Name für das Boot wird nach dem Baum gegeben, der den Stamm lieferte, oder nach dem Land, auf dem der Baum stand.

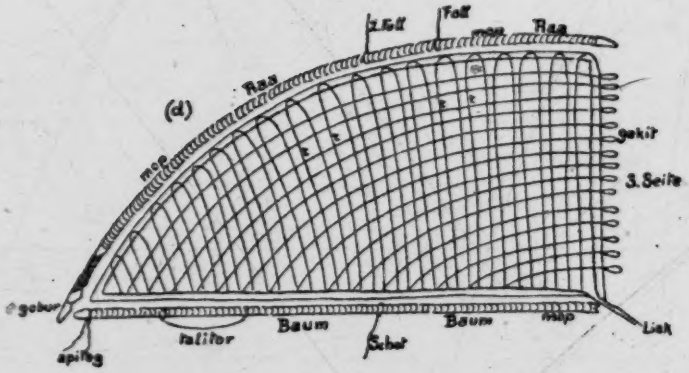
Der Zimmermann und seine Gehilfen erhalten nach dem Abschluß die Bezahlung, er selbst 10—20—30 Handelsgegenstände, je nach Größe des Bootes.

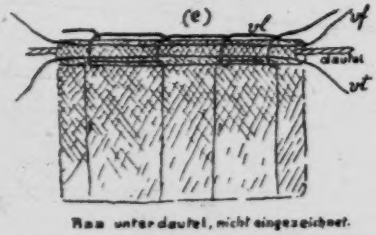
[1] s. S. 172[1].

c) Benennung der Bootsteile (vgl. Band 6 Inseln um Truk S. 77).

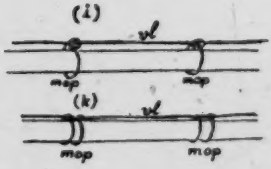
Boot	*vā*
Luv	*baraf* (Truk S. 229 u. 230 *faraf*)
iketa	Leeseite
maitam	Windseite
tabóli va	Steven
lugulipal a va	Mittschiffs (auch *autéliebēp*)
sua e bēp	die Planke
oālemoél	die Planke für *ebēp* einsetzen
malemēsóro	»Ding das schläft«
móliva, âmo	Stirne (He. *nénnepal*)
moreliva, maimor	Achterteil
peli ebēp	innerer Teil
peigeli ebēp	Seite
autéli ebēp	Mittelteil
üüli ebēp	Leehälfte.
Kiel	*solegab, djiligep, gapialei* Abb. 61a. (He. Kiellinie *drüli χapille*, Schnabel mit Ansatz *patülle*, Gabelschwanz *metál i va* (Fregattvogelschwanz *galiele gataf*)
Kielplanke	*bul*. Leereling *kerikesá*, nach vorne *mesáp*, Luvreling *faramóe*,
Boötrumpf	nach vorne *mesáp*; Planke darunter *langolúor*, darunter *bāb*
kio, gio	Auslegerbalken, *rē* oder *djē* krumme Auslegerbalken
fang	Gräting (Luv); s. Feis u. Haus S. 91.
metárafang	Diagonalstange
oāsōso	Querstab
soso	Lasching (He. 2 Längshölzer *wadjódjo* oder *soso*).
oā leángelap	Joch
válieng	Klampe für Luvstag *eángelap*
eám	die Stützgabel, Pflock (He. *djamalivá*)
tam	Schwimmer (Floß) (He. *tam, tāmē*)
gapísē	Verbindungsstange der 2 *eám* (He. Gabelsteifen *sä*)
tari ês̄ē	Verbindungsstange der 2 *rē*
bui a tam	Loch am Schwimmer (He. *vié tam*, Spitzen des *tam* = *tawót tam*)
fōlag oder *folog*	Sitzbänke (s. S. 94), Mittelbänke mit Reeling *langolü*, Mastkule *labu*, Innenbank *djo*.
bárong	Luvhaus
gáimoém	Leehaus auf Leeplattform *ebēp*, ruhend auf 2 Balken *sua*, deren Anfänge unter *valimoel* stecken[1].

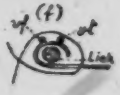
[1] Planken *faliebēp*, Bedürfnisloch *ngata li ebēp*, überstehend *uáliong* für Leestag *taueta*.

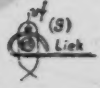


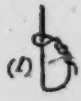


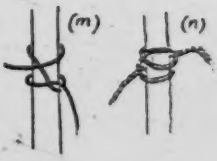
Rau unterdaubal, nicht eingezeichnet.

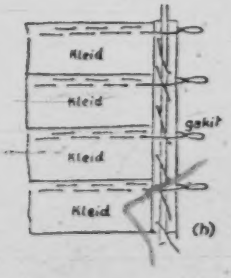












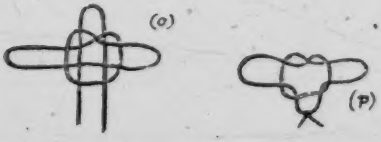


Abb. 61. d—p.

góis, gáüs Mast, *mes* Stänge, *úrur* Fall.
ɛ́ingelap Luvstag, über dem *telinga le uór* am Mast fest, unter der Bindung *bedjebedj ali gois*, die Mast und Stänge vereint.
tɛ̄ūtea[1] oder *taugata*[1] Leestag oben an der Stänge fest.
taligadj Vorder- und Achterstag, am Mast fest durch Schlinge *selinga le uór* (Abb. 61n), Klampe dafür *matongáro*.

d) Weitere **Steke und Knoten** (s. Handbuch der Seemannschaft 1899 II. Teil S. 40ff.), hier Abb. 61:

(m) Webleinstek *kotalipoi*.
(n) Kreuzknoten *bogolimar*.
(l) Balkenstek *kolliva* (Fall an Raa fest).
(i) Weitere Kopfschläge *kat*, Längsleine *valigaſáraſar(vl)*.
(k) Doppelte Kopfschläge *kat epalval*.
(o) *vóngalima* vierfache Schlaufe für Auffangen des Schwimmers, wenn das Geschirr in See zerbrochen ist (s. S. 72).
(p) *gómes* zwei Schlaufen zum Aufhängen von Wassergefäßen, wie Kreuzknoten.

e) Das Segel.

Das **Segel** *üa (longaliu* zwei lange Stangen, auf denen das Segel ruht), wird am Mast mit dem Fall (Abb. 61d) *úrur* gehißt, das an der Raa *djudju* mit dem Balkenstek *kolliva* (l) fest ist; daneben ein Hilfsfall *sós* (d). Am Baum *lim* ist die Schot *moél* (d) fest; daneben, dem Hals zu eine Schlaufe *talitor* (d), ein Stück Seil, an beiden Enden fest, wie ein Bogen herabhängend, so daß man Tauwerk zur Entlastung der Schot anbringen kann. An der Spitze des Baumes hängen noch zwei Bändsel *ápiteg* (d) herab, zum Verschnüren mit dem eingekerbten Ende *gobur* der Raa, oder mit dem Bug (vergl. Die Samoainseln Bd. II S. 258 Abb. 29). Das *gobur*-Ende ist wie ein Messergriff; nach der Raa hin verjüngt es sich dolchähnlich, und diese Verjüngung ist zur Verlängerung der Raa angeschnürt; *fēfē* das Zusammenschnüren zweier Hölzer. Im übrigen zeigen Raa und Baum zahlreiche Umschnürungen, die der Anlaschung des Segels dienen; sie heißen *mop*; die einzelnen Ringe sind durch einen Längsfaden *(i) vl* verbunden (s. Kopfschläge *kat)*; an diesen *mop* der Raa wird das Segel alsbald nach der Fertigstellung befestigt, aber nicht an den *mop* des Baumes, damit dieser noch entfernt werden kann, zum Herrichten des Segels. Dieses nämlich besteht ja aus »Kleidern« *sail, sälil, ruiel*, die Mattenstreifen, die zum Dreieck durch Naht *góruseg* vereinigt werden (s. Taf. 17d); die Horizontalkleidernähte enden mit je einer Schleife *gakit* (Abb. 61h); mit diesen Schleifen streckt man die genähten Streifen; auch führt man durch sie, wenn der Wind stark weht, ein Tau *tàligakit*, das an beiden Nocken festgemacht,

[1] Nur nötig, wenn zu Anker der Mast stehen soll.

als Ersatz für das fehlende Holz an der 3. Seite. Zum Glätten der Kleider dienen auch Stäbchen *djífel*; das Strecken heißt *gameil*, das Krachen dabei *sángarenger*.

Um dem Segel bei frischer Brise Festigkeit[1] zu geben, dienen etwa 62 *tēlap*-Schnüre (d) t, die von der Raa senkrecht herunter zum Baum ziehen. Oben an der Raa läuft je eine Schnur durch zwei *mop*-Ringe (Abb. 61e), während sie unten am Baum einzeln frei enden (d): jedes Ende wird mit einem Schlag an der Querleine *vatēlap* (e) vt befestigt (auf d nicht zu sehen); die überhängenden Tampen *tabotēlap* werden wie eine Schnur gedreht, zusammengewirbelt, und längs des *vatēlap* auf das Liek *dautel* gelegt. Der Rand des ganzen dreieckigen Segels wird nämlich durch ein Tau, das sogenannte Liek, *dautel*, (s. Samoainseln II S. 258 Fig. 29) stark gemacht, wie auch unsere Liekbändsel zum Anschnüren des Segels an Baum und Raa dienen. Da die Matte gegenüber unserem Segeleinen recht brüchig ist, wird sie umgeschlagen und das Liektau eingeschlagen und vernäht (f). Oben auf den Bund werden aber noch zwei Leinen mit angeschnürt, wie (e) und (f) zeigt, die *vatēlap* vt und die *valifárafar* vf; an ersterer werden, wie erwähnt, die *tēlap*-Schnüre unten festgemacht; die *valigafárarfar* aber dient zum Festmachen des Segels an der Verschnürung von Raa und Baum (i), deren verbindende Längsleine auch *valiga fárafar* (vl) heißt. Die Tampen des Liek und des vl werden an der Gabel des Baumes festgemacht (d rechts unten); die vt an den Nocken von Raa und Baum, da sie an der 3. holzlosen Seite nicht vorhanden ist; dort heißen Liek und vf auch *tali metálü*.

lálebógol die Leine, um das Fall beim Segelfieren nahe an den Mast und zum *eangelap* herzuholen

tal e rúopin[2] Leine mit gleichen Zwecken, nur sind beide Enden frei und schließen Mast und Fall ein

talitarák Reefleine (wie Ralik)

Pagaie *fatúl*; wie ostwärts kommen geknöpfte Paddeln vor (Palau III S. 182 Abb. 164)

Ruder *fatul e bupo* (Truk S. 229 *fedil a bú*), *fatul ülül*; Proviantraum *fō*; Schott *gábĕung*, Ösfaß *gámat*, Unterbank *iselimát* für ösen *gamát*.

Die Gallion ist der bekannte Gabelschwanz (Truk S. 227) mit einer Gabel *seapolimet*, an deren Fuß eine Einschnürung ist, die nach dem Gott Sĕlang (s. S. 121) *mong a* Sĕlang »Stirne des S.« benannt ist, da er hier als Erfinder der

[1] Bei starkem Wind wird auch das Segel klein gemacht, dadurch, daß man das Mattensegel von Raa und Baum loslöst, etwa bis zum Ansatz des Falles *urur* und der Schot *moíl*. Das frei werdende wird dann nach dem Hals hin zurückgeschlagen, und hier möglichst durch ein Netz noch festgehalten, damit das Segel nicht zu sehr ausbaucht, weil dann das Boot zu sehr anluvt. Natürlich wird auch durch Reefen die Segelfläche verkleinert; *talitarak* Reefleine (wie Rälik).

[2] *ɔ:ukopin* Boot Yap.

Gallion gilt; die beiden Zinken der Gabel heißen *mong a redj* »Stirne des Seevogel *redj*«, s. S. 95, 3. Tag.

Die Gabelzinken heißen auch auf Oleai *mongo* Sēlang; eigentlich heißt die Gabelkerbe so, bzw. *gilimel*[1], und der Grat, der außen von der Kerbe zum Kiel zieht, wird *falegilimel* genannt (*fale* = »unter«). Innen, nach dem Bootsraum zu, liegt unter den 2 Zinken eine kleine viereckige senkrechte Platte *nalimat*, und die schiefe Fläche weiter nach unten *atâlulibodj*. Die Spitzen der Gabelzinken aber heißen *móngoros*. Alles dies auf Oleai erfahren.

f) Bootsgesänge.

Es gibt viele Bootbau-Gesänge. Es gilt der Grundsatz, daß jeder auf seine Weise die Götter zur Hilfe anruft, diese oder jene, damit das Boot schön werde und Glück habe für die Reise usw. Insbesondere hat jede Meßleine ihren eigenen Gesang (s. S. 93 Anm. 1).

1. Bootsbau-Gesang
von Ikelûr (Haus 3) für *tárabos* S. 97.

1. *go temâ ligagerúa*	Du mein Vater befreie,	*géroa* austilgen, hier gemeint schlechte Eigenschaften und Fehler des Bootes.
go boē lē ligagerúa	Du sollst befreien	
tabatabalóg tudj osomē lugolīm	bei mir weilend die bösen Geister an der Außenseite des Hauses,	*taboeai* begleite mich, *tudj* Korb und Haus.
5. *i gánga boédji sellē*	ich vertilge den Schaden der Axt,	*gánga* essen, *boédj* Hitze, übler Einfluß.
itang boédjī sellē	ich beklage den Schaden der Axt,	
go sa li pata go sa li djál	du bleib in Verbindung, du mach es gut.	*sa* paeteritum, *pat* mit etwas in Kontakt kommen. *djal*, *ral* glatt.
	Glück des Bootes angerufen:	
eálo gol ea lo mal	Gib ihm Glück, gib ihm Wasserdichte	*gol* Glück, *mal* Wasserdichte.
ēlango puisil iketa	es soll gesehen werden das Loch an der Leeseite;	*lang* sehen; *puís* Loch, bildlich für den Einmarsch der Bönito.

[1] Angeblich von *itigul* außen, da diese Kerbe nach außen (vorn und hinten) sieht.

10. *garótarot a lametaũ*	das reinigt den Ozean!	von den Fischen; *g.* zusammenlesen, aufräumen.
meípil fárãmoi	Glück für den *faramoi*,	die Mastfußplanke, wo *baraf* endet.
meipil iketa	Glück für die Leeseite,	Z. 9.
meipil garãtalibódj	Glück vertreibe das Übel!	*bodj* s. Z. 5.
go silei páta go silei djalu	du bleibe bei ihm, du mach es gut!	Z. 7.

2. Bootsbau-Gesang

von Faragáu (Haus 1) für die Meßleine *tal i gudj* S. 93.

1. *busigi, busigi*	Erleuchte mich,	
sárama sárama	mache klar,	*maláma* hell polynes.
bulobúlei lalóṅ	erleuchte mich unter meiner Brust,	*lalo* unten polynes.
saramáramei lalóṅ	Mondlicht unter meiner Brust.	*maram* Mond.
5. *sẽlápo eai*	Meine Geschicklichkeit	
ngei i tókolei	(in dem), was ich nicht weiß,	*ngei* und, daß poet.
ngei i pókulei	daß ich es weiß,	
bóngoleur madj	den reifen Vollmond.	
fetál odi sõso	Es kommt das Schiff der Weisheit,	*fetál oai* gesagt, wenn Wind kommt, *fetát* kommen oder gehen machen.
10. *fisior fisior*	brenn' es gut in Form	*fis* brennen, *or* Form[1].
(ubudj vaivei	schwacher rechter Arm).	
võlebu djigidjig	Glück kleines	s. 1. Ges. = S. 108.
võlebu lábelab	Glück großes	
võlebu eĩla	Glück heute,	
gãng garáfal	ich Wurzelplätz,	*vágar* Wurzel, gemeint für Weisheitbau.
15. *irigirigiri tõgo*	laß es rennen zu mir,	*i dok* zu mir = *tõgo*; *rikerik* rennen.

[1] In alter Zeit wurde in die erste Aushöhlung des Baumstammes, die der Schiffsraum werden sollte, Öl gegossen und angezündet, um die Form innen auszubrennen; auch außen wurde der Baum angekohlt, ehe die Tridacna-Axt angesetzt wurde.

itáfetōgo	schnell zu mir,	*taf* schnell, damit eine Gasse entsteht.
garamālo	nicht verborgen (vor mir),	*mal* verbergen.
(gier gier) tālurigi tālulap	(Treibholz) wenig, viel,	*gier* (s. S. 234) das amerik. Rotholz, hier als großer Treibholzstamm gedacht.
lugálapal Lamodjek i	mitten in Lamotrek	
serágila giemar	segeln... (Axtschlag?)	*térak* segeln, *ser* auflaufen, festkommen.
serāvódjik serāmátang	nicht pelzig, nein flink,	*vodjik* Glieder eingeschlafen; *mátang* sichere Hand.
matangatang alipéi	schnell und sicher ist meine Hand,	
mērara lipei	flink ist meine Hand;	*mérra* schnell.
beigaue	früher,	s. Bd. 6 I S. 187.
mauru lēbong	schlafend in der Nacht,	
iredjagi maiuái	verfolgte mich mein Brotfruchtbaum;	*edjagli* jagen, verfolgen.
beigaue maropei	früher, mein Augenwinken	d. h. meine Hand sei flinker als mein Augenwinken.
rēsagol golāgo	erreichte es nicht, der fallende Regen.	*sógola* nicht bekommen, *taigolāg* es hascht dich nicht, *ūl* Regen (Póloat)
gielūtē valutē	seid nicht so flink der Regen	
modjo rāso	der *modj*, der Wal,	die 3 Fische sind dem *sellap* (S. 92) vorbehalten, und wenn 100 da sind und kein anderer.
gudju gūdjugudj	der Goldfisch, der Goldfisch, der Goldfisch.	

3. Bootsbau-Gesang. Ikelūr[1])

roros i lepéi,	Festgemacht am Arm,	*roros* festmachen, *pa. péi* Arm, meist *uudj* r. Arm = *róros*.

[1]) Urupo (10), Ikesera (45) und Ikelūr (3) machen selbst keine Boote.

kémálau mai uiĉi valéia	mach gut meinen Bootstamm heute,	*kemálau* gut machen, helfen, *mellau* Leben.
isériḍj ípola	mach (mich) stark, daß ich kann.	*i pola* ich will, eine Arznei.
vólebū segúdjūg	Glück kleines,	s. 2. Ges. Z. 1, 2.
5. *vólebū labelab*	Glück großes,	S. 108.
vólebu tagerálei	Glück komme heute,	
imelāu	ich lebe,	
nga ai melāu ralei ia	und mein Leben (soll) heute (anfangen).	
iáfela mai uiĉi eia	Wo soll ich schlagen, meinen Brotstamm?	d. h. anfangen, zugleich Axtschlag.
10. *iáfela mai uiĉi emamai*	Wo soll ich schlagen, meinen Brotstamm gut?	*fela* = *fáleſál* behauen.
e melāu mai uiei	es lebt mein Brotstamm,	S. 150[3].
e melāu mai uiei rálei ia	es lebt mein Brotstamm heute!	

Darauf kommen alle Helfer und arbeiten.

4. Bootsbau-Gesang

von Urupō (Haus 10) für Meßleine *tal i gédj* s. S. 93.

1. *roro silipēi roro silipēi*	Fest am Arm, fest am Arm,	s. 3. Ges. Z. 1.
e mámai felāi ei	daß gut mein Werk sei,	*felaiom* dein Werk von *fléſel* behauen (Ges. 3, Z. 9)
ē gādj felai ei	daß fein mein Werk sei,	
ē gādj maĭ uiei	daß fein mein Brotstamm sei	
5. *nga iuá nga iuá*	und so und so,	
idi gúlag	(bis) fertig (das Boot).	
Limesi, Limesi	L.	Göttin, soll ihm Lugeilengs Sachen zur Stärkung übergeben.
ueiti ubútel maral	nimm weg seine Kokosfieder und sein Halsband	*ubud* Truk S. 179, *maral* = *maramar*.
9. *lē malé'lál* Lugeileng	von dem jungen Mann L.	L. S. 122.

5. Gesang

Límagei, Límagei	L., L.,	Männlicher Geist, dabei Axtschlag.
i sâ fela	ich schlage	*sa* eigentlich für praeterit.
mai uiai il Lugêleng	meinen Brotstamm, L.;	
gamâmâi mai uiâ il	mach gut, den Stamm da;	*il* da.
5. *e fidja mai uiai il*	fein ist mein Stamm da,	
e mellâ uiai il	es lebt mein Stamm da,	
ngâua, ngâua	und so, und so,	
i ai gulag	bis fertig.	

107

IV. Geistige Kultur.

1. Gesellschaft.

a) Familie.

Auch hier wie auf Truk usw. starkes Mutterrecht, s. S. 31[1]. Die Frau besitzt das Haus usw. Initiation nicht vorhanden. Die jungen Mädchen holen schon früh Feuerholz, richten den Herd, kochen usw., mit 10 Jahren gehts ins Tarofeld. Als Fest bei der Pubertät — *gabuitiu* — ein kleines Essen mit Taro, Bananen usw.; die Männer liefern gelegentlich junge Kokosnüsse, Fische und Schweine. Während 3—4 Tagen wird das Mädchen 3—4 mal täglich gebadet, mit Curcumagelb, *reng*, eingeschmiert. Oft tanzen Frauen dabei (s. S. 143).

Geburt (über die Geburt hoher Frauen s. Gesänge S. 108).
Hebamme *vdie maleh*.

Der Zauberer (s. S. 152) wohnt auf dem Grundstück bei dem Haus der Schwangeren; in seiner Hütte bereitet er die Arzneien. Alle Leute hier dürfen nur Kokosnüsse, nicht anderes Wasser trinken; 3—4 Monde lang je einmal macht er die *tafei i lólomai*[2] (s. S. 111 u. 140) als Arznei gegen Blutverlust, denn der Saft vom abgebrochenen Stengel der Pflanze ist rot wie Blut. Bei den Gaben ist Fasten für alle vorgeschrieben. Der Zauberer *vak* hat eine Axt wie beim Bootbau; mit ihr bildet er einen *djep*-Fisch, einen Caranx, nimmt eine Holzschüssel, schlägt viermal hinein und macht dann die Arznei. Der Fisch wird dann, an eine Angel gebunden, Abb. 62 der Schwangeren auf den Leib gelegt, den Kopf nach oben. Dann schlägt er mit der Axt in der Rechten 3—4 mal auf den Fisch, hebt diesen dann mit dem Angelstock, um symbolisch die Krankheiten mit fortzunehmen; *djep* heißt springen, wovon der Caranx als Springer seinen Namen hat; er soll bewirken, daß so auch das Kind herausspringt: zuerst kommt das Wasser *djal*.

Abb. 62. Zauberangel.

[1] s. auch Bd. 6 S. 268.

[2] Ilolumai ist nach E. Krämer ein alter Medizinmann, der die Arznei *(tafle)* zuerst angefertigt hat. Honorar 1—2 Matten. Wenn Wehen da sind, folgt die vom Gatten bereitete *tafli ali ngérok*; zur Wehenmehrung, damit das Kind schnell kommt, dient die *tafli ali gauli ali modsh, ptengi* pressen.

Der Nabel wird abgebunden, *gogoi budj*. Das Kind bekommt gleich die Brust, bald auch schon Palmsaft, Kokoswasser usw., nach 3—4 Monaten Fisch und Taro. Das Nähren dauert bis zu 3 Jahren. Nachgeburt, *pai*, wird begraben. Danach Meerbad. Hilfe auch das Treten *jajä*, damit sie dünner wird.

Über die Gebärhäuser, *imatamai*, und die Zeit nach der Geburt s. unten.

Menses s. das Bluthaus, *im a fatin*, S. 89, wo die Frauen 4 Tage zu verweilen pflegen. Feier der 1. Menses nicht geübt, ebenso nicht Pubertät (s. Pollap). Kindesmord fehlt.

Gesänge *alis, rong*[1].

Für die Säuglinge werden Wiegen gebraucht, die aus einem viereckigen Holzramen bestehen, mit einem Netz ausgefüllt, auf dem eine Matte liegt (s. Taf. 7).

Bei der Niederkunft hoher Frauen (s. S. 111) werden folgende Lieder vom Zauberer gesungen:

1. *alis als bölebol* Zaubergesang. *bolebol* verbergen, bedecken (Zauber).

1. *völebu läpelap*	Glück großes,	S. 105 usw.
völebu läpelap	Glück großes,	
vällibüd lësi valibüd	Glück und Glück,	
täbö, täbö	nicht riechen!...	bezieht sich auf die Ausflüsse.
5. *tälagarü, tälagarü*	? ?	*garu* 2.
tafaliüalä matalësi	Gedreht der Mund, die Augen,	das Kind soll nicht als Fußgeburt kommen.
vällibuš, i lämagä, lämagä	Glück, keine Angst,	*tafal* drehen, *ala* Mund u. Hals, *mag* Befürchtung.
gogusovi matalä illësi	blase nach dem First, das Auge,	*gusovi* Wasser im Mund abblasen, *illësi* = *tsaisi* es muß sein.
kusave	blase	poetische Form.

Zwei Knaben, *djari legusegus*, die mit der Schwangeren leben, blasen am Schluß des Gesanges eine Arznei aus wildem Ingwer, *tölilefadj*, aus dem Munde.

2.

1. *völebu djigedjig*	Glück kleines,	
völebu läpelap	Glück großes,	
völebu lësi tagom	Glück?	s. Ges. 1 Z. 1. *lësi*.
völebu ësarafiom	Glück du beliebst zu sein	

[1] S. das vieldeutige Wort bei Truk S. 256 Anm. 1 und S. 273 Anm. 2.

5. *èvavósilom avotamom*	auf der Mutterseite, auf der Vaterseite,	*vosilom* Mutter und Verwandte *votamom* Vater und seine Verwandte.
beigaue	früher,	
mólu Lugeileng	der Mann Lugeileng	s. die Götter S. 122.
ma Alúelap	und Alúelap,	s. die Götter.
raidjugál egasiálíu	die Geister fragen von unten:	Geister = Schüttler, von *djug.* schütteln, damit das Kind kommt. *gasiálíu* fragen von unten.
10. *marolílo forolól?*	Wer trägt das Amulett?	das *fórol* besteht aus zwei Ketten kreuzweise über die Brust, 2 um Handgelenke, 1 um Hals (Abb. 70).
ómárá djóbut é mél,...	der Schmuck des Weibes, Frau ...	Antwort! s. Pollap Bd. 6 I S. 268 *dróbut.*
fórol íl;	dies ist das Amulett;	wie eine Zigarre, umwikkelt mit Faden, eine Seite weiß, die andere schwarz, *ligaboddj* und *ligaról.*
béigáue	weil früher.	S. 141.
goloro féla?	Wo starrst du hin?	*tovof* starren.
15. *goloro falabóom*	Du starrst dein Glück an.	
goloro féla	Wo starrst du hin?	
goloro féserá fiom	Du siehst deine Liebe.	
goloro féla	Wo starrst du hin?	
goloro djágu	Du starrst so dahin	*djág* verstärkende Partikel
20. *lugálapal i faliuei* Lamodjek	mitten auf mein Land Lamotrek,	
nga gouólebu djóbut é mél ...	du glückliches Weib Frau ...	
Lemagei, Lemagei	Lémagei, Lemagei.	
25. *sasepé émo*	Nun hilft ihr	*sep* helfen, *ka sep* hilft.
forolé mara djobut mél ...	das Amulett des Weibes, Frau ...	s. Z. 10.
beigaue	weil früher.	
goloro féla	Wo starrst du hin?	

gotoro fëia faliong	Du starrst nach deinem Land.	
30. *gotoro fëia ia*	Du starrst wohin?	
gotoro fëia bukutom	Du starrst nach deinem Gehöft,	s. S. 17.
nga vólebu djobut mël ...	und Glück für das Weib, Frau ...	
Lémagei, Lémagei	L., L.	
fëfaragimo	mache die Mutter schön glatt,	bildlich, *farag* in Matten legen, glätten.
35. *fórolo mara lepël djobut mël ...*	ihr Amuletthandschmuck des Weibes, Frau ...	s. Z. 10.
ikile semëa	Wo soll ich anfangen zu schneiden?	*kilesi* schneide es, das Glück, es herbeischaffen.
ikilesemeilang	Ich schneide im Himmel.	
ikilang semeia	Ich schneide wo?	
40. *ikilesemeia au*	Ich schneide	
taurilei	Ausgang für mein Kind.	*taur* hinausgehen, *tauralog* hinausgegangen.

Heirat[1] heißt *röle kannei*, von *rölim* der Hausgenosse und *kannei* geben, denn der Mann erhält alles von der Frau; bei der Siedlung wurde ja schon erwähnt, daß der Mann meist ins Haus der Frau zieht. Polygamie deshalb selten. Heirat der Mädchen schon mit 10 Jahren und aufwärts, Männer erwachsen. Es wird nur angefragt; die Eltern geben die Zustimmung oder die Absage. Nahe Verwandte heiraten nicht. Vor der Ehe Freiheit. Eheliche Treue selten. Heirat ist zwischen nahen Verwandten dann möglich, wenn diese nahe Verwandtschaft über den Mann geht, also auch hier ganz im Sinne des totemistischen Mutterrechtes. Daß diese Heirat nicht zwischen Mitgliedern eines *gailang*, einer Sippe, stattfinden darf, wurde oben schon erwähnt, und auch, daß sie innerhalb der ersten Sippe zwar möglich ist, aber nur zwischen Mitgliedern der 3 Zweige (S. 114). Es können also so nahe Verwandte als Vettern und Basen heiraten, wenn sie beide nicht von 2 Schwestern, sondern von Bruder und Schwester stammen, oder gar von zwei Brüdern.

Es geht eben alle Verwandtschaft durch die Frau, im Sinne der Blutsverwandtschaft. Nach Cantova S. 311 kommt Levirat vor.

Besondere Heiratsgebräuche sind nicht vorhanden. Die Familien des Mannes

[1] Wort auf Olkai und Ifaluk (nach Angaben auf Lamotrek) *eshag*, auf Sötoval *hilin (helmei* meine Frau), Bd. 6 II. S. 142 *hilulei*, Truk S. 154 *fulwei*.

und der Frau tauschen, meist 2 Tage, nachdem der Mann im Hause der Frau schlief, Essensgeschenke aus; dies heißt *aūtéli got*, nach dem Inhalt des Korbes *got*, der neu sein muß.

Über die Geburt s. o. S. 107.

Wie auf Tobi, so fanden wir auf Lamotrek besondere Gebärhäuser, *imu-* oder *imatamdi* genannt, wie sie auf dem Plan schon hervortreten. Beim *im* Nr. 30 wurde schon erwähnt, daß dieses von den vornehmen Frauen gerne benützt wird, um etwa im 10. Monat dort die Zeit zu verbringen, ehe sie zur Niederkunft ins *imatamai* übersiedeln. Besonders die Erstgebärenden erhalten dort ihre Arznei, die *tafei ilólomai*, die ihnen (S. 107) in jedem Monat einmal gereicht zu werden pflegt. Dabei sind natürlich Zauber *bólebol* (s. S. 108) vorhanden, weshalb das *im* Nr. 30 auch als *im ali bólebol* bekannt ist. Niemand darf sie während dieser Zeit besuchen, höchstens den Müttern und Schwestern ist es gestattet sie zu sehen, und natürlich auch den Bediensteten, die das Essen holen, das von den Anverwandten an die Grenze *(róros)* gebracht wird. Alle Fruchtbäume auf dem Lande des Hauses sind tabû. Im allgemeinen bleibt die Frau einen Mond (E. Krämer 10—20 Tage) ihrem Wohnhause fern; der Monat heißt *alilálang*; es gibt aber auch kleine Monate, *álilalang a het* genannt, die nur 10 Tage lang sind und die Mindestzeit der Abwesenheit darstellen. Zwischen Frauen der Häuptlinge und des Volkes ist ein Unterschied. (s. Gesang).

Wird ein Kind geboren, wenn der Mond nicht in Sicht ist, also zur Neumondzeit, bis zu 2 Tage vor oder 2 Tage nach, dann bleibt die Wöchnerin nur 10 Tage; geschieht die Geburt, wenn der Mond zuerst gesehen wird, also am 2.—3. Tage nach Neumond, dann muß die Frau bis zum 26. Tag, dem *romálefal* (s. die Mondtage S. 134) warten; das wird dann ein großer Monate *álilalang e lap*. Wird aber das

Abb. 63. Zauberstrauß (S. 111).

Kind nach dem *romálefal*-Tag geboren, so ist die Wartezeit meist nur ein kleiner Monat. Beim Verlassen des *imatamai* wird die Mutter mit einem Zauberstrauß aus Farn und Kokosfiedern *earüjü lübobo* gereinigt, Abb. 63. Zwei Zaubergesänge für die Entbindung s. S. 108, Trennung von Mann und Fau nach der Geburt 3—4 Monate. Ehetrennung selten. Kinder bleiben bei der Frau.

Das Zauberlied für Purifikation ist folgendes:

Reinigung nach Wochenbett.

Ein Zauberstrauß *sarüdjü* (Abb. 63) wird für das *sarüdjü lü böbö* (s. u. *sägöböbö* und S. 113 = Anm. 1) gebraucht.

Lēmagei, Lēmagei	L., L.,	Geist s. S. 54, 106, 109.
i bälē rälog(o)	ich nehme fort	
faributosäril(e)	das Unreine vom Kinde da,	*faribut* od. *falabut*, *djarifam* Nährkind
feläta saril	laß kommen das Kind	in sein Haus, *feläi* Mädchen.
5. *me uädjö äail*	und nicht komm es auf meine Leute,	*djo aai* meine Leute; es = das Unreine.
baigaue	weil früher	S. 109 Z. 13, S. 104.
sätafa güi	wir haben geschnitten den *gui*,	*täfataf* schneiden, gemeint: das Blut floß auch von diesen Fischen ebenso wie von der Gebärenden.
sätafa rås o	wir haben geschnitten den Wal	
töläbalab e metau	von der großen Dünung des Ozean.	
10. *ƥängeƥäng mälüg*	Sie lärmt draußen,	außen an der Seite die See.
gaidjüdju ma gädji	wir trafen zusammen mit der Ratte	wir *(gai)* sind Genossen mit der Ratte; Bescheidenheit! Ratte auch heiliges Tier.
ƥangeƥänge djē ƥangeƥang	Es donnert, oh es donnert,	
feilogē fēlog	sie kommt, sie kommt!	

Ehescheidung, *moemoe*, wird durch die Familie des Mannes in die Wege geleitet, und zwar sucht man ihn durch Geschenke zu lösen; lösen oder brechen heißt *moemoe*; ist dies nicht gut in Ordnung gebracht, kann eine Bestrafung

einer Partei durch die andere noch nach vielen Jahren bei Neuheirat, selbst bei Tod stattfinden, durch Wegnehmen von Booten usw. Erst nach der Lösung, ist der Mann wieder frei.

Schwangerschaftstabus. Arme Frauen des Volkes bleiben 4 Tage im *im ale gogóbong* »die Nächte auffüllen« zu Reinigung; man spricht ihren Namen nicht aus; dann erst gehen sie ins Wohnhaus *im*. Auf ihnen lastet, *sêgê bôbô*, das Tabû der Häuptlinge. Häuptlingsfrauen lassen am Abend des Abganges vom *imatamai* die Zeremonie des Gesanges mit dem Wedel von *legát* über sich und die Dienerschaft, die mit ihnen waren, ergehen; dann gehen sie direkt ins *im*. Nach dem ersten Kinde bezieht die Häuptlingsfrau möglichst bald ein *imalifam* (s. Oleai), das möglichst weit draußen am Luvstrand liegt, in dem nachts immer ein Feuer brennt für Wärmung des Kindes und zur Abschreckung der Geister, die sich vor Flamme und Rauch fürchten. Ihre Männer arbeiten während dieser Zeit nicht im Tarofeld, und alle Fruchtbäume sind tabû; nur das Toddy schneiden ist erlaubt. Vier Monate bleibt sie draußen. Im 1. Monat darf die Frau nicht zum Wasserloch, im 2. Monat darf sie ins Tarofeld, aber nicht arbeiten. Nach dem 4. Monat ist das Kind *gaadk* und kann weggenommen werden. Kinderwiege, ein viereckiger Ramen mit Netz, wie wir ihn im Gebrauch sahen Abb. 64; ein Stück auch in Stuttgart Nr. 41250 s. oben. Taf. 7.

Abb. 64. Kind in der Wiege.

Die Frau Ledjélimar vom Haus 10 wußte die Geisterbeschwörung und Reinigung, die die Frauen durchmachen, nachdem sie das Geburtshaus *imatamai* verlassen haben. E. Krämer notierte das Folgende: Meist verlassen mehrere Frauen beim sterbenden Mond zusammen das Haus, und versammeln sich mit ihren Matten und mit Essen um das Bluthaus von einer derselben. An diesem sitzt die Beschwörerin, macht sich aus Farnen vier *ôulapê* Zauberknoten aus Kokosfiedern (s. Abb. 63), und einen Strauß *ealûs ûrû poêpoê*[1], den sie mit folgenden Worten sachte im Kreise schwenkt:

Ilamagge, Ilamagge	Ilamagge, Ilamagge, der *alus*
lipôpôrôlago	nimm fort

[1] *alus* Geist, hier der Knotenorakel s. S. 376, wie ja auch hier aus jungen Kokosfieder und Knoten gemacht werden; vergl. oben *sarâja lô bôbô*.

[2] Krämer

faributosärile	das Schlechte vom Kind,	s. S. 102 Z. 3.
felätta särile	den Zauber vom Kind,	Zauber vom *imalamai dro* Leute, Verwandtschaft, *aile* mein
5. *mëño dro erdile*	von meinen Leuten	
baigaue	vorher	s. Bd. 6 I S. 187, Z. 4., S. 104, Z. 24.
ejä te vagüe	ist geschnitten der Fisch	*güe, ku* Delphin
ejä te vardjo	ist geschnitten der Wal,	
lo le parreparre meddau	aufs Riff braust die See,	
10. *püngepünge mëlügge*	donnert dahinter;	auf die andere Seite.
gaijuju magëji	du triffst die Ratte.	*ädj* Ratte. S. 112, Z. 11
püngejünge jë püngepünge	Donnern über Donnern,	
faitoggo jë faitog	kommen über kommen.	

Die Sippen *gailang*.

1. Mongaulifadj, Truk S. 260 Nr. 21 Mongulufadj, von Poloat stammend (s. Oleai) auf Pollap Nr. 2, auf den übrigen östlichen Atollen fehlend. Über den Ursprung heißt es, im Norden von Eap soll eine Insel Gáferudj gelegen haben, wahrscheinlich Sëpen, das an klaren Tagen von der Nordspitze, von Rumung aus, zu sehen gewesen sein soll. Ihre Einfahrt war schneckenförmig. Die Insel Sëpen soll um 1830 noch vorhanden gewesen sein, und war an Stelle des Hunter-Riff der Karten. Das Wort Gáferudj bedeutet wohl »Ende von Land« und soll dem Namen Fároilap zu Grunde liegen. Auf der Insel waren viele Kokospalmen und auch ein großer Pandanusbaum, *fadj*, mit 3 Zweigen:

   1a. mittlerer Hauptstamm *ngoli/adj*, dem der Oberhäuptling Sukurang angehört, und Joseph (s. Haus Nr. 24a S. 26); mit ihrem Tod ist der Zweig abgebrochen.

   1b. Haupt Urupo (s. Haus Nr. 10), weiter Sopong (Haus Nr. 11), Volimar Nr. 22a), Meireg (Nr. 24b), Somar, Rangemai (Nr. 24b), Sukúlubou[1] (Nr. 14), Ikisera (Nr. 25).

   1c. Haupt Boésu (Nr. 4), Tilipou (Nr. 14), Gasepabau (Nr. 9), Alefamal (Nr. 26).

   Es heißt, die beiden Häupter Súkurang und Boésu stammen von zwei Schwestern, wodurch die zwei Hauptzweige 1a und 1c entstanden.

   Die 3 Zweige können ineinander heiraten; aber innerhalb eines Zweiges darf nicht gefreit werden. Als Geist, *alus*, der Sippe gilt Mótaisam, der früher ein mächtiger Häuptling war; sein Vater Uúsam ist Geist von 3. Auf Sétoval[2] vorhanden mit dem Zweig Katamáng (Truk 31 Ketemang).

[1] s. Bd. 6 II S. 160 Sugúribou Haupt.

[2] Bd. 6 II S. 137 nichts davon bei Gadamán erwähnt.

2. Saufaládjik fehlt im Osten; soll ein Kind von 1. sein, deshalb alles gleich; auf Ifaluk soll Gofalü an zweiter Stelle sein, die auf Soról Nr. 1 ist, Mangaulifadj Nr. 2.
3. Sâuel, auf Truk Soualei; Geist Uâsam s. o. Auf Sētoval Volíra.
4. Boll ausgestorben, auf Truk-Póloat Boël, Pollap Boal.
5. Sorr s. Truk 10 usw. Geist Lebá, der auch für alle gilt.
6. Gailang ali oléa s. Oleai; auf Sētoval Falemei[1] (s. Truk 19), s. auch Truk S. 263 Nr. 32 Sou Oley.
7. Uisúsu s. Truk 17, Pollap 8 (s. Bd. 6 I S. 269). Geist wie Nr. 1.
8. Rak, Truk 19 Rek, Geist Gabós auf Ifaluk Nr. 5.

b) Häuptlinge *tamol*.

Über die *tamol* sagt Cantova S. 312, verschiedenes Sitzen auf Thron, Nahen in gebückter Haltung, Fuß- und Handkuß, lange Bärte (s. S. 37).

Die Reihe der Häuptlinge (s. o. S. 29) ist nicht groß, also Überlieferung in dieser Hinsicht schwach. Auch im täglichen Leben tritt das Häuptlingstum wenig hervor; so erhalten die Häuptlinge bei Essensverteilung nicht mehr wie die übrigen. Trotzdem haben sie ein Ansehen, wie bei Lúkúnor (Bd. 6 I S. 90) zu sehen war. Eine Ehrerbietung tritt z. B. darin hervor, daß nicht auf der Bank *mótog* Segel gesetzt werden darf, sondern man paddelt, bis man von der Untiefe frei ist. Daß sie zu Macht kommen können, namentlich im Kriege, geht aus dem Bericht des Pater Clain 1697 hervor, wonach damals Lamotrek als die Beherrscherin der Karolinen (wohl nur der zentralen Teile von Múrilo bis Feis) galt. Es war also ein Königtum anscheinend in alter Zeit hier vorhanden.

Der Häuptling ruft zur Versammlung. Werden die Leute gerufen, so kommen sie im Gänsemarsch nach Alter und Rang; der Korb ruht unter dem rechten Arm, die linke Hand faßt hinter den Rücken der rechten. So geht es in langsamen Gang.

Auf Elato erfuhr Hambruch: Zwei Häuptlinge beherrschen die Insel, der Oberhäuptling *tamōl oi i lap* Mailipue, und der Unterhäuptling *tamōl i gītegīt* O'Mairang; ihm folgt der *óū rongāre tamōl*; vordem war es der Verstorbene Saporóu; jetzt ist es sein Bruder Djigedjūgol.

Der Oberhäuptling ordnet die laufenden Arbeiten an: Rodung des Busches, Arbeit an den Palmen, in den Tarofeldern, bei Hausbauten, Bootbau, Fischfang usw. Der Unterhäuptling ist der Sprecher, der an das Volk die Befehle *jadjóual* des Ober- vermittelt. Der dritte Häuptling gibt die Anordnungen des

[1] Bd. 6 II S. 157 bei Fānimei nichts davon erwähnt.

zweiten weiter und überwacht die Ausführung. Gelegentlich werden Ratsversammlungen der Männer abgehalten *fagilili e tōχ*, in denen die laufenden Geschäfte beraten werden. Erbfolge gleich wie in Faraulip. Stirbt die Familie des 1. Häuptlings aus, so wird die 2. zur 1. Der 3. bleibt Nr. 3; aus der Familie des 2. wird ein neuer *2. tamol* gewählt.

c) Recht.

Nach Cantova S. 313 Hauptstrafe für Verbrecher die Verbannung.

Dem Oberhäuptling steht das Recht der Bestrafung zu, wenn das Volk nicht selbst eingreift.

Als Strafe, *gária*, dient besonders für Diebstahl das Festbinden des Diebes an Pfosten mit Schwärzung des Gesichtes.

Mord, *limalau*, soll nie vorgekommen sein, weil eben Feindschaft und Raubgier kaum vorkommt; dagegen Totschlag, wenn zwei Parteien wegen eines Zankes mit einander fechten.

Dem Ehebrecher wird alles weggenommen; Schüsseln, Boot, selbst Schlafmatten.

Beschimpfung der Mutter wird ertragen, aber nicht der Schwester.

d) Krieg.

Herstammung S. 162 von Olifat.

Wenig im Innern vorhanden, weshalb die Waffen (s. S. 66) so ziemlich fehlen. Es muß allerdings früher anders gewesen sein, nach außen mindestens, wenn der König von Lamotrek (s. S. 5) über weite Gebiete herrschte. So hörten wir, daß vor noch nicht langer Zeit Ifaluk die Lamotreker angriff, weil diese zwei Bootsbesatzungen von ihnen erschlagen hatten.

Betreffs Elato hat Hambruch einiges Wichtiges erfahren. (S. 31.)

Cantova S. 317 hat einiges vom Krieg der Westkarolinier erzählt, was natürlich nur von einzelnen Plätzen (Faroilap usw.) gelten kann, da Feis z. B. sehr friedlich ist. Daß vergiftete Knochenspitzen an Speeren vorhanden waren, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Streiter in 3 Klassen: Junge Leute, größere Gestalten und 3. ältere Leute. Steinwürfe und Lanzen. Ende mit Triumphgeschrei.

e) Tod *mas* und Bestattung.

Beim Tod von Häuptlingen kommt deren Ansehen zum Ausdruck durch die Tabūs, *tap* genannt, zu Ehren der Toten im besonderen *bai (bei)*; so ist das *bailimas* eine Tabuierung des Besitzlandes durch Umhängen von Kokoswedeln (S. 120).

bailigógo[1]	den Toten festmachen
bailikelik[2]	den Toten aufs Meer nehmen
bailigóifar	das Tragen des Toten *(áfar* Schulter)
oai li róro	Aufheben des Toten auf die Schultern
bai li djup	ein totes Kind in den Armen halten
kábong	das Lebewohl, der Abschied.

Der 1. Todesfall eines neuen Mondes wird mit 4 Tagen Arbeitstabū betrauert. Einige Familien, die den Toten nahestehen, sammeln viele 1000 (oft 20—30000) Kokosnüsse, was viele Monate, ja bis zu einem Jahr dauern kann. Alle werden vor das Bootshaus gelegt und baldmöglichst an alle Leute und Kinder zu Ehren des Toten verteilt.

Ebenso geschieht es mit dem Taro, von dem 200—1000 Stück an gleicher Stelle aufgehäuft und verteilt werden. Wenn die *bai*-Tabū fertig sind, erhalten auch alle Mattenbringer Kokosnüsse, ebenso die Frauen, die den Toten hinten und vorne mit *reng*-Gelbpulver angefüllt haben. Einzelne Personen, die mit dem Toten zu tun hatten, werden mit Essen besonders abgelohnt.

Geliebte Verwandte werden mit Wasser von jungen Kokosnüssen gewaschen und das Waschwasser wird dann getrunken. Mumifikation kam früher vor; oft wurden die Mumien am Firstbalken des Boothauses aufgehängt und später beerdigt. Auch wurden hohe Häuptlinge auf Bahren gelegt und Holzschüsseln unter sie gestellt, um das Leichenwasser aufzufangen (Truk S. 272—274). Wegen des Gestankes stecken sich die Angehörigen Lavendel *(uārong)* in die Nase, die deshalb durchbohrt wird. Lewis sah noch ein totes Kind in solchem Zustand. Wir sahen die Aufbahrung eines Kindes das eingegelbt und reich geschmückt war. Abb. 65a u. b zeigt es.

Tod eines Kindes

von E. Krämer.

Ich hatte schon einige Zeit ein Kind schwach wimmern hören; als es mit der Mutter das Geburtshaus verlassen hatte, war es ganz in unserer Nähe untergebracht. Es wimmerte viel. Das Haus, in dem es war, war nicht ganz dicht, und während der Nacht regnete es stark.

In der folgenden Nacht ertönte plötzlich laute Totenklage; man sah in der Ferne Fackeln. Das Heulen war bald vielstimmig und währte die ganze Nacht. Morgens fand ich das tote Kind in dem Hause von 2 Weibern umgeben, die laut und scheußlich heulten. Es war mit etwas *reng* (Gelbwurz) bemalt und ein wenig

[1] *pai legogo* Bezahlung *pai* für das Festmachen *gogo*: erstes Essen für die Helfer beim Einbinden der Leiche, baldigst.

[2] *likelik* lassen, wegwerfen der Leiche, *pai* Bezahlung = Essen, oft mit *pai legogo* zusammen.

a

b

Abb. 65a, b. Totes Kind geschmückt.

geschmückt. Als ich da war, nahmen die Eltern das Kind hoch, bemalten es noch mehr und schmückten es. Währenddem wurden viele Gaben gebracht, *faubar*-Ketten, Armringe, Gürtel, Fischhacken und besonders viel Matten. Das Kind wurde dann auf eine 7-streifige gelb-schwarze Matte getan und zu seinen beiden Seiten kam je ein Tarosetzling zu liegen (a). Der Vater sah sehr traurig aus, aber die Mutter steckte sich alsbald eine Zigarette an, während die Heulweiber das Kind aufnahmen und es beklagten. Die Mutter heulte nur wenig mit, während die übrigen Frauen und Kinder des Hauses sich schweigend verhielten. Das Kind sollte nicht begraben, sondern im Hause aufbewahrt werden, wie es auf Truk geschieht. Es hieß, die Mutter sei schuld am Tode des Kindes, weil sie sich einmal sehr über schlechtes Essen erzürnt habe; der Zorn sei ihr in die Milch gefahren, worauf das Kind gekränkelt habe. Es herrschte die Sitte, die Toten in sehr viele Matten zu hüllen; gelegentlich werden die Leichen ins Meer versenkt (s. o.).

Grab.

Abb. 52 zeigt ein Haus rechts vom Pfahlhaus, das Grabhaus des Saualik, der mit Sopi in Verbindung stand, ganz rechts eine Hütte über dem Grab von Sopis Adoptivmutter (s. H. 1 — S. 19).

Auf dem Grab des Rólimei stand ein Haus *áruat* (Taf. 9 d). Das Lichtbild zeigt, daß ein kleines Satteldach von zwei First-Säulen getragen wird; die Eckpfosten sind nicht sicher zu erkennen, nur vom Ramen ist der quere Giebelbalken vorhanden, der durch Schräglatten mit Säule und den anscheinend schiefen Eckpfosten vernagelt ist. Der Giebel ist durch senkrechte Stäbe abgeschlossen, die durch 3 Schnurlinien untereinander markisenartig verbunden sind; unten ist das Grabhaus durch Kokosmatten ringsum umzäunt.

Der Seefahrer Rólimei wollte von Yap nach Mókemok, verfehlte diese Gruppe aber und gelangte schließlich nach Póloat; als er von dort heimkehren wollte, kam er nach Lámotrek, wo er starb.

Wenn ein Begrabener kein Grabhaus hat, so wandert sein Geist des Nachts grollend und heulend umher, wodurch die Leute sehr in Angst geraten.

Deshalb werden die Toten hier vielfach in Matten gewickelt, das Bündel dann mit einem Stein beschwert und im Meer versenkt.

See-Bestattung.

Der Platz ist südlich von der Insel Lámotrek, 100—150 m ab, an einem Taualivá genannten Platz, der ja wie die dort vorhandene Bootpassage (Karte 2) heißt. Der Tote wird in Webematten[1] eingewickelt. Bis zum 4. Tage bleibt die Trauerfamilie im Totenhaus; dann macht der Älteste eine lange Girlande *(mar[2])* aus

[1] Als Lewis von Yap kam, sah er viele Fremdlinge auf Lamotrek an Hunger sterben, die aus Mangel an guten Matten in einfache Kokosgeflechte gewickelt wurden. [2] *pilleмar* das Binden des *mar* s. S. 35.

Blüten und Blättern, und seine Leute bringen sie zum Seeplatz, die Götter Aluelap, Saulal usw. anrufend mit Gebeten um Glück und Schutz vor dem Tode. Dann werfen sie die Girlanden ins Meer. Nach der Rückkehr verlassen die ferneren Verwandten das Totenhaus; nur die nächsten bleiben noch, bis der Mond fertig ist. Während der ganzen Zeit ist Arbeit verboten.

Nach 5—6 Monden ist das *fi*: alle Sachen des Toten werden in Wasser von jungen Kokosnüssen gewaschen und man trinkt das Waschwasser danach.

Beim Einwerfen der Leiche ins Meer tauchen einige Leute hinterher als Abschiedsgruß[1].

Dann wird rasch zurückgepaddelt. Alle machen sich eine Kopflochdecke (Truk S. 92) aus einer Schlafmatte *lúgelug* und bedecken sich damit; auch die Kopfhaare werden abgeschnitten.

Hambruch erfuhr auf Elato: Zunächst vom Erbe S. 31. Weiter:

Der Tote wird im Hause aufgebahrt und am gleichen Tage bestattet. Er sieht dabei nach Süden. Die Leiche wird in Matten eingenäht, geschmückt und mit Steinen beschwert außerhalb der Lagune vom Kanu aus versenkt. Vier Tage später wird ein großes Essen veranstaltet, an dem alle teilnehmen, die Matten u. a. geliefert haben.

So starb vor kurzem der Mann Săperóŭ. Sein Bruder ist Ẓigĕlŭgŏl ♂. 11 Frauen lieferten die Matten (Kleid- und Schlafmatten) zum Begräbnis, und zwar die Frauen aus der Sippe des Saperóŭ; 5 gehören zu seiner engeren Familie:

Ẓagabăs ♀, *χroligaléa* (Gattin)
Tăñewaga ♀, *măneaŭ* (Schwester)
Leigomăŭ ♀, *faziloăl* (Tochter d. Saperóŭ)
Tamllimŏĭ ♀, „ „ „ „
Eŏleiijĕñ ♀, „ „ „ „
Lŏiiflt ♀, „ „ „ „

Takŏf ♀	lieferten die Matten	Lagajŭŭmăl ♀
Păñĕlioa ♀		Lagalẹŭmăr ♀
Wŭĭmăr ♀		Lagatŏĭilŭl ♀
Elóŭbŭt ♀		Lizéineŭzăk ♀
Năñafĕlitĭp ♀		
Lagapéiumăr ♀		

Alte Frauen unterliegen unterdes dem Totentabu, *ŏlelimĕs* (s. S. 116 *băilimas)*, während sie mit dem Sohne des Saperóŭ im »Großen Hause« wohnen. Das währt 4 Tage: *fáa ŭ pón*. Der Häuptling legt das Tabu auf. Sie müssen im Großen Hause bleiben, weil Saperóŭ hier aufgebahrt ist. Nach 4 Tagen gehen sie wieder in ihre Häuser heim.

[1] Vgl. Palau IV Gesch. 16 S. 45.

Saperóū ist in den Himmel gegangen.

Saperóū hatte zwei Häuser, Kokospalmen, Taro, Kanu. Das Eigentum wird folgendermaßen aufgeteilt: Sein Bruder erhält die Häuser, ebenso die Palmen und den anderen Besitz, wofür er die Witwe und den Sohn erhalten muß. Nach seinem Tode erhält seine Schwester den Besitz, und erst danach fällt er an den Sohn Saperóū's zurück.

Die Sippenverwandten bleiben 4 Tage im Tabū, die engere Familie bis zum Ende des Monats. Am Hause werden Girlanden aus Kokosblattfiedern aufgehängt, um die Geister abzuwehren.

f) Feste und Tänze.

Cantova S. 315 sagt einiges über den Tanz der Westkarolinier, z. B. daß der Häuptling zum Schluß eine schöne Matte in die Höhe hält, die dem gehört, der sie zuerst zu greifen vermag.

Müller Yap. I S. 309 sagt, Lugëlëng ist *tamē rang ko toru*, der Tanzzauberer des Himmels; so auch auf Lamotrek s. Religion u. die Gesch. 1 von Jat und Jol mit dem Himmelstänzer.

Tanzstab *gurrugurru* (He 2097—5874II). Holz *songo*, Knopf *olále*, Ansatz zum Aufhängen *tawólo*.

g) Spiel und Sport *ur*.

He. 2132 = 5912II ist ein kleiner Webstuhl, der von Kindern zum Spiel aufgestellt und bearbeitet wird.

He. 2133 = 5913II Spielboot *vá* mit Kinderpaddeln (He. 2308 = 6080).

Fadenspiel	*gaſiſ*
Ballspiel	*gáreſa* (s. Feis)
Windrad	*gadjogoiá*, 4strähnig
Fangspiel mit Wurf ins Salzwasser	*tūgūrik*

livövö Brotfruchtblüte, sich bewerfen damit; man duckt sich dabei nieder. Der Getroffene scheidet aus.

porettetiu buai »nicht erlaubt lachen«: es wird ein Kreis gebildet, in dessen Mitte 1—2 Leute sind, die die andern zum Lachen bringen. Wer lacht, wird ins Wasser geworfen.

2. Wissenschaft.

a) Navigation, Erd- und Himmelskunde.

Beim Boot S. 91 wurde schon erwähnt, daß Alúluei der Gott der Schiffer ist, wie bei der Religion S. 150 zu sehen; dort wird er als Sohn des Paluelap als Alulúi genannt, während er auf Truk S. 319 mit Alúelap gleich gesetzt wird. Auch seine Gleichheit mit Palúelap wird behauptet. So hörte ich auch, daß neben 5 Göttern 17 Hilfs-Navigatoren vorhanden seien; sie heißen:

Götter:

Alúelap S. 144
Lugéileng
Eidjal
Ólofat s. S. 147
Alúluei s. S. 143 Anm. 1.

Hilfsnavigatoren:

1. Alulápelap
2. Maselēlog
3. Tarailemetaū
4. Vórieng (s. Pollap)
5. Faludj
6. Gapiumolefádj „Pandanusfrucht"
7. Sābug
8. Fágara
9. Olopélipen
10. Madjebol
11. Lēbútobut
12. Uman

Zimmerleute:

Ligedjllab
Semēligóror
Semeligodjúat
Sēlang
Meséiseit

Die große Zahl der Geister erklärt sich daraus, daß jeder Schiffer seinen eigenen Geist hat[1], während Lúluei allen gemeinsam ist.

Schiffsführer *pallü* ist wie Truk S. 244 usw.; er schläft in See im *barong*, während seine Frau im *gaimoém* haust. Bei Truk S. 230 heißt es, daß der *pallü* im *kimoém* auf der Leeplattform schlafe, was aber westwärts der Frauenplatz ist; deshalb ist dort ein Loch, *ngatalie bēp*, im Boden zwecks Verrichtung der Notdurft. Beischlaf ist an Bord verboten.

Proviant: Im *barong* hat auch der Kapitän den Proviant bei sich, nur die Kokosnüsse sind im *bul*-Raum oder *basebas barong*; sie dürfen nicht angetastet werden. Der *pallü* ißt immer zuerst, dann die Besatzung *rōliva*. Niemand fragt um Essen; alles wartet, bis er ißt, dann bekommen die übrigen ihre Teile zugewiesen. Das Essen ist immer sehr knapp. Auch *mar* nehmen sie mit, der sehr gut zu *tak*-Belone schmeckt.

[1] So hörte ich. Sopi hatte den Vorieng (s. Bd. 6 I S. 278) im Mastspurfuß, Urupo hatte ihn im Fuß des Mastes.

Lehre: Ähnlich wie auf Pollap. Treibende Boote in Regen und Wind erkennen die Richtung der Drift aus der großen NO-Dünung *lōláblab*, auch aus der SO- und NW-Dünung, die das Boot an den betreffenden Punkten hebt und senkt.

Fehlfahrten: Trotz der guten Kenntnisse der Dünungen und Sterne (s. u.), kommen Fehl- und Irrfahrten nicht so selten vor, namentlich wenn durch Stürme die Dünungen verändert sind und der Himmel bedeckt ist. So wurde erzählt, 1 Jahr vor unserer Anwesenheit seien zwei Boote nach Faiau zum Schildkrötenfangen gefahren, die verschollen seien. 6 Monate vorher war ein Boot nach Oleai und Faroilap gefahren, das nicht ankam. Ferner waren als verloren bekannt: Uleisap mit Boot Falegarórong, 2 Boote von Ifaluk, 1 von Oleai[1].

Fahrten: nach Oleai und Ifaluk Ende November *(bale aremoi* s. S. 133); zurück Juli—September; nach Guam fuhr man zunächst nach Pikelot, dann 3—4 Kurs NNO—N, dann NNW; dann sieht man schon viele Vögel, denen nachfahrend man bald die Marianen sichtet.

Chamisso hörte von Kadu, nachdem er von einigen Fehlfahrten gesprochen hatte (s. auch S. 125) (s. Kotzebue III S. 94): »Die Karoliner kommen jährlich zahlreicher gegen Guajan. Ihr Geschwader in Booten aus Ulea und umliegenden Gruppen, aus Lamureck und Setoan bestehend, versammelt sich in Lamureck. Die Reise wird von da aus im Monat April unternommen; man zählt bis nach Fayo, der wüsten Insel, auf welcher man sich ein paar Tage verweilt, zwei Tage Überfahrt, von Fayo nach Gajan drei Tage. Die Rückreise geschieht ebenfalls über Fayo und Lamureck. Ihre Zeit ist im Mai, spätestens im Juni, bevor die Westmonsoon, die zu fürchten ist, eintreten kann«.

Weiter unten heißt es: »Es war auch in diesem Jahr (1807) oder in dem folgenden, daß ein Boot aus der östlichen Insel Tuch (Truk) auf Guajan verschlagen ward. Es hatte fünfzehn Menschen an Bord, der Pilot hieß Kulingan. Die Fremden wurden gut empfangen, aber eine Prozession, die in diesen Tagen stattfand und Artilleriesalven veranlaßte, verbreitete Furcht und Schrecken unter ihnen. Sie verbargen sich in dem Walde und gingen in derselben Nacht, von allem Vorrat entblößt, wieder in See. — Zu ihrem Glück begegneten sie auf dieser Flucht der anlangenden Flottille aus Lamureck, die sie mit Lebensmitteln versorgte und ihnen die zu ihrer Heimkehr nötigen Unterweisungen gab. Das Geschwader war im Jahre 1814 achtzehn Segel stark. Die Karoliner tauschen in Guajan Eisen, Glaskörner, Tücher usw. gegen Boote, Muscheln und Seltenheiten ein; der Trepang kann zu einem wichtigen Zweig ihres Handels werden."

[1] S. auch Sopi und Meireg, Haus 24b.

Hambruch erfuhr auf Elato folgende Richtungssterne, die angesteuert werden für Reisen nach:

Faraũlip	*mŏl*	Vega
Ifalũk	*ũliũl*	Gürtel d. Orion
Uleai	zwischen *ũliũl* u. *mâ i lŏp*	Gürtel d. Orion u. Altair
Auripik	*ʒare u ŏl*	Corvus
Sorol	*ũl* u. *mãrgaregĭr* von Uleai aus	Aldebaran u. Plejaden
Fais	*tagãl e mâ lãp a ie fãń* von Sorol aus	β ursi minoris (Aufgang)
Mogemog	*tubũl e mâlŏp a ie fãń*	β ursi minoris (Untergang)
	tubul e uelẽgo von Sorol aus	Ursus major (Untergang)
Yap	*tubul e ʒare u ŏl*	Corvus (Untergang)
Ngulu[1]	*tubul bũp*	Kreuz d. Südens (Untergang)
Palau	*ʒare u ŏl* von Ngulu aus	Corvus.
Yap—Soröl	*tagãl i tumul*	Antares (Aufgang)
Mogemog—Fais	*tagãl i ũliũl*	Gürtel d. Orion (Aufga g)
Fais—Uleai	*tagal i tumul*	Antares (Aufgang) n
Fais—Faraulip	zwischen *tag[illegible]zare uol* u. *ũliũl*	zwischen Corvus (Aufgang) u. Gürtel d. Orion
Faraulip—Uleai	*tubul [illegible]up* u. *meta riu* (Auge zwei)	Südl. Kreuz (Untergang) u. Skorpion
Faraulip—Ifaluk	*ũliũl* u. *matšumẽĭt*	Gürtel d. Orion u. (Mitte d. Himmels) Sdl. Kreuz, S.-Spitze
Lamũtrek-Satoan	*mâ i lŏp, ũliũl*	Altair, Gürtel d. Orion
Lamutrek—Poluat	*mâ i lŏp*	Altair
Lamutrek—Truk	*mâ i lŏp.*	Altair
Lamutrek—Sŏg	*tubul bũp*	Südl. Kreuz (Untergang).

Soweit Hambruch.

Über den Handel s. oben S. 82.

Bekannt sind folgende Inseln: (Pollap Bd. 6 I S. 273); auch werden zahlreiche „Steine" angegeben:

ostwärts *tuas*:	Póloat[5]
Sĕtoval[2]	Sŏg
Pikĕlo[3] *(lŏ* Ankerwasser) (NO)	Tametam
Pik („kleine Insel")[4]	Pol'lap

[1] Von Yap aus i Centauri.
[2] östlich Oraisãu, Sũat, Póloat. nördlich Uraitũefu, Gaitag (östlich von Pikĕlo (2).
[3] Auch Pikelot angeblich nach dem Fisch *lol.*
[4] westlich Bãbã (nahe bei Gaitag), nördlich Sapan, Móul, östlich Olipig, Fauriap, Onóun.
[5] südlich Rúral, Sog.

Olóul oder Volóul (Onóun Bd. 6 I S. 191).
Mágur
Úlalu
Piserar
Fáiau[1] („Stein")
Lámoil
Rua
Murílo
Rŭg oder Djug (Truk S. 19)
Lémma (Nama)
Lámolu (Námoluk)
Lukulór (Lukunor)
Lukuór (Nukuor)
Pĭkeram (Kapingamarangi)
Ingadjig (Ngatik)
Fálepei (Ponape)
Maki (Mokil)
Pingelap
Gajau (Kusae Truk S. 53)
Ebon in Ralik
Salevis (Djalŭt)
Laur

Norden:
Mariales (= Marianen span.)
Faiau (hoch) und südlich davon Ralugoísong. (Vorolegeisam)

Westen:
Oléa
Faróilep
Ifaluk[2]
Aúrupig
Sorol
Feis („steinig")
Ulŭtíu oder Ulutíu (Mókemok)
Eap
Ngólu
Bán'noe (Palau I S. 184)
Sóngorol
Bul
Merir
a Tógobei (Tobi)

Über die Ralik- und Ratakinseln erzählt A. v. Chamisso (4. Seite), daß sie einem Eingeborenen von Lamureck bekannt waren, den sie auf Guajan antrafen. Auf Arno (s. d.) in den Ratak lebten 5 verschlagene Leute aus Lamureck.

Die Meeresteile heißen

zwischen Lámotrek und Sĕtoval = Oireg[3]
zwischen Lámotrek und Olimarau = Goisa
zwischen Lámotrek und Elat = Mĕtol
zwischen Lámotrek und Ifaluk = *a* Pilĕrup
zwischen Lámotrek und Fariolep = *a* Pilimetau.

Was davon von Lamotrek beansprucht wurde s. bei Handel S. 82.

Nautische Berichte.

Die Inselkenntnis wird durch folgendes ergänzt: Nach Espinosa II S. 15 gelangten am 26. Mai 1787 am Cap Oroto nach Guam 13 Eingeborene von der Insel Lamursek (Lamotrek), die zu 26 Inseln eines Archipels gehört, nach den

[1] *faiau ail* bei Pikeradj nach Onóun; *eradj* = *airedj*; Faiau soll hoch sein.
[2] Soll »auf dem Ausguck« heißen; NO davon Fás, nördlich davon Sumarivari *bukut*, westlich von Olimarau.
[3] Bd. 6 II S. 105 Woirá; aber nicht erwähnt, daß auf Sátoval Lamotrek mit Lamóireg bezeichnet werden soll.

Angaben des Kapitän Umal-Luyto. Bei Kotzebue III S. 93 steht: Luito ein Seefahrer, der im Süden von Guajan gelegenen Inseln, dessen Ruhm unter seinen Landsleuten fortlebt, fand im Jahre 1788 mit 2 Booten den Weg von Waghal oder Guajan wieder, wovon ein altes Lied aus alter Zeit die Kunde aufbewahrt zu haben scheint. Er kam, durch den Erfolg der ersten Reise, und den Empfang, den er gefunden, ermutigt im Jahr 1789 mit vier Booten wieder, und begehrte vom Gouverneur Urlaub, jährlich wieder zu kommen. Die vier Fährmänner, als sie zur Rückreise sich anschickten, entzweiten sich über den Rumb, den sie steuern sollten, — sie trennten sich. Die See gab keinen ihrer seinem Vaterlande zurück. Darauf ward der begonnene Verkehr unterbrochen. Forts. s. Oleai. Espinosa erhielt diese Nachricht vom Gouverneur Don Josef Azlegui unter Mitgabe einer Karte, auf der alle die Inseln mit ihren Bewohnern verzeichnet standen, von denen der Kapitän viele kannte. Folgende sind die Inseln:

1. Carao
2. Falopi
3. Ingerig
4. Orizolua
5. Etat
6. Lamuluc
7. Luosap
8. Ohala, 1000 Bewohner
9. Olcul, 200 Bewohner
10. Ponlap, 100 Bewohner
11. Poloac, 600 Bewohner
12. Sove, 500 Bewohner
13. Pig
14. Piguela
15. Satavan, 400 Bewohner
16. Lamursee, 1400 Bewohner
17. Falive, 1000 Bewohner
18. Fayao
19. Farroilap, 100 Bewohner
20. Olic, 1000 Bewohner
21. Fais
22. Falalap
23. Mugemuge
24. Jap
25. Ngulue
26. Palao

Im Londoner Nautical Magazine von 1862 steht die bekannte Arbeit von Rev. L. H. Gulick über Micronesien (S. 174 Ulie-Wolea), und im Jahrgang 1866 (ein Jahr vorher beginnend) ist ein Bericht des Kapitäns D. Eugenio Sanchez y Zayas der Korvette Narwaez (Viaje de la corbeta de guerra Narwaez desde Manila a dichas islas), des ersten Dampfschiffs, das draußen gesehen wurde. Er berichtet darin auch über die Ansiedlung der Karolinier, deren frühere Landungen schon oben S. 123 erwähnt wurden; sie bildeten in Garapan auf Saipan eine Kolonie von 415 Köpfen (im Januar 1864 wurden 433 gezählt). Gerade als der Kapitän mit seinem Schiff in Tinian war, kamen Karolinier von Elato-Lamotrek an, die zu ihm an Bord kamen und über das Gesehene höchlichst erstaunt waren. Sie waren sehr muskulös, geölt am ganzen Körper und fast nackt, trugen in den Ohren Schmuck von Muscheln. In Saipan, wo der Kapitän dann die Kolonie in Garapan besuchte, hörte er dann viel über die Seefahrt dieser

mutigen Menschen. Die ersten waren nach Agaña gekommen, auf der Suche nach neuem Land, weil ihres durch den Taifun zerstört worden war. Denn alle ihre Inseln seien, außer Ilap, sehr niedrig. Arumiat galt als ihr bester Navigator, der alle Sterne kannte, der wußte daß der Polarstern seinen Platz nicht wechselt, und daß der Aufgang und Untergang des Oriongürtels Ost und West anzeigt. Den Kompaß lehnte er, als für die Navigation entbehrlich, ab. Für die Sterne im Zenit wird ein aufgehängtes Bambusrohr, mit Wasser gefüllt, benützt[1].

In Garapan war auch eine Bootswerft, wo die Karolinier Schiffbau lernten; dabei war eine Schule für karolinische Navigation, und wer selbständig ein Boot führen wollte, mußte vorher ein Examen vor einem Rat von Piloten ablegen. Dabei war eine große Seilerei; da hängten sie das zu drehende Seil hoch an eine Palme und drehten die Kardeele, deren jedes 4—5 Zoll im Umfang hatte. Seile bis zu 100 Faden Länge wurden hergestellt.

Es gibt keine Anker. Wenn festmachen nötig, springt ein Mann über Bord und belegt das Ende an einem Felsen; ebenso geschieht das Losmachen; um Tiefen und Haie kümmern sie sich nicht.

Gebaute Boote waren im Kiel 30 Fuß lang, 4 Fuß breit und 6½—7 Fuß tief vom Deck zum Kiel, Tiefgang vorn und hinten 2⅓ Fuß. Vorsteven und Achtersteven fallen[2] gleich, Bug und Heck sind in Form gleich. Kein Nagel gebraucht; die Planken werden mit starkem Kokosgarn zusammengebunden, die Löcher werden mit Kitt verstopft. Die Spanten-Planken sind weniger als einen halben Zoll dick und ohne Rippen. Die ganze Arbeit ist gesichert und gestärkt durch eine starke Bordeinfassung (Dollbord gunwale) von beträchtlicher Größe, und diese sind untereinander verbunden durch quere Sitze, die alle in gleicher Höhe sind. Beide Seiten sind nicht in Form ähnlich, da eine schöner wie die andere ist. Man kreuzt nicht mit ihnen; die Seite welche in Luv ist, ist voller und mehr gerundet als die Leeseite, beinahe im Verhältnis 3:5, und an dieser Wetterseite ist der Ausleger, auf den Philippinen *batangas*, der ein starker Baumstrunk ist, am Ende zwei Querstangen tragend, die 8—10 Fuß außerhalb des Bootes sind. An der Leeseite ist eine Plattform außerhalb der Bordleiste, aus langen Stangen gebildet, auf der eine Kabine aus Rohr plaziert ist, einem großen Korbe ähnelnd, in dem man Proviant, Ladung und selbst Passagiere verstaut. Die Mannschaft ist meist im Schiffsraum zusammengedrängt. Der Mast, der gewöhnlich 22 bis 24 Fuß lang ist, ist nicht auf dem Kiel, sondern auf dem Luv-Dollbord (gunwale) eingesetzt. Er wird durch Stage in seiner Stellung erhalten, mit denen man ihn gemäß der Stärke des Windes senken kann. Das Segel, aus sehr feinen Matten bestehend und beinahe dreieckig, ist zwischen zwei Bambusrohren ausgebreitet und wird durch Leinen an jeder Ecke gehandhabt, Fall[3], Hals und Schot[4].

[1] Vgl. Samoa, wo man sich in den Schiffsraum ganz nach unten legt, um 3 Sterne zu beobachten.
[2] engl. strake Plankengang. [3] haulyard = halliard Fall. [4] tack and sheet.

Das Ruder ist nicht hinten[1], sondern an der Leeseite und hat die Gestalt einer Paddel, das nach den Aussagen der Karolinier dazu dient, neben der Steuerung des Schiffes, es aufrecht zu halten, worin die Kunst des Steuermanns besteht, die keine geringe Geschicklichkeit erfordert. Obwohl es für den Seemann schwer ist, sich das klar zu machen, muß man doch den Karoliniern glauben[2].

Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß ihre Absicht ist, in den Wind anzuluven, wenn er auffrischt, so daß der seitliche Druck auf das Segel dadurch vermindert wird; aber jedenfalls ist viel Erfahrung nötig und vor allem die größtmögliche Sorge, damit das Boot nicht kentert oder über die Leereeling Wasser übernimmt. Zehn oder zwölf Personen können an Bord sein, von denen die meisten im Schiffsraum verstaut sind. Sie füllen den Korb mit Kokosnüssen, und wenn sie einen Passagier haben, der nicht Karolinier ist, wird er auch in den Korb gesetzt. Sie werfen die Ankertaue los, setzen Segel und stechen in See. Die Schot wird nirgends belegt: der Steuermann muß sie während der ganzen Reise, Tag und Nacht, halten, so lange es sein mag. Einige Steuerleute haben Helfer bei langen Reisen. Wenn er die Schot losläßt und das Boot kentert, muß die Besatzung schwimmen wie der Korb mit den Vorräten. Der Steuermann richtet dann ohne Hilfe das Schiff; wenn das Gleichgewicht in Luv verringert ist, richtet sich das Boot mit geringer Hilfe von selbst wieder, dank seiner Form. Ist es gerichtet, geht die Mannschaft wieder an Bord, fängt den Korb auf, und die Reise geht weiter.

So geht die Fahrt über den weiten Pazifik. Sie nehmen den Kurs nach der Sonne, den Sternen, der Windrichtung und der der Seen. Wenn das Wetter schlecht ist, der Himmel für einige Tage wolkig, dann legen sie bei wegen des kommenden Sturmes; ist er vorüber, brauchen sie 3 Tage, um ostwärts das wieder einzuholen, was verloren gegangen ist. Dann machen sie ihre Beobachtungen: sie füllen ein Rohr und beobachten die Sterne im Zenit und berechnen daraus die Position des Schiffes. Danach fahren sie. Viele gehen natürlich verloren. Nach einer Versammlung von Piloten, die Arrumiat präsidierte, setzte der Kapitän die Striche ihres Kompasses fest. Auf dem Kabinentisch wurde mit Bohnen eine Figur ausgelegt und vom Kapitän auf Papier kopiert, so gut es ging. »Als ich glaubte, ich hätte eine falsche Figur gemacht durch Setzung der Punkte und sie mehr zu einem perfekten Quadranten verbessern wollte, wurde es mir nicht erlaubt. Als ich wiederholt die Ecken der rechteckigen Figur rundete, wurde ich genötigt, sie so zu lassen, wie sie war, und deshalb muß sie so, wie sie ist, genommen werden.«

Sie teilen den Horizont in 4 Viertel oder vielleicht besser in 2 Halbkreise: den

---

[1] Gemeint ganz hinten, wie unser eingesetztes Steuerruder.

[2] Wenn das Segel voll steht und der Wind böig ist, kann das Ruder durch einen starken Seitendruck das Schiff vor dem Kentern bewahren oder wenigstens verursachen, daß es zu stark nach Lee überholt, namentlich wenn der Schwimmer über dem Wasser schwebt.

östlichen und westlichen. Uebuel[1] ist der Name des Polarsterns und Mailab[2] der des Gürtels des Orion. Die 3 Punkte, mit denen sie Ost und West vorstellen, nannten sie alle Mailab und Tubule mailap. Keiner der dreien hat einen besonderen Namen; sondern der Name ist zusammenfassend. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß kein Name für O z. N oder W z. N vorhanden ist. In ihrer Rose sind die Punkte entsprechend N z. O, NO z. N und NO z. O, aber es fehlt O z. N; der Platz bleibt frei. Dasselbe geschieht im 4. Quadranten, obwohl die Punkte dieser Winkel unsern gleich zu sein scheinen. Ihr 3. Quadrant ist dem 4. ähnlich, aber der 2. ist weder dem 1. noch einem der andern gleich. Ihr 1. Quadrant ist in 8 Teile geschieden, denn Tagale mol entspricht dem NO; aber von diesen acht sind nur sieben markiert und haben Namen. Die übrigen sind nicht gleich geteilt, sondern sind wie in der Figur dargestellt. Ich konnte keinen Grund für diese Eigenart finden.

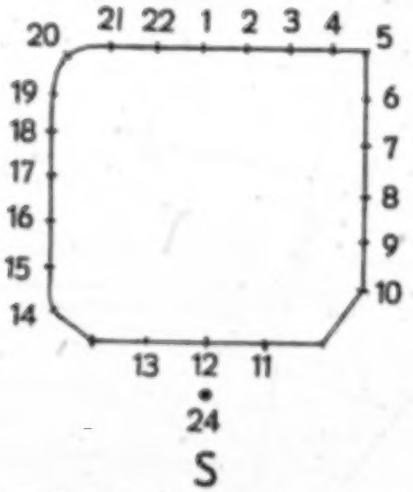


Abb. 66. Kompaßpunkte der Karolinier nach Sanchez.

Kompaß-Punkte der Karolinier, Sanchez 1866, Abb. 66.	Aufnahmen von Krämer 1909[3].	Ebenso die von Ikeram auf Pollap mit Zahl der Steinchen.
1. Mailab Ueleuel	1. *volevol iefang* N.	1. *volevol*, Stern *fümakel* • von Sog nach Póloat

[1] Hambruch Elato 44fdd. [2] Hambruch dörö, Altair und ι Sip.

[3] Es ist ein gutes Zeichen für die Überlieferung, daß meine Aufnahmen 40—50 Jahre später so gut mit denen von Sanchez übereinstimmen. Mein Gewährsmann legte Steine aus, wie Ikeram auf Pollap (Bd. 6 I Abb. 116 S. 273. Dort nicht gebraucht).

2. Tagale mailes pelevant	2. *mailap ăle fang* 15° (β kleiner Bär)	2. *mailăpălafang* ••
3. Tagale olego	3. *voldgo* 30° Großer Bär	3.
4. Tagale iguelie	4. *ăgulăg* 36° Cassiopeia (I. Pikêlo)	4. *ugulăk* ••
5. Tagale mol.	5. *măl* 51° Vega	5. *măl* ••
6. Tagale magariguec	6. *magarigar* 63° Plejaden	6. *moirigar* ⁘ nach Pôloat, Tâmatam
7. Tagale ul.	7. *tagalul* 73½° Aldebaran (I. Goteu)	7. *ăn* •⁘
8. Maitab	8. *mailap* 81° (Sêtoval, Pôloat, Djug, Rálug, Falepei, Gadjau)	8. *dăl mailap* ⁘ Fahrt nach Botelês (Ku.), von dort nach Truk mit *un*
9. Tagale eliel	9. *tangali ălăel* 88° Orion-Gürtel	9. *a liel* ⁘
	Zwischen 8. u. 9. Atair 99° *sarabol* Raben 68°	
10. Tagale lumur	10. *tumur* 64° Antares (zurück Farollap) *metaru* (2 Augen) 52° Skorpion	10. *tumur* ⁘ Fahrt nach Pôloat, zurück mit *măl* *arebol* ⁘ *mareg* ⁘ *galu* ⁘
11. Tagale liup	11. *tagal lup* 27° (Pikeram von Sog aus, zurück 3.) *medje meiet (medj* dazwischen)	
12. Mailab delub	12. *volevol ăaur* S. *medjemeitol*	12. *volevol* • nach Sog *galu* *mareg* *arebol*
13. Tubule liup	13. *lupu* *metaru* (Pikêlo zurück)	
14. Tubule lumur	14. *tumur* *sărabol*	14. *tumur*
15. Tubule eliel	15. *tubul ălăel*	15. *ă liel*

16. Tubule mailab	16. *tubule mailap* W. (Ifaluk, Volea, Sorol, Ngolu)	16. *tiiruu (tóroo* Untergang) *e mailap*
17. Tubule ul.	17. *ul* (7.)	17. *toroo uu*
18. Tuble magariguec	18. *magariger* (6.)	18. *modriger*
19. Tubule mol	19. *mál* (Faroilap 5.)	19. *mól*
20. Tubule igueli	20. *águlúg* (4.)	20. *ágúlik*
21. Tubule olego	21. *voolégo* (3.)	
22. Tubule mailab pelevant	22. *mailapalefang* (2.)	22. *mailáp elefang dolol fámáket*
23. Uetuel = N.	23. *volevol*	23. *volevol fumáket*
24. Olelup = S.		

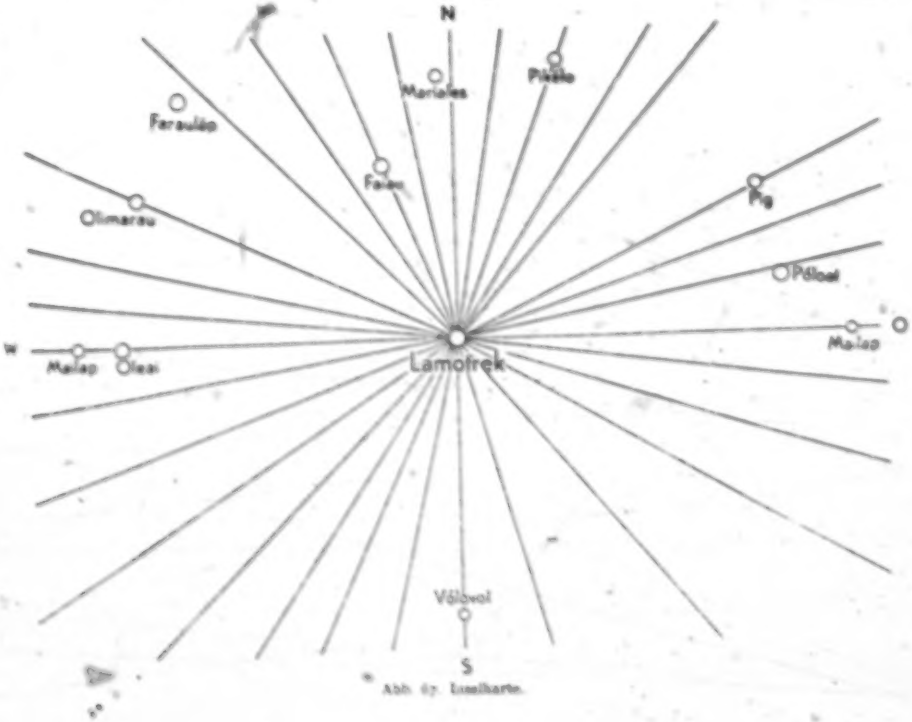


Abb. 67. Inselkarte.

Die Sternnamen von den unbekannten Punkten im unteren Teil sind dem Berichterstatter entfallen. Es war eine Analogie mit den oberen Punkten vorhanden. Der 14. Februar wurde in Garapan unter den guten Karoliniern verbracht, die einen Tanz machten. Sie waren gelb bemalt und geölt, und die Haare, die geschmückt waren, mit Federn und Tierhörnern, waren in einen Knoten geschlungen. Alle Männer trugen sechs bis sieben Fuß lange Stäbe, die an einem Ende abgeplattet waren. Tanz in 2 Gruppen, die herummarschierten und verschiedene Evolutionen machten, begleitet von einem einförmigen Gesang, dann kam der Stabtanz. Die Gruppen vereinten sich und standen in 2 Reihen, wobei sie sprangen und Figuren machten, zeitweise die Stäbe zusammenschlagend.

Sie arbeiteten mit großer Geschicklichkeit, ein Ende des Stabes und dann das andere gegen den Stab des nächsten schlagend, zu gleicher Zeit die Hände wechselnd, sich drehend und Gruppen bildend, was hübsch aussah. Es war ein Kriegstanz. Während die Männer tanzten und sangen, erschienen die Frauen einzeln oder zu zweien gegenüber den Viereckgruppen und bildeten auch Haufen. Dies gab den Männertänzen frische Belebung: es wurde kühner gesungen, lebhafter getanzt und die Figuren wurden vielfältiger. Die Frauen waren auch gelb bemalt, geschmückt mit Armringen und Halsketten, das Haar lose auf die Schultern hängend. Alle waren nackt, obgleich bei einigen das Hüfttuch bis zu den Knieen herabhing und andre dafür Palmblätter angelegt hatten[1]; dies waren die jüngsten, und sicher konnte ihre Kleidung nicht phantastischer sein. Eine von den mehr als hundert Frauen kam als Europäerin gekleidet mit einem alten schmutzigen dunkeln Kleid ohne Unterzeug, schlecht um die Hüften befestigt mit langer Schleppe, ohne Schuhe und Strümpfe, auf dem Kopf einen schokoladebraunen Hut mit einem grünen Schleier, wie bei den Engländerinnen garniert, der lang auswehte. Sie sammelten sich in zwei Gruppen in der Mitte des Vierecks und jede Gruppe sang abwechselnd. Eine von der Gruppe sang vor, die anderen machten den Chor; es schien als ob der Gesang der einen Gruppe sich gegen die andere richtete. In der Absicht die Männer zum Tanz anzufeuern, stritten beide Gruppen, welche Gruppe von ihnen die meisten schönen Männer habe. Der Erfolg war großartig; denn der Tanz, der schon eine Stunde gedauert hatte, wurde mit doppelter Kraft aufgenommen. Aber plötzlich nahm die Fröhlichkeit eine unerwartete Wendung. Die Frauengruppen kamen sich allmählich näher, und zu allgemeinem Erstaunen sahen die Zuschauer, wie die Frauen wie Furien auf einander losstürzten und sich bissen und kratzten, so daß sie durch die Karoliner und Europäer getrennt werden mußten. Zuletzt wurden sie in ihre Häuser

[1] Daß die Frauen nackt waren, also völlig unbekleidet, ist nicht anzunehmen; die nachfolgende Einschränkung deutet die Übertreibung an.

eingesperrt[1]. Die Ursache des Streites war gewesen, daß eine Gruppe Bemerkungen über die andere gemacht hatte über falschen Schmuck, Häßlichkeit, über ihren Verkehr mit den Matrosen usw., was anfangs mit Gelächter erwidert wurde, aber schließlich zu Tätlichkeiten führte. Die Karolinier entschuldigten das Benehmen ihrer Frauen und klagten, daß sie sich nie auf sie verlassen könnten. So endete das Fest und die Seeleute wurden mit Freundlichkeit auf ihre Schiffe zurückgeleitet.

Die Wiedergabe der Aufzeichnungen von Sanchez bergen viel Vergleichsmaterial.

Die Monate *gédj* (s. S. 145).

Sie sind nach den Sternen benannt, die Mitternachts aufgehen, also früh im Zenit stehen.

Die Monatszeiten sind also danach benannt, wenn die Sterne im Zenith stehen.

A. Kr.		Ham.	Zeit
ul	Aldebaran	*ūl, ūl* (rund)	September
ĕliol	Gürtel des Orion	*ūliūl*	Oktober
māl	Sirius	*mall, māl* (Tier)	November
idj	»Nebel« westl. v. Regulus im Löwen	*itš, itj*	Dezember
sárepol[2]	Corvus	*zāre ūōl*	Januar
áremaus (... moi)	Arcturus	*aremauz*	Februar
tumur	*Antares*	*tumul*	März
mairig	Stern westl. v. Atair	*mai rik*	April
mailap	Atair	*mai i lap*	Mai
seōla	im Pegasus	*zāta (thaūdha)*	Juni
lag[3]	α Pegasus	*laχ*	Juli
gui[4]	in den Pisces	*küi* (Wal)	August

Mondtage (s. Wörterverz. 276—280).

1. *segóuru*	(»wir warten zu sehen«) Neumond
2. *ĕleng*	1. Mond, in den Tropen nicht sichtbar
3. *mesĕleng*	2. Mond »sehen den Mond«
4. *mesál*	sieht den Busch seitlich
5. *mesáfuis*	sieht die Sterne

[1] Bei den einzelnen Naturvölkern kann man beobachten, daß, wie in der Tierwelt, die Männer mehr geschmückt sind als die Weiber, daß also die Schönheitsfrage noch auf Seiten der Männlichkeit steht.

[2] Truk S. 303 Sarebol Orion.

[3] *ping in lag* das Dreieck darin, nach Hausgiebel (ornamentiert *tabau*).

[4] Truk S. 303 *ku* Delphin.

6. *mésoal*	sieht den Busch von oben
7. *mésētiu*	sieht hinab *(tiu* Truk S. 49, 64 unter, hinab)
8. *émetal*	alles klar
9. *épei*	schief, etwas auf der andern Seite vom Meridian.
10. *djúabong*	fertige Nächte (im Westen)
11. *eārobugŭ*	nicht mehr so spitz
12. *ólobuā*	Form *(ol)* anschwellend
13. *olomāi*	Form gut
14. *émadj*	reif
15. *eúr*	Vollmond, Sonne und Mond gleichzeitig in einer Höhe
16. *lótĕu*	*lot* = Scaevola Busch, der ungleich höher ist bei Mondaufgang. *teu* westlich, da der Mond von W auf sie blickte
17. *kil'li*	»anfangen« der dunkeln Nächte
18. *kaloválu*	die letzten Reste des Tages schwinden im W.
19. *sŏparr*	»Meerleuchten«
20. *(ĕ)ĕfálag*	noch schief (vom Meridian)
21. *gosēlág*	etwas weniger schief
22. *gárotaliĕfalag*	nicht mehr schief. Halbmond
23. *sŏparemēlmor*	Meeresleuchten. etwas später
24. *killi*	anfangen der östlichen Nächte
25. *gómala*	der Mond beginnt sich zu verbergen
26. *romáleſal* (s. S. 111)	spitzig *rom*[1] wie die Häuser *ſal* (Giebel)
27. *eāroſui*	Sterne verschwinden
28. *eāŭ*	am Rande der Dämmerung
29. *fēing*	muß weg (vor der Sonne) *(fēing ilog* nimm weg)
30. *ĕrapfi*	fertig.

Die Winde.

aus N *ieſang*	*eſangelaŋ*	aus S *iaur*	*aurulaŋ*
	gailoıl		*aurulēsol*
	ſangileás		*lotoár*
	gotŭáſang	aus W *iletóu*	*lotóelaŋ*
	gotu mei		*lotoáſang*
aus O *gotu(e)*	*gotuór*		*eſángilēsol*
	eorileás		

Es soll aber auch Sternwinde geben, die bei jedem neuen Stern kommen; bei Aufgang meist östliche Winde, bei Untergang westliche.

[1] Wie Widerhaken der Fischhaken.

Sterne (Aufgang *tagăl*, Untergang *tubul* Ham.)			Winde *mor* stark *djigor* sanft
Arcturus	*aremoi* (Truk S. 303 *aromoi* Arcturus)	Oktober, Passat beginnt	*balaremoi* östlich (*ba* aus dem Wasser kommend)
			bai a talearemoi östlich und nordöstlich
	djóu (dróu) (Tr. *djēu)* Corona	Aufgang Dezember	*mor a djou* stark einige Tage aus O
			dji gerē djou etwas schwächer 7 Tage lang
Antares	*tumur* (Tr. *tumur* Großer Bär)	Aufg. Dez.	*mor a tumur* stark aus O, zu stark zum Segeln[1], höchstens im Binnenwasser.
			djigerē tumur schwächer
	metáriu (Tr. S. 302 *mesáru* S.)	Aufg. Jan.	*mor ale metáriu* östlich
		bei Untergang	westliche Winde
Atair	*mailaƥ* (Tr. S. 303 Oststern)	Aufgang	*mor ale meilaƥ* O-NO-N
		Ende Jan. morgens	*djigerali m.* schwächer
in Pegasus	*seōta* (Tr. *sōeda)*	Aufgang	*mor seota* gut O
		Anf. Februar	*djigerali seota* 10 Tage lang.
	tēbbi	—	*mor a tēbbi* nur einige Tage
α Pegasus	*lag*	Anf. März	*mor a lag* harte, stark, unsicher
	gaƥ	Ende März	*moi*[2] *tagale gāƥ* unsicher einige Tage
			mor ale gaƥ stark } etwa 2
			djigeraligaƥ schwach } Woch.
»Fisch«	*ig*	Ende April	*mor alig* stark } schön
			djigoralig schwach } Wetter
	älimeto Bauch des *ig*		*moi le alimeto* östlich bis 2 Tage dann westlich
Plejaden	*magárigar* (Truk *moériger)*	April	*tafalimagárigar* Abendwind, wenn Plejaden 30° hoch; wenn sie Abends untergehen Kalmen, *moƥele*[3] *magárigar*

[1] Während unserer Zeit wollten Leute von Sētowal am 8. Dezember 1909 von Lamotrek heimfahren, da der Postdampfer Germania sich verspätete, aus Angst vor dem *mor a tumur*.

[2] *moi i tag* brechen bei Aufgang.

[3] *moƥ* ertrinken s. Onóun.

			schönste Zeit für Leinenfischen, ruhig, ohne Strom.
	wenn *mag* östlich aufgeht	im Mai	Wind *kobuádj*, von *uádj* kochen, denn 6—12 Stunden ist starker O, so daß die See kocht, darauf *djigerali mag.*, bis *ul* kommt.
Aldebaran	*ul*	Mitte bis Ende Mai	*djelûl* Wasser rippelig, weil oft kurze Böen aus O u. NO kommen.
Orion	*irir ali ol* (*eliol* Gürtel des Orion, S. 130 Nr. 9)	Juli	westliche Winde 2—3 Tage wenn *aliol* morgens aufgeht, dann 2—3 Tage leichte *rángaliol* aus O.
Sirius	*mal, gongalemál* oder *golongalemál*	Juni früh 10′	westliche Winde 1—2 Tage, unsicher
		Untergang Mitte Juni	*liuaráp*[3] *alemál* Kalmen
Nebel im Löwen	*idj*	Untergang 1.—15. Juli	W. *kalangalidj* ca. 14 Tage, dann östlich *djangaliól*[1]
Regulus	*ililigêk*	Juli-August	*eangalililigek* SW, W, NW, ca. 6 Wochen lang mit Unterbrechung wenn der Schwanz des Canusmajor (Sirius) aufgeht, *eangali faliuk*[3] *alimal* der letzte — östlich
Süd-Kreuz	*bup*	Ende August bis Anf. Sept.	*djep alup* SW stark, im Ganzen klar
	gap	Untergang	12—24 Stunden *êlang*[4] östlich
Canopus	*gap i eaur*	Abends 35° Äquinoktien;	*falaligap* westlich veränderlich, früher od. später kommend;
Arcturus	*áremoi* (s. o.)	bei Untergang bei Untergang	*atangaligap* 1—3 Tage östlich *eang ali aremói* *mopolog ali aremoi*[5]

[1] *djang* aufhängen, wenn *aliol* in gewisser Höhe steht.
[2] Von *rap* bedecken, dicht niederlegen.
[3] *iuk* Schwarz, *mal* s. oben.
[4] *sitang, êlang* das Niederpressen — des *bupi djep* springend.
[5] s. o. *mop* ertrinken.

efang alúl	Aufgang Brotfruchtreife 15 Tage nach *ul* (s. o.)	½ Tag östliche scharfe Winde, die die reife Brotfrucht herabwerfen
póulimal der unterste Stern des Canus major-Schwanzes ser schüttelt das Tier *(mal)* an der Angel	ß	östlich vor *eangalifaliuk* (s. o. Regulus) so schüttelt der Wind die Brotfruchtbäume.

Weitere Sterne *fith* nach Hambruch (S. 166).

Morgenstern, Abendstern	*fiz e tšäl (fōiss e tjall)*
Cassiopeia	*jug e lik* (Schwanz vom Wal)
Pisces	*kui* (Wal)
Milchstraße	*e ál ĕli mâ* (Weg d. Brotfrucht, steht zur Reisezeit über den Karolinen)
Plejaden	*mārgārĕgĭr*
α Capella	*ieſăn el ūl* (nördl. v. Ul)
Regulus	*ĭleligĕk*
Zwillinge	*mŏnŏt i zăp* (Fischhaken-Kasten)
Canopus	*gapi eāur* (hinterer Süden)
Südl. Kreuz	*būp*
Centauri	*ip al būp*
Spica	*gapi zare u ŏl*
α Arietis	*gapi lāχ*
Siriūs (Stern selbst)	*golŏn ĕli māl* (Herz des Tieres)
Fomalhaut	*gapi tūo* hinten, ferne
Polarstern	*uiluil, fithei magit* (Stern unbeweglich).

b) Medizin.

Bei Epidemieen und ansteckenden Krankheiten wird Absonderung in die Bootshäuser vorgenommen.

Von **Krankheiten** *mes* wurden genannt:

Schnupfen *ngutali bodj*

Husten *fágaſag*

Influenza ähnliches *masélepik* (Yapwort) mit Schnupfen, Husten, zähem Auswurf, Schmerzen in der Brust, Rücken, Schultern, Augen; Heiserkeit, gelbe Zunge, Fieber[1], s. Arznei.
Schwindsucht *mësebot*
Lupus *lugeileng*[2]
Lepra *ṗatur*
Geschwür, Framboesie *rup*
Hodenschwellung *morulap*
Ringwurm *kelisebou* selten, von den Oleái-Leuten geheilt.
Vitiligo *boēdj* (»weiße«) mit Gefühlstörungen
Blindheit *matabās*
Dicker Schenkel, Abscess *lōs*
Elephantiasis des Beines *bedjēdjop (berērop)*, wenn noch klein und unsicher *bōbō*, durch Tabūbruch auftretend
Geschwülste (Lipom) *pir*
Anschwellung *berēlal*, s. S. 140
»Dämonen-Wahnsinn« *katok alus* bei Krankheitsfurcht, Leib auch befallen, Hunger.

Arzneien *táfei* und Behandlung.

Die Zauberarzneien im besonderen s. bei Geburt.
Kokosnüsse als Weihgabe s. Abb. 75.
Als Abwehr der bösen Krankheitsgeister wird das Fächern, *gálibă ali kuei* s. Abb. 68, geübt, auch um Krankheiten von der Insel fern zu halten; »Matten zur Abwehr« *gilli tilimes* werden etwa alle 100 Schritte um die Insel herum aufgehängt, damit die Dämonen nicht herein können; es sind die 2teiligen Kokosmatten *tapokóu*. Für die Abwehr des Todes *mās* dient eine Abwehrarznei *tafēi limes*; man nimmt die Rinde der Wurzeln von jungen *kelau, djel, ut, eār, ngō* usw., die man abgeschabt hat, gibt sie zu einer Graswurzel *bugor*, wäscht alles, tut es dann in einen Beutel *tükemöil*[3] oder *tukumöi* (Kr. 464 u. 465 = 3220[II] u. Gesang S. 141). Dieser wird in reines Wasser gesetzt, das sich in einer Holzschüssel befindet; man deckt mit einer Matte zu und läßt stehen. Nach einiger Zeit versucht man mit *tagag*, ob die Arznei gut ist. Ist der Hersteller zufrieden, so trinken alle Hausinsassen von ihr und er spricht:

---

[1] *masélepik* trat nach dem Besuch des Schiffes »Germania« kurz vor unserer Anwesenheit auf. Ende Oktober 1909 es starben in 14 Tagen 13. Auf Tobi war nach dem Besuch der Expedition ein großeres Sterben aufgetreten.

[2] Vgl. den Gott, S. 147, der die Krankheit auf sich nahm, daher sein Name für sie. Syphilis war nicht bekannt.

[3] s. den Zauber *tukumaun*, Bd. 6 I S. 72, Truck S. 226, Beutel S. 308; auf Lamotrek nach Gebrauch in den Häusern aufgehängt, Urupo (Haus) legte einen nach Rückkehr von der Reise unter einen *mog*-Baum hin.

alesī, īē tafé a limes	Besinge sie, die Abwehrarznei
meseveiām	deiner[1] Krankheit,
gēl Mareísepa	du, Mareísepa.

Der Beutel bleibt in dem *tabbi*, der Holzschüssel, und jede Mitternacht wird Wasser zugegossen, das dann getrunken wird.

Fremde trinken nicht davon, nur Angehörige des Hauses.

Eine besondere Arznei ist die für die Influenza *masélepik*. Sie heißt *tafeilialis*

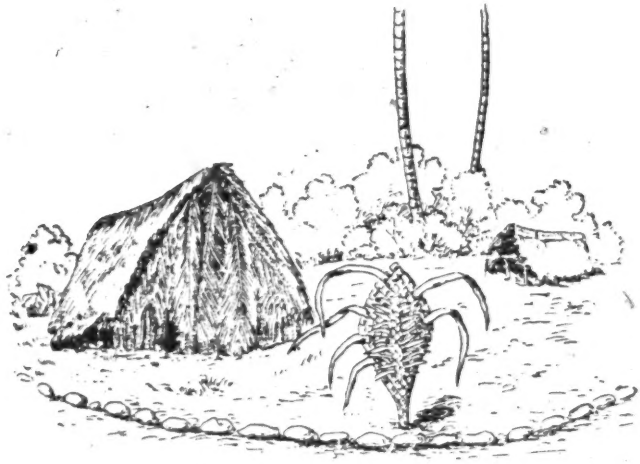


Abb. 68. Fächer zur Abwehr, Elato.

und wurde von Ikelúr mitgeteilt. Wasser von zwei Kokosnüssen gibt man in eine Holzschüssel; darin wird nach Einweichung ausgewrungen ein Beutel *tukemöil* mit Kräutern, ein kleiner Beutel mit gebrannter Kokosnuß[2], nun ein dritter Beutel mit *djig*, *giliau* und *uórŏng*; der Beutel bleibt in der Schüssel.

Dann werden heiße Steine in die Flüssigkeit gegeben. Man bedeckt dann den Kranken mit einer Matte und stellt die Schüssel zu ihm darunter. Der Heilkünstler schwenkt dann zwei *lagat*-Sträuße von Farn (Abb. 63), dann zwei Zweige von *giliau* über den Kranken unter der Matte, schließlich nimmt er auch ein Netz *(djróu)*, um die bösen Geister wegzufangen, die herauskommen. Endlich schwenkt er noch zwei *ear*-Zweige, deren Spitzen er in den Mund steckt, während er sie anspricht, um Hilfe flehend. Nach diesen Verrichtungen wird der Kranke aufgerichtet und trinkt die Arznei in der Schüssel aus. All dies wird dreimal in zwei Tagen wiederholt. Die Beutel mit den Arzneien werden nach dem Gebrauch im Hause aufgehängt.

[1] Man denkt sich den Geist auch krank, es ist der Geist des Sopi von Feis (Haun 241). [2] s. Palau *ulogzor*

Hellwig (s. Zauberanzug Abb. 70) nennt die Hustenkrankheit *mass*, was Tod bedeutet, wohl Influenza.

Erstschwangere erhalten monatlich eine Arznei *tafei i lolomai*[1] s. S. 107.

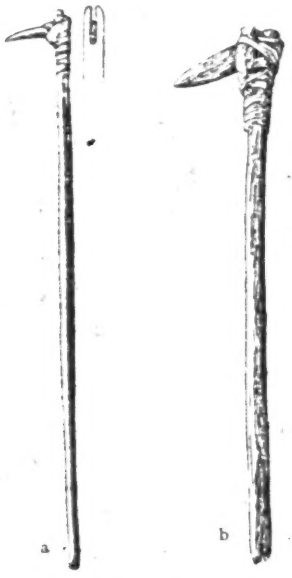


Abb. 69a, b. Punktierhacke.

Auf Elato, so erfuhr Hambruch, werden bei Krankheit auch vier verschiedene *bángebang*-Arzneien angewendet; hilft keine, so muß der Kranke sterben. Eluelap will es so und deshalb wird angerufen (s. auch Religion S. 144). Aufstecken von Arzneizauber vor dem Krankenhaus s. Zauber.

Geschwüre, Abszesse, *lās*, werden mit der *fidjefidj*-Hacke (Abb. 69) geöffnet. Itflimara (Haus 5), der Vater von Lolit starb daran. Es wurde bei ihm ein Abszess in der Achselhöhle punktiert, und dabei wird wohl die Schlagader geöffnet worden sein. Kelur, Auólimar, Boésu (S. 114) führten die Punktierung 1910 noch aus. Aderlasser *rissériss*.

Auch der Aderlaß wird mit dem *fidjefidj*[2] vorgenommen. Der Kaiserschnitt (s. Truk S. 312) wird nicht gemacht. Lütke erwähnt schon die Akupunktur mit Fischzahn (Schwanz von Apisurus) durch Einschlagen einer Hacke. Für Geschwüre braucht man Blätter von *djával*, einer kleinen Winde.

Noch eine Besprechung für Bauchweh als Beispiel; es wird dazu ein Beutel *fukemöilü táfei* gemacht, wie schon erwähnt (s. auch Zauber). Mit diesem wird bei der Hersagung ein Kreuz gemacht, also eine Bewegung quer und senkrecht, wie auch der Zauberer ein rotes Kreuz[3] auf Stirne und beiden Schultern aufgemalt trägt. Die Worte sind folgende:

1.	*éta, eta*	Nenne, nenne,
	éta málal	nenne das Abschwellen,
	etamakokul	mache es zerbrechen,
	berēlal ēl	diese Geschwulst,
5.	*berēlal euiái*	jene Geschwulst,
	bo igaue	weil früher
	e galegúri lāng	sie berührte den Himmel,

[1] Dazu trägt der Zauberer *pūul i lolomai* die Angel, und die Teufelsaugen (Kr. 477 = 3233II) vgl. Abb. 62.
[2] He. 2110 auch *tissiris* oder *tirriur*, Griffholz *ngii*, angetriebenes Einsteckholz *odjerrádjab*, Stachel der Fischart *igung mung, feka lig*.
[3] s. Zaubergesang S. 154.

	bo igaue	weil früher
	e galegúrilal	sie berührte die Erde
	10. *i mellau i mcláue*	ich will leben, ich will leben wie früher.

7. 1. *éta* zusammenhängend mit »Name«, hier wohl gleich mit »mache, sage, daß es geschehe«.
2. *magálagal* gebrochen = abschwellen, *magalálog* brich es auf; *málal* soll in Sëtowal brechen heißen.
3. *makuk* ein Stück brach, *kamak* zerteilen.
4. —
5. —
6. *bo* weil, s. o. S. 104, 109 *beigaue*
7. —
8. —
9. *lal* unten, Erde (polyn. *i lalo*). Aluelap u. Saulal, die angerufen sind, wirken auch unten.
10. *méllau* Leben, Truk S. 308; *áue* früher Z. 6.

Gesang für Tautup.

Gesungen, wenn früh die ersten Kokosnüsse abgeschält werden.

1.	*go boē gasáralog*	Du sollst abwenden
	tēmai idjimei	Krankheit des Kopfes
	tēmai ûei	Krankheit des Halses
	tēmai lipéi	Krankheit des Armes
5.	*tēmai úbei*	Krankheit der Brust
	tēmai sêgei	Krankheit des Bauches
	tēmai libedjei	Krankheit des Fußes
	ngaivē ngaivō	und so und so
	ē gulag	bis fertig.

Gesang für *tukumōil*, den Arzneibeutel von Ikelur. (S. 138)

1.	Lemagá Lemagá	Lemagá, Lemagá,	Geist s. Fischlieder
	se tangi lōt tafēi	knete (im) Gefäß eine Arznei,	S. 54 usw.
	melemele tafēi uiai	kläre den Weg (für) meine Arznei,	
	ēgalebuitag ngurilāng	sie steigt empor den Himmel zu küssen,	*nguri* Nase mit der Hand reiben
5.	*melemele tafei uiai*	kläre den Weg für meine Arznei,	
	ē age builong ngurilal	wenn sie aufsteigt, küsse unten.	gemeint Saulal, S. 144.

Gesang für Schmerzkranke,
die mit der Hand gestrichen werden. Soll aus Oleai stammen.

1. *Ilevar,* unübersetzt.
ilegába, gába
i gemángul
makō makolabóiel
5. *sirivog sirivog*
i tábei tab
i tabábelog bólegus
male djil
mēlli farále malēla *fáral* Bauch
10. *mēlli farále djovutēlē.*

E. Krämer beobachtete folgenden Fall: Eine Frau hatte Drüsenschwellungen; ihr Mann nahm Blätter und Rinde des Baumes *galāū (giliau?* A. Kr.); er stampfte beides auf einem Brett, füllte das Gestampfte in eine Kokosblatthülle, schnürte sie wie einen Schnuller und befestigte junge Kokosfiedern mit Zauberknoten daran. Dann wurde eine junge Trinknuß geöffnet, der Schnuller in das Wasser der Nuß getaucht, dann herausgehoben und über dem Wasser ausgedrückt, so daß es sich braungrün färbte. Dieses Wasser trank die Frau als Arznei.

Sexualität.

Anfragen wegen Beischlaf, *ramoidjau*, sind üblich. Die Frau drückt ihre Einwilligung dadurch aus, daß sie mit der Hand von oben nach unten übers Gesicht streicht, was *tófi (mat)* heißt.

Von Perversitäten sind bekannt

Onanie	*sir*
Irrumatio	*faigabóng*
Cunnilingus	*móngo*
Sadismus	*lī*

Der Beischlaf heißt *tengi*.

Vorher geschieht aber fast immer bei der Jungfrau *ulul*[1], sobald die Brüste sprossen, das Verlängern der labia minora und das Einbrechen. Ersteres ist besonders von Oleái bekannt. Eine Mutter bestellt einen Mann, den *válevei*, zu diesem Zweck. Die Frau sitzt in einer Veranda *metalim*, der Mann mit dem Mädchen im *gapel im* hinten. Er müht sich 4 Tage lang, die labia minora *fir* herauszuziehen, was eben für die Frauen als durchaus nötig gehalten wird. Die Frauen lachen über ein *dārefir*[2].

Nach 4 Tagen erfolgt das Brechen des Hymen, *ngatangat* genannt; die Vagina wird langsam, erst mit dem 5., dann mit dem 4., 3., 2. und 1. Finger erweitert,

[1] Alle kinderlosen Frauen heißen auch *ulul*, Witwe *lipid*. [2] ohne Verlangerung Truk S. 316.

schließlich mit 2 Fingern auf einmal. Der Mann wird von der Mutter für seine Arbeit bezahlt, aber wohl nicht immer, auch ist es nicht sicher, ob er als erster den Beischlaf vollzieht. Der *valevei* ist jedenfalls für das Mädchen tabū.[1]

Über die Geschichte des Beischlafs erfuhr Hambruch auf Elato:

In alten Zeiten kannten die Menschen den Coitus nicht. Da kam Lūgeilēn und sah Mann und Frau, Te mōńemōn ♂ und Li paráre ♀. Sie war sehr schön. — »Nun, was machst du? Wo ist dein Mann?« — »Der fischt« — »Gut, geh, bade dich. Ich will dir hernach etwas Schönes zeigen.« — »Vorher will ich dich aber um etwas fragen. Magst du dich beschlafen lassen?« — »Ich weiß nicht.« — »Dann gehe in's Haus. Ich werde dir etwas zeigen.« — Dann unterwies er die Frau im Beischlaf. Die Frau freute sich darüber sehr. Lugeilēn sagte ihr Lebewohl. Ob des neu Gelernten vergaß die Frau ganz das Kochen. Sie lief an den Strand und schrie und rief nach ihrem Manne: »Komm! komm! Mach' schnell! Laß das Kanu, laß die Fische. Ich will dir etwas ganz Neues zeigen!« — »Na, was ist los?« — »Komm, komm nur schnell«. Der Mann mußte ins Haus. Die Frau zeigte ihm, wie er sich hinlegen mußte, da er von nichts etwas verstand; als sein Penis nicht steif werden wollte, nahm die Frau ihn in die Hand, rieb ihn tüchtig und nun konnte er sie beschlafen. Das übten sie tage- und wochenlang. Bis sie schließlich ihr ganzes Fleisch eingebüßt hatten. — Da kam Lugeilēn wieder und fragte die beiden: »Was macht ihr denn?« — Sie erzählten es. »O, dann hört auf! Nur einmal in der Woche sollt ihr es tun, sonst sterbt ihr.« Und danach taten sie.

Siehe Hambruch-Faraulip: Liebeslegenden aus der Südsee. Hamburg 1924.

Pīletāk ♂ erzählt *fiōn* Jāt me Jōl, Geschichte von Jāt und Jōl. Für die Bearbeitung ist das Märchen 43 aus Hambruch: Südseemärchen, Jena 1916, S. 180—196 wörtlich zu übernehmen (s. S. 160).

3. Religion.

a) Weltentstehung und Götter.

Bei Kotzebue III steht zu lesen, daß östlich von Mokemok keine Tempel und Opfer vorhanden gewesen sein. Das Faletaipu, S. 17, läßt aber doch den Schluß zu, daß ein Haus zur Gottesverehrung vorhanden war.

Am Anfang war alles dunkel und der Himmel lag auf dem Wasser. Im Wasser war ein großes Riff, Oledjapdjap[2] genannt, das die Mutter von 3 Göttern, *alus*[3], wurde,

[1] zu Boot, *ieuć* Seereise s. S. 159[1] also „Reiseboot", schöner Name für diesen Kunstbau. — Die Sonne Inseln I S. 81 „Kriegsschiff" Name für Priester.

[2] Ham. von *ole* »sehr alt« und *zapzap* »früher, anfangen«, diese Riffmutterangabe hat Hambruch auf Elato bekommen, s. auch Ifaluk, wo Ham. arbeitete. In Faraulip Aufwachsen eines Stabes, den die Frau ins Riff steckte, aus dem Eluelap aufstieg.

[3] s. am Ende von *alu, anus* (Truk S. 318) erscheint in Palau III S. 335 als Possessiv *resul*, aber auch das Wort *galid* = *anuch* Ralik zeigt es.

... (Ham. Zaulala), s. S. 47 u. Bd. 6I S. 274, wohnte in Ilal, der Unterwelt[1]

... Ham. Zauñor) auch Souiaur (s. Truk S. 324)[2]

und Aluelap[3] (Ham. Elüelâp) »Großer Geist« (Yap S. 312 Yälülop).

Saulal ward der Herr des Meeres, der die Fische herbeischafft, Sauaur, der Herr ... der die Brotfrüchte liefert und Aluelap ist Herrscher über das Weltall, ... und höchste, wie Yongelap auf Yap (s. S. 82 u. 151) und auf Palau III ... Elüelap hatte die Frau Limaraûarau[4], wie das große Himmelsgewölbe ..., mit der er im großen Hause Fadjamal[5] wohnte.

Er hatte 3 Töchter[6] (s. die 4. Ham. s. u.).

1. Ligoboub (s. o. Bd. 6I Inseln um Truk S. 112) und unten,
2. Lisarêre (Truk S. 319) Schwester, gelangte nach Makúei (nicht Karolinen), und 3. Legabursal (Legabursal) ale aliali (s. u., wo Legabursal le alual Tochter von 1. s. u. S. 145 Anm. 3), sollte nichts tun; wurde deshalb in ein Bündel verschnürt und am Firstbalken von Fadjamal aufgehängt.

Ferner 5 Söhne (Ham.):

1. Zemerüch hilft den Zimmerleuten bei Haus- und Bootbau (Truk S. 257, *sou im* Zimmermann);
2. Zelang (Truk S. 242, 257 u. 319 Silêlap[7] Bootbauer) S. 91 (Yap 1, S. 207);
3. Zemalgoror (Truk S. 319 Semengôror) s. S. 149;
4. Lugeileng s. u. S. 147, 149 (Yap I S. 307);
5. Ururulang, Wolkenschieber und Bote des Alúelap[8].

Zu den 3 Töchtern nennt Hambruch von Elato noch eine, (4.) Nimegéi, die Mutter von Yap S. 307 als Nimegái »ich bleibe allein übrig« meldet; sie heiratet den Lugeleng (s. Lugeileng oben Nr. 4); S. 311 u. 314 dort ist sie aber seine Tochter (s. Feis)

Mir wurden auf Lámotrek von anderer Seite — außer den obigen dreien Legubupup, Legaburahiálial und Lidjarêrê — noch weitere 6 Geisterfrauen genannt, deren Herkunft als Töchter des Aluelap freilich nicht verbürgt ist.

---

[1] ... unten, daher „Herrscher unten", s. auch Yap S. 308.

[2] ... der Südinsel Aur. Hambruch hörte auf Elato folgendes: Er wohnt auf einer Insel im Süden, wo nur Brotfrüchte gedeihen. Von dort hat er sie den Menschen gebracht. Nach seiner Laune fällt die Ernte der Früchte und die Ernte aus. Ist er mit den Menschen unzufrieden, so tragen die Bäume nicht. s. auch Fes Gesch. 2

[3] Kubary ... III S. 128 steht, der Gott *(tautup)* von Elath und Lamurrec heiße Fuß; näheres über diesen Gott Cantova S. 304 sagt, seine Eltern seien Sabucour und Halmelul (Halmelul = Elalamor? S. 146), Tochter Ligebuud, die Schöpferin, die 3 Kinder hatte.

[4] Nach Cantova hieß die Frau Leteuhieul und stammt von Oleai, da sie nur einen Sohn Lugeileng hatte, adoptierte der den Reschahuleng von Lamotrek, dessen Mutter hier lebte.

[5] Truk S. 320 Fadjam. Ham. Fatsumán, Yap I S. 310 Fatsalomán, S. 312 Mogemog Fatsomal s. S. 167.

[6] Die Abkunft von dem Ehepaar ist strittig. [7] Bd. 6 I S. 235 Zelang oder Zelêlap, s. Bootbauer S. 95.

[8] Ham. nennt die 3 Gleichen von Elato, aber Eluelap, der bekannte Anulap (Truk S. 319) ist bei ihm als zweiter aufgeführt, während er mir auf Lamotrek als dritter genannt wurde. Bei Truk sind 5 Bruder und 5 Schwestern genannt, wobei obige 2 Bruder fehlen.

Sie heißen

5. Litáfeo bekam die Lebensfäden (s. S. 150)
6. Ilégúio dient zur Aufsicht von 5. und achtet, daß die Fäden sich nicht verwirren. Muß sie einen abschneiden, so stirbt dessen Besitzer.
7. Ilaitiu kommt vom Himmel herab, um zu sehen, was vorgeht, bringt gute Nachrichten nach oben, da Alúelap nichts schlechtes hören will.
8. Ledjóumes unterstützt Nr. 7 in den guten Dingen, da im Hause Fadjamal nicht schlechtes berichtet werden soll.
9. Legédjigedj brachte die Kokosnuß herab (s. S. 44)
10. Aliuëláng, Name für den Monat *gédj* (S. 133, 145),

weshalb der *gedj* = Fisch *(gudj?)* tabū war und nicht gefangen werden durfte; ja nicht einmal sein Name sollte wegen Ligédjëgedj (9.) ausgesprochen werden. Aliuëláng wollte, daß die Menschen wie die Götter untergehen und wieder erstehen; aber Ligédjegedj meinte, sie stürben besser endgültig, was Aluelap gut hieß, damit die Menschen nicht den Himmel ausspionierten, kurzum alles den Göttern nachmachten (s. S. 147).

Diese Sage ist bei Cantova S. 305 vermerkt, wo Erigiregers, der böse Geist, den Menschen den Tod verschafft, die früher nicht starben, sondern nur vom letzten Mond bis zur ersten neuen Sichel schliefen. Die bösen Geister heißen dort Elus Melabut, während die guten Elus Melafirs heißen. Ein Geist Morogrog gilt als Feuerbringer (s. Olifat S. 148).

Eluelap schläft im Hause Fadjamal stets am Boden *(nisang* Ham.) und wecken sie ihn, so ziehen sie ihm die Augenlider hoch (s. S. 161). Das Firmament *aidjal*[1] ist das Mittel für seine Sprache; die Erde heißt *sälop*.

Auf Elato wird die Schöpfung so dargestellt: Olezapzap, die Götterurmutter (S. 143), pflanzte einen Stab mitten im Weltall und der wuchs als Baum[2] in die

---

[1] Götterbote ist Audjal. Auf Elato: Der Vogel *baz* unterrichtet ihn über alle Vorgänge der Erde, ob die Menschen gut oder böse sind (s. S. 150 u. 163). Die bösen läßt er sterben; sie kommen ins Feuer, worin sie verbleiben, die Guten kommen ins Haus Fatsumān und leben herrlich mit den Göttern.

[2] Wohl eine Kokospalme, aber noch ohne Früchte, s. S. 44. Die Erschaffung von Elato ist so: Ham. Es gab in alten Zeiten einen Stein aus dem ein Baum *ulelux* wuchs, ein breitblättriger Farn. Das war das erste von der Welt. Ein Vogel *garégar* kam und ließ seinen Kot auf den Stein fallen, darin war ein Tropfen Blut, aus dem entstand die Frau Legobu (s. o. S. 146 Ligóboub); die bekam bald zwei Kinder Lot i falu „ und Lot u pi „Großer Platz" und „Großer Sand". Lot i falu brachte den Stoff zusammen aus dem die Inseln gemacht werden, und Lot u pi half seiner Schwester. Beide waren Geister, aber ihre Kinder waren Menschen. Eine Tochter Ligabu e alhalu (s. oben S. 144, 147), andere Schreibweise Lu[illegible] [illegible] (Fliegen [Plural] [illegible] [illegible] Fliegen hin und her), machte die Insel fertig, für die sie angefangen hatten, sie wollte nur schlafen, trinken, träumen und wünschen; so wünschte sie sich, daß alle die Plätze, die sie gemacht hatte, von Menschen besiedelt wurden. Sie schnitt sich in die Hand, bis Blut herausfloß und bildete nun Menschen, Männer und Frauen. Sie verbreiteten sich über die Inseln. Auf Lamotrek hörte ich noch eine Mythe, die hierher gehört. Als der Himmel oben war (s. S. 147), saß ein Mann Namens Pehalu auf einem Baum in Sātoal aitō (Satoalérek nach der See *terek*, Satoal aitō nach der Insel Tā auf Sātoal (Karte I S. 22); siehe auch Dō Südinsel von Pollap usw., das Wort Sātoal soll stammen von *sat* Meer, und *toal* Busch, man sagt z. B. im Busch: *leiai* dort, *nisal* hier) und fing

Höhe bis an den Himmel hinan, der noch nahe über der Erde lag; darauf hieß sie ihren Sohn Eluelap und dessen Tochter Ligóboub (s. o.) Sand nehmen und die Erde formen. „Sie nahmen Kokosschalen, füllten sie mit Sand, stiegen an dem Baum in die Höhe und bildeten die Erde. Eluelap stieg noch höher, hob den Himmel, *lang*, und breitete ihn über dem Baum aus und darüber wölbte er die große blaue Decke *limarāūarau*. — Er brachte den Himmel an seinen heutigen Platz *ueneng* (Gott Fūs = „Stern", s. S. 166).

Auf Lamotrek lautete der Schöpfungsbericht weiter:

Elúelap ist also der Schöpfer und hat eine Tochter Leboupboup (Ligóubub oben Nr. 1), oder Legóupup Bd. 6 I S. 280), welche Legaburs al le aluál[1] gebar (die Fliegerin s. o. Schwester Nr. 3). Als sie vom Himmel nach unten kam, fand sie nirgends Land. Sie flog deshalb herum, sammelte Sand und Steine und schuf so den ersten festen Boden (Truk S. 320). Dann mit einer Hand voll Sand alle die übrigen Inseln. Sie schuf dann auch Pflanzen und Tiere, die Vögel in der Luft, und alles übrige. Aber niemand war da, es zu bewundern. Darauf schnitt sie sich in die Fingerspitze der rechten Hand[2] und ließ das Blut zur Erde tropfen. Alsbald entstand eine Frau Yat und dann ein Mann Yól, die nun zusammen lebten und viele Kinder bekamen.

Yat und Yol (s. Gesch. 1 S. 160) hatten unter anderen folgende Kinder; drei Mädchen

1. Lataaisean ♀
2. Lemaugarertra ♀
3. Elamalór ♀, auch Elamalaur sich anhörend (Ham. Elato Ilamelúl, Ilamulul Gesch. 1) S. 281.

und einen Sohn Oralvers.

---

gurugūb = Seeschwalben. Als er eine eingeholt hatte, offenbarte sie sich plötzlich als ein Geist *(alu)*, denn sie zog den Mann mit seinem Netz in den Himmel hinauf. So kam er nach Fadjumal, und sah dort alle Geister der Krankheiten auf sich zukommen mit der Absicht, ihn zu vernichten. Denn sie hatten von den Wegehütern Ileitfu und Lidjómas schon von seinem Kommen gehört. Im Hause aber hing eine Tasche vom Firstbalken herab. Ligabur ale aluál war aber im Hause, sie, die Gewalt über alle auf der Erde hatte. Als nun die Krankheiten über den Mann herfallen wollten, gab sie dem Vogel den Befehl, den Mann wieder an den Haaren zu fassen und auf die Erde zurück zu bringen. So erfuhren die im Himmel durch Peialu von dem Vorhandensein der Menschen auf der Erde. Peliahu gilt deshalb als Helfer*in* *alu*. (In Bd. IV von Palau S. 124 ist das Wort *olsóbōl* schützen, helfen, mit der Endsilbe *bōl* offenbar gleichstammig mit Peli).

[1] S. 144 wurde sie schon als Schwester von »Legóupup« genannt; diese machte ja auf Geheiß Aluelap's die Erde und hernach sandte er seinen Boten Eidjal (s. o. Aidjal das Firmament als Mittel für seine Sprache) als Wind, damit er in die Nase der Ligoubub eindringe. Dies tat dieser auch und drang dann bis in ihren Bauch vor, wo er sich als Atem und als das Wesen des Aluelap festsetzte, so daß diese schwanger wurde und 2 Kinder gebar, einen Knaben und ein Mädchen. Eidjal ging darauf in den Himmel zurück, um dem Aluelap die Nachricht zu bringen, dieser sandte ihn wieder hinab, um den Kindern Namen zu geben und zwar dem Knaben Tipalálailog oder kurz Tip (von *tipei* mein Wille, Gedanke) und dem Mädchen Ilalálailog, kurz Il (= bedächtig, nicht ungerecht). Die beiden Kinder wurden so die Ursache der guten Gedanken allüberall (s. S. 11).

[2] So schuf Truk S. 348 auch Aluelap die Ligóubub.

Alle lebten sorglos dahin, sie kannten keinen Tod. Legaburs al le alual führte sie zu weit aufs Meer hinaus, über das sie hinlaufen konnten. Dadurch wurden aber die übrigen Geister neidig und zornig, so daß Ligoubub in den Himmel zurückkehrte und die Menschen für sich selbst sorgen ließ, so daß Hunger, Krankheit und Tod über sie kam.

Auch hatte Alúelap deshalb den Himmel von der Erde getrennt, damit die Menschen nicht allzuviel erfuhren, den Lisarérë hatte den Frauen Arbeit gelehrt, besonders die der Weberei, und zwar durch ihre Tochter, die Spinne Likesoburára, deren Spinnweb das Beispiel abgab. Aber auch Flechten und die Stoffherstellung wurde ihnen gezeigt.

Die dritte Schwester Ligabur ale aliali aber tat nichts, sondern pflanzte den Geist des Neides in die Menschheit. Sie flog töricht und faul herum, s. oben S. 145.

Lugeileng[1], der Sohn des Eluelap (o. Nr. 4), kam eines Tages vom Himmel und sah auf Erden einen Leprösen, mit dem er wegen seiner Entstellung so Mitleid hatte, daß er mit ihm die Haut wechselte, nur sein Zahnfleisch gab er ihm nicht. Mit der kranken Haut kam Lugeileng zu Yol. Die Frauen und dessen Haus wollten aber dem Kranken kein Essen geben, bis sich die Tochter Elamalor erbarmte und ihm Essen und Wasser reichte. Dies gefiel dem Lugeileng; auch fand er so Gefallen an ihr, daß er sie mit sich nahm, nachdem er sich in einen schönen Jüngling verwandelt hatte.

Elamalor war es, die ihm dann einen Sohn, den bekannten Olifat gebar[2].

Der Eingeborene Urupo sagte dazu, Elamalaur sei von Lugeileng fortgeschickt worden, um eine Muschel zu holen; als sie sie gebracht hatte, schlitzte er ihr damit den Scheitel auf, worauf Olifat herauskam (so auch in Gesch. 1). Dieser rannte sofort herum und reinigte sich selbst von den Geburtsrückständen an seinem Körper. Dann blickte er nach oben, und als er seinen Vater Lugeileng im Himmel sah, stieg er zu ihm hinauf. Olifat sah eines Tages im Himmel Kinder mit einem Hai spielen[3]; sie hatten ihn an eine Leine gebunden und ließen ihn hin und her schwimmen. Er sagte: »Gebt mir die Leine und laßt mich etwas spielen«. Aber alle lehnten es ab, bis auf einen, der denn auch von den Bissen des Haies verschont blieb.

Andere Kinder spielten mit einem *márafas*-Fisch, den sie auch angebunden hatten; auch hier wollte Olifat sich am Spiel beteiligen, aber alle lehnten ihn ab, bis auf einen, dessen Arme in der Folge vom Fisch nicht zerschnitten wurden.

---

[1] Truk S. 319 Sohn von Anulap, s. o. Nr. 4, adoptiert Gesch. 1, ebenso auf Ku. s. Bd. 6[1] S. 111. Ham. schrieb an anderer Stelle, sein Vater sei Mezelang e gotu (S. 166) gewesen, und Eluelap habe ihn adoptiert und sehr lieb gewonnen, s. Gesch. 1. — Nach Cantova S. 306 hatte L. eine himmlische Frau, die ihm 2 Söhne gebar, Carror und Melilhau, die andere irdische Frau von Falalu (s. Tarisso Bd. 6[1] S. 189), gebar ihm den Olefat (s. u.).

[2] Auf Fananu war es die Tarisso von dort, die als Mutter gepriesen wurde, s. Bd. 6 I S. 189. Viel ist über ihn geschrieben, besonders schon von Freycinet (s. Olear). — Nach Naut. Magazine 1866 Sohn: Anulap, Lungalen Essenspender s. Olofat.

[3] Das Hai-Spiel des Palau-Olifat, des Medegelpelau, in Palau IV S. 231.

Wieder andere Kinder unterhielten sich mit Spielbooten, und als er mitmachen wollte, ging es ihm hier ebenso; der eine, der ihm gewogen war, behielt darauf sein Boot, während die der andern von dannen segelten. Endlich sah Olifat wie die Männer Kokoswedel zur Hausbedachung abschlugen. Da bekam er Lust auch an der Arbeit sich zu beteiligen, aber keiner gab ihm sein Messer, bis es schließlich einer tat, dem er es dann auch zurückgab, während alle die übrigen ihrer Messer verlustig gingen; überdies kam nur allein sein Gönner von der Palme wieder herunter, die andern klebten oben fest und kamen nicht mehr herab. Als diese sehr klagten, jammerte ihn ihrer und er beauftragte den Kalung (*?kulung* S. 148), sie zu befreien. Ihre Unfreundlichkeit hatte aber auch seine Folgen, denn als die Himmelsleute eine Menge Kokosnüsse als Lohn für die Arbeit des Wedelschlagens verteilten, erhielt Olifat nichts, zumal da sie ihn auch nicht kannten, denn nur sein Vater Lugeileng kannte ihn. Weil sie ihn nicht kannten, verlachten sie ihn auch, und als diese ein Haus bauen wollten und die Pfostenlöcher gegraben hatten, setzten sie ihn in eines dieser Löcher hinein, und stießen dann den Pfosten auf ihn, damit er sterbe[1]. Olifat verwandelte sich aber rasch in eine Ameise, kroch nach oben und setzte sich, nach dem er sich in die menschliche Gestalt zurückverwandelt hatte, auf den Ramenbalken des Hauses. Da erkannten sie ihn. Als Alúelap ihn rief, ging er zu ihm und beklagte sich über das schlechte Benehmen der Leute. Dann verwandelte sich Olifat in Luft. Die Schwester des Lugeileng, (Lisarērē S. 147), wurde weiterhin schwanger und gebar eine Kokosnuß, die vor das Haus Fadjamal hingelegt wurde. Sie trieb in einer Nacht zu einer Palme empor, die Früchte ansetzte, die sich in Unzahl vermehrten. Aber Aluelap mochte sie tabū, weil sie von Lugeilengs Schwester stammten. Als einer seiner Brüder eine Nuß stahl, wurde Lugeileng böse und jagte ihn aus dem Himmel, weil er das Auge der Götter essen wollte[2]. Er kam nach Gádjau[3] und wurde verrückt und wollte alle Leute töten, die von der Ligóubub auf Geheiß Alúelap's geschaffen worden waren (S. 146). Er schlug 4 Palmen um, teilte sie, damit er Speere aus dem Holze fertigen konnte. Aber der Häuptling beobachtete im Großen Haus alles und erkannte seine Schliche. So setzte er alle seine Leute auf ein *gabábel*-Treibholz, ließ es auf die See hinaustreiben und so gelangten sie nach Truk, später nach Poloat usw.

Durch die Uneinigkeit der Brüder kam so der Krieg auf die Welt, besonders auf die hohen Inseln, wo so viel Streit ist. Lamotrek denkt, daß er von Gadjau stammt.

Über Olifat erzählte man noch auf Elato, daß er den Menschen das Feuer *ilf* gebracht und das Kochen gelehrt habe.

---

[1] Bekannte Geschichte s. Truk S. 321, und Palau IV S. 40 u. 234.

[2] s. die Gesch. vom Kokosaffe. Auch der Taro kam durch Diebstahl auf die Erde, in dem bei der Vertretung im Himmel ein Geist eine Rube stahl, mit ihr davon rannte, wobei er so stark fiel, daß er den Himmelsboden durchbrach und auf die Erde fiel. Er starb, aber der Taro fiel in den Sumpf und wuchs.

[3] Gadjau s. Truk S. 333, auch S. 350ff. Adjau = Kusae.

Über Lugeileng (vgl. Ugélianged, das gleiche Wort in Palau III S. 187, 334 u. a.) ist noch von Elato zu berichten, daß er als Bringer des Bootes gilt (vgl. Yap I S. 315). Sein Werkmeister ist der Zelang (s. o. S. 144)[1], der als Patron der Zimmerleute gilt, aber im Himmel kein Ansehen genießt. Alúelap selbst zeigte ihm den Bau der Boote bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten. Der Bootaufsatz, die Gabelschwanzgallion, heißt daher auch *mónu* Zelang (Ham.) (s. Truk S. 227). (S. 95). Beim Bootbau war schon vom Zimmermann die Rede. Er heißt auf Lamotrek[2] Sẽlạng und gilt als Erfinder der Gallion, ihr Gestalten, und ist einer der 5 Helfer des Lugeileng und der Zimmerleute; die übrigen 4 sind:

2. Semälegóror (s. S. 144) Überwacher der Form, des Auslegers, der Planken, zeichnet, macht die Linien, sorgt für Eile, vielleicht gleich mit Semágor, dem Bruder des Mórva Feis Gesch. 2 und S. 56. Mórva s. auch „Die Malanggane von Tombara" S. 43.

2a. Semadjek sieht nach den Sitzen, nach *ebẽp*, *fáraf* (s. Truk S. 230); hilft dabei.

3. Ligadjälap oder Ligédjülab der Maler sorgt für Farbe *(lap* S. 97), für Leine und Kalk.

4. Simälegodjúat der »Umdreher«, von *godjúat* »umwenden«, der rohe Bearbeiter des Stammes im Busch; er sieht wie das Holz am besten auskommt.

5. Mes[1] seit der Verbesserer von Sẽlang's Arbeit, mit feinem Auge *(mes)*.

Ham. nennt auch noch den Alülemez, der den Leuten beim Kalfatern hilft, damit es kein Wasser mache; überhaupt sorgt er für die Sicherheit des Bootes, schützt es vor dem Zerbrechen und hilft beim Ausbessern.

Über allen steht Lugeileng; er schwebt über den Bauplatz und seine Leute führen die Arbeit aus; sein Haus Falesidj[3] ist im Himmel.

Für die Seefahrt selbst ist Palúelap wichtig, denn er ist der »große *pallu*« (Truk S. 244), der besonders bei Pollap erwähnt ist, wo er (nach Ham.) die Frau Ilagaiidjor heiratet, von der er alles über die Seefahrt erfuhr, weshalb Pollap in der Seefahrkunst voransteht (s. Pollap Gesch. 1. von Lẽofas Bd. 61 S. 276).

Hambruchhörte auf Elato: Die Kinder von Paliulãp und Illsagórũ sind folgende:

Farouũ ♂	der Wettermacher, der vor Schlechtwetter warnt.
Alului ♂	s. u.
Rongerik ♂	leitet die Boote heim; s. Pollap S. 284.
Xaligi ♂	sorgt für die Boote und ihren Bau an Land..
Rongelap ♂	führt die Boote auf die See; s. Pollap S. 284.

---

[1] Vgl. Tangaloa und Zimmermann s. A. Kr. Die Samoainseln Bd. I, S. 399 Z. 91—94. Yap I S. 309 Sẽlang Hausbau, Bootbau usw.; Feis Solang.

[2] Nach Angaben von Urupo und Ikelur.

[3] *ndj* das Rohr auf Yap angeblich, bei Müller Yap nicht zu finden.
Volkens Yap *nchâll*; Palau *lâld*. Das Haus Yap 310 Yimpo und 311 Difitj.

Zemal ♀

Mangeär ♀ sorgt für Essen, daß den Bootleuten die Speisen geraten.

Ilegafaz ♀ sorgt für das Feuer an Bord.

Über Alulueil[1] ist Truk S. 319 gesagt, daß er als Alûelap der Schiffer sei; auch auf Pollap ist er der Bootskundige. Yap I S. 313 nennt ihn Paloolop, bzw. dessen Vater. Ob also Alului der Sohn von Paluelap, oder er selbst ist, ist von keinem Belang, da er in der Seefahrkunst mit ihm eins ist; er gilt im Besonderen als Gott der Orakel[2]. So gilt er als Gott der Navigation und hat 4 Augen, 2 hinten und 2 vorn (s. S. 156).

Hambruch hörte auf Elato, Alului fahre mit dem Reiseboot und leite es sicher auf den Fahrten. Seinen Platz *paräng* hat er auf dem Ausleger jeden Bootes, auf dem vor der Fahrt Kokosnüsse *bëgi*, Düfte usw. niedergelegt werden. Schwemmt die See die Opfergaben herunter, so hat Alûlui sie geholt. Er hat eine Frau; sein Sohn ist Falus, der dem Vater hilft.

Lugeileng gilt auch als Bote des Alûelap. Hambruch hörte über ihn auf Elato, daß Lugeleng alle Inseln besuche und dem Eluelap über ihren Zustand, über die Menschen und ihren Charakter, ihr Benehmen, ihre Arbeit berichte; sind sie fleißig, hilft er ihnen, sind sie faul, schickt er ihnen einen Taifun. Dabei muß ihm Zaûlälu helfen. Täglich wird Bericht erstattet. Lugeleng brachte den Menschen Tanz und Gesang, und die Heilkunde.

Als eigentlicher Götterbote gilt auf Lámotrek Audjal, auf Elato auch der Ururulang, der S. 145 schon erwähnt wurde (s. u.). Audjal ärgerte sich eines Tages über die Menschen, weil sie nicht gut waren. Er änderte deshalb ihnen zum Schaden die Zahlen um; früher zählte man: 10 *seg*, 9 *tiv*, 8 *väl*, 7 *fis*, 6 *uŏl*, 5 *lim*, 4 *fäng*, 3 *eël*, 2 *rû*, 1 *ëlŏl*, so daß man mit 10 begann, was der sofortige Ertrag der Arbeit war; jetzt fängt man mit 1 an.

Urupo bemerkte dazu: ursprünglich reichte ihr Wissen bis zum Ellbogen, jetzt ist es nur an der kleinen Fingerspitze; bei den Weißen wächst es aber mit jeder Generation ins Unendliche; der liebe Gott habe ihnen vier Finger gegeben, dem Kanaken nur den fünften.

Ururulang, der eben erwähnte Bote, geht als Posten vor dem Himmelshaus Fadjamal (Fatsumel Ham.) auf und ab. Er hört und sieht alles und meldet alles dem Eluelap. So wird keine Seele in den Himmel eingelassen, ehe sie nicht von ihm beurteilt ist. Die guten dürfen sich im Haus Fadjamal niedersetzen, die schlechten aber werden in das Wasserloch *böl ipës* gestoßen, wo sie ewig bleiben müssen. Jeder Mensch besitzt einen Lebensfaden *idjor e melâu*[3]. Geht die Seele in den Himmel, so sagt Ururulang seinen Leuten Kula, sie sollen nach dem

[1] Auf Oleai Wort = *alu lowei* Geist der Reise s. S. 143[3].

[2] *inafwi* oder *bof* (Truk S. 336, Bd. 6[1], S. 110).

[3] *melâu* Leben s. o. S. 105 usw. (Truk S. 308).

Lebensfaden sehen, ob er in Ordnung ist. Können die Leute ihn schnell entwinden, so ist der Mensch gut, geht es aber schwierig und bleibt er in Unordnung, so ist der Mensch schlecht. Oleiguso heißt die Frau, die den Faden abschneidet, Litafidjor (= Frau gerade halten F[illegible]en) die, die ihn dreht und in Ordnung hält und an Eluelap gibt. Wird ein Mensch geboren, ist er »fleischliche auf der Erde, aber der Lebensfaden *idjor e mēlau* ist im Himmel.

Hambruch hörte noch den Namen Yongeläf nennen (s. Yap I S. 324) über den er das gleiche wie auf Faraulip hörte; oben S. 144 ist er schon von Yap erwähnt. Dann hörte er von einem Erdenbewohner Nigēregēr, der sich eines Tages mit dem Mond zankte; dieser sagte schließlich: »Nigereger, du stirbst; wenn ich sterbe, bin ich morgen wieder lebendig; du aber stirbst für immer.«

b) Die Seelen.

Hambruch hörte auf Elato, daß sie auf einer Leiter in den Himmel steigen, und zwar im Westen, wo Himmel und Erde sich berühren.

Die Bestrafung der Menschen erfolgt gemeinsam durch Elúelap, Zaulal und Zauaur (S. 144), die 3 Brüder, und zwar nach dem Grade der Schlechtigkeit.

In Bolipes, dem Aufenthaltsort der Verdammten, braucht keiner die Seelen zu bewachen. Ururulang (S. 144) und seine Diener bringen sie dorthin. Unter der Schlafmatte des Elúelap befindet sich im Himmelshaus Fádjamal ein Loch, durch das sie in das Reich des Zaulal[1] rutschen; s. Lebensfaden oben.

c) Zauber *bolebol* und Orakel.

(Vgl. Tafel 2, 4, 10, 12 und Farb-Tafel 3).

Im wesentlichen nicht von den übrigen Inseln unterschieden. In den Häusern (z. B. Sopo's Haus) befinden sich auch die Hängealtäre (s. Abb. 101 in Bd. 6 I S. 232); der schöne von Udot (Truk S. 341) soll von Lamotrek stammen.

Die *gobai*-Stäbe mit den Augen hier sind neu. Der Zauberer *vāk* (Abb. 70 u. 71) hat meist ein Haus *(im bólebol*[2] s. S. 89), in dem er seine Arzneien bereitet, meist in der Nähe der kranken Person. Einige Zaubergesänge sind schon bei der Medizin wiedergegeben und beim Bootbau, und auch sonst ist schon viel von Zauberhandlungen erwähnt, da solche das ganze Leben durchziehen.

Zauber für Wöchnerinnen s. S. 108. Aufstecken von Arzneizauber Abb. 63.

Auf Eláto fand ich im Hof eines Anwesens als Zauber *kuei* einen Fächer *gáliba* aufgepflanzt, über den näheres S. 139 berichtet ist.

Für Regenzauber sind einige Gesänge (S. 52) gebracht: Zur Beendigung zu vielen Regens wird die Beschwörung mittelst einer Ansprache, dem Tritonshorn

[1] Dieses ist aber in der Tiefsee, nicht unter dem Himmelsboden, wie schon in Gesch. 1 vorkommend.
[2] S. 108, 111.

taui, und mittels einer Regenrute aus der Korallenpflanze ***kaini lidal*** (He. 2238 = 601711) seitens eines kundigen Beschwörers vorgenommen. Bei Hersingung des Gesanges wird die Rute mit dem Horn gegen die Wolken geschwungen, nachdem vorher das Horn mit aller Kraft geblasen wurde.

Abb. 70. Zauberer Ikelur mit Zauberstab (s. Taf. 2[d]).

Abb. 71. Zauberstab *gobai*.

alis ali touber Zaubergesang für Hausreinigung von Ikelur (Haus 3), der niemand dabei haben will außer Faragau (H.1), weil er sonst zu sterben fürchtet.

Der *alus* Róiang (s. Sturmzauber S. 155) wurde von Aluelap ausgesandt, um zu fordern, daß die Häuser von Blut und Geburtsverunreinigung sauber gemacht werden.

1. *ilabéleng ngílengi*	Ich färbe mich für den Himmel,	*i lab* ich färbe
ilabéla lólalo	ich färbe mich für die Unterwelt,	vergl. S. 97
mailéngi mailaló	(das ist) gut für den Himmel, gut für die Unterwelt;	*mamai* gut
ibaméiba	ich speere und speere,	*ib, ub* speeren
5. *ibangalíra*	ich speere mit dem Speer	*ira* Stock, Speer, *ira rŏgal* speer die Leute da
čremesč lengil	Leute im Himmel,	*áramas* Leute Truk S. 266
meroi lengil	(das) Volk im Himmel;	
i bálü	ich speere die Kokos,	
ub aramés	ich speere die Leute,	Stock ins Haar
10. *eübe samól*	ich speere den Häuptling!	Stock in die Erde

Beispiel eines gereinigten Hauses Abb. 72 (nach Aqu. E. K. 31).

Abb. 72. Purifiziertes Haus.

Abb. 73. Kopfaufsatz Geisteraugen.

Anzug: Der Zauberer ist bemalt mit einem roten Kreuz[1] auf der Stirn, dessen senkrechter Strich bis zur Nasenwurzel reicht, außerdem hat er je einen schiefen roten Strich von der Schulterspitze zur Achselhöhle[2] und einen senkrechten vom unteren Ende des Brustbeins bis etwa zum Nabel. Auf dem Kopf trägt er ein Kokosfiederkranz, (s. unten l. *metalöris)*, mit zwei Ringen vorne, den *metál alus* »Geisteraugen«[3]; Abb. 73, solcher Augenpaare hat er auch eine Menge an dem Zauberstab *gobai* (Abb. 71) oder *gobai l touber*; auf Abb. 70 hat ihn Ikelur in beiden Händen; er ist außerdem mit vielen jungen Kokosfiedern behangen. Wird ein Kranker mit dem *gobai* bezaubert, macht der Zauberer erst mit dem Stock einen Kreis ums Gesicht, dann je 2 Kreise um die Nasenspitze, l. Schulter, r. Schulter, r. Schulter, l. Schulter, Nabel, um das Haar (Z. 9) (s. Taf. 2d), dann wird der Stab hinter dem Kranken in die Erde gesteckt (Z. 10).

Über den Anzug bei den Zauberhandlungen ist hier zusammenfassend zu berichten. Bei der *garangâp*-Fischerei, beim Bootbau, bei der Hausreinigung wie beim Sturmzauber, dann bei Heilbehandlungen werden die jungen Kokosfiedern *uvudj* oder *ubudj* (Truk S. 179, 127, 283, 328, 359 *ubud)* angewandt. He. 2203a—e = 5977—8111 hat Belegstücke beigebracht.

a) Knoten doppelt (Knoten *djedjá beddaχ)*, an beiden Knoten mit beiden Händen horizontal gehalten; nähert man die beiden Hände einander, so spreizt sich das doppelte Blatt; durch schnelle Rückbewegung der Hände schlagen die Blattflächen klatschend aneinander. Durch dieses Klatschen wird die Beschwörungsformel stellenweise akzentuiert, es wird also dem Liede dadurch ein Rhythmus gegeben, während z. B. ein Trupp Leute mit dem Zauberer *vâk* an der Spitze den Strand entlang zieht. Es wird also dieser Doppelknoten (s. Abb. 74) wie eine Schlittenpeitsche gebraucht; sie heißt *ubudj vai vei* oder *vei vei l'ubudj* und wurde mir besonders beim Bootbaugesang 2. u. 3. gezeigt. Zum Unterschied vom eben erwähnten *metál*[4] *alus* braucht er nicht aufgesetzt zu werden.

Abb. 74. Knaller.

b) 4 Kokosblätterruten *ōwúte χássĕ (ubudj)* womit durch den Beschwörer die Krankheit von der Insel weggewedelt wird (vgl. d. Fächer S. 138).

---

[1] s. auch das Kreuz bei Bauchwehgesang (Medizin S. 140) und Abb. 78.
[2] die *forol*-Ketten S. 109 Z. 10.
[3] Es sollen eigentlich 4 Augen einen Wirtel bilden.
[4] = »sein Auge«, *alus* Dämon.

c) 2 Stirn- oder Armbänder *owute matalál*, mit 1 Schleife *metalöris* (s. *metál alus)*.

d) 1 Kopfschmuck von gespaltener Kokosfieder.

e) 2 Stirnbänder *marre marre öwüte metalöris*. Die 2 Schleifen sitzen auf der Stirn, die Enden am Hinterkopf entweder zusammengebunden oder mit dem Kamm befestigt (s. oben *metálálus)* Abb. 73; s. auch Feis.

Nadeln zum Zustecken der Schmuckfiedern aus Fiederrippen *loχ, sivel*. Diesen ganzen Beschwörungsanzug fand Hellwig an einem Baum des NW-Strandes

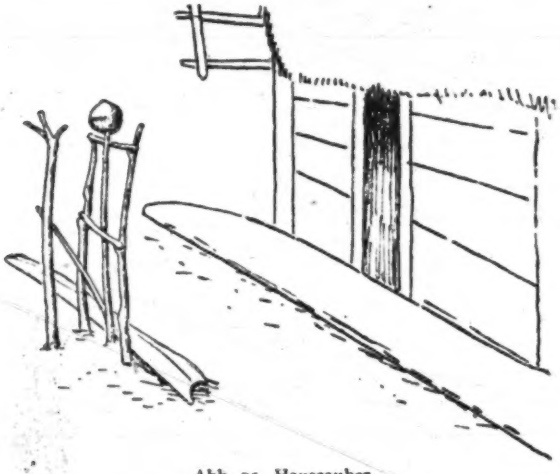


Abb. 75. Hauszauber.

in einsamer Gegend bei einer Hütte, deren Bewohner gegen die Fortnahme nichts einzuwenden hatten. Die Beschwörung war gegen Truk gerichtet, von woher die Krankheit *mass* kam.

Hauszauber mit Cocosnuss s. Abb. 75, auch als Arznei.

Die Sturmzauberstäbe *gosilifei* (s. Truk S. 300).

Den Sturmzauber erfuhr der Geist Roiang (s. S. 152) von dem Geist Tipoeo, der ihn von Alúelap erfuhr. Der Sturmzauber war beim Besuch der Expedition in voller Kraft. Das sahen wir schon an den am Strand von Lámotrek öffentlich ausgestellten Stücken, wie das Lichtbild auf Taf. 4d zeigt. Die Zeichnung Abb. 76 zeigt einen solchen Aushang am Strande noch deutlicher. Man sieht, daß ein Tritonshorn dabei hängt, und eine Weihegabe an der Spitze. Ein anderes Stück, das mir Ikelur gab, ist im Linden Museum zu Stuttgart Nr. 77830, s. Taf. 7, viele Kokosfiedern sind daran geknüpft.

4: Krämer OR21 Woleai

Wie z. B. die Zulu in Südafrika auf einem Hügel sich versammeln und bei nahendem Sturm gegen diesen anbrüllen, damit der Sturmgott sich abwende, so kämpfen die zentralkarolinischen Zauberer, *vāk*, mit den Rochenstacheln an ihrem Zauberstab, die im Kampfe sehr gefürchtet sind und eins mit dem Gotte Saulal (s. S. 144) erachtet werden, gegen den Sturmwind.

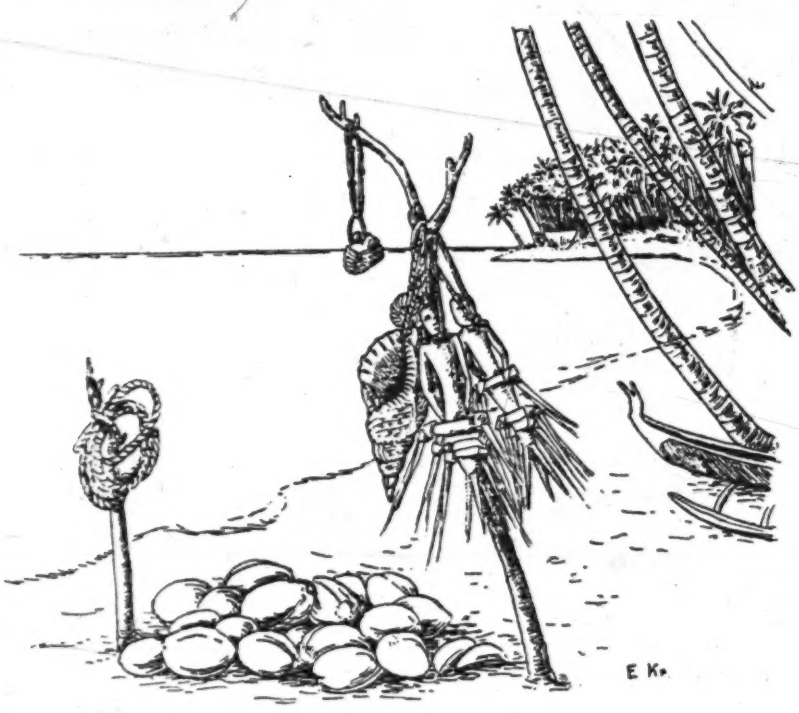


Abb. 76. Sturmzauber am Strand.

Das Holz ist gleich dem Gotte Alúelap, und der Kalk verbindet beide. Die Stacheln werden gelegentlich gegen den Beter selbst gewendet, um die Erfüllung zu erzwingen. Der Januskopf stellt Palúelap und Alúluei dar (vgl. S. 148), die nach allen Seiten blicken sollen. Deshalb macht man schon beim Beginn einer Seereise, wenn der Mast aufgerichtet wird, das *fore alus* für Alúluei. Oben S. 150 wurde aber auch schon ausgeführt, daß er mit Alúelap oder Palúelap eins erscheine; deshalb heißt es auch, daß der Januskopf = Aluluei sei und 2 Augen vorne und 2 hinten habe (S. 290). Es gibt solche Zauberfiguren für Boote und solche für das Land (s. Idole Abb. 77. 78).

Letztere sind der Ligóubub (s. S. 146) geweiht, und heißen *ēpil alu; ēpil* meint das untere, z. B. Wurzel eines Baumes oder Boden einer Schüssel. Die

Abb. 77. Sturmzauberfigur.

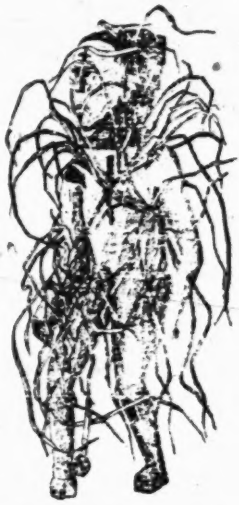


Abb. 78. Idol mit Stirnkreuz (vgl. Abb. 70).

Wurzel der Pflanze *ēlau* wird abgeschabt, und das Schabsel mit Cocoswasser übergossen und getrunken, gegen Krankheit oder Wind; daher in den Wohnhäusern aufbewahrt, sonst den andern gleich. Der *kuling* (s. S. 148) soll die Zauberfiguren angegeben haben. Sinn der Rochenstacheln *ohét* unbekannt.

Sturmzauber-Gesänge.

Ein Gebet für Boot (und Land) bei Sturm.

1. *ĩ leilei e ánga lăbĕlăb*	Ich bin der Vater des großen Windes,	*lei* mein Kind; Sprecher fühlt sich als Vater.
i leilei e anga lemāsue-sńe	ich bin der Vater der sanften Brise,	
mas eáng	stirb Wind,	
mas e lau	sterbt ihr Brecher,	
5. *mas e gorón*	stirb Regen	
mās alus i leng	stirb Geist des Himmels	der Verursacher

Auf Feis hörte ich einen Sang von Sēpi (H. 3 S. 20), der so lautet:

séboai gegádjua log	Macht alles gut gegen mich	
áromet langileng	Leute, daß kein großer Regen gegen euch komme,	*langileng maūvoi*
sausóu tipelielis	hoffet auf Güte der Götter	*alus* Gott; *tipei* in meinem Herzen.
maūvoi le valeuai	für mein Boot.	*mauvoi* Z. 2., s. *valevei* S. 159, 202.

Erster Sturmzaubergesang von Urupo (Taf. I a), bei dem der Zauberer *vāk* rechts das Tritonshorn *taui* links die Janusfigur *gosílifei* hält (Taf. 4c).

1. *sūsū mei a, sūsū mei a*	Stehe weg, Stehe weg	vom Regen, *siu siu* aufstehen.
rērē mei a, rērē mei a	schneide weg, schneide weg,	
mē golugē tíu, mē goulugē tag	halte es zum Westen, halte es zum Osten,	*aitol* W.-Teil, *aiet* O.Teil, *mokúe*[1] N.
lugilímel	außerhalb des Hauses	der Regen.
5. *mē gopi ia, go masē*	zerschneide, bis er tot ist,	*gopi* schneiden, *mas* tot.
alus irīar i alus irīar	Geist des Regenbogens,	*lauliar* Regenbogen, wurde beim Streit aus dem Himmel geworfen und kam an die Himmelsseite mit kurzem Leben.
alus iri	Geist	
ebāsurērē ebasu rērē	der Wasserhose,	*ētibaso* hohe Wasserhose von oben. *saularērē* niedriger Wasserwirbel unten.
gopóru, gopóru, gopóru rúei	nimm sie, nimm sie, nimm sie weit weg,	
10. *gotóru, gotóru, gótóru rutóg*	bringt nicht hierher,	*falu* das Boot in See.
gōlā isiu gōlā fēlei	renne fort von meinem Boot,	
goleisiu ō	geh weg!	
isiugó o! o!	weg!	

[1] *mokulog* »von Norden« aus gesehen, denn niemand geht nach dem Süden.

Zweiter Sturmzaubergesang von Ikelūr (Taf. 2d).

itou meséi lengīl	Ich steche das Auge des Himmels,	*mes* = *metal* sein A.
igamāl meséi lengīl	es klärt das Auge des Himmels,	*gamál* = *málamal* aufklären
ngasaboi lengīl	die Enden des Himmels,	*sab* das Ende (Sētowal), *tabol* Ende Lam.
ngasaboi lengīl e fūfū	die Enden des Himmels klar,	*fuselog* aufgeklärt
ngasaboi lengīl e toto	die Enden des Himmels, kommt herab,	*dōdō* herunterkommen.
ngasaboi lengīl ēa	die Enden des Himmels, geht weg,	*ēa* = *áia*
mara galāngīe	presse aus hinauf in den Himmel,	Wasser
tara galāngīe	presse hinab vom Himmel	
ngē bogativāto	und lasse (es) zurück hinter mir.	*gativáteu* von einer Menge etwas zurücklegen.
fatul ei sēila	die Pagaie vom Boote da.	d. h. eine gute Brise.
ngēgadja borobóro	Werft hin	*ei* Genitiv, *seí* = *va*[1] *gēsebórobor* etwas mit Gewalt fortwerfen.
alāng gadjēpadjep	mit Begeisterung zu besänftigen den Himmel	

Über das Losorakel (Bd. 6 I S. 110) konnte hier nichts besonderes in Erfahrung gebracht werden; über die 16 Dämonen war nichts bekannt; und doch spielt ein Teil der Gesch. 75 in Yap II S. 616 auf Lamotrek. Dieser ganze Mythus ist bei Feis erwähnt und scheint den Westkarolinen anzugehören, da östlich von Feis nichts davon erwähnt wurde.

Das Knotenorakel wird schon bei Cantova S. 311 für die Westkarolinen erwähnt.

[1] Z. B. *eā botog seilevei* »da kommt das Reiseboot« s. S. 143. 375.

160

4. Geschichten und Gesänge (*alis, rong*).

Gesch. 1) von Jat und Jol[1].

Dieses »Märchen« ist in Hambruchs Südseemärchen S. 180—196 Anm. S. 343 ausführlich wiedergegeben, weshalb hier nur im Auszug darüber berichtet wird:

Jat und Jol hatten als Kinder zwei Mädchen, die, groß geworden, heirateten, zu gleicher Zeit schwanger wurden und ein Kind gebaren. Jede grub dazu im Frauenhaus ein Wasserloch, setzte einen Stab hinein, auf dem die Geburt vor sich ging; beide Kinder waren Knaben. Die Stäbe aber grünten und bekamen rote Blumen. Eines Tags ging die ältere Mutter ins Tarofeld, um Nahrung zu holen; als sie lange ausblieb, schrie ihr Knabe. Vergeblich suchte sie ihn zu beruhigen. Da kam ihre jüngere Schwester und half ihr dadurch, daß sie heimlich zu dem Wasserloch ihrer älteren ging, eine rote Blume abbrach und sie dem schreienden Kinde brachte, worauf es sofort still wurde. Als aber dann die ältere, um Wasser zu holen, zu ihrem Loche ging und das Fehlen einer Blume bemerkte, kehrte sie alsbald zurück und schalt ihre jüngere heftig. Trotz der Aufklärung gab es einen heftigen Streit, der erst durch die Eltern Jat und Jol beschwichtigt werden konnte.

Die jüngere war eine fleißige Weberin[2], die unermüdlich arbeitete. Eines Tags kam zu ihr Nitor, die Schwester des Königs Remesielangegotu[3], der im Osten des Himmels ein großes Reich beherrschte. Sie fand an der Frau Gefallen, und deshalb nahm sie sie mit ihrem Kinde in den Himmel hinauf. Ihrem Bruder gegenüber pries sie die Frau so sehr, daß der König sie zu heiraten beschloß. So wurde sie Königin. Der Knabe war inzwischen herangewachsen und verstand vortrefflich zu tanzen. Als gerade Remesielangegotu anwesend war, forderte die Mutter ihren Sohn auf, den Kreuztanz Gapagag zu tanzen, der dem König so gefiel, daß er das Schneckenhorn blies, damit auch das übrige Himmelsvolk herankäme, um des Anblicks teilhaftig zu werden. Zur Belohnung holte er hundert feingewebte rote Matten aus seinen Kisten und bedeckte mit ihnen die Erde, damit der Junge diese nicht berühre. Die Zuschauer aber wurden so von Tanzlust ergriffen, daß sie mit bis zum Morgen tanzten. Am folgenden Abend wiederholte sich dies alles; der Zuschauer waren noch mehr geworden.

---

[1] s. o. S. 146, s. auch Ende von Gesch. 5.
[2] s. o. S. 147.
[3] s. S. 147 Anm. [1] = Mezelang e gotu, *mez* oder *mes* = Auge, *lang* Himmel, *gotu*?

Als Eluelap davon vernahm, wollte er einen Boten an den Vater des Tänzers senden, aber alles war weggelaufen. Nur einen seiner Söhne fand er schließlich, der aber nicht wieder kam. So ging Eluelap selbst und wurde auch von dem Anblick ergriffen. Als er zurückkam, fand er seinen Sohn Morakero, den er nach dem ausgesandten Sohn sandte; dieser stand in der Zuschauermenge, starr, mit aufgerissenen Augen. Da warf Morakero ihm Sand hinein, ließ ihn zurück und kehrte zu seinem Vater zurück. Der wollte nun den Tänzer einmal aus der Nähe ansehen, und sandte deshalb den Ururulang[1] mit 50 schönen Matten als Geschenk an Remesielangegotu, der sie empfing und hundert rote Matten dafür wiedergab. Darauf sandte Eluelap seinerseits auch 100 besonders schöne Matten mit schwarzen und roten Mustern an Remes und lud ihn ein, mit seinem Sohne zu ihm zu kommen. Remes sandte nun seinerseits auch 100 schöne Matten und ließ sie vor dem Haus Fadjamal ausbreiten. Als er dann selbst mit seinem wohlgeschmückten Sohne bei Eluelap eintraf, befahl dieser seinen Dienern Ulülemes und Tibur[2], sein Auge zu öffnen, damit er den Tänzer ordentlich sehen könne; es ging dies aber nicht leicht: die Hände der Diener versagten, auch Bootspaddeln halfen nichts; erst als diese mit Sand eingerieben waren, ging das Auge auf. Eluelap war so befriedigt von dem Anblick, daß er die Hand des Knaben nahm und sich auf die Stirn legte, wodurch er in den Besitz des Gottes überging. Remesielangegotu schrie darüber vor Schmerz laut auf. Da der Knabe noch keinen Namen hatte, rief Eluelap alle seine Diener, die Sterne des Morgens, Adler, Plejaden, Orion, großer Bär usw. herbei, damit sie ihm einen recht schönen Namen vorschlügen. Sie dachten lange nach, aber sie fanden nichts rechtes, und Eluelap mißbilligte ihre Vorschläge. Der Morgenstern rief darauf wütend: »Nennt ihn doch Pagaral, den Scheißer!« AberAtair entgegnete: Nein, das ist nicht gut. Er heiße Lugeileng, »Mitte des Himmels«[3]! Dieser Name gefiel dem Eluelap, und er gab dafür dem Atair den höchsten Platz am Himmel, damit er alles sehen könne, dem Morgenstern aber er trug auf, daß er nur Morgens oder als Abendstern scheine, und dem Lugeileng leuchte, wenn er am Strand sein Geschäft verrichte.

Als Lugeileng herangewachsen war, gab ihm Eluelap Ilamulul[4], die Tüchtige im Spiel, zur Frau. Sie bekam einen Sohn, der hieß Geo. Die 2. Schwangerschaft führte aber zu nichts, und auch das dritte mal konnte sie nicht gebären. Da fürchtete Eluelap, daß ein Ungetüm zur Welt kommen könnte, das dem Geo zu schaden vermöchte. Die Mutter suchte deshalb nach einem sicheren Platze und wählte einen Ort unter der Schlafmatte des Eluelap, zu dem man nur gelangen konnte, wenn man die Matte emporhob. Als dann die vierte Schwangerschaft eintrat und Ilamulul schließlich nicht niederkommen konnte und große Schmerzen hatte, hieß er die Hebamme eine Perlschale aus dem Meere holen und mit ihr

[1] s. S. 144. [2] s. S. 145. [3] s. S. 147. [4] s. S. 146.

der Frau den Kopf aufschneiden. Es geschah so und ein Kind sprang heraus, das den Namen **Ólufat**[1] erhielt. Er konnte alsbald sprechen und wie Erwachsene handeln. Er schnitt sich selbst die Nabelschnur ab, und als er fortrannte, färbte der Wundstumpf die Kokospalmen rot, wovon sie diese Farbe haben. Dann rannte er in den Busch und verübte viele Streiche. Als er einmal Frauen Blumenkränze winden sah, suchte er sie zu berücken, aber sie lehnten ihn ab und neckten ihn, weil er häßlich war. Sie sprachen, Geo sei »schön«, und für diesen und Eluelap seien die Kränze.

Da wurde er verstimmt und suchte überall nach Geo, aber niemand sagte ihm, wo er sei. Da sah er vor der Türe von Fadjamal 2 Fische hängen, die er noch nie gesehen hatte. Auf seine Frage sagte man ihm, Lugeileng habe sie gefangen; aber sie stammten aus dem Lande des Geo. Er hörte dies aber auch. Da ihm niemand verriet, wo das Land war, setzte er sich an den Weg vor Fadjamal, um nachzuspüren und zu warten. Er verwandelte sich bald in eine Eidechse[2], und lief dann in dieser Gestalt ins Haus zurück, wo er sich unter der Schlafmatte[3] versteckte. Alsbald fand er den Eingang in das Land des Geo, in das er hinabstieg, in seine Gestalt zurückverwandelt. Als er aber dem Badeplatz des Geo sich nahte, verwandelte er sich in einen Kranich; dorthin flog er, wo 100 Wächter waren, 50 Diener, zehn Köche und 5 Frauen. Als Geo zum Baden ging, erblickte er den Kranich, über den er sich sehr wunderte, denn er hatte noch keinen gesehen, da es in seinem Lande gar keine Vögel gab. Daraufhin flog der Kranich wieder davon, verwandelte sich wieder in eine Eidechse, kroch dann wieder unter die Schlafmatte des Eluelap und von dort ins Freie, wo er sich in Olufats Gestalt zurückverwandelte. So betrat er wieder Fadjamal und bat um ein Beil, unter Vorgabe seinen Busch roden zu wollen. Als er es erhalten hatte, versteckte er es unter der Matte des Eluelap.

Am andern Tag verwandelte er sich wieder in eine Eidechse, kroch unter die Matte, nahm das Beil und machte sich nun in Olufats Gestalt auf den Weg zu Geo's Haus. Unterwegs hatte er einen Stein aufgehoben, durch Zauberformeln besprochen und mitgenommen; den warf er zuerst auf das Hausdach, so daß er durchschlug und in den Raum fiel, in dem viele Leute saßen, die sehr erschraken. Da fiel dem Geo plötzlich der Vogel ein, und ehe er seine Leute danach fragen konnte, kam es ihm bei, daß Olufat der Vogel gewesen war, daß er den Stein geworfen hatte, und nun alle töten wolle. So kam es auch. Olufat tötete erst das ganze Hausgesinde, und schlug dann dem Geo den Kopf ab. Diesen nahm er mit und versteckte ihn bei der Rückkehr hinter einem Wandbalken des Hauses Fadjamal. Als die Leute ihn nach seinem Verbleib frugen, erwiderte er, er habe viel Busch gerodet. Seine Mutter Ilamulul ahnte aber, was vorgefallen war und

[1] s. S. 147. [2] Vgl. die Wichtigkeit der Eidechse in Indonesien.
[3] Vgl. das bei den Seelen, S. 151, gesagte.

sprach ihre Vermutung aus, worauf die Leute in Olufat drangen, seine Tat zu bekennen; er holte dann auch den Kopf hervor und zeigte ihn der Versammlung, die entsetzt war und ihm schwere Vorwürfe machte. Er aber erwiderte, daß sie ihm ja verschwiegen hätten, daß Geo sein Bruder sei. Große Trauer herrschte in Fadjamal. Lugeileng begrub den Kopf seines Sohnes vor dem Hause. Bald wuchs ein Liliengewächs aus dem Grabe auf, das zwei prächtige Blüten trieb, und aus diesen wurden zwei wunderschöne Mädchen, die Eluelap als seine Töchter annahm. Die Leute aber waren auf Olufat so ergrimmt, daß sie ihn töten wollten. Doch die Mutter legte sich ins Mittel und sprach: »Nein, es ist genug, daß mein eines Kind tot ist; soll nun auch das andere sterben?« Aber seine Verbannung wurde doch beschlossen, und so wurde es aus dem Himmel gejagt.

Olufat wanderte darauf nach dem Lande Pelit, wo ein Mann gleichen Namens wohnte, der beständig Palmwein schnitt und trank. Olufat half ihm eine Zeitlang, dann wanderte er weiter bis ans Ende der Welt, nach Tabolifalu. Dort lag ein Stück Bambus, das hob er auf und nahm es mit, als er zu Pelit zurückkehrte. Der saß gerade auf einer Palme bei seiner Arbeit. Olufat schlug den Bambus an den Stamm der Palme, was solch einen Lärm machte, daß Pelit erschrak, herabsprang und davoneilte. Dabei nahm er aber Messer und Trinkschale mit, so daß Olufat nun die Blütenstränke nicht abschneiden konnte, sondern dies mit seinen Zähnen ausführen mußte. Als er aber einmal hoch oben in einer Palme saß, erblickte er in der Ferne ein anderes Land. Alsbald ging er zum Strand, teilte mit einem Stab das Wasser, so daß er trockenen Fußes zu dem andern Land gelangen konnte. Dort lebte ein Fischer Goschuberig und seine Frau; Olufat gewahrte sie gerade im Tarofeld, und so verwandelte er sich in einen Säugling und fing mächtig zu schreien an. Als die Frau dies hörte, eilte sie herbei und freute sich über den Fund sehr, da sie kinderlos war. Sie päppelte das Kind mit einer jungen Kokosnuß und so gedieh dies, worüber auch der Mann sich sehr freute. Als eines Tags Goschuberig beim Fischen und die Frau im Tarofeld war, wollte Olufat Palmwein schneiden gehen und griff deshalb nach den Kokosschalen am Hausdach. Da gewahrte er zwei Säcke, die dort hingen. Goschuberig hatte in ihnen früher Menschen gesammelt; in einem waren die guten, im andern die bösen, kranken und lasterhaften[1]. Obwohl es ihm verboten war, verschlossenes zu öffnen, schnitt er doch die Säcke ab, die mit einem großen Geräusch auf den Boden fielen; der ganze Himmel erbebte und zitterte. Als die beiden Alten herbeieilten, nahm der Junge die beiden Säcke auf den Rücken und lief davon. Da wußten sie, daß der Junge Olufat sei. Er rannte zurück nach Pelit, und Goschubering verfolgte ihn. Als die Säcke zu schwer wurden, ließ der Räuber einen fallen, den der Verfolger ergriff, um mit ihm zurückzukehren. Aber als er ihm zu schwer wurde, ließ er ihn fallen; er durchschlug den Himmelsboden und fiel hinab auf

[1] s. diese Gegenüberstellung S. 164[1]

die Insel Feis. Den andern Sack brachte Olufat nach Pelit, wo er ihn öffnete, aber zu seinem Schrecken die schlechten Menschen vorfand; so schlug er alle tot, und kehrte dann nach Fadjamal zurück. Der auf Feis von den Bewohnern gefundene Sack, der Land und See hatte erzittern lassen, wurde geöffnet, und es kamen aus ihm so viel schöne Frauen heraus, daß jeder der dortigen Männer eine davon bekam. Den leeren Sack warf man achtlos an den Strand. Nur einer der Feisuaner war leer ausgegangen, Apischur nämlich, der mitten auf der Insel wohnte und bei der Öffnung nicht zugegen war. Als er von dem Sack hörte, beschloß er, diesen einmal anzusehen. Er legte wie beim Bootaufholen einige Palmfiederstengel am Strande aus und holte über sie den Sack nach oben; er war aber arg schmutzig, weil die Frauen in ihm ihre Notdurft verrichtet hatten. Dabei fand er noch eine vergessene Frau, die er Ilusumar benannte, weil er sie zwischen dem Schmutz[1] gefunden hatte. Er wusch sie ab und er fand die reine Frau als ein Wunder der Schönheit. Als der Oberhäuptling davon erfuhr, suchte er die Frau an sich zu bringen und sandte deshalb den Aschipur nach der Insel Faiju[2], damit er ihm Vogelfedern für Festschmuck hole.

Aschipur führte auch denAuftrag aus, fuhr aber so schnell, daß er am selben Abend wieder zurück war. Als dem Häuptling so sein Plan mißglückt war, sandte er den Aschipur nach Yap, um dort Gelbwurzpulver zu holen. Aber auch da war der Abgesandte am selben Abend schon wieder da.

Da beschloß der Häuptling, den Apischur nach dem großen Land des Ostens zu senden, damit er schöne Tücher hole. Dieses Land liegt sehr weit ab. Ehe aber Apischur abfuhr, brachte er seine Frau in Sicherheit, dadurch, daß er einen Zauber machte, wodurch sich die Klippen von Feis aus dem Meere hoben; hinter diesen verbarg er seine Frau. Dann fuhr er davon und war in fünf Tagen mit den 50 Tüchern wieder zurück. Da sah der Häuptling, wie schwer es für ihn war, die Frau zu bekommen und wollte es aufgeben; aber die Liebe ließ ihm keine Ruhe. So trug er dem Apischur etwas recht gefährliches auf, nämlich ins Land der Kraniche, nach Falueluegarar zu fahren. Als Ilusumar hörte, daß ihr Mann schon wieder reisen wolle, und nicht bei ihr bliebe, frug sie ihn nach der Ursache. Er erzählte es ihr alles, und daß er diesmal nach Falueluegarar[3] fahren müsse. Da wurde sie freudig bewegt, denn dieses Land, sagte sie, sei ihre Heimat, denn dort sei sie geboren. Sie hieß ihn darüber schweigen und sagte: »Geh nicht in diesem und im nächsten Monat; die Früchte sind noch nicht reif; das Land ist sehr weit von hier und du kannst nicht genügend zu essen mitnehmen. Bleibe noch und brenne dir Kalk, denn unterwegs wirst du viele böse Geister treffen; die kannst du alsdann damit bannen und verscheuchen." Apischur tat also und fuhr nach 2 Monaten mit 4 Leuten fort. Als er einen Monat unterwegs gewesen war, sah

[1] Kot *gaf*. [3] s. Bd. 6 I S. 163.
[2] Das Wort klingt ostmikronesisch — polynesisch.

er von fern zwei steile hohe Felsen im Meer[1], zwischen denen der Weg hindurchführte. Seine Begleiter hielten es für das gesuchte Land, aber Apischur sagte, das Land sei noch viel weiter im Osten; diese Felsen seien von bösen Geistern bewohnt. Wie richtig dies war, zeigte sich alsbald, als sie hindurchfuhren und sie von den Geistern angegriffen wurden. Apischur wehrte sie einfach durch Kalkstreuen ab.

Nach einem weiteren Monat begegneten sie einem großen Walfisch, den die Besatzung für das gesuchte Land hielt. »O nein«, sagte Apischur »wir müssen noch viel, viel weiter fahren. Aber kommt, laßt uns den Wal hinaufklettern, er soll fortan unser Boot sein und uns nach Falueluegarar bringen.« Da zerschlugen sie ihr Boot, warfen Mast und Segel in die See und kletterten auf den Rücken des Wales. Apischur sprach: »Ich bin der Führer und sitze auf dem Rücken; ihr übrigen verteilt euch auf die Flossen und zwei setzen sich auf den Schwanz«. So fuhren sie weiter. Als es aber den Leuten auf ihren Plätzen nicht mehr gefiel, machte Apischur einen großen Zauber, und so gelangten sie alle auf die Wirbelsäule des Fisches. So kamen sie wohlbehalten nach Falueluegarar, denn nach einem Monat strandete der Wal dort. Da kamen die Kraniche und fraßen das Fleisch des gestrandeten Tieres; als dann das Knochengerüst in der Sonne trocknete und auseinanderbarst, kroch Apischur mit seinen Leuten heraus. Sie gingen ins Land hinein und kamen an ein Haus, das der Frau Alizelap gehörte. Sie war eine schlimme Zauberin, halb Geist, halb Mensch. Als sie die Ankömmlinge sah, ging sie ihnen entgegen und sagte: »Leider habe ich kein Essen, euch zu speisen, ich will aber meine Leute rufen, die es bereiten sollen.« Sie zündete eine Menge Feuer an, damit die Fremdlinge herbeikämen. Denn sie wohnte ganz allein auf der Insel. Neben dem Hause stand eine Kokospalme, die der Ilusumar gehörte; daneben waren zwei Wasserlöcher. Apischur wußte dies von seiner Frau. Das Wasser, des einen Loches war klar, der Brunnen war schön gepflegt, die Korallensteine schön aufgesetzt; aber wer in ihm badete, wurde zwar schön und stark, aber er wurde auch krank und starb. Dies erhoffte Aliselap, denn sie wollte die Fremdlinge auffressen. Dagegen war das andere Loch unsauber, mit Schmutz umgeben und hatte trübes Wasser; aber es war ungefährlich. Als die Leute des Apischur nun in dem schönen Wasserloch baden wollten, warnte er sie; er hieß sie auch 5 Nüsse von der Palme holen, und den Schmutz wegräumen. Als sie dies getan hatten, fanden sie einen flachen Stein zum öffnen der Nüsse und unter ihm die von Ilusumar dort niedergelegten Trinkschalen. Alle badeten nun und erfrischten und sättigten sich dann von den Nüssen. Dann machten sie sich daran, den Auftrag der Feis-Häuptlings zu erfüllen. Sie verteilten sich über die Insel und jeder sammelte eine Kiste voll Kranichfedern. So wurde die Abreise auf den folgenden Morgen festgesetzt. Als sie nachts im Hause der Aliselap schliefen,

[1] s. Matángrengós, Palau IV S. 9 = Kusae, daß der Weg zwischen beiden führt, stimmt freilich nicht.

legte Apischur seinen Leuten und sich Kokoskernstreifen auf die geschlossenen Augenlider, damit die bösen Geister glaubten, daß sie wachten.

Da Apischur kein Boot mehr hatte, hieß er am folgenden Morgen seine Leute den Stein des Wasserloches wegräumen. Als sie es getan hatten, fanden sie den Eingang zu einer Höhle. Apischur sagte, es sei der unterirdische Weg nach Feis, den sie nun, jeder mit seiner Kiste, wanderten. Endlich kamen sie wieder an einen Stein, und als sie ihn entfernt hatten und hinaufstiegen, gelangten sie in das Haus der Ilusumar, die über die glückliche Heimkehr des Apischur sehr erfreut war. Nachdem die Ermüdeten lange geschlafen und sich gestärkt hatten, brachten sie die Kisten dem Oberhäuptling, der nun sah, daß er dem Apischur nichts anhaben könne, und so Ilusumar zufrieden ließ. Die beiden lebten nun glücklich zusammen und bekamen viele Kinder.

Als diese einmal spielten, hatte der Älteste das Unglück, ein anderes Feiskind zu erschlagen. Da wollte niemand mehr mit den Kindern der Ilusumar spielen, weshalb diese von Feis fort wollten. Der Älteste wollte ins Land der Mutter, nach Falueluegarar, denn hinter der Kranichinsel der Aliselap war noch eine schöne größere, wo viele Leute wohnten. Als Ilusumar sah, daß der Junge durchaus wollte, sagte sie ihm die Zauberformeln zum Schutz gegen die Gefahren, die schon ihrem Gatten gedroht hatten. Sie salbte auch dem Jungen seine Füße mit Öl, besprach sie, so daß er über die See wandern konnte. Als er nach langer Zeit zu der bewohnten Insel gelangte, wurde er dort freundlich aufgenommen, und als er von seiner Mutter erzählte, weinten die Leute vor Freude, über die totgeglaubte Schwester etwas zu hören. Sie feierten den Sohn und machten ihn zu ihrem Oberhäuptling.

Der zweite Sohn ging heimlich davon und wurde von den bösen Geistern der beiden Felsen gefangen. Aus dieser Haft befreite ihn dann der dritte, der mit Wissen der Mutter fortgereist war. So gelangten beide wohlbehalten zu ihrem Bruder und wurden herzlich aufgenommen. Schließlich wollte auch der vierte Bruder fort und so vereinsamten Apischur und Ilusumar. Sie verließen auch Feis, wanderten nach Falueluegarar, wo sie bis an ihr Ende mit ihren Söhnen glücklich vereint blieben.

2) **Füs** (Hambruch auf Elato[1]) (s. Fußnote S. 144).

(Erzähler Tăréulimĕng, der Priester des Füs.)

Füs ist ein *uopéi*, ein Dämon, wie Yóngelaf in Yap. Er lebte früher auf Olimăuruo[2], wo er heute noch ein Haus hat. Auch auf Elato ist ein Haus von ihm,

[1] Bei diesen Aufnahmen war ein Mann von Mogemog (Lamululsi = Uhlíthi s. Kr.) zugegen, der den Erzählern vieles ins Gedächtnis zurückrief. Es sind also diese Sagen auch auf Mokemok bekannt, oder der Fremde müßte sie früher schon auf Elato gehört haben. Kotzebue S. 57. nennt den Gott von Lamotrek und Elato = Fuß = „Stern".

[2] s. S. 17.

obwohl er noch ein kleines Kind ist. Dieses Haus wurde von Iguar errichtet, der in jüngerer Zeit den Füs nach Elato gebracht hat; er ist schon gestorben. Er hatte es auf Geheiß von Füs getan, der es ihm im Schlaf anbefohlen hatte. Auf Olimarauo, das wie Pik und Pikelot früher stark bevölkert war, hieß das Haus Falimar, und auf Elato Eaurulap[1]. Hier werden Kränze, Matten, Düfte, Nüsse, *mar* usw. von den Seefahrern niedergelegt, sowohl von fremden, als einheimischen. Auf Lamotrek ist aber Füs nicht heimisch; seine eigentliche Heimat ist Olimarauo. Seine Mutter ist Lagalufar, sein Vater Mäzapelăχ. Als Olimarauo von einem starken Sturm heimgesucht wurde, der Insel und Menschen vernichtete, kamen beide zu Iguar, wo Füs geboren wurde. Dieser hat seherische Eigenschaften; so erscheint er z. B. einem Manne im Traume und kündigt das Erscheinen von Schiffen an; auch warnt er vor Krankheit, Unbill und Gefahren und so genießt er göttliche Verehrung, obwohl er nur ein Mensch war, eben nur mit besonderen Eigenschaften.

Füs hat übrigens auch im Himmel ein Haus mit einem runden Pfeiler und ein Schirmdach darüber. In diesem Hause schläft er und sieht alles, was Elato betrifft, Krankheiten, Reiseboote usw. Bei Krankheiten werden zur Abwehr Matten, *kini*, rund um die Insel gehängt. Kommt die Krankheit trotzdem, so müssen Arzneien helfen. Füs wird dann in Gebeten angerufen.

3) Eine Himmelslegende (Hambruch).

Es war einmal ein König im Himmel. Der hatte ein Kind, das war ein Mädchen. Auch gab es im Himmel einen Ort, der war tabū; kein weibliches Wesen durfte ihn betreten. Eines Tages ging das Mädchen ans Wasser und tötete mit einer Keule Fische. Als es wieder aus dem Wasser kam, ging es an einem Wasserloch vorüber. Dort fand es auf den Kopf gestellt eine halbe Kokosnuß. Es hob die Nuß auf und trug sie unterm Arm fort, bald unterm Rechten, bald unterm Linken und schrie dabei laut; denn es war auf den Tabūplatz geraten und hatte hier die Nuß weggenommen. Schließlich legte es die Nuß auf die Schulter. Hier wuchs sie sofort mit dem Fleisch zusammen. So gelangte es in das Haus der Eltern. »Nun, was ist mit dir los? Willst du sterben?« Sie salbten das Mädchen mit Öl und Reng und behängten es mit den kostbarsten Sachen. Darauf ging es an das Wasserloch zurück. Dort fiel die Nuß plötzlich von ihm ab und genau auf den Platz, wo es sie fortgenommen hatte. Aus dieser Nuß wurde ein Wesen Ẓubulimāl. Dies Wesen lief im Himmel hin und her und suchte nach einem andern Geiste. Da kam Semālogerāl[2], der Bruder des Ẓelān des Weges und sah die Königstochter dort sitzen. Er warb um sie; sie wurde seine Braut, und er brachte sie zu seinen Eltern. Darüber ergrimmte Ẓubulimāl; denn er bean-

[1] vergl. Truk S. 324 und oben S. 144. [2] s. S. 144.

spruchte das Mädchen für sich. Die Eltern des Zelāū versteckten nun das Mädchen. Zubulimāl war sehr böse und hielt am Wasserloch Wache. Als das Mädchen nicht wiederkam, rief er alle Geister zusammen, die das Mädchen töten sollten. Doch niemand konnte es finden. Da befragten sie das Abzählorakel (*inapin*) und bekamen damit heraus, daß das Mädchen im Hause des Semālogerāl befand. Da versammelten sich die Geister vor den Häusern. Die Insassen hatten große Angst. Semālogerāl sandte aber Botschaften an Butā und Wōrōwōr, ihm zur Hilfe zu kommen. Nach einer Weile erschienen dann Blitz und Donner über dem Hause. Die beiden fielen über die Geister her; der Donner trieb sie auseinander und der Blitz verbrannte sie. Da konnte Semālogerāl das Mädchen heiraten. Und wenn sie nicht gestorben sind, leben sie noch heute.

4) Die Geschichte von Maaûtīk[1]. — Inhalt eines alten Epos. (Hambruch).

In Mōgemōg lebte ein Mann Mōrāp. Der hatte drei Söhne. Die beiden ältesten benahmen sich dem jüngsten gegenüber schlecht. Er bekam kaum Essen und hatte die niedrigsten Dienste zu verrichten. Mōrāp machte häufig nächtliche Ausgänge, und die beiden älteren Brüder wußten nicht wohin der Vater ging. Der Jüngste wollte nun gern wissen, woher der Vater alle die schönen Sachen bekam, die er hatte; er schlich ihm nach. Maaûtīk kam bald dahinter. Er hörte, wie der Vater 1; 2, 3 zählte, dann in die See sprang und nach Fais schwamm. Das lag damals unter Wasser. Maaûtīk ging also dem Vater nach, der dann höchst erstaunt war, ihn in Fais zu finden.

Einmal kam Mōrāp nicht mehr zurück. Er war gestorben. Maaûtīk sah nach ihm, fand ihn in Fais. Doch erzählte er davon nichts den Brüdern. Als er heimkam, fragten ihn die Brüder: »Wo bist du gewesen?« — »Ich habe geangelt.« — »Mach Feuer und arbeite, sonst töten wir dich!« — Hernach sagten sie: »Komm, wir wollen fischen; du sollst im Kanu das Wasser ausschöpfen.« — »Bitte gebt mir auch einen Haken, ich will einen großen Fisch fangen.« — Bald kamen sie in das Riff, wo sie sonst ihre Fische fingen. Die Brüder gaben dem Jüngsten ein Stückchen Kokosschale als Haken und ein wenig Kokosfasern zur Leine. »Was soll ich damit?« — »Knote es nur zusammen, für dich ist es gut genug.« Bald hatte Maaûtīk Haken und Leine über Bord. Schon biß es an. Er zog und zog. Da wollten die andern ihm helfen. »Geht weg, haltet lieber das Kanu klar.« Bald kamen die Wedel von Palmen, dann Felsen zum Vorschein. Das Kanu war nahe dem Untergang. Da schoß endlich mit einem Male eine Insel aus dem Wasser empor. »Seht, ich bin der Jüngste und Schwächste und kann doch Fische fangen!«[2] — Nun fingen sie an zu streiten wem das Land gehören sollte. Der älteste Bruder beanspruchte es, der zweite auch; Maaûtīk sagte: »Mir gehört

[1] Durch Vermittlung von Lewis erhalten. [2] s. Palau IV Gesch. 14.

die Insel.« Aber wir wollen nicht streiten. »Laßt uns zum Vater gehen. Der wird es wissen und entscheiden.« — Da rief Mörŏp von unten herauf: »Du bist klein und doch groß; du sollst groß bleiben.« Da erschraken die älteren Brüder und ließen von Maaŭtlk ab. — »Du bist klein, aber du bist groß. Du bist ein tüchtiger, guter Mensch. Dir und deinen Erben soll die Insel gehören.« So wurde Fais aus dem Wasser gezogen[1].

5) Vom Regenbogen, *Lăŭliăr* (Hambruch).

In alten Zeiten waren die Winde sehr stark und kräftig. Immer stürmte es. Da sandten die Menschen eine Botschaft zum Himmel und baten, die Winde sollten doch aufhören so stark zu wehen, denn auf Erden hätte man nichts mehr zu essen. Da sagte ein Mann Sŏńŏr: »Ich will sterben, wenn ich euch damit helfen kann.« Sie setzten ihm seinen Tanzstab auf die Brust. Da starb er. Wegen seiner guten Tat nahm Eluelăp ihn zu sich. Aber er wurde im Himmel bald übermütig; belästigte und ärgerte alle Leute, so daß man seiner schließlich überdrüssig wurde; sie wandten sich an Olufăt. Olufăt nahm ihn freundschaftlich beiseite. Und Sŏńŏr fragte den Olufăt: »Woher kommt es, daß auf Erden immer Sturm ist? Woher kommen die Winde?« — »O ja, daß weiß ich.« — Sie schliefen nun und begaben sich dann nach dem Hause der Winde. Das war ein Pfeiler ohne Dach. Die Winde hatten das Dach fortgenommen. In dem Pfeiler war ein großes Loch. Da fuhren die Winde stets heraus. Die beiden konnten nicht an dieses Loch herankommen, denn der Winddruck war zu stark und warf sie immer wieder zurück. Olufăt kehrte deshalb um. Sŏńŏr sprang jedoch auf das kahle, abgedeckte Dachgerüst. Da fragten ihn die Bewohner

Atibajur	Wasserhose	Lăŭliăr	Regenbogen
Tjur	Nebel	Pugilitălk	kleiner Windstrudel

was er wollte. Er sagte es ihnen. Er wolle die Winde sehen. Dann gingen sie hier fischen. Als sie heimkamen, wollte Pugilitălk das Segel ins Haus bringen. Das ging nicht, denn Sŏńŏr schob das Segel immer wieder zurück. Schließlich verlor Pugilitălk die Geduld. Er rief seine Brüder herbei. Sie versuchten nun zu vieren das Segel in's Haus zu bringen. Vergebens. Da glaubten sie, daß Olufăt ihnen einen Streich spielte. Schließlich brachten sie das Kanu mitsamt den Fischen vor das Haus. Da bemerkten sie den Sŏńŏr. »Na, ihr habt wohl tüchtig gefischt? Und habt Glück gehabt?« — »Wer bist du denn?« — »Ich bin Sŏńŏr.« — »Dann komme herunter vom Dachgerüst, wir wollen kochen und essen.« Nach dem Essen schlug Sŏńŏr vor: »Wir wollen spielen.« Sie fingen an zu ringen.

---

[1] Vgl. Mogomog wo statt Mŏrŏp ♂ eine Frau Lŏrŏp ♀ die gleiche Rolle spielt.
Lewis machte auf Polyn. Society 04/05 aufmerksam, wo die Erschaffung von Hău-a-iki erzählt wird. In der Lŏrŏp-Sage: Maŭ kĕh bzw. Maŭe tik. — Fakarafa = Tahiti.

Sŏńŏr besiegte den Pugilitšlk und darauf seine drei Brüder. Nur beim Lafuliär gelang es ihm nicht ganz. Sŏńŏr sagte da zu ihm: »Du sollst fortan ein Zeichen am Himmel sein für Sturm, reichen Fischfang und Tod.« — Darauf holte Sŏńŏr sich einen kräftigen Knüppel, schob ihn in das Loch der Winde und besiegte so auch diese.

Er heißt auch Péiroilap[1]; daß ist ein Ehrentitel und bedeutete soviel als die segnende schützende Hand.

Füs lebte vor Ankunft der Weißen. Sein Vater zeigte den Eingeborenen den Weg nach Guam, um dort Eisen und Tabak zu holen. Füs steht als Sonnenstrahl vorn im Boot und weist dem Boote den Weg. Um ihn gut zu stimmen wird ihm von jedermann nach Belieben geopfert. Diese Opfergaben werden stets dem Füs inspiriert; ist er befriedigt, so bringt er reiche Fischzüge.

6) Gesang von *alusúlŭl* »Geist der See« (s. S. 42).

Flehen um Erlassen der Strafe bei Bruch von Fischertabŭ, wobei mit *edr*-Zweigen geschlagen wird. Der Gesang soll sehr alt sein, schon bei der Entstehung der Insel entstanden. Er ist von einem Oleái-Mann, dem Baura von Falális berichtet, den ich auf Lamotrek antraf[2].

1. *ilémetiu, i lémeta*	Ich winke hinab, ich winke hinauf,	
mála gatára lángila	erflehe Hilfe vom Himmel,	*gatardi* aufstören z. B. die See.
malagatára satílŭ	erflehe Hilfe von unten,	
igo saŏă riă	du treibe weg die Strafe,	*ría* von selbst kommend wegen Hoheitsverletzung.
5. *igo saoă mas*	du treibe weg den Tod,	
meteă mélĕba	treibe weg....!	dabei Schlag mit *kiop* (Crinum) Blatt.
rigeri kŏŏiog	Renne fort in Fäden,	*idio* in Fäden, in Haufen.

[1] = Arm breit, groß; s. oben *wopŏi*.

[2] Es handelt sich um eine angebliche 1904 ereignete Geschichte: der Geist *alus*, der *alus ŭrŭ*, verliebte sich in ein schönes Mädchen von Falális, heiratete sie, blieb aber nur während der Nächte bei seiner Frau, und verschwand jeden Morgen mit Hahnenschrei. Dafür legte er aber vormittags die herrlichsten Fische neben dem Hause der Frau nieder. Dies dauerte ungefähr einen Mond lang. Als aber Wachen ausgestellt wurden, um den Bringer der Fische zu beobachten und zu fangen, flogen auf diese Steine von unbekannter Hand. Die Essenslieferungen hörten aber auf als die Schöne eines Tages ihrem Manne untreu wurde; auch brannte das Haus eines Mittags ab, ohne daß ein Mensch in der Nähe war. Die brennenden Hölzer flogen nach allen Seiten, das Wasserloch dabei versiegte, als man löschen wollte. Der Jüngling, der mit ihr sich einließ, starb nach 3 Tagen. Sie verzog darauf nach Saipan, wo sie 1910 noch lebte.

melemal e ɓiog	reinige in Fäden,	
tamól i tát	Herr der See!	*tát* das Meer s. o.
galang a perém	hebe dein Bein	
boẽ tafal	und kehre heim,	
boẽ ti vól	wolle gehen hinauf,	
boẽ rikefál	wolle rennen hinab,	
boẽ kamátaiól	wolle dein Gesicht abwenden,	*kamát* ausblicken, das Gesicht zurückwenden, *aiól* sanft.
kamátaitát	wende dein Gesicht zum Meer,	
kamát ale palegia	blicke zurück zur Bohrmuschel,	*palegi* Lithodomus
ẽ djúa	geh' fort,	*dju, djrú* gehen.
iléli matafára	schwimm weg mit dem Übel innen,	*il* schwimmen, *fára* das Innere; bezieht sich auf den ersten Biß des *alus* im Wasser; *fai* der Stein, der bezaubert in der Hand gehalten und besprochen wird: er soll fortnehmen.
fai le matafára	den Stein fort mit dem Übel innen.	
govolésóu	Lege ab	mit dem Boot
govolẽ i vas e tát	und fahre aufs Meer,	*vés* = gehen
váselok lémetau	fahre auf den Ozean.	
valevole tábotap	Segne das Heilige,	*valevol* wohl gleich *bolebol* (S. 151) „bedecken" mit Segen.
go tálɓia	Du geh' irgend wohin,	*tal* gehen.
go tal ẽ temaka	Du geh großer (Täuscher),	oder Spitzbube, unausgesprochen.
iẽ tárage perémo tát	ich habe gehoben die Füße, Tat,	Tat = *alusitát.*
mol lugu togorol	und warf ihn hinter meinen Rücken.	den Stein.
go volél vas	Du schnell gehe,	
i vaséllau lémetau	fahre nach dem Ozean.	Z. 22.
ifa alús ifai aromat	Wo ist der Geist, wo der Mann,	

i lúlur néi tatav	ich nehme weg und treibe weg,	den schlechten Einfluß, *lul'lur* zusammenschrumpfen.
tarai evó lêt	treibe es über die See;	
lap esió mê	einen roten senkrechten (Strich)	*lap* ockerrot[1]; gegen Schnupfen und Verwünschung wird ein senkrechter Strich über Stirn und Nase gemacht.
siusiu	(mache ich mir) einen stehenden,	*siu* stehen, *siu siu* stetig stehend; *kasíu* stelle auf.
êlir a lê ê sigatíei	(gegen) alle die mich hassen,	*alir* alle, *sigatíei* Haß gegen mich.
35. *lê farualis síei*	die Zauber machen gegen mich	
mê vôli fáliuei Falalis	auf dem Platz Falàlis.	auf Oleái.
bágou êli boêtiu	Hai der Tiefe,	
sêrau êli boêdji	Sarau der Nähe,	Fisch s. Index.
39. *karótê metáralog*	verschlinge sie völlig	sie, die Feinde.

Hier hält der Sprecher Kokosblätterbündel in den Händen und rudert damit, *meseli pálü*.

Einen dem eben gebrachten Oleáigesang ähnlichen bringe ich nur im Lamotrektext ohne Übersetzung in folgendem, wobei die Zeilenangaben, auf dem vorhergehenden Gesang hinweisen. Er wurde gesprochen gegen einen Tabubruch der Frau Levólimar gegen den *alusitet*.

Auch hierbei wurden Crinumblätter gebraucht, mit denen die Schultern des Kranken zweimal geschlagen wurden, dann einmal beide Blätterbüschel oben zusammen, dann schließlich beide zusammen auf den Boden gelegt.

rikiriki ôlo	s. Z. 7
mellimelli ôlo	Z. 8
galanga bedjêm tamoltât rálei êgo	s. Z. 10, 9
5. *gobêrikefál, gobêitifal*	s. Z. 13
sêpisêpi llelallcla	
gu seperêl e alusitél	
eâ madjéng mastl	
másê fétal	

[1] *lap* auch der Behälter, eine Seepocke *rágeg* s. S. 97.

ngídjol tale ðlau
alusilíbol alusilíbol — *bol* = Tarofeld
mei vol mēl — *mēl* Mann
mēledjul malefítegol — *djul* Schienbein, *fítegol* Wade
melli feràl

góbole mogut tát
góbole ivas — Z. 19
gobolesóu tát — Z. 20
ngóbole mógut — s. S. 51, 1, Z. 15
ngóbole ias
ngóbole sóusou — Z. 20
iaseláu — Z. 38
golagolē metavā — Z. 39

7) Gesang (E. Krämer).

ganat varūch — Es geht das Boot,
rēnnū göppi sjiē giuia — der Tag, da geht das Boot ins Wasser,
sjāumauennivalūjasch — und wenn es fortgeht,
gij gāune marau ulach — bin ich traurig hinter dem Boot;
ējēuvalāch mē latipasch — mein Herz ist umgedreht!
majange ma atirigurujaf — Majange und Atirigurujaf — Mädchen Namen; *majange* junger Farntrieb, *at*.... Blüte vom *eare*-Baum;
ji le uai i gaitirang — nicht mehr wollen sie auflegen *reng* — Gelbwurzfarbe.
ma gulejoi nalūjasch — oder irgendeine Blume tragen,
lē giti laggo pilimoare — kein *moere* mehr machen,
boatai mellē aboiila — wenn sie nicht mehr sehen
ngaji buēri garaijasch — und hören den Liebsten
tiu ēuni jē ji gilimallū — zwischen den hübschen Vögeln — d. h. Knaben.
allē allē laggo mētalūbas — sie möchten....,
buogara melē ji taimaj — wenn sie keine Arbeit hätten,
ngaji bāafitī bēroijīf — gehen in den Schaum der See,

syi rik mē ūēl būrailo	dem Branden der See,	
ta buē ē aūt pūngū toch	sie möchten mit dem Strom hinausschwimmen,	*ēut* Strömung hart, sonst *fongosch*, Fritz *fangosch*.
yi būnge boajibui ē re falago	ihrem Liebsten das Gesicht abzuwischen,	
tamuruno ē tai mosch	das Salz fällt auf ihr Gesicht,	
20. *mā sjērēlō li uēijei*	und die Kälte des Bootes;	
ē tēganaue ē fatujonge	sie haben Mitleid mit	
mē pā jegili gē faiyage	ihren Geliebten, daß sie so mitgenommen werden.	

8) Weiterer Sang (unübersetzt).
Eigener Versuch.

pūngepūnge mē nūgūg	Es donnert die See, (s. S. 114, Z. 10)	*ilukun* draußen Truk
pūngepūnge mē lalo	Es donnert die See unten,	
arajojo manēji, tru	.....	

9) Gesang (unübersetzt)

sinilipē uruwēja[	*mariēgatjoligu*
va jē patjūgū majei	*fai ē sati goalaoch*
ira melle ū mellat	*anni fērra mou gamoar*
ga jū pōepōe i tēua	*ite nou gatjei garar*
na m merri ē ri gamoa	*uollejēja drolagar*
siē vagate fērigarat	*ēta muerre ja oupagā*
uari lōt a gū fellat	*nga tjō gemen ngijilak.*

5. Musik.

Nichts besonderes ermittelt.
He. 2170 = 594311 eine Flöte *a tigetig* aus Yap-Bambus *sit.*

6. Plastik, Ornamente.

An Plastischen Holzarbeiten seien nur die Vögel genannt, von denen einer an der Traufe des Boothauses (Farbtafel 2) hängt. Die Truhe mit den Figuren (Abb. 31) ist wie erwähnt, eine fremde Arbeit.

Eine besondere Kunstübung liegt nicht vor. Lamotrek schmückt aber seine Boothäuser, seine Wohnhäuser, seine Matten und Webstühle am schönsten. Auch die Tatauierung und die Bambusbüchsen zeigen eine Menge Muster auf, deren wichtigste hierunter zusammengestellt seien.

Die Liste folgender Ornamente stammt meist aus der Tatauierung; aber auch aus dem Kerbschnitt sind einige hinzugefügt. Die Aufzeichnungen der Bezeichnungen stammen von verschiedenen Aufnehmern, woher sich die Verschiedenheit erklärt Abb. 79:

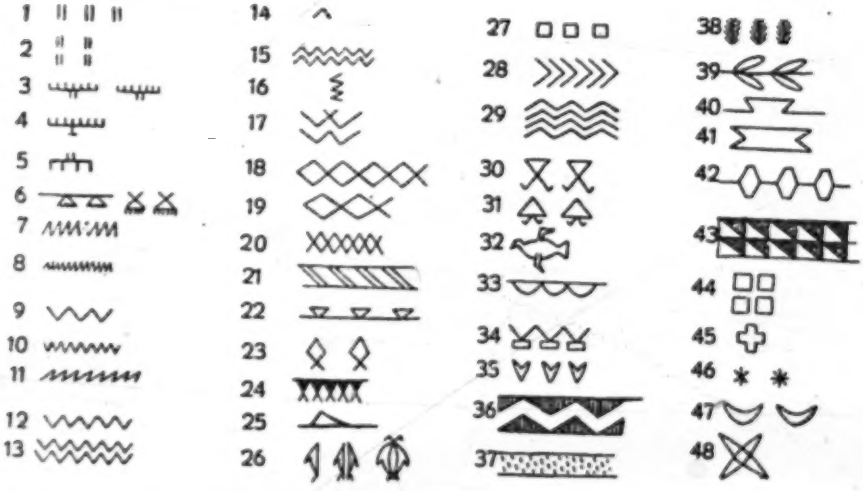


Abb. 79. Ornamente.

1. *idrfüs* von *idj* Messer, *füs* Stern (?), wohl gleich Nr. 37 *idjefidj* die Hacke Abb. 69; gleich der Fingertatauierung Truk S. 113, a.
2. *ngi kavisevis* Zahn *ngi* von *füs* Stern = Strahlen; s. Nr. 40, Abb. 10c.
3. *ngi le gälj (gedj)* Zahn der Ratte; vgl. Truk 113, n. s. Abb. 10d links.
4. *kuludjelle* unerkärt; Muster ähnlich Nr. 3, Abb. 11a rechts.
5. *kuriegars* unerklärt, ähnlich Nr. 3.
6. *ngirigers* Zahn der Ratte gedj wie Nr. 3.
7. *ngi shi meie* Zahn von ...
8. *ngi li tag* Zahn des Hornhecht.
9. *ngi le paggo* Haizähne s. Nr. 43, s. Abb. 9a und b oben, und 10d rechts.
10. *irēriēüde* unerklärt, wie Nr. 8.
11. *noriaidjinnē* oder *radjib* wie 10, sägenförmig.
12. *ngi sum* Tridacnazähne (Truk *sim*).
13. *ngoüissum* offenbar die alternirenden Tridacna *(sum)* Zähne beider Seiten.
14. *gaulimadj* ein Winkel, wie die Legangel Palau III S. 77 (s. o. S. 50) Bd 6 I S. 222 *ōr*; s. Abb. 9a.
15. *oródrib* Zikzaklinien.
16. *parük* ebensolche, senkrecht stehend.
17. *lebalörres* Zikzakfigur, vogelähnlich.
18. *bagergari (fagegari)* oder *kogotjieb* (s. 19) Rautenreihe, 2 Zikzak sich treffend, Abb. 11a links (= Truk S. 149r').
19. wie 18. Zwei Rauten, durch Stab getrennt.
20. *agapörripuragäre* stehende Rauten gereiht, zwischen zwei Linien. Truk 113, d rechts. Weiß auf schwarzem Grunde, Abb. 11b unten.
21. *ajüjü rüferre* (djüdjü Raa mit der *mop*-Verschnürung) zwischen zwei Linien schiefe Verbindungsstriche, Abb. 11b.
22. *radjelle djinne* auf einer Linie stehende Dreiecke, Spitze nach unten (wie am Fächer *pērrät* He. 2118) s. Nr. 43, s. Abb. 11b links.
23. *pup* einzelne Raute mit Gabelverlängerung (s. Truk S. 150x). Fisch Balistes, Abb. 10c.
24. *ig a djep* »Fisch Caranx« gereihte Schwänze. Abb. 12 u. 13 rechts.
25. *ig* »Fisch«, liegendes Dreieck.
26. *küe, ku* »Delphine«, einfach und doppelt. Abb. 10b u. c, und 11 (Truk S. 113i).
27. *metál ig* »Fischauge« Vierecke in Reihe (vgl. Truk S. 149q).
28. *djünipar* »Knochen des *par*«, stehende Winkel zwischen 2 Linien. (Truk S. 148i).
29. *djünipari* »Knochen des *par*«, Zikzaklinien übereinander, Spitzen durch Stäbe verbunden. Abb. 11a unten.
30. *kurugago* Dreieck mit Schürhakengabel. Schwanz der *gurugak* = Seeschwalbe (Anous). S. 146. Abb. 11a.

31. *nadjigo* ein Vogel, Muster ähnlich. Abb. 10a u. b und 57.
32. *kor'ror* der Reiher. Vgl. die Fregatvögel, Abb. 57.
33. *valitog* Bögen unter einer Linie, eine Muschel. He 4654.
34. *epēp* Dreieck nach unten hängend, an der Spitze ein Viereck. Lepas. Abb. 9b.
35. *rasüm* Pfeilspitzen nach unten zielend; nach *süm* Tridacna oder Gott Rasim Bd. 6 I S. 115 s. Abb. 9b unten.
36. *ngitschim, ngidjim* Zahn von *süm*? s. Nr. 12 Zickzackband im Schwarzen. Abb. 11a.
37. *idjefidj* Hacke Nr. 1. Wohl die Stiche der Spitze; sonst Fliegenkot. TrukS. 149t; s. Abb. 11b.
38. *bābā* Baum.
39. *velōris* Blätter.
40. *ligavidjevidj* s. 2.
41. *peja levulagale* } Zackenornamente. Abb. 57.
42. *pätti* Sechsecke aufgereiht, vielleicht die Stege *pake* der Gürtel. Abb. 9a unten.
43. *redjidjinnē* (No. 22) rechtwinklige Dreiecke aufgereiht, s. Nr. 18; auch als Haizähne (Nr. 9) gedeutet. Abb. 11a (*radjib*).
44. *drau nüggenüggemus* das Kreuz auf den Oberarm.
45. *langetor* das Kreuz. Abb. 11b und 57.
46. *eál* Sonne. Abb. 12 u. 57.
47. *maram* Mond. Abb. 57.
48. *jüs* Stern. Abb. 57.

V. Kulturvergleich

(s. Feis).

VI. Indices.

178

1. Fauna (s. Wörterverz. Nr. 110ff.)

a) Verschiedene Tiere.

baura (sĕr)	Schabmuschel (Perlmutter?) S. 67.	*vul*	Conus (S. 35)
belig (perri)	S. 42	*wai*	Meleagrina S. 49
djim	Tridacna S. 62	*ĕdjăfa*	Seegurke Synapta S. 58
faipar	(Truk *faubar*) S. 35	*răgeog*	Seepocke
kum	Haarausreißmuschel S. 37	*rakum*	Krebs S. 62
leang	Muschel für Gürtel, Beil S. 37	Seevögel	*garegar, redj, votap, rólap* S. 145[2]
méal	Cassis S. 41, 62	Anous	*gurugak* S. 146, 176[30]
palegi	Bohrmuschel (Lithodomus?) S. 171 Z. 16	Charadrius	*kuling* (s. Feis u. Bd. 6 I S. 280) S. 157, *kulung* S. 148
sĕr	Perlschale	Fregattvogel	*gataf*, Schwanz *galiel*
t ulinga wat	Terebra S. 62	Huhn	*mĕlek, malĕk*[1]
tigére	Muschel am Korb (Bd. 6 I S. 265.)	Hund	*galágo*
sĕr	S. 43, s. *baura*	Ratte	*gĕdj(i)* heilig S. 112 Z. 11, S. 176
sum s. *djim*	Tridacna (s. Ornamente S. 176)	Falle	*ulegĕdj*
		Spinnweb	*eol*

b) Fische (siehe Fritz S. 61). (Fischerei S. 47).

Abkürzungen:

Kü = Kühne, Maschinist, der wie E. K. die Fische farbig zeichnete.

R. = Rückenflosse B. = Brustflosse

A. = Afterflosse St. = Strahlen

as = *ias* S. 55, 58.

bárabar Brandungsfisch mit kleinen Flecken (Acanthurus?).

boggo, pāgo Hai S. 53, 62, 176.

bollĕ roter Serranus.

[1] Gefangen mit Schlinge *lomali berĕl le malĕk* »Hühnerfuß«.

bulugál Fisch (He. 2228).
daidjau größere Fische vor dem Riff (S. 49).
dat (Kü. 9) Mesoprion ähnlich, gelblich mit 4 blauen Längsstreifen; Pal. *dódes.*
djagulat (Kü. Oleai *zaridat)* Upeneus (Truk *feidissi).*
djep(b), größer; *kadjugamau,* groß; *saris,* der junge Caranx, Springer, Kü. 23 *tschibs.* s. Geburt (Pal. *gorovidel),* silbern in Goldschiller, 2 Leisten am Schwanz, gefangen mit *pā li djeb* S. 176 Nr. 24.
ealugulúng Scarus ähnlich, rote Iris. rötliche Flossen. Pal. *máked.* Kü. 8.
eil, eail, ōil Bonitoart S. 59, oft 2—3 m lang, nahe am Riff.
era Fisch
etam s. *uorik.*
fai, fei Rochen, Stachel *ohét.*
gali Epinephelus (Pal. *mirogorog)* Fang mit Hacken (S. 49).
galielüe (Kü. 21) schwärzlicher Epinephelus mit blauen Tupfen, R. mit roten Stachelspitzen, Truk *tséui.*
garangāp Thynnus Bonito s. Truk und S. 50, 55, 59 s. *ias,* auch *kar.....*
gasingal (Kü. 14), schwarzer Acanthurus, am Leib und Schwanzende gelbrot, über B. roter Fleck. (Pal. *masag).*
gedj Fisch? *(gadj* Seegeruch) (S. 145) s. Ratte.
gidjegidj kleine Fische.
goruriap S. 48.
güe, gui Delphin, S. 114 s. *ku.*
gudj (Pal. *dēsagel)* Holzzentrum, ganz rot.
gúdj kleiner Goldfisch mit Bauchflosse und großen Stachel, S. 104 Z. 32, s. *gedj.*
gúdjegudj Walfisch, *gusovi* Wasser abblasen s. *ras.*
ias Bonito S. 57, auch nur *as,* s. *garangap.*
ig e valeval Fisch mit Stacheln, S. 66.
igong nung Fisch.
kaboi Makrele.
ku Delfin S. 176 Nr. 26 s. *güe.*
lau s. Akr. Planetwerk Bd. V S 91.
lāulieól »Sohn des Goldes« der goldgelbe Upeneus Seebarbe.
ledjori fariap Coris (Kü. 26) bräunlich mit blauen Tupfen, R. u. B. oben und unten mit rotem Saum, Br. mit grünem Streifen, Kopf mit blauen, Schwanz gelb. Pal *dudalem.*
legáregal (Kü. 28) Chaetodon setifer, Pal. *klbóub.*
leröleſáliap = »Blatt der Eugenia« — Pal; *galébet, pngot,* Julisarten (Anampses).
ligaresēpom länglicher Fisch Orn.
livadjola Zanclus cornutus.
lot (Kü.) = Pal. *deloko.* s. S. 124[3].

madjior, Truk *poré*, Kü. 16 roter Epinephelus.
mámodjek Makrelenart, Ralik *molimolli*, in großen Mengen gefangen, S. 59 s. *sou*.
mangar Flederfisch S. 49.
malebos Julis Art, gelbgrünlich, rote Schuppenspitzen, R. 3 rote Str., B. 2 rote Str. (Kü. 10) s. *tangā*.
márafas kleiner Fisch s. Truk *maravat*. Acanthurus S. 147.
máravat s. Oleai, Bd. 61 S. 162; Pal. *turang al bang*.
matadjá Beryx S. 56.
modj Acanthurus (Pal *geremúěg*) S. 104 Z. 31.
modjog schwarzer Hai mit weißen Flecken an den Flossen, nimmt nur große Köder (S. 49).
moss (Kü. 25) Lutianus ähnlich, oben bläulich, unten rötlich, Kopf gelblich, Iris rot, Schwanz rot. B. blaue Streifen.
mot (Kü. 17) Truk *fĕ* Acanthurus.
nágei Acanthurus dunkel mit 1 gelben Rücken und Bauchstreifen.
óolá Variola (Truk *kakdjab*) rötlich mit roten Tupfen, R. und A. mit blauen Tupfen und gelbem Endstreifen wie Schwanz.
pāgo, boggo Hai.
pulogálei = Pal. *garángel* Naseus s. Oleai.
pup Balistes (Kü. 12), s. Orn. S. 176 Nr. 23.
ras Wal, S. 53, 56.
rell Brassen, an Treibstämmen S. 61.
sare.j, saris s. *djep* Orn. S. 176 Nr. 24.
sauru merép Kü. 27, Truk *oden*, wie *ledjori fariap*, nur Streifen am Kopf rot, ebenso Brust rot getupft, dagegen Leib blau, R. u. Schwanz gelb getupft.
seráu auf Truk *sărau*, wie S. 321 der Sohn des Olifat heißt, Sphyraena (Pal. *gai*), mit Zähnen, s. Bd 61 S. 245
serra Holocentrum, Speisefisch, Fleisch wie Spickaal. (Kü. 22 *sará*) silberrot, Rücken- und Brustflosse purpurrot, roter Fleck unter dem Auge, Bauch und Schwanz gelb; R. 11 St., B. 1 St., Afterflosse 3 St. (Ralik *djéra*).
skipüaχ S. 48.
sŏ der große Sandmullus *uorik*. (Ham *sou* S. 48).
sŏ etam Mullus (Pal. *deg*) mit *pāluk* in der Nacht gefangen.
sógolalo Upeneus Art (Kü.) gelblich mit roter Iris und rot am Kopf. (Oleai *djongong*).
sonmalot S. 48.
tag armlanger Hornhecht (Truk S. 439 *tak*). Zahn S. 176.
tagu Bonitoart (s. Ges. S. 55) (s. Truk S. 439 *toku*).
tagulúadj s. Truk *aunger* (Palau *tagurúadj*).

tangā langal, Pal. *pngot*, bunter Julis s. *malebos*.
til = Pal. *galebiop*, den Eingeborenen heilig, Sardinen ähnlich, s. S. 54, 59, 60.
uōrik Sand-Mullus, s. *sō*, S. 49, 55, 62.
úriak kleine Sandbarben.
vail (Kü. 18), Truk *poró*, grünlicher Scarus mit roten Schuppenenden, R unten rötlich, ebenso rot die Iris und Schnauze; am Schwanz rote und blaue Streifen.
ravajo Wal, s. *ras*.

Daß Schildkröten auf Olimarau (s. S. 17) gefangen werden, wurde schon erwähnt. Schmuck, Haken, Spatel, Löffel S. 35, 42, 49.

Kotzebue III S. 99 erwähnt auch Fayo, West-Faju zu diesem Zweck besucht (s. S. 164).

2. Flora (s. Wörter Nr. 179 ff.)

a) Fruchtbäume usw.

awuār Gurkenbaum S. 31
arāb, garab Bambus S. 43
aiss Parinarum (Nüsse angetrieben als Duft) (Palau *eis*)
aromē Pipturus incanus
b :gor Gras S. 49, 138
djatval Ipomoea Arznei
djel s. S. 138.
djidj Farn
djig Cassytha S. 139
faliap Eugenie — oleai ticus.
ear Baum (Feis Premna) Arznei s. S. 138, 139.
gadjiau, gadjoálei Ixora S. 24
gadjoálei eine Bohne (Feis *gadjalielis)*
gavudj Crataeva S. 43
giliau s. Truk S. 418, s. S. 25 u. 139
gilifei (E. K. *gilifer*) Hibiscus Bd. 6 I S. 61
giliou Banyane
govol (gouall) Früchte in Not gegessen (S. 26) *(gao?)*
gouall Feigen (Haus 23) S. 43
guliva Fasern (= *siliva)*
jiji Farn, s. Bd. 6 I S. 112, 134 s. *ül...*
kelau S. 138.
kelau junge Wurzel als Arznei S. 138
kiop Crinum
legat s. S. 113
lot Scaevola
ngo s. S. 138.
majange junger Farntrieb S. 173 · Z. 6
pom Seegras
rākēs Calophyllum
sol Barringtonie
sit Bambus (Yap) S. 65
síliva Hibiscus *gilifer* S. 25, 75
ua li song Mangrove
ongorik Blätter
mog Baum
uarong lavendelähnlich, S. 117, 139, *uórong*
ülelüg Farn
veloris Ornament S. 177 Nr. 39

b) Früchte: (S. 43 u. 44)

burak	großer Taro	*mei, mai*	Brotfrucht S. 45
fillĕ	großer Taro S. 43	*reng*	Curcuma S. 117
gamoli	Süßkartoffel	*uídj*	Banane S. 47
fadj	Pandanus (Cantova S. 314 Balibago)	*uót*	Edel-Taro *ut* S. 43, 138
lu	Cocos S. 44	*ûóû*	Zuckerrohr

c) Hölzer:

arur	(für Maschenstab)	*kil*	für Stampfer S. 42
djalo	Oleai Ralu?	*kaingi*	(s. Feis *gaingi*) S. 42
eĕri	für Kokosschaber	*nga, ngō*	wohl Cordia R.-R. *kongi, kēno.*
falīeb	Ficus sp.		
gier	Rotholz Californ. S. 104 Z. 18	*song(o)*	Holz für Tanzstäbe
		ud	Fragraea für Schüsseln

Oleáí-Gruppe.

(Karte 4)

Position: mitten etwa 7° 21′ N.-Br., 143° 55′ O.-L. genau: Nordspitze von Raur 7° 21′ 39″ N.-Br., 143° 57′ 30″ O.-L.

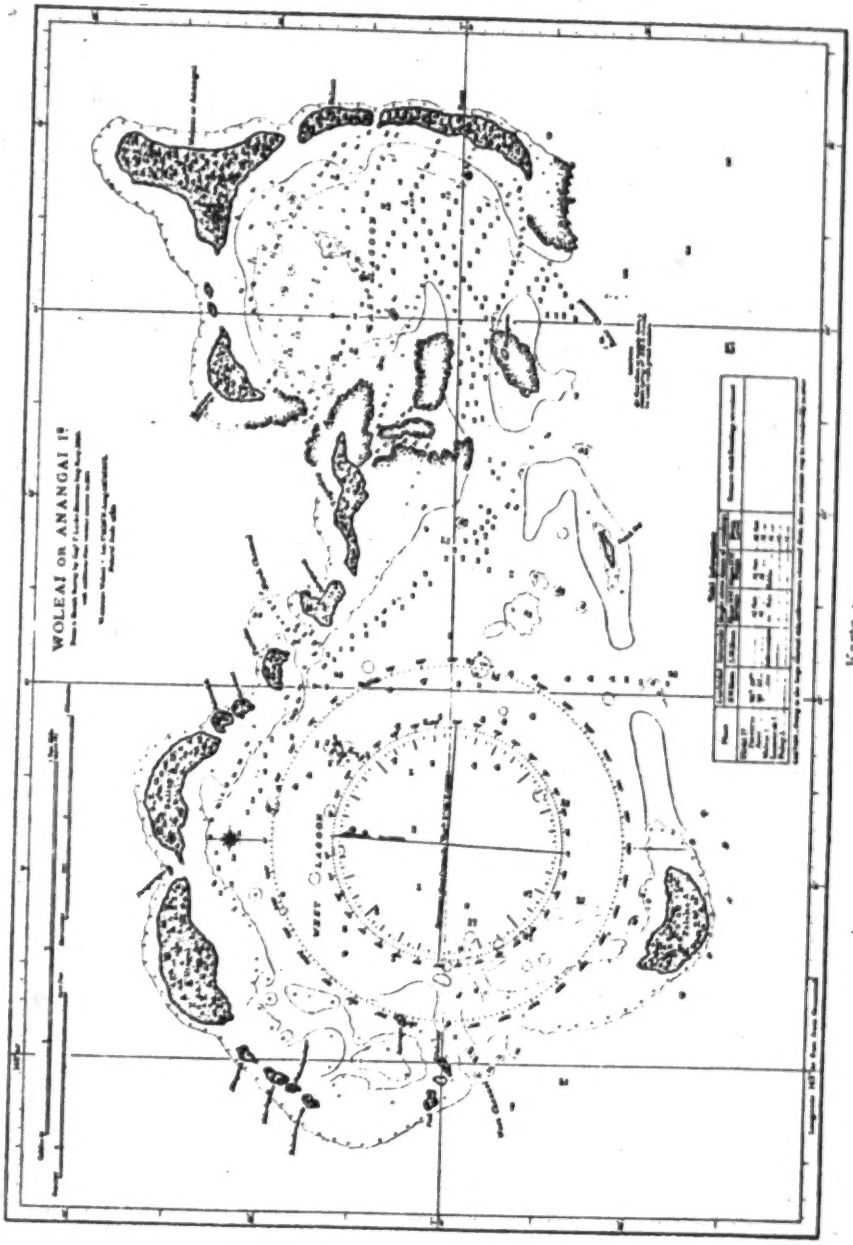
I. Entdeckung und Erschließung, Allgemeines.

1. Segelhandbücher.

S.-H. S. 36: Oleáí-Inseln (Oleei, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) liegen etwa 130 Sm westlich von den Elato-Inseln. Die Gruppe besteht aus zwei Atollen, die eine Westlagune und eine Ostlagune umgeben; erstere ist ausgedehnter, aber die größeren Inseln liegen um die Ostlagune. Die Hauptinsel Flalap, an der Nordseite der Ostlagune, verbindet sich durch eine Sanddüne allmählich mit der westwärts folgenden Insel Marijong (Mariom), außerdem aber auch mit dem südöstlich gelegenen Paliau, und dieses wieder mit dem südwärts sich anschließenden Raur. Die Gruppe wird von 19 teils größeren teils kleineren Inseln gebildet, von denen nur die 8 größten bewohnt, alle aber üppig mit Kokospalmen und hochragenden Brotfruchtbäumen bestanden sind. Die Namen der bewohnten Inseln sind: Raur, Flalap (Oleái), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal und Falalis. Die Inseln liegen in der Form von zwei Halbkreisen, die bei der Insel Tagaulap zusammenstoßen, derart angeordnet, daß eine arabische »3« durch sie gebildet wird. Die Öffnung dieser 3 ist nach Süden. Diese große Rifflücke setzt die Lagune frei dem Südwestmonsun[1] aus, so daß, wenn er weht, schwere See im Hafen steht. Dieser ist zudem von vielen Riffbänken durchsetzt. Eine besonders gefährliche Bank liegt nordöstlich von der Insel Motegosu (Motagu) und 0,7 Sm westlich von Paliau. Dort steht bei stürmischem Winde, wie er zur Zeit des Nordostmonsuns oft herrscht, sehr hohe, ineinanderlaufende, von allen Richtungen kommende See mit gewaltigen Brechern.

Eingeborene. Die Wohnstätten der Eingeborenen liegen an den der Innenlagune zugekehrten Seiten der Inseln. Sie ziehen sich längs des ganzen Sandstreifens hin, ohne daß merkbare Grenzen zwischen einzelnen Ortschaften beständen. Solche bestehen indes, jede Insel hat zwei bis drei unter verschiedenen Häuptlingen stehende kleine Dörfer. Das Oberhaupt ist der Häuptling in Gatschbar auf Jap. Die Oleáíleute unternehmen Handelsfahrten, die sie bis nach Truk führen, wo sie »Reng«, das Wurzelpulver der Gelbwurz, das Oleáígold, holen im

[1] s. das über den Monsun bei Lamotrek S. 1 Anm. 1 gesagte.



Karte 4.

Eintausch gegen gewebte Matten, Schmucksachen und Kanus. Die Oleáíleute gehören nach Körperbau, Kleidung, Sprache und Sitten zu den Central-Karoliniern und stehen mit den Einwohnern von Truk, Ululssi, Lámutrik, Sátuwal, Sorol und andern Inseln in engem Verwandtschaftsverhältnis. Die Einwohnerzahl betrug 1904: 661. Als Hauptgrund für die Abnahme der Volkszahl wird Dysenterie infolge des Genusses von saurem Toddy, ferner Elefantiasis und Paralyse angegeben.[1] Da der schwere Taifun vom 28. März 1907 die östlichen Inseln der Gruppe verwüstet und 200 Menschen das Leben gekostet hat, wird die Einwohnerzahl wohl auf wenig über 450 gesunken sein.

Boote: Hervorragendes leisten die Oleáíleute im Bau von Segelkanus, von denen es zwei Arten gibt: kleine Kanus, die dem Verkehr in der Lagune dienen und die großen Ozeankanus, mit denen sie die Hochseefischerei betreiben und ihre weiten Fahrten bis nach Truk unternehmen.

Fischfang bildet die Hauptbeschäftigung der Männer neben dem Haus- und Kanubau; er wird innerhalb der Lagune wie auf hoher See ausgeübt und zwar mit Speeren, Angeln, Reusen und Netzen auf Fischbänken.

Frischwasser: Gutes Frischwasser ist auf der unbewohnten Insel Paliau zu haben.

Durchfahrten der Oleáí-Gruppe sind der Nord-Kanal zwischen Jalangigereil und Fareiles, der West-Kanal und der Raur-Kanal östlich von Motegosu; letzterer ist etwa ½ Sm breit und hat in der Mitte 16 bis 46 m Wassertiefe. Durchfahrt für Kanus und Boote benutzbar, liegt zwischen Tagaulap und Marijong. Neben ihr, nach Tagaulap zu, findet man auch bei ruhigem Wetter hohe Brecher. Ziemlich genau an den Scheitelpunkten der Halbkreise ist beim Nordostmonsun die Brandung am stärksten.

Verschwundene Inseln. Die Inseln Pial, Komol und Falulap sind nach Bericht S. M. S. Cormoran vom März 1912 weggespült.

Ankerplatz. Westlich von Raur können große Schiffe in 24 bis 36 m Wassertiefe ankern; sie liegen dort geschützt, man achte aber auf die in der D. Adm.-Krt. 93 (Tit. XI. 403) angegebenen Untiefen innerhalb der Ost-Lagune.

Flalap (Wolea, Ulie), die nördlichste und größte der Oleáí-Inseln, hat dreieckige Gestalt und ist etwa 1 Sm lang. Das Küstenriff der Südseite steigt steil an, es hat gute Landungsstellen. Flalap ist gut mit Bäumen bestanden; Fußwege führen nach verschiedenen Richtungen über die Insel.

Tagaulap. Vor etwa 15—20 Jahren zur Zeit des Südwestmonsuns hat eine Sturmflut die ganze Südspitze der Insel Tagaulap weggerissen mit allen Häusern, Kokospalmen und Brotfruchtbäumen, doch ohne Verlust an Menschenleben. Heute ist die Spitze völlig versandet, und nur die nackten Gerippe der abgestorbenen Bäume ragen aus dem lockeren Sande heraus.

[1] s. Born's Bericht.

Raur ist während des Taifuns Ende März 1907 durch eine Flutwelle vernichtet worden; nur zwei Personen konnten sich retten. Die frühere Insel ist jetzt ein mit einer Sandbank bedecktes Riff. Der Regierungsschuner »Ponape« lag während des Taifuns 1907 südlich von Flalap vor Anker. Bei nordöstlich bis ostnordöstlichen Winden verlor er dort beide Anker und trieb jedenfalls mit der Flutwelle, die Raur vernichtete, südwestlich frei über die Riffe nach See.

P. J. P. S. 501: „Die Woleai oder Anangai[1] Inseln liegen ungefähr 60 Meilen nordöstlich von den Eauripik-Inseln. Das Atoll, dessen Südseite größtenteils untergetaucht ist, ist in 2 Lagunen geteilt, durch einen Kamm von Riffen südostwärts streichend von der Insel Tagaulap (Br. 7° 22′ N, Br. 143° 53′ O.). Die Westlagune ist weit und im allgemeinen tief, aber mit zerstreuten Untiefen; da der Eingang zu ihr flach ist, können größere Schiffe nicht hineingelangen. Beide Lagunen sind offen nach Süden hin, und während des Südwestmonsun setzt eine Dünung herein. Ein Sandkai liegt auf dem Riff an der südlichen Atollseite ungefähr 1½ Meilen von Tagaulap.

Alle Inseln sind mit Cokospalmen und andern Bäumen bedeckt. Die Insel Motogosu an der südwestlichen Seite der Ostlagune und beinahe eine Meile westlich der südlichen Spitze von Raur, die südöstlichste Insel der Gruppe, ist niedrig und aus Sand und Kies gebildet.

Zwei weiße Häuser sind an der südwestlichen Seite von Woleai, der nordöstlichsten Insel der Gruppe, aber sie sind nicht deutlich. Zwei hölzerne Landungsbrücken sind in der Mitte der Südseite der Insel Mariaon, ungefähr 4 Kabellängen westlich von Woleai gelegen; die nördliche Pier ist schwach. Es ist auch eine Pier am südlichsten Ende der Insel. 1930 waren 539 Bewohner in der Gruppe.

Einige wenige Hühner sind erhältlich, Fische sind reichlich. Brotfrucht, Taro, Bananen etc. wachsen auf den Inseln.

Eingangskanäle. Der Raur-Kanal, der in das südliche Ende der Ostlagune führt, ist ungefähr 2¼ Kabellängen weit zwischen Riffen, die sich südwestlich vom südlichen Ende von Raur ausdehnen und die die Insel Motogozu umgeben; er hat Tiefen von 10 bis 25 Faden (18,3—45,7 m) auf der guten Fahrbahn, aber die Tiefen mögen bei der Annäherung kleiner sein. Der Westkanal, an der südwestlichen Seite der Westlagune, nahebei südöstlich von der Insel Falulap, hat mitten im Weg einen Stein mit 3½ Faden (6,4 m) Wasser. Der Nordkanal an der nordöstlichen Seite der Westlagune zwischen den Inseln Faraules und Jalangigereil, südöstlich von dieser, ist ungefähr eine Kabellänge breit zwischen den Riffen beiderseits, und hat Tiefen von 3 bis 7 Faden (5,5—12,8 m).

Es ist noch eine Passage zwischen den Riffen, die sich vom östlichen Ende von Tagaulap und dem südlichen Ende von Mariaon ausdehnen, aber sie ist eng und

[1] s. S. 202.

die Gezeitenströme in ihr sind stark, so daß sie nur für kleine Fahrzeuge brauchbar sind (Marion-Einfahrt).

Untiefen: In der Westlagune sind viele, wie man auf der Karte sehen kann. In der Ostlagune ist ein Untiefenkamm mit Tiefen von 1—6 Faden (1,8—11 m), ungefähr 8 Kabellängen südöstlich von Mariaon-Insel gelegen. Ein 2 Faden (3,7 m) tiefer Stein liegt ungefähr $2^3/_4$ Kabellängen südwestlich von dem südwestlichen äußersten Ende des Kammes, und ein anderer von 2 Faden (3,7 m) liegt $3^1/_4$ Kabellängen nördlich des südlichen Endes von Raur.

Ankerplätze. Große Schiffe können in der Ostlagune ankern, in Tiefen von 15 bis 20 Faden (27,4—36,6 m), feiner Sand, mit gutem Schutz ungefähr 4½ Kabellängen westlich von dem nördlichen Teil der Raur-Insel.

Kleine Schiffe können während des SW-Monsun gegenüber der südöstlichen Seite von Mariaon-Insel, und auch gegenüber der nördlichen Seite der Insel Tagaulap (Br. 7° 22′ N, L. 143° 53′ O.) ankern".

Dazu Karte 772.[1]

Diese bringt gegenüber den früheren Karten (s. u. S. 193ff.), der russischen und deutschen, die im wesentlichen übereinstimmen, vor allen Dingen eine bessere Auslotung der Westlagune, namentlich im Nordteil, und dann die bis jetzt fehlende Feststellung und Ausdehnung der Südbarre des Atolls. Die russische Lotungslinie von Tagaulap nach Südsüdwesten hatte schon ostnordöstlich von Falalis, der südlichsten der Inseln, die Barre angezeigt, da die Lagunentiefen von ca. 40 m hier nur noch ca. 10 m waren. Die neue englische Karte Nr. 772 zeigt nun von Falális ausgehend einen nach ONO streichenden Sockel von ca. 2 km Länge, zwischen dessen östlichem submarinen Ende und dem isolierten Sand Cay Riff eine Vertiefung ist, die ich Falális-Canal nenne, und die Tiefen von 5,3—16 Faden (9,5—31m) zeigt.

Neu ist das eben erwähnte Sand Cay-Riff (auf der deutschen Karte ist es nur klein angedeutet), auf dem sich, genau südlich von der Westspitze von Tagaulap und 2½ km ab, eine Sandinsel befindet[2], ebenso wie auf dem ostwärts folgenden isolierten Riff die Insel Motogosóu; zwischen beiden liegt auch eine Einfahrt mit etwa 7 Faden (13 m) Tiefe, die ich Mittelkanal nenne, da durch ihn auch große Schiffe in die West und in die Ostlagune einfahren können, besser gesagt könnten, wenn die Ränder der Einzelriffe alle durch Baken sichtbar gemacht wären. Zur Einfahrt in die Ostlagune diente ja bis jetzt stets der oben genannte Raur-Canal, den auch unser Expeditionsschiff benutzte, da er und die Ostlagune

[1] s. Karte 4 S. 184.

[2] Diese Sandinsel zwischen Falalis und Motogosu ist nach dem Taifun 1907 neu entstanden; im Jahrbuch der Dt. Kolonialzeitung 1908 S. 28 ist die Vermutung ausgesprochen, daß sie durch Vulkanismus entstanden sei; wieviel näherliegend ist die Aufschüttung durch Wassergewalt.

eben trefflich ausgelotet sind. Hier liegt eben die größte und wichtigste Insel der Gruppe Oleai, die ihr den Namen gegeben hat. Die Westlagune ist eben nur 2—3 mal größer als die Ostlagune und ist weniger durch Untiefen eingeengt. Das mittlere Becken ist 20—27 Faden (36,5—49,5 m) tief; Untiefen sind nur randwärts: 2 SO (bei Sand Cayriff) mit 4,1 Faden, (7,5 m), NO 1 mit 5,3 Faden (9,5 m) und einige kleinere, ebenso im NO und SO. Merkwürdig ist, daß von der Zerstörung von Raur (s. S. 196) gar nichts erwähnt ist, wie auch die Karte Raur und Paliau vor 1907 zeigt.

Außenlotungen: im S. von Raur ca. 1 Seemeile ab 216 Faden (389 m), ebenso von Motogosu ca. 2 km südlich 347 Faden (625 m), ca. 400 m vor dem Ausgang des Westkanals 168 Faden (300 m), aber 500 m weiter südlich nur 20 Faden (36 m).

Durch die neue englische Karte ist die wahre Gestalt des Atoll erst bekannt geworden.

189

2. Entdeckungsgeschichte.

Der Name Vóleai erscheint zuerst (s. Palau I S. 178) 1697 in Pater Clains Brief als Valayay, 1706 als Ulier[1], 1710 als Olie, 1721 nach Cantova Ulee, 1804 nach Torres dem ersten Besucher Guliai und Ulea, 1817 Chamisso Ulea, 1828 Lütke Ouleyai, 1908 Kolonialatlas Oleai, Uleai, Woleai, 1909 H. S. E. Atoll Oleai und Insel Voléa.

Die Spanier scheinen die Atolle Lamotrek und Oleai vor 1700 nicht gesichtet zu haben, erst James Wilson auf der Duff 1797, dessen Bericht von Lamotrek oben S. 6 begann, und seine Fortsetzung über Oleai hier hat. Wenn aber Oleai auch erst so spät gesichtet wurde, so erfuhren die Fremden auf Guam doch schon früh von dem Vorhandensein verschiedener Atollgruppen im zentralen Teil. 1722 hat Cantova dort Nachrichten über Ulea u. Lamotrek gesammelt, die in seinen Briefen veröffentlicht sind (s. Kotzebue S. 85).

Über den eigentlichen Entdecker von Oleai, James Wilson, folgt hier die Fortsetzung der Geschichte von Lamotrek S. 9:

»Bei der Entfernung von einer Meile peilten wir die beiden Enden in NW ½ W bis W z. N ½ O, wonach ihre Ausdehnung geschätzt werden können. Die Breite des südlichen Teiles von ihnen ist 7° 16′ und 144° 30′ O. Ungefähr 60 Boote kamen zuerst heraus, und später zählten unsere Leute 150 in Sicht, von denen jedes durchschnittlich sieben Mann enthielt, was 1050 ist; und wenn wir halb so viel, die an Land zurückgelassen wurden, hinzufügen, und die doppelte Zahl für Weiber und Kinder, so steigt die Bevölkerung dieser Gruppe allein auf 3150 Seelen, die, nach der Erscheinung der Inseln, oft von Hunger gequält werden müssen. Hier bekamen wir zum ersten Mal ihre Weiber zu sehen, die in der Zahl von ein Dutzend oder mehr, in 3 Booten herauskamen; in zwei waren sie von Männern begleitet, das dritte war nur von jungen Frauen besetzt. Eine beträchtliche Zeit blieben sie in Luv, während ihre Männer sie mit Aufmerksamkeit zu beobachten schienen; aber als sie bemerkten, daß wir sie nicht mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit betrachteten, erlaubte man ihnen bis auf einige Ellen ans Schiff heranzukommen, das sie, wie auch uns, mit Vergnügen zu mustern schienen. Einige von ihnen hatten ein hübsches Gesicht, hatten weder sehr dicke Lippen noch breite Gesichter, obwohl sie zu beidem hinneigten. Ihr Haar ist schwarz und lang. In der Farbe unterscheiden sie sich von den Männern durch eine kränkliche

[1] Auf Clain's Karte (Palau I S. 17) stehen die Inselnamen: Parivu (Paliau), Raor (Raur), Ulier (Volea), Marioc (Máriong), Tacaylap (Tagúlap), Alingaray (Vótagai) und Farilies (Falalis). Vgl. Lamotrek S. 5).

Art von Weiße, die mit dem natürlichen Oliv gemischt ist. Da wir sie beinahe nackend sahen, so war ihr größter Schmuck und höchster Preis die Schamhaftigkeit und Bescheidenheit ihres Betragens. Die größere Zahl der Männer war auch nackt; andere fügten einen schmuckhaften Gürtel rings um ihren Leib, nahe dem Nabel: diese Gürtel sind ungefähr einen Zoll breit, zusammengesetzt aus Stückchen von schwarzen und weißen Schalen, durchbohrt und aufgezogen in der Art von Perlen. Einige von ihnen trugen einen breiten konischen Hut, in der Gestalt nicht sehr ungleich dem der Chinesen. Diese Inseln schienen in jeder Hinsicht gleich, keine einen größeren Vorteil vor den andern gewährend, ausgenommen wo die Gruppen Vergnügungen von der Nachbarschaft herleiten; und vielleicht bieten ausgedehntere Untiefen und glattes Wasser einen Schutz, wo die Fische Schutz vor den Stürmen haben. Da mögen sie hier größere Hilfsquellen als auf den einsamen Inseln finden. Jedoch nach den Tauschmitteln zu schließen hatten sie den gleichen Besitz; ihre Vorräte waren Kokosseil, wovon wir dreißig Faden für ein 6 Zoll langes Stück eines alten Eisenreifen kaufen konnten; dieses Seil ist gewöhnlich einen Zoll dick und unsern hanfenen Seilen gleich oder überlegen. Da sie überall ihre große Gier nach Eisen bekundeten, würden wir zu obrigem Preis, wenn wir einige Stunden bei jeder Insel gelegen hätten, das Schiff damit beinahe anfüllen können, und wir würden es zweifellos getan haben, wenn wir gewußt hätten, was wir seitdem erfahren haben, daß es häufig einen guten Preis in China erzielen kann. Ihr Fischgerät unterscheidet sich wenig von dem, was wir auf den östlichen Inseln gesehen haben; aber ihre Matten waren auffallend und fein, gewoben und gemacht in der Form einer spanischen Schärpe, mit einer phantastischen Borte an jedem Ende, mit schwarzen Fäden eingearbeitet. Die natürliche Farbe dieser Schärpen ist weiß; aber viele von ihnen sind schön gelb mit Curcuma gefärbt. Es ist unmöglich, diese hübsch gearbeiteten Schärpen und die rohen Anfertiger zugleich zu sehen, ohne sich zu wundern und wissen zu wollen, wie sie zu dieser Kunst gekommen sind. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß sie von den Jesuiten-Missionaren belehrt worden sind, von denen zwei durch die spanische Regierung in Manilla im Jahre 1710 ausgesandt worden sind; aber da das Schiff, das sie dorthin nahm, durch Ströme vertrieben wurde, sind die Jesuiten verschollen[1]; jedoch es wurden andere gesandt, die einige Jahre ihre Anstrengungen fortsetzten, bis sie sich von der allgemeinen Armut der Inseln unterrichtet hatten, und daß sie sicher der spanischen Monarchie von keinem Nutzen sein konnten; so verließen sie sie, und seit jener Zeit (um 1720) sind sie vollständig vernachlässigt worden. Dies macht es so mehr bemerkenswert, daß während einer so langen Zeit diese nützliche Kunst erhalten worden ist; und weil es Lob auf die ursprünglichen Lehrer wirft, so ist es auch unseren Missionaren eine Anfeurung,

[1] s. Palau I S. 32 ff.

alles was in ihrer Macht steht zu versuchen, um die mechanischen Künste einzuführen und es zeigt sich, daß ihre Anstrengung nicht vergebens ist[1].

Schildkröten sind unter den Gegenständen ihres Lebensunterhaltes, da wir eine von ungefähr 20 Pfund kauften für ein Stück Eisenreifen von 2 Fuß Länge.

Sie lenken ihre Boote mit großer Geschicklichkeit, und gehen offenkundig ohne Furcht von Insel zu Insel. Daraus schlossen wir, daß sie nur wenig Kriege haben, wegen dieses freien Verkehrs untereinander, und da sie keine Waffen haben, ausgenommen eine Schleuder. Ihre Sprache unterscheidet sich von allen, die wir bisher gehört hatten; und ausgenommen einige wenige Worte als *lulu* (Eisen), capitaine etc. verstanden wir nur wenig von dem, was sie sprachen.

Ihre Zahlworte sind wie folgend:

Karolinen	Palau	Palau II S. 331
1. *iota*	*tong*	*tang*
2. *rua*	*oru*	*oring*
3. *tolu*	*othey*	*odêi*
4. *tia*	*oang*	*oáng*
5. *lima*	*aim*	*oim*
6. *honu*	*malong*	*malong*
7. *fizu*	*oweth*	*uid*
8. *warrow*	*tei*	*iai*
9. *hivo*	*etew*	*itiu*
10. *segga*	*mackoth*	*magod*

Nach diesen 13 Inseln, die zweifellos Oleai sind, sah Wilson keine der kleinen Inseln mehr und fuhr direkt nach Palau, was Palau I S. 128 erwähnt ist.

Nach der Entdeckung seitens Wilson war — soweit bekannt[2] — Don Luis de Torres, der im Trukband S. 5, 7 und 20 schon erwähnt wurde, der erste, der Oleai besuchte und genauere Nachrichten darüber gab. Kotzebue III S. 93 berichtet, daß 1804 das Schiff »Maria« aus Boston, Kpt. Samuel W. Boll, Supercargo Thomas Bormann, von Guajan aus, auf Entdeckung fuhr, und um Trepang auf den Karolinen-Inseln zu suchen. Don Luis de Torres war an Bord um die Insulaner, die nach Guam verschlagen waren (S. Luito) und die er liebgewonnen hatte, wieder zu sehen, ihnen Gutes zu erzeigen und zu erfahren, warum sie Guajan zu besuchen unterlassen, und sie zur Wiederkehr zu bewegen. Nach dem Tagebuch des Don Luis wurden auf der Fahrt bestimmt: eine Untiefe von 24 Faden in 8° 20′ N. Br. und 149° O. L.[3], die wüste Insel Piguelao, nach Kadu

[1] Diese Annahme ist natürlich irrig.

[2] s. die Liste der Walschiffe usw. in Truk S. 3. Anm. 2.

[3] Nach Karte 97 liegt in 8° 10′ und 148° 43′ die Gray Feather Bank mit 9 m Wasser, in 7° 50′ und 149° 40′ die Hitchfield-Bank mit 20 m Wasser; sonst nichts in der Gegend.

Bigellé, in 8° 6′ und 147° 17′[1], die Untiefe Oraitilipu von 12 Faden unter gleicher Breite[2] nach der wüsten Insel Fallao, nach Torres Fahueu, Cantova Fayo in 8° 5′ und 146° 45′[3], Farruelap[4], Torre Faroilep, Cantova Fatoilep in 8° 3′ und 144° 30′, Guliai, Torres Ulee, Cantova Ulea, Kadu Olä 7° und 144°.

Seine Karte s. Kotzebue III S. 85.

Von der Maria blieb ein englischer Passagier D. Luis Juan auf Oleai zurück. Kadu kannte ihn als Lisol mit Ehefrau und Kind. Er soll dort gestorben sein. Don Luis ließ Rinder und Schweine zurück, die aber wieder ausgerottet wurden.

Torres ist vortrefflich durch A. v. Chamisso bekannt geworden, der so viel von Ulea berichtet, obwohl sein Schiff Rurik unter Kapitän v. Kotzebue das Atoll nicht besucht hat. Er erfuhr so viel eben durch Don Luis de Torres, vor allem aber durch den bekannten Kadu, über den er schreibt (Über unsere Kenntnis der ersten Provinz usw.):

»Wir hatten zu Anfang 1817 im äußersten Osten dieser Provinz auf der Gruppe Otdia und Kaben der Inselkette Radack mit dem lieblichen Volke, welches sie bewohnt, Bekanntschaft gemacht und Freundschaft geschlossen. Als wir darauf in die Gruppe Aur derselben Inselgruppe einfuhren, die Eingeborenen auf ihren Booten uns entgegenkamen und, sobald wir Anker geworfen, an unser Bord stiegen, trat aus deren Mitte ein Mann hervor, der sich in manchen Dingen vor ihnen auszeichnete. Er war nicht regelmäßig tatauiert wie die Radacker, sondern trug undeutliche Figuren von Fischen und Vögeln, einzeln und in Reihen um die Knie, an den Armen und auf den Schultern. Er war gedrungenern Wuchses, hellerer Farbe, krauseren Haares als sie. Er redete uns in einer Sprache an, die, von der radackischen verschieden, uns völlig fremd klang, und wir versuchten gleich vergeblich, die Sprache der Sandwich-Inseln mit ihm zu reden. Er machte uns begreiflich, er sei gesonnen, auf unserem Schiffe zu bleiben, und uns auf unseren ferneren Reisen zu begleiten. Sein Gesuch ward ihm gern gestattet.... Kadu, ein Eingeborener der Inselgruppe Ulea, im Süden von Guajan, von nicht edler Geburt, aber ein Vertrauter seines Königs Toua, der seine Aufträge auf andern Inseln durch ihn besorgen ließ, hatte auf früheren Reisen die Kette der Inseln, mit denen Ulea verkehrt, im Westen bis zu den Pelewinseln, im Osten bis auf Setoan kennen gelernt.« Seine Verschlagung nach Ratak s. unten bei Navigation S. 275f. Kadus Mitteilungen an Chamisso sind weiterhin im Text verwertet.

Der nächste und wichtigste Besucher Oleai's war 1828 Lütke, der schon im Bd. 6 I S. 7ff. eingehend gewürdigt wurde. Er kam am 25. 3. nach Namourrek,

[1] Karte 97 Pikelot in 8° 9′ und 147° 42′.

[2] Auf Karte 97 in 8° 6′ und 147° 15′ eine Untiefe dieses Namens mit 22 Meter, mit Fragezeichen, angegeben.

[3] Das sog. West-Faiëu; Ost-Faiëu S. 164 und bei Námoin Bd. 6 I S. 163. Bedeutung »Stein einer« s. Truk S. 42 Stein = *fau*, auf Lamotrek *fai*, daher auch Fais »steinig«; Karte 97 8° 5′ und 146° 52′.

[4] Karte 97 Faraulip.

von dem er eine fliegende Aufnahme durchführte (s. Karte S. 2), die die Grundlage für die Karte des Reichsmarineamtes bildete. Kittlitz II S. 148 erzählt, daß früh am 26. mehrere Boote herauskamen, deren Insassen durch eine besonders elegante, den ganzen Körper mit Ausnahme des Kopfes bedeckende Tatauierung ausgezeichnet waren (s. Tatauierung S. 226). Sie brachten keine Fische, sondern wollten nur zu essen haben. Was man ihnen reichte, verschlangen sie gierig, so daß man eine Hungersnot an Land annehmen mußte, die auch nach Floyd's Angaben auf den Koralleninseln fast jedes Jahr im Herbste 1—2 Monate lang auftritt S. 199. Dann nähren sie sich fast nur von Brotfruchtteig (Kr. *mar*). Einige der Leute fuhren mit nach Elato, wo sie ein Boot an Land nahm. Viel Verkehr besteht hier mit Guaham (Guam). Auch sollen häufig spanische Schiffe wegen Trepang hierherkommen. In Guam traf Lütke den Häuptling Orolitau von Elato, der den Verkehr in den Marianen für den Gouverneur besorgte. Von ihm hörte ich viel über die Karolineninseln. Er soll 3 Frauen gehabt haben: Letaururu, Laguol und Lamõarup; sein Gehilfe Sepa nannte Mairuk und Mesauro, ein zweiter Gehilfe Orotak nur eine: Namõarimet. An der Westseite fand Lütke keine Einfahrt. An Land sah Kittlitz von Sträuchern Scaevola.

Am 28. März war Lütke schon vor Faroĭlap, wo ein Tamol fließend spanisch sprach (s. Duff S. 6) und sich Alberto nannte, wohl von den Marianen her. Auch hier war Lebensmittelmangel. In den folgenden Tagen, 1. April, wurde auch nach Suchen Olimirao gesichtet und aufgenommen; es kam ein Fahrzeug mit 3 Männern heraus, von denen einer sehr hungrig war. Am 3. April kam er nach Ifaluk, und Abends noch nach Uleai, das durch »Kadu« den Leuten des Rurik schon bekannt war. Aber niemand kannte bei Nachfrage den Namen Kadú, den Chamisso Kadu schrieb (ohne Akzent!). Es war also ein später angenommener Name oder — falsch ausgesprochen! Am 4. April glückte es, in der Ost-Lagune zu ankern. Viele Fische wurden hier zum Kauf angeboten. Die Inseln hießen im O. Ra-ur, Palliau, die nördlichste Ulea oder Uleai, ein Dreieck mit eingedrückten Seiten. Am nördlichen Rande der Untiefe lag die Insel Marion, zwischen ihr und Ulea ein halb im Wasser verborgenes Riff, ähnlich wie zwischen Funoar[1] und Lukunór, das aber länger ist. Kanäle im Osten z. B. zwischen Raur und Paliau leicht zu durchwaten. Alle Inseln mit sehr hohen Bäumen, zwischen den Häusern auf Rasenplätzen.

Prachtvolle Calophyllum-Bäume, ferner Hernandia ovigera, um die zahlreiche weiße Seeschwalben flogen, Gygis candida; ihre quarrenden Lockstimmen hörte man stets, aber nur beim Fliegen. Von Strandvögeln sehr häufig Strepsilas collaris, Numenius tenuirostris, den Brachvogel, einzeln. Im Busch Sylvia syrinx und die Lamprothornis von Lukunor, von dem auf Kusae durch den schwefel-

[1] In Bd. 6 I S. 20 nicht genannt; es muß schon Piafa sein, obwohl nach der deutschen Karte dieses von Lukunór 1570 m entfernt ist, dagegen Mariong von Uleai nur 470 m.

gelb-weißen Unterleib mit schwarzen Längsstrichen unterschieden. Keine Hühner und Tauben, auch kein Flederhund Pteropus. Einmal 1 Kuckuck. An Pflanzen hier auf Raur viel Tacca pinnatifida. Kokosnüsse mußten teuer bezahlt werden, was wohl auf die oben S. 193 erwähnten kargen Verhältnisse hinweist. Dies war auf Lukunor besser, wo die Bevölkerung überhaupt freundlicher war, was wohl daher kommt, daß sie mehr abgeschlossen lebt. Häuser in Bauart und Einrichtung wie dort, aber auf Oleai besser gebaut und reinlicher. Man war erstaunt über die oft recht großen Bohlen und Bretter, welch letztere aus den geschickt benutzten Ausläufern der Brotfruchtbäume gewonnen werden.

Frauen wurden durch den Ruf *farak*[1] zum Verschwinden aufgefordert, waren daher nicht sichtbar. Kleine Häuser meist ganz verschlossen. Erst am 4. Tage stellten die Männer sie zwecks Beschenkung mit Schmucksachen vor; war dies erfolgt, ertönte wieder der Ruf *farak*. Am 8. April kam ein Boot mit Frauen angefüllt zum Schiff, umkreiste es aber nur. Die Frauen hatten einen gewebten Rock (Matten) an, die Mädchen einen Ringschurz von frischem Laubwerk.

Im Westteil des Atoll liegen Ulemarai und Seliap nebst anderen kleinen Inseln. Ulemarai war die Heimat des Kadu; er selber war, wie erwähnt, nicht bekannt, aber sein König Touá[2] lebte noch und kam trotz seines Alters an Bord.

An Fische bekam Kittlitz die brennend roten Serranus-Arten (S. punctulatus und urodelus), ferner eine neue Myripristis-Art mit weißen Randstreifen der Brust- und Afterflosse, eine neues Genus Odax (Axodon Cuvier) mit breiten schaufelförmigen stark nach vorwärts geneigten Schneidezähnen[3].

Die purpurrote Julis Gaymardi kam einzeln vor; goldgelbe Julis-Art mit hellgrünem Unterleib und halbmondförmiger Schwanzflosse, Helichoeres, Labrus Sparus insidiator und zonephorus, Labrus fasciatus, Scarus ocillatus, Grammistes punctatus, dunkelbrauner Acanthurus pyroferus (armiger) usw. vervollständigten das bunte Bild (s. Fische).

Die Fischkörbe gleich denen auf Lugunor, aber nicht das Instrument (Taf. 6 I S. 55), das man sich zum heraufziehen bedient; hier geschah es durch Taucher. Als solche sind die Eingeborenen sehr geschickt. Ein 15jähriger Knabe fing alles, was man ins Wasser warf im Tauchen auf. Alles fing er, wenn man es ihm nur vorher gezeigt hatte.

Kapitän Lütke kaufte von Tapeligar (s. S. 194 u. 215), dem Oberhäuptling der Insel Ulea, für 3 Beile ein vollständiges Segelboot.

Am 9. April ging das Schiff wieder unter Segel, fuhr westwärts an der Südseite des Riffkranzes hin, zwecks Aufnahme. Das wenige Land hier, in Lee, fiel auf; das Riff selbst lag unter Wasser und war nur durch die grünliche Farbe des Wassers zu erkennen.

---

[1] Fritz *fáreg* gehen, marschieren; also »geh«!

[2] Torres sagte Roua, ebenso Ruch statt Tuch (Truk).

[3] Genauere Beschreibung S. 178 ff.

Die Fahrt ging nach Eurupyk. — — — — —

Andrew **Cheyne,** der die Gruppe Ullieye im September 1844 besuchte, spricht von 13 Inseln, von denen 9 von 1500 Eingeborenen bewohnt seien. Es bestehe Handel mit den umgebenden Inseln und Guam. Leute schlau und verräterisch, Waffen Keulen, Schleudern, Steine.

Der Schuner Rupak, Kapitän **Gall,** der in Palau I S. 152 schon erwähnt ist, hat, wie Robertson berichtet (s. dort Anm. 5), am 28. März 1875 auch Ulleai besucht und dort einen Händler Williams angetroffen, der erzählte, es sei eben ein spanisches Schiff dagewesen, dessen Besatzung fast alle Brotfruchtbäume umgeschlagen habe, so daß eine Hungersnot die Folge gewesen sei, an der 5—6 Leute täglich stürben. Die englische Flagge sei niedergeholt, und dafür die spanische gesetzt worden, die nach der Abfahrt des Schiffes von dem Engländer wieder heruntergeholt worden sei.

L. H. **Gulik** (Truk S. 37) spricht im Nautical-Magazine 1862 von Wolea — Ulie; ein Eingeborener sei 1788 nach dem 600 Seemeilen entfernten Guam gefahren und sei gut angekommen.

Er spricht von 600 Bewohnern (s. Bevölkerung S. 201). Der Oberhäuptling habe dann 1807 Saipan (Seypan) besucht und sei so gut aufgenommen worden, daß in der Folge eine ganze Kolonie von Eingeborenen sich dort niedergelassen habe, die jedes Jahr einmal ihre alte Heimat besuchten. Sie besorgen den Handel mit den Spaniern bis Truk hin. Ihre Sprache sei verschieden von der auf Eap und Truk.

Alfred **Tetens,** den ich in Palau I S. 163 des längeren erwähnt habe, besuchte mit seinem Schiffe Vesta, wie die meisten Handelschuner, auch Oleai zwischen 1865—68 sicher des öfteren. In seinem Büchlein S. 347 erwähnt er einiges sehr interessante:

Die Bewohner der Uliei-Inseln zeigten sich friedfertiger als die der anderen Gruppen; die Männer waren schön und muskulös, und sind am ganzen Körper sehr geschmackvoll tatauiert. Ohren und Hals sind mit vielen Verzierungen versehen und in dem »wolligen« Haar prangt ein Büschel emporstrebender Federn. Unter den jungen Frauen und Mädchen erblickt man viele von großer Schönheit, nur wird diese durch die häßlichen Tatauierfiguren auf der Brust, meist Fisch- und Vogelköpfe, beeinträchtigt.

Beim Besuch des Königs Jogelock benahm sich dieser sehr manierlich, nur waren die Frauen seiner Umgebung durch ihre Neugier lästig. Die Uliei-Insulaner gelten als die Schiffahrtkundigsten in den ganzen Karolinen, besuchen z. B. die Marianen.

Das Süßwasser ist schlecht und ungenießbar, deßhalb bildet die Kokosnuß und der Palmwein Ersatz.

Kleidung ähnlich der von Mokemok, Häuser sinnreich erbaut und reinlich. Für Aufnahme der europäischen Kultur scheinen sie besonders geeignet.

Besuch spanischer Schiffe sind nicht bekannt.

S. M. S. »Albatroß« war am 30. Sept. 1885 in Uleai (Kubary's Benennung); er ankerte bei Raur, wo man für jeden Schluck brackigen Wassers Geld verlangte.

Während der Deutschen Kolonialzeit wurde Oleai öfter aufgesucht, namentlich seit die »Germania« alle 4 Monate das Inselgebiet durchfuhr.

Auch Regierungsschiffe und Copraschoner liefen die Lagune nicht allzu selten an. So besuchte der Bezirksamtmann auf Yap während der oben S. 9 erwähnten Reise auch, am 10. Nov. 1905, Oleei, wie er schrieb. Die Palmen standen normal, die Rattenplage war mäßig; Toddy-Trinken ebenso. Es hatte aber der Tod eines Händlers Verdacht erregt, und durch Zeugenaufnahme kam es schließlich heraus, daß er erwürgt und durch Hammerschläge getötet worden war, von einem Sonserol-Eingeborenen, der aber schon im Westen war. Ein Polizist wurde deshalb auf Oleai zurückgelassen. 1902 sollen alle Händler ermordet worden sein.

Wichtig für die Inselgruppe sind zwei Besuche des Regierungsarztes Dr. Born 1903 und 1907. Den ersten beschrieb er ethnographisch in den Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten 1904 S. 175—191; der zweite ist von ganz besonderer Bedeutung, weil Born diesmal den Karfreitags-Taifun 1907 durchmachte, so daß dadurch eine einwandfreie Beobachtung eines solchen großen Wirbelwindes auf einer Koralleninsel vorliegt; er berichtet im Kolonialblatt 1907 S. 567ff. nachstehendes, im Auszug wiedergegeben:

3. Taifun.

Taifun 1907, in den Westkarolinen.

Die Verwüstung der Oleai-Inselgruppe (mit Karte)[1].

Am 27. März traf der Regierungsschoner »Ponape« in Oleai von einer Reise nach Ifaluk wieder ein[2], wohin er am Sonntag, den 24. abgefahren war, das Wetter war wochenlang schön gewesen; jetzt traten widrige Winde mit Gewitterböen auf, so daß die 35 Seemeilen erst in 42 Stunden gemacht werden konnten. Die schwierige Einfahrt nach Ifaluk gelang; früher ankerten die Schiffe außerhalb in 9—16 Faden Wasser. Rückfahrt in 5½ Stunden (27. 3.). Weiterfahrt nach Yap war für den folgenden Tag festgesetzt. Ärztliche Fürsorge Nachmittags an Land. Abends windstill, herrlicher Mondschein (1 Tag vor Voll). Früh am 28. mehrere starke Gewitter aus O u. N, starke Regenböen unterbrochen von Windstillen. Auffällige Brandung aus O u. S, die sich immer verstärkte. In der Frühe zahlreiche Fregattvögel, die sonst selten sind, über dem Atoll schwebend, ziellos. Mittags in der Lagune starke Brandung am Sandstrand. Barometer stark fallend, so daß »Ponape« nicht abfuhr. Kapitän wollte den drohenden Taifun im Binnenwasser abreiten. Born wurde aufgefordert, an Bord zu bleiben, aber er konnte

[1] s. die Bilder dazu in Krämer 1927: Die Entstehung und Besiedelung der Koralleninseln Taf. IV.

[2] Angeblich wegen Ausschreitungen fremder Matrosen gegen Eingeborene.

sein Gepäck nicht mehr durch die Brandung bringen; 2½ Uhr nachmittags Brandung am Außenriff und im Binnenwasser außergewöhnlich hoch. Ponape verlegt den Ankerplatz. Bei Born's Fahrt an Land plötzliche Bö aus NNO, so daß Fahrzeug voll schlug. Mit Mühe an Land gekommen, wo Born's Haus schon geräumt war, weil, eine mächtige See über die 80—100 m lange Düne bis zum Haus vorgedrungen war. In den nächsten 2½ Stunden wurde diese Düne an der Ostspitze (SO) völlig weggewaschen, so daß zwischen der Hauptinsel Flalap und Paliau eine breite Passage entstand (vorher eng), durch die aus O große Seen in die Lagune stürzten, wo sie mit der Brandung aus SW zusammentrafen, so daß das Wasser turmhoch aufspritzte.

5 Uhr neue große See bei schwachem Wind ans Haus gelangend, wo der schreibende Born durch die Verandasprossen mehrere Schritte weit fortgeschleudert wurde; heftige Quetschung des linken Oberschenkels war die Folge.

5¼ Uhr sandte Born ein Schreiben an den Kapitän der »Ponape« mit dem Rat eines anwesenden Spaniers Villaçon, den Ankerplatz des Schiffes unter den Schutz der NW-Spitze beim Dorf Ifang zu verlegen. Die Antwort war, das Barometer stünde, es sei ein Abflauen des Windes zu erwarten, aber die Brandung würde noch zunehmen.

Kurz vor 6 Uhr mußte Born die bereits eingestürzte Station verlassen; er zog sich in das angrenzende Dorf Leuleperik zurück, wo er in einem neuen Eingeborenen-Haus Quartier nahm, etwa 800—1000 m vom NO-Strand entfernt.

Spät am Abend wurde der NO-Wind noch stärker; so daß Äste von den Bäumen brachen. Dies wurde von Nachts 1 Uhr ab so stark, daß sich der Lärm wie Kleingewehrfeuer anhörte, unterbrochen vom Geschützdonner der knackenden Baumstämme. Beides war kaum hörbar beim Sausen des Windes und dem Donner der Brandung. Die Häuser hielten aber während der Nacht noch Stand.

Morgens 5 Uhr kam Nachricht, das Wasser komme schon ins nahe Dorf und stehe auch schon ums Haus, in dem Born und Villaçon waren. Das Wasser stieg so schnell, daß es kaum möglich war, das Nötigste zu bergen und nach der Japan-Station im Dorfe Jaur, wo die Insel am breitesten ist, zu bringen. Der Weg war nur mit Not passierbar. Es gelang ohne Unfall. Von dort sieht man auf die Lagune, wo aber die «Ponape« nicht mehr sichtbar war. Am Horizont im W starkes Wetterleuchten. Die Brandung in der Lagune schlug bis an die Häuser des Dorfes. Da der Aufenthalt auf der Station gefährlich schien, verzog sich alles nach dem westlichen Bootshaus, wo sich auch schon die Eingeborenen der Insel versammelt hatten. Sie waren rat- und kopflos und glaubten an eine alte Weissagung, daß ihre Insel einstmals weggewaschen würde. Die Zeit schien ihnen gekommen. Alsbald kamen auch die Japaner von ihrer Station an, weil sie von einer See weggewaschen war. Aber auch der jetzige Platz wurde unsicher und alles begab sich nach der NW-Spitze bei Ifang. Dies war die letzte Zuflucht. Hier

stand auf einer kleinen Anhöhe ein Haus, wo eine Menge schreiender und weinender Eingeborener Zuflucht gesucht hatte. Die Klagen verstärkten sich, als ein Mann meldete, daß das Wasser nun auch aus NNO käme. Born stieg auf eine Palme und sah; wie die Seen gleich weißen Katzen durchs Gehölz sprangen; als er herunterkam, reichte ihm das Wasser bis zu den Hüften. Alles versah sich mit Planken und Seilen und zog zum Lagunenstrand. Glücklicherweise stieg das Wasser nur langsam und der Wind ließ nach. Da gewahrte Born einen riesigen Brotfruchtbaum, der entwurzelt war und dessen Wurzelwerk mehrere Meter hoch emporragte. Alsbald kletterte er hinauf. Kaum war er mit andern oben, als der Taifun aus OSO zu wehen begann, und zwar mit unbeschreiblicher Eile. Es war als ob 1000 Schnellzüge vorbeirasten. Dies war 9 Uhr vormittags und dauerte bis 3 Uhr nachmittags. Dabei war die Luft so voll von Wasser und Sand, daß man nur wenig Schritte weit sehen konnte. Dann wurde es ein wenig stiller; der Sonnenschein drang sogar auf Augenblicke durch und man sah, wo man war: ziemlich dicht am Lagunenstrand in der NW-Ecke der Insel.

Das Wasser war ein wenig gefallen und so sah man die Verwüstung; meterhoch lagen die Bäume übereinander, von Häusern und Menschen nichts zu sehen, nur Reste von den großen Bootshäusern sah man noch am Strande. Als Born sich, bis zur Hüfte im Wasser, dem Dorf Jaur nahte, erblickte er zwei rot bemalte Jünglinge, die ein Schwein inlands trugen. Ihnen folgend gelangte er zum Mittelpunkt der Insel, wo ein Teil der Eingeborenen sich gesammelt hatte, und wo alle die erste Nacht verbrachten. Von der Oleai-Insel war anscheinend niemand umgekommen, aber bald trafen schlimme Nachrichten vom SO ein.

Am Sonnabend 30. März früh hatte der Wind sehr nachgelassen, aber in der Lagune wirbelte und kochte die See noch wild durcheinander; von der »Ponape« war nichts zu sehen. Eingeborene sagten, sie hätten die Lichter am 29. früh noch bemerkt; sie galt als verloren. Ein Gang am Strand zeigte die grauenhafte Verwüstung; von der Insel Raur sah man nur noch eine Sandbank mit einzelnen Palmen darauf. Am Strande von Leuleperik wurde die Leiche eines 5jährigen Knaben gefunden. Bald wurde bekannt, daß von der Raur-Bevölkerung nur noch zwei Menschen am Leben waren, ein Mann und eine Frau; 130 galten also als umgekommen. Nur 9 waren auf andern Inseln gewesen. Auf Paliau waren von 90 etwa 50 umgekommen. Auf Tagaulap war eine Frau durch ein einstürzendes Haus erschlagen worden. Von Saliap waren 4 Frauen auf Raur gewesen, von Utagal 10 Leute, von Falalis 5, so daß der Gesammtverlust etwa 200 sein mußte. Den zahlreichen Verletzten konnte vom Arzt nur wenig geholfen werden, da Medikamente und Instrumente fortgeschwemmt waren. Im Laufe des Sonnabend und Sonntag wurden eine Menge Leichen an Land gespült, meist greulich verstümmelt. Wunderbare Rettungen kamen auch vor; so wurden von Paliau mehrere Eingeborene nach Saliap vertrieben, vier von Raur nach Utagal, und

zwei Kinder, ein Knabe von 5 und ein Mädchen von 8 Jahren landeten wohlbehalten auf Marijong. —

Die von Paliau und Raur stammenden Geretteten berichteten folgendes: Schon am Abend des 28. März schlossen erfahrene Leute aus dem besonderen Tosen der Brandung, daß eine Flutwelle im Anzug sei. So wurden Vorbereitungen getroffen, in dem man z. B. zahlreiche Frauen und Kinder auf die Brotfruchtbäume brachte und dort festband. In der folgenden Nacht stieg das auf die Insel geströmte Wasser bis zu 1½ m Höhe. Aber erst am folgenden Morgen des 29. März kam etwa 8 Uhr die Flutwelle, die man über den Gipfeln der höchsten Brotfruchtbäume, also gegen 40 m hoch, erscheinen sah, und die mit schrecklichem Sausen als dunkle Wolke mitten über der Insel zusammenbrach, wie ein gigantischer Wasserstrahl. Alles hatte aber noch Stand gehalten, bis alsbald schon eine zweite noch höhere Flutwelle erschien, die alles, Bäume, Häuser und Menschen wegspülte. Die Lagune wurde so ein wirbelnder Kessel, in dem die treibenden Bäume und Balken alles zermalmten. — — —

Während so die ganze 1700 m lange Insel Raur weggewaschen wurde, entstand zwischen Falális und Motogosóu im Süden eine neue Insel, die früher schon einmal vorhanden gewesen zu sein scheint und Met hieß (s. o. Karte 4). Auch wurde der schmale und seichte Durchlaß zwischen Paliau und der Hauptinsel (Abb. 80)

Abb. 80. Bootkanal zwischen Volea und Paliau 1906, vor dem Taifun.

sehr erweitert und vertieft. Die Riffplatte zwischen beiden Inseln war zersprungen wie eine Marmorplatte. Auch sah der Boden von Paliau und Raur wie zerplatzt aus[2]. Am Außenriff von Raur, wo die Flutwelle hereingebrochen war, zeigten sich drei längliche Korallenschuttaufhäufungen, kleinen Eilanden gleich. Der ganze Sockel war glatt wie eine Tischplatte, auf der nur einiger Korallenkies ausgestreut war. Die Flutwelle kam wohl von ONO.

Da der Postdampfer erst um den 25. Mai erwartet wurde, war große Sorge wegen einer Hungersnot[1]. Die Kokosnüsse wurden deshalb gesammelt, und der Taro aus den Feldern, in denen 2—3 m Wasser stand, durch Taucher herausgeholt. Die Häuptlinge besorgten die Verteilung der Lebensmittel vortrefflich.

Die Handelstation von O'Keefe-Yap wurde zu bergen versucht. Der ein-

[1] Wie ich hörte, werden die Taifune deshalb auch Lángeta »keine Nahrung« genannt. A. Kr.
[2] mði Riffbruch Wörterverz. S. 402.

zementiert gewesene Wassertank von 3½ Kubikmeter Inhalt war 100 m weit fortgetragen. Die ausgestreuten Waren und Lebensmittel konnten zu einem guten Teil geborgen werden. Das meiste davon wurde vom Regierungsarzt auf Kosten der Regierung an die Eingeborenen verteilt.

Eine große Trockenheit trat ein, so daß am 11. April die »Germania« als Retter in der Not eintraf. Der Dampfer brachte auch die Nachricht, daß die Ponape am 4. April wohlbehalten in Saipan eingetroffen war.

Der Kapitän Martens berichtete, daß Freitag 29. März von ½8 Uhr Abends an voller Taifun wehte. Eine Bö jagte die andere. Vom Land war trotz Vollmond nichts mehr zu sehen. Es wurden möglichst alle Ketten gestreckt. Etwa ½9 Uhr begann das Schiff zu treiben, nachdem durch eine Sturzsee alle Boote weggeschlagen waren und was an Deck erreichbar war. Die Besatzung saß mit Korkjacken in der Kajüte, auf alles gefaßt. An Deck konnte niemand mehr sein.

Am folgenden Tag um 10 Uhr begann das Barometer zu steigen, aber der Wind wehte weiter. Die Segel wurden in den Zeisingen zerfetzt, nur das Schunersegel blieb ganz. Das Schiff war um diese Zeit schon auf offener See, war also über den Atollring weg hinausgetrieben. Das Schiff schlingerte bis zu 45° und hatte viel Wasser. Um 4 Uhr nachmittags stand das Barometer auf 29.10. Der Taifun wehte weiter. Erst am Sonnabend 30. 3. war es zwar böig, aber etwas handiger. Da der Strom arg nach NW setzte, konnte nicht daran gedacht werden, nach Yap zu fahren. So wurde nach Guam oder Saipan gestrebt, das am 4. April erreicht wurde.

Die Zerstörung durch den Taifun war eine so empfindliche, als auf Betreiben der deutschen Regierung eine Menge Kokospalmen angepflanzt worden waren, und zwar auf Volea 1000, Máriong 500, Tagaulap 500, Vótagai 500, Falális 1500; auf Raur, das jetzt Daruélimog gehört, waren sogar 4000 angepflanzt und auf Paliau 2000; nach dem Taifun nahm SS. Natuna viele Leute fort, so von Volea 100, von Mariong 7, Tagulap 8, Soluap 1, Falális 110; etwa 200 wurden nach Saipan verbracht.

Der Soldat und Aufseher Goru (Phot. 307) — er konnte nur seinen Namen schreiben — gab mir folgende Nachricht an die Regierung in Yap mit, er wolle auf Voléa bleiben. Agupelior sandte zugleich 20 Webmatten als Geschenk mit der Nachricht, daß auf Oleai jetzt viel Essen vorhanden sei, und daß deshalb die fortgenommenen Landsleute zurückkommen könnten. Goru sorgte, daß nach dem Taifun 20000 neue Kokospalmen angepflanzt wurden. Die Brotfruchtbäume trugen lange nicht, und die Tarosümpfe waren versalzt.

Das Hamburger Expeditionsschiff »Peiho« kam am 5. Nov. 1909 von Ifaluk nach Oleai, wo es bis zum 17. Nov. vor Máriong zu Anker lag. A. und E. Kr. nahmen die Arbeit an Land auf, die durch eine große Mückenplage sehr erschwert wurde. Hellwig sammelte auf Voléa, Mariong, Tagaulap usw.

(E. d. S. Bd. I S. 249—258).

4. Anthropologie.

Bei Lütke Bd. III S. 144 (Observations) heißt es: Bewohner der niedrigen Inseln eher mager als dick, eher groß als klein; Haar ist dicht, schwarzbraun, in Knoten; Nase vorstehend aber breit und groß, Mund groß, Lippen dick usw. Dies trifft im allgemeinen zu.

Bei der Betrachtung der Bevölkerung von Oleai muß berücksichtigt werden, daß sie durch Zuzug von den umgebenden Inseln reichlich durchmischt ist, wie die Siedlungstabellen zeigen, daß also von einer Ortsform kaum gesprochen werden darf. Im allgemeinen muß man aberdoch hervorheben, daß die Uleenser, als anmutig gelten dürfen, was ja frühere Besucher schon hervorgehoben haben, namentlich hinsichtlich der Frauen. Die Bilder zeigen das zur Genüge. Ein englisches Halbblut (Taf. 18c) zeigt, wie auf Lamotrek, stark die britische Dominanz

Hambruch hat 12 Eingeborene gemessen, 4 Frauen und 8 Männer, erstere um 150 cm groß (3), 1 hat 162,8. Die Männer 158—167, Durchschnitt 163.

Die Dolichocephalie tritt nicht mehr hervor, je unter 170 ist kein Längen-Breiten-Index mehr vorhanden; 2 sind brachykephal 81,1 u. 85,5, 7 sind mesokephal 73,6—77,7 und der 3 haben 70—71,5. Die Karolinenhand (Truk S. 23) fand sich bei 3 Männern. Die Haare bei den Frauen schlicht bis weitwellig, bei den Männern fast alle gekräuselt, bei einem dicht kraus; s. die Tafeln. Cantova berichtet ja auch von den Leuten von Faroilap, die nach Oleai wollten und nach Guam verschlagen worden waren, daß sie krauses Haar hatten. Körperfarbe das Braun der Zentralkarolinier. Über die sonstigen Beobachtungen s. den Gesamtbericht.

5. Bevölkerung, Demographie.

Wie bei Lamotrek, so ist in der Oleaigruppe ein starker Rückgang der Bevölkerung eingetreten. Um 1800 sollen, nach Freycinet, S. 101, 3000 Einwohner auf Guliay gewesen sein; dabei stehen neben der Hauptinsel noch folgende Inseln der Gruppe: Raor (Raur) mit 110 Einwohner, Paliao (Paliau) 125, Mariog (Mariong) 90, Fagounlap (Tagaulap) 86, Solïap (Soluap) 70, Fallougla (Votagai?) 50, Harradies (Falälis) 50, Falouelap (Falulap) 36, Hanarisaray (Eangaligarail) 32 Einwohner. Daß die letzte auch besiedelt war, ist neu; dagegen fehlt der alte Hauptplatz Votagai. Ob diese Zahlen bei den 3000 der Guliay-Insel einbegriffen sind, oder noch besonders berechnet werden müssen, ist nicht klar. Jedenfalls wäre 3000 allein für eine Koralleninsel eine viel zu hohe Zahl, da Volea oder Falälap, diese Hauptinsel von Oleai, kaum 1 qkm Land hat. Von 1 qkm tropischen Landes können bei sehr günstigen Bedingungen 1000 Menschen ihren Unterhalt beziehen, aber 3000 keinesfalls. Also ist die Zahl entweder falsch oder sie bezieht sich auf das ganze Atoll mit allen Inseln.

Ich hörte am Orte, Falalis habe wie Volea ehemals 300 gehabt (vergl. oben 3000!), Falalis habe aber 1909 nur noch 30 gehabt, Tagaulap 60, Mariong 50, Raur vor Taifun 200, Paliau 60. Also wird man für Volea und Votagai in früherer Zeit je 300 annehmen dürfen. Gulick hat im Nautical Magazine 1862 S. 174, ungefähr 600 Bewohner angegeben. Wie oben erwähnt waren es 1904 = 661, 1930 waren es 539.

Der Charakter Ulienser scheint früher recht harsch gewesen zu sein: ich hörte auf Lamotrek, daß etwa um 1894 ein Ire Harry Chisholm von 4 Eingeborenen ermordet worden sei. Sie schossen ihn von hinten an und warfen ihn dann in die Passage von Paliau. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich aber hier wie bei dem letzten Mordfall auf Oleai, der S. 196 erwähnt ist, um Fremde. Denn im allgemeinen gelten die Oleai-Leute seit alters als freundlich und versöhnlich, wie wir es persönlich erfahren haben, und wie es auch Tetens (S. 195) schildert.

6. Name.

Oben S. 183 sind die Frühbenennungen schon aufgezählt. Das S.-H. führt als Namen Oleaï, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai[1]. Meinicke nennt schon Ulie, Ulea, Uleei, nach Guliek eigentlich Wolea. In der neuen spanischen Enciclopedia universal illustrada von 1929 steht Uli, Ulea, Uleay, Ulie, Woleai, Oleai. Diese verschiedenartigen Namen kommen natürlich von den Berichten der Besucher; Palau I S. 178 gibt an: Clain 1697 Valayay, 1706 Ulier, 1710 Olie, Cantova Ulee[2], Torres Guliai, Chamisso Ulea, Lütke Ouleyai, Kolonialatlas 1908 Oleai, H. S. E.: Voleai, Japankarte Woleai. Oleai ist in deutscher Aussprache am richtigsten, wie die genaue Aufnahme ergeben hat; das W davor findet seine Begründung im Band 6 I., wo verschiedene Orte mit und ohne W erscheinen, so Onoun (S. 196), das auch in der Bedeutung von »rund« Volóul gesprochen wird. Ferner wird Olimarau (S. 17) häufig auch Volimarau gesprochen, und auch auf Pollap gibt es mehrere Beispiele, z. B. Vórieng Geist und Binnenwasser (S. 278); und Volebuku erscheint in Gesch. 5 usw. Völepeg (*peg* wie *pik* sich anhörend) werden gemeinhin die »kleinen Plätze« der Umgebung genannt als Aurepik, Sorol usw. Besonders die Hauptinsel Falálap »das große Land«, die ja die größte von allen ist, wird meist Voléa[3] genannt, was also eine gute Unterscheidung gegen das Oleai der ganzen Gruppe abgibt. In dem Sturmzauberlied S. 158 heißt Valeŏái »auf mein Boot« (*wa, oá* Boot).

7. Sprache (s. Verzeichnis am Schluß).

Als erstes wurde über die Sprache von Oleai das Vokabular in Kotzebue Bd. III S. 55—67 bekannt, das im ganzen wohl mit den neuen Aufnahmen übereinstimmt,

[1] So Oleai auf Yap genannt, wie ich hörte und bei W. Müller Yap öfter bestätigt wird.
[2] Ich hörte auf Mokemok, wo Cantova war, für Oleai deutlich Óleë.
[3] s. Ges. 1 Bootbau S. 264 Z 7, *vol* im Erinnerungstrauergesang S. 292, Z 3 „sein Duft".

was ganz natürlich ist, wenn man gute Hörer und Schreiber voraussetzt. Ein Teil der Wörter ist zum Vergleich in das Verzeichnis eingefügt, wobei sich herausstellt, daß die meisten sich mehr an Feis angleichen, so daß es scheint, daß bei der Aufnahme der Mitteilende ein auf Oleai lebender Feisuner war. Hinsichtlich des bei Truk S. 20 schon erwähnten *dj* ist noch zu erwähnen, daß daneben noch ein sehr weiches *j* vorkommt, aber gelegentlich verhärtet sich das *dj* auch zu einem *ts*-Laut wie z. B. in Fátsumal.

l und *n* sind auch hier wechselnd, wie auf Lamotrek, wenn auch dort das L vielfach das Übergewicht hat.

Für Regenbogen *loiliar*, sagte Agupelior deutlich *noiniar*;
bei H 1 S. 209 hieß es Nei und Lei;
bei H 13 S. 212 usw. Lag und Nag usw.
Vor Namen häufig Ne... statt Le...

Die Possessivsufixe werden gelegentlich ersetzt durch vorgesetzte Eigentumsbezeichnung z. B.

mein, dein, sein Kochhaus *eai mulum, eau malum, ealá malum* (s. Feis).
allmählich kommen die Leute *fasót ĕr vulog ĕromat*
ich gebe ihnen Tabak *i vongaler tamako.*

S. Lamotrek.

Taifune s. oben S. 196.

Erdbeben sollen nicht allzu selten sein. Lütke berichtet, daß auf Wolea große Riffspalten, von Erdbeben herrührend, vorhanden gewesen seien.

S. auch Taifun oben.

8. Mission.

Weißer Missionar nicht vorhanden.

Auf Oleai hörte ich über den Missionar Snelling, über den in Truk S. 51 Fußnote 1 berichtet ist, näheres nach seiner Ausweisung. Er fuhr nach Onoun und Póloat, verfehlte aber beide bei der Heimkehr, und trieb im Eingeborenenboot nach 3 Monaten in Aurepik an, wo ihn eine Bootsbesatzung aus Oleai sah. Er war fast zum Skelett abgemagert. Das Oleaiboot brachte die Nachricht heim, worauf der Oberhäuptling Agupelióor auszog ihn zu holen. Er brachte ihn auch wirklich nach Oleai und schaffte ihn auf einer Bahre, weil er zum gehen zu schwach war, nach Vósavo in sein Haus, wo er aber nach kurzer Zeit starb. Agupelióor hatte ihm versprochen, ihn nach Truk zu bringen, sobald seine Frau niedergekommen sei. Die Japaner schienen sich in unangenehmer Weise eingemischt zu haben.

204

II. Landesbeschreibung

(s. Karte 4).

1. Inseln und Siedlungen.

Das Oleai-Atoll zeichnet sich vor den andern Gruppen durch seine Sanduhrform aus; ostwestlich gerichtet ist der Inselkranz 5,6 Sm lang, und im W (Falalís—Votagái) 3 Sm breit, im O (Raur Südspitze—Voléa Nordkap) 2,1 Sm. Die Einschnürung ist etwa 1 Sm breit; von dem neuen Sand-Cay bis Tagaulap wären es 1½ Sm.

Durch die Einschnürung wird das Binnenwasser in zwei Lagunen geteilt, die durch Einzelriffe im nördlichen Teil der Enge von einander getrennt sind; nur südwärts führt ein 2 Kabellängen[1] breiter Verbindungskanal von O nach W, innerhalb des Kranzes mit genügend Wasser für größere Schiffe (mindestens 15 m). Die Tiefe im O ist meist 7—9 Faden, im S ungefähr doppelt so viel; dort ist auch die meist gebrauchte S-Einfahrt, der Raur-Kanal; die große W-Lagune hat meist über 20 Faden, mitten 27 Faden, und hat im Süden auch eine große Einfahrt mit einer Untiefe von 5,3 Faden, die Falális-Einfahrt. Zwischen beiden Einlässen dem Raur- und Falális-Kanal liegt noch eine kleinere mit 7 Faden Tiefe, zwischen dem Sandy-Cay und der kleinen Insel Motogosóu; sie führt auf den Verbindungskanal zu, in dem man nach O oder W direkt in die Lagunen gelangen kann. Alle diese 3 Südeinfahrten haben also genügend Tiefwasser (mindestens 15 m) und auch genügend Breite (mindestens 300 m), aber ihre Ränder sind unter Wasser, denn der Riffsockel auf dem Raur liegt, springt über 700 m weit nach W vor (bis an den Raur-Kanal), und das Riff von Falális ca. 1500 m nach O. So bleiben im Süden als Grenzen nur noch 2 submarine isolierte Riffe, auf denen im O die kleine Insel Motogosóu, im W das schon erwähnte Sand-Cay liegt, das erst im Taifun 1907 neu entstanden ist. Nach dem Bericht der Eingeborenen ist eine alte Sage vorhanden, nach der in alter Zeit an gleicher Stelle eine Insel war, die durch einen Taifun zerstört wurde, wie Raur 1907 (s. S. 198); der gleiche Taifun hat an alter Stelle die Sandanschwemmung, das Sand-Cay geschaffen. Der Sonderplan der Karte 93 des Reichsmarineamtes von 1903 verzeichnet an der Südseite westlich des Motogosóu-Riffes nur ganz klein den Kern des Sand-Cay-Riffes[2] und westlich davon eine Lotungslinie von SW—NO mit

[1] eine = 10 Faden = 185 m.

[2] Offenbar nach der englischen Karte von 1876 bei Miguel.

Tiefen 9.1, 9.1, 26, 11, 9.6, 9.6, 11, dann 40 als Lagunentiefe. Erst durch die japanische Karte wurde die offene Südseite (wie bei Onoun) verständlich gemacht, obwohl nur eine fliegende Vermessung vorliegt.

Die deutsche Karte verzeichnet noch einen Westkanal zwischen Falalis und Falulap, der aber an der Einfahrt Untiefen von 4—6 m hat, die auch die Japan-Karte zeigt. Sie ist nur für Boote geeignet, ebenso die zwei Einfahrten im Norden. der Nordkanal zwischen Jalangigereil und Fareiles, der in die Westlagune führt (10 m tief und 180 m breit) und den Tagaulap-Kanal zwischen dieser Insel und Marijong (mit einer Untiefe von 3,6 m bei kaum 100 m Breite), der direkt in die O-Lagune mündet.

Voléa ist die größte unter den Inseln mit nahezu 1 □-km Fläche, dann kommt Votagái im W mit über ½ □-km, das ja früher auch die Vorherrschaft in der Gruppe gehabt haben soll, wie Kadu versicherte, dann kommt Votagai, Soliap, Falális, Tagaulap. Mariong, Eangaligarail, Faralíes usw.

a) Die Namen der Inseln des Atoll Oleai

von O nach W.

Cantova	Kadu (Chamisso)[1]	Lütke 1928 (franz.)		Karte 93	A. Kr.
		Motogozeu	S.	Motegozu	Motogosóu
Raur	Raur	Raoure	O.	Raur	Raûr[2]
Peliao	Pelliau	Paliaou		Paliau	Páliau
Ulee	Ulea	Ouleay	O-u. N.	Flalap (Wolea)	Voléa[3] (Falálap)
Mariáon	Marion	Marione	N.	Marijong	Márion.g
Tajaulep	Thageiliip, Tabogap	Tagoilap		Tagaulap	Tagáulap (Tkágulap)
Algrail	Engeligarail	Angaligaraile		Jalangigereil N-Kanal	Eangaligarál
Faralies	Futalis	Farailesse		Fareiles	Faralíes
Termet	Tarrematt	Taramate		Taramat	Táramat
Falelmelo	Faloetik	Falamalok		Falamalok	Falamálak
—	Seliep	Seliape		Saliap	Soliap (auch Seliap u. Soluap)
				Peregaregar (klein)	

[1] (Kotzebue III S. 97).
[2] Vom Taifun 1907 vernichtet, s. o.
[3] Volea s. o. Name S. 202, Karte 1903 Flalap, Japan: Woleai oder Anangai.

Otagu	Ulimiré[1]	Oulemeray	Utagal	Vótagai (Born Ulemari)
—	—	Elingaryk W.	Elingarik	Ealangásik
—	Falelegalä	Faluélégalao	Faluelegalau	Faluelegalâu
—	Faleelepalap	Faluélépalape	Faluelepalape	Faluén'nap
—	Falelemoriet	Faluélémariete	Faluelemareot	Faluelemarêiot
—	—	—	—	Faluêlapláp
—	Piel, Pügel	Piale	Pial	Pial
—	—	Comole	Komol	Komol[2]
—	—	Faluellap	Falulap	Fálulap[3] (Dauelap)
—	Lüsagä	Luizaga	Luisaga	Luísaga
Falalis	Falalis	Félalisse S.	Falalis	Falális

b) Dörfer und Häuptlinge nebst Sippen (Si.) (s. S. 269).

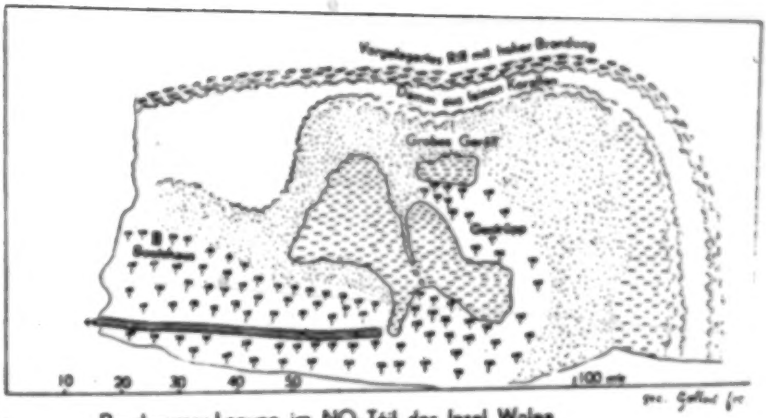
Insel:	Dörfer:	Häuptlinge:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (ein Haus)	Malitil (Si. 4) Taf. 16b
oder Falálap	Jefang[3]	Gadjegêlog (Si. 5)
Gott Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vósavo	
	Jaur	Eagupeliór Taf. 13d, 14a u. 16a
	Lolepéleg[4] (Born Leuleperik)	Gadjegêlog wohnte 1910 hier (s. o.), Taf. 13d, 14a u. 16a
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelêlimar (Si. 3) (Arilélimar) (war in Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagáuláp oder	keine Dörfer	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai S. 217	Rógiol (Si. 4), Taf. 15d u. 16d
4. Solûap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop (Si. 4)
	Jumanikil	

[1] Nach Kadu Wohnsitz des Oberhäuptlings Toua, Haupt der Gruppe.
[2] Vom Taifun 1907 vernichtet, s. S. 185.
[3] s. Jefang, Lugalap und Jaur auch auf Lam., da N., Mitte und S. bedeutend.
[4] Von Kadu Lollipellich als Insel angegeben; lt. Woesafo, Lugalop, Jesang.

5. Vôtagai: »auf dem Riffkap« früher Hauptinsel	Dávogap	Úolegar (Si. 4)
	Nikapelám (He. Ligábpídam)	Igëlimar (Si. 5) (Phot. 330)
	Bígol (Bugol) (He. Púgod)	Mativelít (Si. 4)
6. Falális: »Geisterland«	Tavokúdu	Málangau (Si. 1)
	Tavokúdak	Málipet (Si. 1)
7. Raur †	Davokulong	
	Logop, Lúgalapraur	Daruélior †
	Kuoi	
8. Paliau †	—	Erurlíëlit

2. Voléa oder Falálap[1].

Von den einzelnen Eilande ist die Hauptinsel Voléa, oder auch Falálap, das »große Land« genannt, die wichtigste. Sie hat ein Horn gegen die NO-Passat-See vorgeschoben und hat deshalb eine dreieckige Gestalt, welche die Karte von 1903 zeigt. Dabei war der SW-Schenkel sanft, wie eine Bucht, gebogen. Von hier



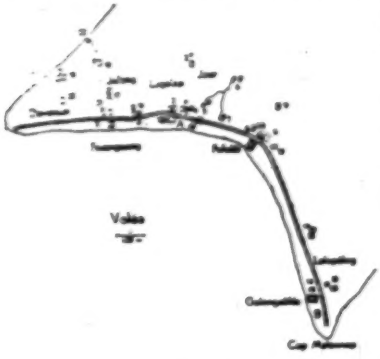
15. II. 09 **Brackwasser-Lagune im NO-Teil der Insel Woleai**

Karte 5.

bis zur Spitze war fast 1 km. Dieser großen und breiten Aufschüttung verdanken auch die Bewohner ihre Rettung im Taifun 1907 (s. S. 198). Nach der Japan-Karte wäre die Breite nach NO hin durch den Taifun noch um etwa 200 m gewachsen; dafür wären aber die beiden Nordseiten des Dreiecks im O und W etwas nach innen, landwärts gekrümmt worden, so daß aus einem gleichseitigen Dreieck mehr eine Mützenform entstand, wie Karte 5 zeigt. Leider habe ich der

[1] Wie die Insel des Mogemog Archipels.

gedrängten Zeit halber nicht selbst eine Aufnahme gemacht, aber ich habe den 11. Offizier Gollert gebeten, diese zu machen und so sehen wir wenigstens, wie die Nordspitze 2½ Jahre nach dem Taifun aussah (Karte 5). In dem groben Geröll sind noch einige Brackwasserseen, da wo früher Tarosümpfe waren, wovon S. 200 die Rede war.



Plan 6.

Der Siedlungsplan (Plan 6) von Voléa zeigt längs des ganzen Südstrandes einen breiten Weg, der auf Geheiß der Regierung angelegt wurde; er beginnt am SO-Kap Matónnap und endet am Westkap. Der Plan zeigt alles nähere.

Von den Inseln Paliau und Raur im Osten ist nur zu erwähnen, daß Paliau schwer mitgenommen wurde, aber in der Hauptsache seine Gestalt behielt (Durchlaß zwischen Paliau und Voléa s. S. 199), daß aber die Insel Raur als Aufschüttung vom Riffsockel vollständig heruntergewischt wurde.

Siedlungsaufnahme (s. Plan 6) 1909
auf Wolea in den Dorfteilen Lúgulap, Vósavo, Jaur und Lolepéleg.
(H. = Haus, Si. = Sippe, Lam. = Lámotrek.)

Es waren und sind noch folgende Männerhäuser *falap* vorhanden: Lamalúel, Gatala, Ungalél, Falelát (Leabal), Galengelífés.

Lúgalap

H. 1: Sángi, am Strand, 2 große und 2 kleinere Hütten. Inneres Abb. 119.
Mátal (Si. 4) ∞ Lúrutob ♀ (Si. 3) (s. H. 5)
Enkel von Tipéligar s. S. 194. ↓
a) Sáipas[1] ♂ 20j.?) ∞ Netaruóbog (H. 9)
↓
Nauélimar ♀ (1—2j.)
b) Tavoeal ♂ (18j.) (Saipan) ∞ o
c) Lagapeisu ♀ (Saipan) ∞ ?
↓
♀ (4—5j.)
d) Lalugílipi ♀ (4—5j.)

[1] Fuhr seit einer Reihe von Jahren mit einem Schuner nach Saipan, von da nach Lámotrek, und von dort mit Sopi (Lam. H. 1) nach Feis.

Dicht bei dem Gehöft ostwärts liegt ein Haus, Gásoa mit Namen (A); weiter östlich Männerhaus Ungalél.

H. 2. Nefaibúgŏr. Taf. 14b Familienbild.
†♀ ∞ Naitímar ♂ †. Leavilipei ♀ Schwester
Bruder Gasóagasó ♂ (Si. 4) ∞ Neaimal ♀ (Saipan)
Nagalesiéng ♂ (4—5j.)
↓
Lemaisei ♀ ∞ Bajelíór ♂
Saipan()
Laigelík ♀ ∞ Eangitáliba ♂ (H. 17)
↓
a) Ilertúmar ♀ ∞ Itávur ♂ (H. 5)
α) Nagapēivus (2—3j.)
β) in Erwartung
b) Lemauruvul ♀ ∞ Gauelemai ♂ (H. 10)
↓
♀ (1—2j.)
c) Lemauruöl ♀
d) Liēlimar
e) Igóp
f) Sarofalimai ♂ Taf. 18d

H. 2a. Imusum (J. H. 11), Lage auf Plan unsicher.
Lasiseman ♀ Sohn → Uieng ♂ ∞ Netafhariba von Raur (H. 10)
↓
a) Earomal ♂ (3—4j.)
b) Netafhasiol ♀ (1—2j.)

Westlicher Dorfteil von Jaur *fallaf* Ungalél

H. 3. Matalík.
Eagupeliór ♂ (Si. 1) ∞ Letafgoluk
Abstammung s. S. 215 Kinder S. 216

H. 4. Volimág zu Nr. 3 gehörig.
Fagol ♂ † ∞ Lagafsivogar ♀
im Boot vertrieben ↓ s. Abst. Eagupeliór S. 216
a) Paluetor ♂ Ngeaur
b) Djelieng ♂ jung
c) Djeretil ♂ jung

H. 5. Betaima, 2 Häuser im Busch, nicht weit vom Strand, wo das Bootshaus Ungalél (Phot. 291 und 292) liegt.

Emal (Si. 1.) ∞ Ilórovol ♀ (Si. 3)
s. Abst. Eagupelíór S. 215

↓

a) Iladjómo ♀ (3—4 j.)
b) Falümagál ♂ (2½ j.)[1]
c) Nefagógel ♀ (1—2 j.)

Abstammung der Hausfrau Ilórovol

Bétatiu ♂ † ∞ Nagafelēu ♀ † Schwester von Nevalítiu ♀
↓ H. 7

a) Levólimar ♀ 2. Frau von Agupelior, S. 216 Taf. 14a
b) Lurutop ♀ ∞ s. H. 1

Uéligeg ♂ ∞ Nagasegēp ♀, ihr Bruder → Leángatēb ♂
↓

Ilórovol ♀ s. o.

a) Itavour[2] ♂ ∞ Ilertumar ♀ H. 2
b) Lagasēub ♀

seine Schwester Nematevoro ♀ (Si. 2) ∞ ?

↓

a) Góvat ♂ (25 j.) ∞ Letāgogar ♀ (Si. 6) von Jefang
b) Arolimal ♂ (20 j.)
c) Sagomai ♂ (6—8 j.)

H. 6. Gategámar.

Morólives ♂ (H. 17) (Si. 4) ∞ Loáitheg[3] ♀ (Si. 4!)
1909 auf Ngeaur

↓

a) Neivul ♀
b) Netaveleor ♀
c) Neiveiredj ♀
d) Jólipeg
e) Netērērau

Hausfrau Loáitheg von der gleichen Sippe 4 wie ihr Mann! Ihr Vater Sigeirou ging im Boot verloren; ihre Mutter hieß Labeiema. Loaitheg's Schwester Netavelóol ∞ Sebálimar S. 216, ihr Bruder Igaredj ∞ Leifelíór H. 15. Beide in Saipan.

[1] Dreht nach Taifun 1907 geboren.
[2] Phot. 339 18 × 24. Haar kurzwellig.
[3] Phot. 314 (13 × 18) zeigt sie vor der hängenden Wiege, Phot. 312 mit dem Kind an der Brust.

H. 7. Faleór.

Darual ♂ ∞ Neválitiu ♀, Schwester s. H. 5 Nagagaleisór

↓

Baumeister des *fallaf*, Namolipég ♂ ∞ Ruiselúr ♀ (Si. 2)

↓

(Si. 3) a) Nemáhriol ♀ ∞ Volirang ♂ Raur
b) Lepáü ♀ jung
c) Nagasúgurong ♀ klein

Östlicher Teil von Jaur mit Bootshaus Falelát.

H. 8. Fálel s. S. 252.

Fauas ♂ (Si. 3) ∞ Lemálovur ♀ (Si. 5)
Sohn des Eagupelior S. 216 Tochter des Maragosó
Beide sind also Vetter und Base. ↓
S. 216

H. 9. Moróudj.

Uiong ♂ (Si. 1) ∞ Netafésegar ♀ (Si. 2)
Bruder des Eagupelior ↓
a) Netaruobug ♀ H. 1 ~ Saipas ♀ H. 1

b) Volevur ♂ (18j.)
c) Davévē ♀ (12j.)
d) Úromē ♂ (2—3j.)

H. 10. Leáleal. Haus der Leute von Raur (s. H. 13).

Daruélemog ♂ (Si. 4) ∞ Nesavélivo ♀ (Si. 1) von Páliau

↓

a) Nēmádjurudjo ♀ ∞ Tangemar ♂ von Raur (1909 auf Ngeaur)
b) Gauelemai ♂ ∞ Lemauruvul ♀, H. 2

Weitere Hausinsassen von Raur:
Netamelaur ♀ Witwe

Lagaruleng ♀ Witwe

↓

Netauaribē ♀ ∞ Uieng ♂ H. 2a.

H. 11. Imusum s. H. 2a. Es war da auf Plan ein Haus, das zu Imusum gehört haben soll.

H. 12. Bádju.

Tameitip ♂ (Si. 4) ∞ Nagamoések ♀ (Si. 1) Nichte von Agupelior
im Boot vertrieben ↓ S. 216
4 Kinder s. Abst. (Si. 1) S. 216

im Hause schlafen auch noch Manitil ♂ und Neiboélimei, die Mutter der Hausfrau.

Lolepéleg mit Bootshaus Galengelifés,
neben dem südlich noch ein Haus Atémau (B) liegt.

H. 13. Gatërong, 2 Häuser.

Gagélelegar ♂ † (Si. 5) ∞ Nagagélemar ♀ (Si. 2) H. 14
von Jefang ↓
o.

Es wohnt noch im Gehöft
die Base der Hausfrau, Nabodjégo ♀ ∞ Auëlsei ♂ (Si. 3) von Ifaluk.
Die Frau scheint kurz ↓
zuvor verstorben.

a) Netavarffet ♀ jung
b) Alilimel ♂ (2—3j.)
c) Gapereirei ♂ (1—2j.)
d) ♀ (ca. 1 j.)

Kinderlose Frau von Raur (s. H. 10) Lemálurang ♀ ∞ Hules, ein Spanier
ihre Mutter Naburërou ♀ jetzt in Ponape,
Mutter in Yap.

H. 14. Lolidjédëu.

Eauugumal ♂ † (Si. 2) ∞ Nagaurúä ♀ (Si. 4)
↓

a) Boiliong ♂ (Saipan)
b) Ifëlag ♂ jung
c) Gafëlëliong jung

Eltern und Geschwister der Hausfrau.

Gúorong ♂ † ∞ Naatáguso ♀ †
↓

a) Nagaurúa
b) Bangálemar (Palmschneider)
c) Olemëvo
d) Netáseong † im Taifun.

Verwandte der Hausfrau ist Nagagëlemar ♀ (H. 13), deren Mutter Noálipa ist.

H. 15. Limāraurau. Taf. 17c.

Gasegēlog ♂ ∞ (I. Ehe) Lemároik ♀
von Jefang
↓
a) Muletag ♂ ∞ Lagaséomar ♀ (s. Agupelior (Ngeaur) S. 216)
b) Delibámar ♂ (Saipan)

Gasegēlog ∞ (II. Ehe) Nagapéieōl ♀ (Si. 4). Eltern Sēvēlivēr und Lefauluol ♀, beide tot
↓
a) Dauáliba[1] ♂ ∞ Ilēol ♀, Abst. des Agupelior
b) Fagáolimal ♂ ∞ ♀ Saipan.
c) Nesāsemong ♀ ∞ Fagēilo ♂ (Si. 2) von Ifaluk
↓
a) Nemateveior ♀ (Saipan)
b) Málior ♂ (Saipan)
c) Levagosor ♀ } jung
d) Tililsor ♂ } jung
e) Fagoitip ♂ } jung
d) Lauáliba ♀ ∞ Rangemog ♂ von Paliau (Ngeaur)
↓
Gapáta ♂ (10—12j.)
e) Lagatíagil ♀ ∞ Seimai ♂ von Vótagai
↓
Morolur ♂ jung
f) Leifelióor ♀ ∞ Igaredj ♂ (H. 6). (Saipan)
g) Litabeleóp ♀ † im Taifun.

Jefang mit Bootshaus Faleángeang.

H. 16. Bákang, Haus der Frau.

Dāiru ♂ (Si. 6) (H18) ∞ Laurumai ♀ (Si. 4)
↓
a) Botau ♂ (5—6j.)
b) Iketáo ♂ (3—4j.)
c) ♀ (2—3j.)

Abstammung der Hausfrau:

Bogimong ♂ (H. 21) ∞ 1. Frau Namul ♀
↓ ↓
von ihm heißt es, er habe a) Laurumai ♀

[1] Auch Taoáliba sich anhörend.

seine Schwester gestohlen

b) Leifélives ♀ ∞ ♂ von Tagaulap
↓
α) Lafeirēt ♀ (10j.)
β) Iloa ♀ jung
γ) Dāial ♂ jung

Bogimong ∞ 2. Frau s. H. 21

H. 17. Námoru.
Malitil ♂ † ∞ Neabugélli ♀ (Si. 4)
↓
a) Eangitáliba ♂ ∞ Laigelīk (Langili) ♀ (H. 2)
b) Lagatógar ♀ ∞ Mágilo ♂ s. Agupelior s. 1. Frau
c) Lebagóik ∞ Kivélegar ♂ (H. 18)
d) Marólives ♂ ∞ Loáitheg (H. 6)
Mutter der Petasik ist Lagafetisei
e) Galeméligar ♂ ∞ Petasik ♀ (Si. 6)
↓
Rangisei ♂ (2—3j.)
fiel tanzend um.

H. 18. Lugilfefang »Mitten im Norden«.
Gasegélifar ♂ (Si. 4) † ∞ Ilērúmar ♀ (Si. 6), Mutter Lesavōsog
↓
a) Dauru ♂ ∞ Laurumai ♀ (H. 16)
b) Kivelegar ♂ ∞ Lebagoik ♀ (H. 17)
c) Letāgogar ♀ ∞ ♂ Góvat ♂ (H. 5)
d) Gavelauru ♂ jung
e) Lamorotfu ♀ jung
f) Feirélimar ♂ (8—10j.)
g) Taivul ♂ (6—8j.)
h) Letaurivul ♀ (2—3j.)

H. 19. Galéngatagai, hier ein Grabhaus, Taf. 13d, auch Phot. 295.
Letalimong ♀
↓
Leivéligar ♀ (Si. 5) ∞ Gárong ♂ im Boot vertrieben
s. Agu's 2. Frau S. 216
a) Ueli ♀ klein
b) Lamog ♀ klein
c) Maroisei ♂ klein

H. 20. Lugūligámei

♂ ∞ Letásēves ♀ (Si. 5)

↓

a) Angitéltiu ♂ ∞ ♀ von Mariong
b) Lērōtip ♀ ∞ o
c) Lefágelētip ♀ ∞ Mógoleng ♂ Agu's 1. Frau
d) adoptiert Lélopi ♀, Tochter der Schwester (Taf. 18c)

Die Schwester der Hausfrau Letamēlēvo ∞ Söl engl. Trader[1], der mit dem Schiff Santa Cruz fortfuhr.

H. 21. Tiemāg.

Bogimong ♀ (Si. 5) ∞ 1. Frau H. 16
2. Frau Lagaurotip ♀ (Si. 5)

↓

a) Lēolóvus ♀ ∞ Aireg Abst. Agup.
1 Kind †
b) Lefagōleng ♀ klein
c) Legop ♀ klein

H. 22. Lugílipei, am NW. Strand am Ende des Fußweges vom Bootshaus Falángeang.

Oberhäuptlingsreihe (von Sippe 1).

1. Agupeliór, 1910 lebend (auch Eogu.....)
2. Maragosó †, Bruder von 1.
3. Vasagáisog †, der Jogelock von Tetens S. 195.
4. Tipéligar1 (s. Lütke S. 194); sein Sohn Volagarafal heiratet eine Sētoval-frau, deren Sohn Mātal (H. 1) ist.

Cantova nennt als Oberhäuptling Gofalu, Chamisso Toua.

Abstammung des Oberhäuptlings.

Lagálesegár ♀ (1) Bruder Vasagáisog (3.) ∞ Laisigilio ♀ Falális

↓

Eruniēnit[2] ♂ † ~ Nagagaleuói ♀ † (1.) Jaur
↓
a) Maragosó ♂ † ∞ s. H 8
b) e Agupeliór (s. o. 1.) s. S. 216 H 5

a) Vasagairik ♂ †
b) Boēsiso ♂ †
beide starben jung

[1] soll von Lámotrek gekommen sein.
[2] Sein Vater Ulueli; Eruniēnit erlebte 2 Taifune, die aber nicht sehr stark waren, ohne Sturmflut; es brachen nur einige Häuser zusammen.

c) Uiong ♂, Nachfolger von b. H. 9
d) Neiboélimei ♀ ∞ Malitil H. 17; schlafen in H. 12.

↓

α) Dilemēlug ♂ 1911 auf Angaur Palau (Ngeaur)
β) Eman ♂ H. 5 (Vater It'tu)
γ) Aireg ♂ ∞ 2. H. 21
δ) Sebálimar ♂ 1911 Ngeaur ~ s. H. 6
ε) Nagamoések ♀ ∞ Mann vertrieben (H. 12).

↓

α) Ilēol ♀ ~ Dauálība ♂ H. 15 von Lolepéleg
β) Tilemēlug ♂ ~ Neibēligar ♀ von Jefang
γ) Ruguei ♂ jung
δ) Nefagóiei ♀ jung

a) Maragosó ∞ Nagásamagár ♀ (Si. 5); Bruder Gasageilog

↓

a) Nagapeigil ♀ in Saipan
b) Nesápomoi ♀ Saipan
c) Lemálōvur ♀, Jaur, (H8)
∞ 1. ♂ † 2 Kinder ♂
∞ 2. Fâûas ♂ (Vetter) ♂ b. 2) H. 8

b) e Agupelíór ♂ ∞ 1. Frau Letaigoluk ♀ (Si. 3) von Vósavo
Familienbild Taf. 14a. ↓
a) Fetal ♂ (5—6j.)
b) Letásēguiól ♀ (2—3j.) (Phot. 320)
„ ∞ 2. Frau Levólimar (Si. 3) (s. H. 5) von Jaur

↓

a) Fâûas ♂ (H. 8) ∞ Lemálovur (Si. 5)

↓

Meletálior ♂ (5—6j.) in Saipan

b) Mánaral ♂ (4—5j.)
c) Ladjélimar (3—4j.)[1] (Phot. 321)

Eltern der 1. Frau Letaigoluk sind Apereisog ♂ ∞ Lagagaléor ♀ † von Vósavo; Base von ihr Nemangevógit ♀

↓

a) Lagaisivogár ♀ s. H. 4
b) Lagaséomar ♀ ∞ Muletag H. 15
c) Garong ♂ ∞ Leiveligar H. 19

Kinder der Lagagaleór:

a) Letaigoluk s. o.

[1] Von *ladjel* traurig, weil Agupelior traurig über den Verlust seiner Angehörigen war.

b) Nativovoi ♀
c) Navudjiliga ♂

b) Nativōvoi ♀ ~ ?

↓

α) Mógoleng ♂ (17—18j.) ∞ s. H. 20
β) Magilo ♂ (14—16j.) ∞ s. H. 17
γ) Ilevitial ♂ (5—6j.) (Phot. 320).

Von den übrigen wichtigsten Inseln habe ich nur fliegende Siedlungsaufnahmen gemacht.

3. Máriong (Plan 7)

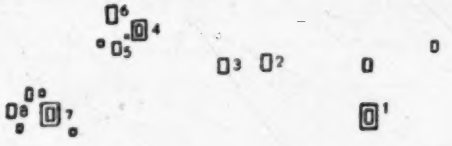
etwa 700 m lang und von SW—NO streichend. Siedlung an der SO-Küste südwestwärts. 3 Dorfteile, s. S. 206.

Plan 7.

H. 1. Mailivódjem 2. H.
H. 2. Nîkapetag
H. 3. Nikabuei
H. 4. Faláfa (Bootshaus *fallaṗ*) auch Falemaremar genannt.
H. 5. Volifal Wohnhaus mit 2 kleinen Häusern.
Hausherr Goru, Phot. 307. ∞ Letafélimar ♀
H. 6. Galimadjang
H. 7. Tavoat.

4. Tagâulap (Plan 8)

ungefähr 1500 m lang von W-O; in der Mitte eine nach Süden sich vorbauchende Verdickung, auf der die Siedlung liegt. Dorf Unamarai ist bei Feis, Handel erwähnt.



Plan 8.

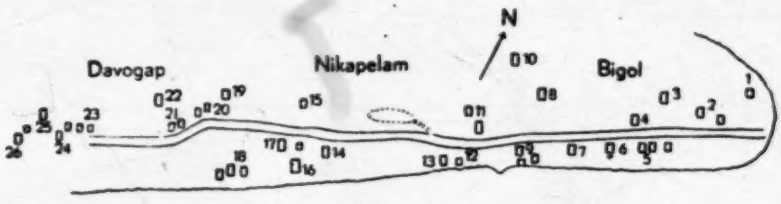
1. *fal* Galengatil
2. „ Garingalig
3. „ Gaurióro
4. „ Eangilaf oder Eóngelap »Großer Wind«, sein *im ali ēlus*, s. S. 279 Religion
5. „ Marúaru dabei ein *im a pannoe*
6. „ Uéras
7. „ Mataliēlu
8. „ Nēlimag.

5. Soluap

nicht aufgenommen, 3 Dörfer S. 206.

6. Vótagai

alter Vorort; am Ostende der Insel liegt eine Sandbank (S.); im Süden ein Vorsprung Fäusefang; Siedlung in 3 Teilen. (Phot. 408 zeigt 3 ♀, Phot. 330 Häuptling, Phot. 344 Jüngling).



Vótagai

Plan 9.

A. Bigol

H. 1. Djolieng
H. 2. Bolatiu
H. 3. Mēgēang mit *imelipel*
H. 4. Sómat †
H. 5. Gasúrulo mit 2 Nebenhäusern
H. 6. Faliatól †
H. 7. Falegoan †
H. 8. Lúgalap
H. 9. Matár
H. 10. Falegiliau
H. 11. Falabog *fallap*
H. 12. Lēgati
H. 13. Bugielog

B. Nikapelám
- H. 14. Falegílifa †
- H. 15. Masélibel
- H. 16. Faldjogoi Boothaus
- H. 17. Gapalifal 2 H.
- H. 18. Falimei 3 H.
- H. 19. Mêtob

C. Dávogap
- H. 20. Valimélog
- H. 21. Gomar 2 H.
- H. 22. Gatímalug
- H. 23. Faletangi 2 H. Am Ende des breiten Weges.
- H. 24. Sētarong 2 H.
- H. 26. Gapilifalegaro

7. Falális. Geist Iletilimar.

2 Dorfteile (Taf. 14c und 17b).

Plan 10.

W. H. 1. Galingáfang Boothaus (auch Galingogú)
- H. 2. Móelifal
- H. 3. Gatial
- H. 4. Eatálipel
- H. 5. Gatiéfal mit a) *im eli gogobong* und b) *im eli fam* (s. S. 251) (Phot. 306 mit Ledjeiligar ♀, Mailimen ♂ und Meludj ♂)
- H. 6. Falemai Bootshaus
- H. 7. Gatíedjal mit 2 Nebenh.
- H. 8. Gatipi
- H. 9. Ragias 2 H.

8. Raur †

durch Taifun zerstört s. S. 199; die 3 Dorfteile oben S. 207; ein *fallap* Lúgalaprāur soll vorhanden gewesen sein.

9. Paliau †

fallap Gataliva.

10. Karten.

Die erste Karte kam durch die Vermessungen unter Lütke 1828[1]; sie ist erst durch die neue englische Karte von 1927 wesentlich verbessert worden, die sich wohl auch in der Hauptsache auf japanische Arbeiten stützt. Was sie neues bringt, darüber alles nähere oben S. 204.

Miguel erwähnt die alte englische Karte von 1876, die er in seinem Atlas Hoja IV bringt.

---

[1] s. Bd. 6 I S. 7 und 8. Die neue Karte von 1927 s. S. 184.

221

III. Stoffliche Kultur.

1. Tracht.

a) Kleidung.

Nach Lütke lieben die Frauen, die Ringe von den Saugnäpfen der Octopus-Tintenfische, die beim Genickabbeißen[1] (Samoa) entstehen; ihre Tinte dient zum Färben der Halsringe.

Man steht früh auf. Die Männer waschen sich am Strand, baden, spülen den Mund aus, mit Salzwasser; die Frauen gehen zu einem andern Teil des Strandes, Kinder können bei beiden sein (Lütke).

Nach Kotzebue III S. 87 sind die Einwohner von Ulea den Ratakern im Wohlstand, und auch sonst noch in manchen Dingen überlegen. Aber diese Angaben des überheblichen Kadu treffen nicht zu.

Kinder gehen meist nackt. Mädchen tragen nach der Menstruation den Grasschurz *sivisif*, Born *siwesiw* (s. S. 268), He. 1431 aus Kokosfiedern, He. 1537 aus Hibiscusfasern. Herrschend sind hier wie sonst für die Frauen die Webmatten (s. Weberei) *gabálabal (gabalei, ...om, gaban)* (Born: *gapalepal*, Ko.: *gapellepel*). Die Arbeitsmatte ist grob (He. 1866 = 566011 *gābe)* aus Bananen und Hibiscusfasern; oft mit schwarzen *(lugurāl)* und roten *(ligotrā* Europ.) Streifen (s. u. *bülo)*. Die Männer tragen die Schambinde (He. 1775 = 557611 *garrogiss)* und einen Regenmantel *negaū (nego)* aus Hibiscusbaststreifen, He. 1536 = 5385. Die Schambinde (He. 1863 = 565711 *karīri, genurs, gelurs*) ist aus Bananenfaser gewebt; Born Männermatte *tor*. Die Unerwachsenen haben Blätterbüschel, die oft niedlich zurechtgemacht wie Abb. 81 des Mädchens zeigt; er heißt *erünnu* oder *tivetio*, He. 1537 = 538611 *jongjong vaifil* aus Hibiscusbast; Blätterketten über den Damm *chatiletach* (Born). Ein Knabenhüftschurz mit rot und schwarz gefärbten Hibiscusfasern (und Bananen) heißt *bülo* (He. 1839 = 563711); so nennt aber auch He. 1867 eine grobe Frauenmatte.

Abb. 81. Mädchen mit Blätterschurz.

Hut *bárong* (He. 1681 *párong* aus *solivars*-Pandanus. Rand *narréte* (S. 238[2].) Spitze *ungale*, Spitzenring *ferigeli*, Kinnband *gali*, Nähte *dēdi)* (s. Feis). Über den Zauberanzug s. S. 152.

[1] A. Kr. Die Samoainseln Bd. II S. 407 *fe'e*.

Duft. Kr. 401 eine Parinariumfruchthülle gefüllt als Duft: *uongas* (vergl. Truk S. 424 *vangu)*. He. 1403 eine wohlriechende Nuß ähnlich Muskat *éssid*, Falálap, s. unten.

b) Schmuck.

(vgl. Tafel 16 und 18.)

Lütke beobachtete 1828 Hals-, Arm- und Fußbänder aus Muscheln und Perlmutter. Im Tausch wurden Glasperlen verlangt. Die Gürtel aus Kokosschale waren zwei Finger breit; auch weiße Muscheln daran; sie waren zu teuer im Tausch; s. auch bei Tatauierung.

An Schmuck wird kein Luxus getrieben. Meist ist er spärlich oder fehlt ganz. Halsketten von roten Scheibchen und von *tia* (Mangle) wie auf Truk kommen natürlich vor, auch ein Fischzahnhalsband fand Gollert, aber besonderes zeigte sich nicht. Nur eine einzelne Perle, durchlocht und auf einen Faden gezogen, bekam ich (Kr. 408), aber es war nur eine dichte Tridacnakugel. Taf. 14d u. 16 zeigt auch eine reichere Schmückung: auf dem Kopf ein Kranz von Crinumblüten (vgl. auch Phot. 334), Schnurrbart und kurzer Kinnbart vorhanden, Ohrläppchen mit Ringen (wie kleine Pattarmringe) und sonstigem, Hals- und Brustkette, aber alles bescheiden bei den Stutzern. Der Häuptling Rogiol von Tagaulap trug neben einem Kamm einen Kopfkranz aus aufgereihten Röhrenblüten, wenig im Ohr und ein Stück Schnur als Halsband, Taf. 16d; aus seinen Kopfhaaren hatten Knaben sich einen Kopfschmuck für Spiel und Tanz hergestellt (Kr. 378 = 31351I) Das *lima* = Stirnband, das S.-K. S. 383 erwähnt, gehört nach Ku. (Bd. 61 S. 32), ist jedenfalls auf Oleai nicht bodenständig; auch für die übrigen Schmucksachen ist die Herkunft unsicher.

Kamm *ráua* (Yap) s. die Tafeln.

Haaröl, Born *loi*; Haar kurz geschnitten oder Schopf hinten; Mädchen Locken.

He. 1881 Kopfkränze *úlevars* getroknet, im Haus aufgehangen als Andenken (Ko.: *kabulipeu)*.

Spitzhut Born *tscholiſadj*.

Düfte sind beliebt, nur mangelnd; eine angetriebene alte Parinariumnuß wurde geschabt und zum Einreiben benützt, zu erotischen Zwecken. *eis*, *eais* und *vóngas* (s. Truk S. 424 *vangu)*.

Als Epilator für Haare, He. 1890 *kom*, aus Muschel Lioconcha castrensis L., in eigner Sammlung *kagugú* die hübsche Cytherea puroglyphica Conrad, mit einer Schmuckschnecke Natica mamilla Lk. Bestimmung von Herrn H. Wägele Stuttgart; ebenso Palau (s.S.37).

Kämme s. oben. Ohrschmuck s. S. 35.

Halsketten, *márremar*, bekannter Form (Ko.: *maremar)* Kr. 314—17 = 3096—9811, Ketten *kamojd* (Born *chamotsch)* aus roten Muschelscheibchen *ſēpar* (Born *ſeipar* und *gau)* (He. *vaipar)*; Kr. 353 *kamodj a djolipoi*. Abb. 82 Hals-

band, *gomalath* genannt (Born *chamelath*) aus weißen Muschelringen und Kokosscheibchen *(sagach*, Born *tagag)* (Kr. 318 = 30991I). Eine Kette aus Kokosscheibchen *sagách üle maremar* zeigt Abb. 83 (Kr. 320); solche aus Kokos und Konusscheiben He. 4646 *marremarre dágag ma vul (mat)*; eine solche He. 1593 = 54271I Abb. 84 hieß auf Mariam *m. billigarú*[1]; die Konusscheiben hatten weiße senkrechte Streifen *ladjére vul.*

Abb. 82. Halsband. Weite 47 cm.

Abb. 83. Halskette aus Kokosscheibchen. Weite 36 cm.

Zum Schleifen größerer Ringe werden die viereckigen Schalenstücke *dagag dibedib* mit Löchern *vúrarow* auf ein Holz (He. *ira igēk dagag)* gesteckt, Abb. 85 (He. 4647 = 821311), und geschliffen[2].

Eine Kette mit Fischzähnen zeigt Abb. 86 (Kr. 353a *maramar ni le gai).*

Brustketten: Aus den größeren Ringen fertigt man die darmähnlichen Brustketten (Truk S. 94 Abb. 30), die aber höchstens bei Festen getragen werden (He. 1442). Große Pattscheibenringe *bodjaü* vorhanden (Truk S. 95 Abb. 36).

Ohr: An dem meist nicht sehr erweiterten Ohrläppchen ist fast immer Schmuck vorhanden, wie die Bilder zeigen. Stärkere Erweiterung s. Taf. 16. Taf. 14d zeigt Crinum eingesteckt (r.), und (l.) den *tebau*-Ohrschmuck von Palau III S. 21 Abb. 12, der hier gar nicht so selten ist (s. auch Lam. Taf. 2a). Aus Tridacna geschliffene Kugeln (Perlen) zieren sie, oder sind auch frei im Schmuck vorhanden.

[1] He. 1831 Halsband aus 6 Reihen Kokosperlen *billigórru*, von einem alten Mann in einer Stunde völlig neu aufgefädelt; s. Lam.

[2] s. Bd. 61 S. 37 u. 220 Abb. 92.

Gehänge *suasua* wie Lamotrek, auch Dreiecke aus rotem *faubar*. Beliebt waren zu unserer Zeit die etwa talergroßen Räder, aus hellem Schildpatt gefertigt, *puodj*[1] *a dju dju* oder *ale falu* genannt (s. Truk S. 107), von deren Formenreichtum nur zwei hier abgebildet sind (Abb. 87) (vergl. Bd. 6 II S. 36 u. 37).

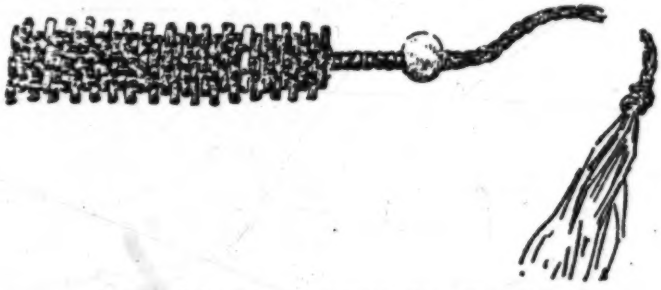


Abb. 84. Halskette aus Kokosscheibchen, Länge 68 cm.

Abb. 85. Kokosringe zum Schleifen.

Abb. 86. Fischzahnhalsband, Länge 35 cm.

Abb. 87. 2 Testrädchen.

Abb. 88. Ohrring aus Mark.

Abb. 89. Testhaken.

Abb. 90. Testscheibe.

He. 1555 ist ein gekrümmtes Stück Mark von einem Strauch *varálihil*; wurde von einem Mädchen im Ohr getragen Abb. 88.

He. 1543 ein Ring von einer *rubung*-Steinnuß aus Truk.

Zu den Hängern an den Ohren oder an der Brustkette gehören auch die Zeremonialfischhaken He. 1623 = 5454II Abb. 89, die aus einer Pattscheibe,

[1] Ko.: Ohrenschmuck *wot.*

Abb. 90 (5½ cm He 1735), herausgeschnitten werden. He. nennt sie *gaũ bodj*; soll der Hacken gebraucht werden, muß man den Steg entfernen, damit Spitze und Einfahrt frei wird. Ihre Bedeutung s. bei Feis Abb. 197.

Erwähnenswert sind auch noch die Hänger von roten Dreiecken (Truk S. 103 *lanubodj)*, die hier als *faliúrupeg* (Feis *faliúrepeg)* als »Steine von Aurepik« erscheinen, da die roten Muscheln dort häutpsächlich gefunden werden (vgl. Lukunór). Diese roten Schalen heißen *fóudja* (von *dja* Blut), Schildpattscheibenringe *bõs* (s. Taf. 16a).

Armbänder aus Schildpatt *puodj a lagállag* (Kr. 335), gerieft *daridavi*, breit und flach (He. 1630) *woróil*; He. 1676 *lagámu*, *lakelake*. He. 1629 ein Armring *djágeag* der Trochusschnecke Yap, He. 1727 *lagelag*. Aus Patt werden auch Fingerringe (He. 1713 *galágalag a li got)* geschnitten. He. 1821 ist ein Armband aus Haar mit *tigere*-Muschel. Alles ähnlich Truk, auch eine Manschette mit *faubar*, und roh aus Kokosschale (He. 1369) und Trochus (He. 1364 = Palau).

Aus Haaren macht man aber gerne Gürtel, wie sie im Bd. 6 I S. 256 schon erwähnt wurden; und S. 32a bei Lámotrek, oft dreistrangig. Kr. 328ff. *djiem e dēdē* Haar, ca. 35 Stränge zopfartig geflochten; He. 1573 *datár e djim* Haargürtel (Born *tschiim)*. Kr. 333 E. Kr. *tagach u pöch* Kokosgürtel für Frauen. *méang* weiße Spangen. Daneben fehlen nicht die früher schon beschriebenen Gürtel aus Kokos und Muschelscheibchen, wie sie Taf. 14a zeigt (Born *tartar* zusammengehalten durch weiße Muschel *maijal*. Die Prachtgürtel *táral*[1] sind schon S. 32a erwähnt; sie sind von Aurepik, Sorol, Ngulu und Feis eingeführt. Ihre Kostbarkeit erfuhr schon Lütke (s. oben).

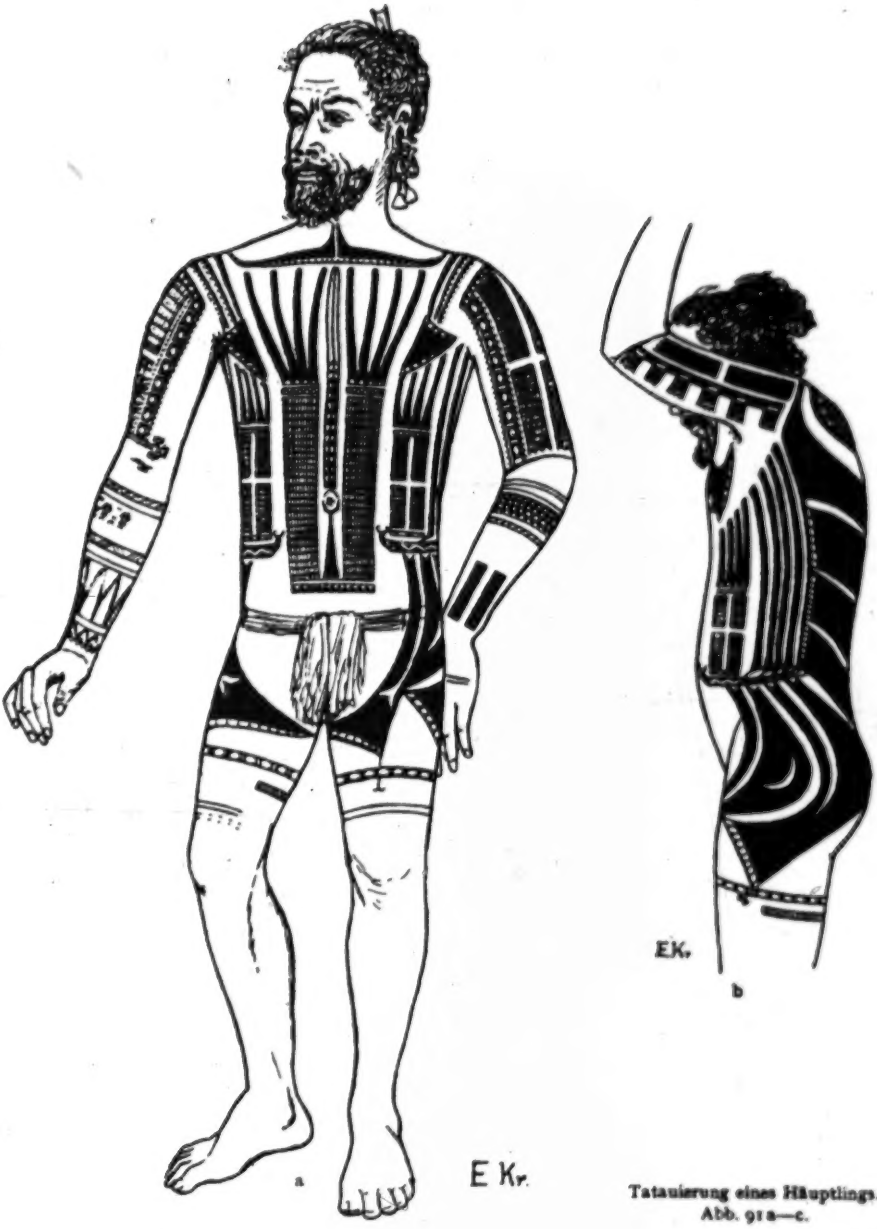
c) Tatauierung *māk* (Ko.: *mõck)*.

S.-K. S. 380 sagt, wohl nach Kubary: »Die meisten Männer sind über den ganzen Körper geschmackvoll tätowiert, mit vielen Verzierungen in den Ohren und um den Hals, und Federn im Haar geschmückt«. Zu unserer Zeit waren es nur wenige.

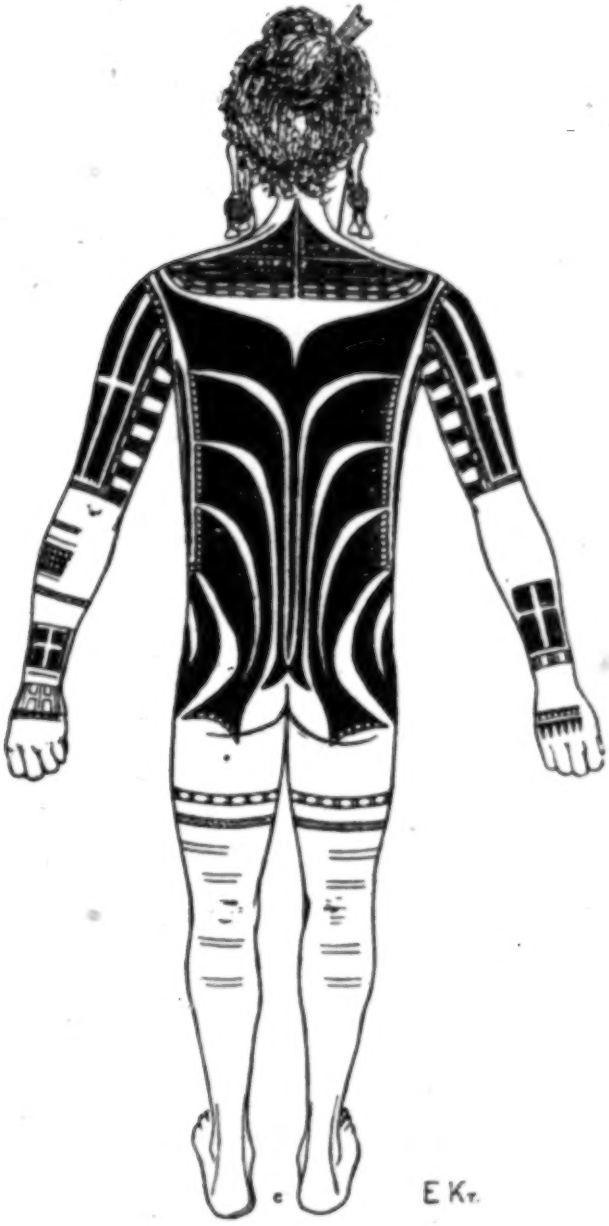
Auf Oleai erschien mir, von Osten kommend, zuerst die zentralkarolinische Strahlentatauierung. Wahrscheinlich war sie früher bis nach Kusae hin verbreitet, worauf Lütke's Abbildung (s. Bd. 6 I S. 42) hinweist. Sie ist seitdem nur durch Kubary bekannt geworden, der sie 1895 auf Taf. XI von einem Sonserol-Mann vorn, hinten und von der Seite wiedergibt, etwas klein und unscheinbar, aber doch unverkennbar deutlich[2]. Joest S. 82 hat nur einen Yap-Mann von hinten abgebildet, der aber so viel mehr schwarze Flächen zeigt, daß

[1] Nach Senfft Glob. Bd. 87 S. 78 auf Oleai *kil* (auf Ululsi *bül)*, Born *djil mit* Stegen *pak e le djil*.

[2] Im Journ. Mus. God. Heft II Taf. IV ist ein Yapmann mit senkrechten Strängen am Leib, oben am Hals von Querstäben überlagert, ganz wie ein Gartenzaun.



Tatauierung eines Häuptlings.
Abb. 91a—c.



E Kr.

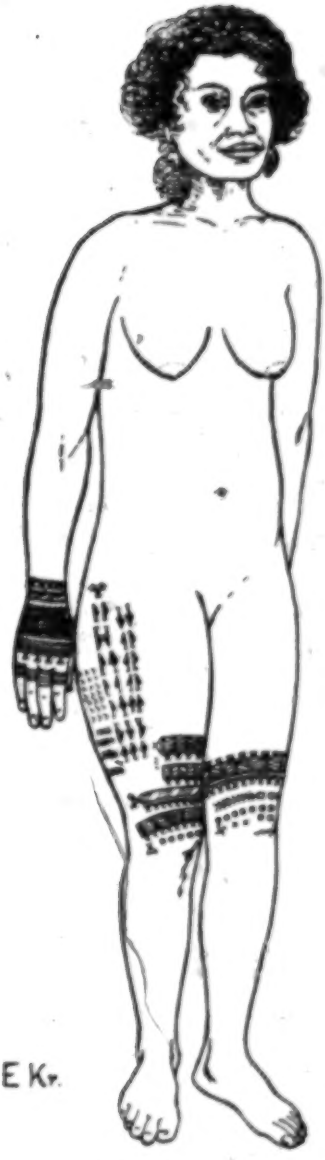


Abb. 92. Tatauierung

sein Zusammenhang zweifelhaft erscheinen könnte. Aber Müller Yap I S. 43 u. 45 zeigt doch deutlichst, daß diese Strahlentatauierung, auch auf Yap, wo ich sie selbst nicht sah, vorkommt, während sie auf Palau andersgeartet ist. Ich habe sie an Mogemog-Männern auf der Fahrt nach Yap studiert, und Feis zeigt die zweifelsfreie Verbreitung, so daß sie also auf den westlichen Karolinen mit Ausnahme von Lamotrek und Palau (auf Yap scheint sie nur von Mokemok her eingeführt) heute noch vorkommt.

Strahlentatauierung nenne ich sie wegen der strahlenartigen Gebilde, die auf der Brust und an den Seiten nach oben streben, wie Finger von Händen; Müller nennt sie *yōl*, neben den eigentlich yapischen Beinmustern.

Die Abb. 91, 92, 93 zeigen, wie schön sie auf Oleai bei den Männern vorkommt; bei den Frauen sind meist nur kleine Ornamente an den Oberschenkeln vorhanden, die von den Matten bedeckt werden. Dies kann auch bei Männern der Fall sein, da die große Rumpftatauierung natürlich schmerzvoll, mühsam und teuer ist. Die Erklärung der Strahlentatauierung siehe bei Feis. Hier nur noch einiges zur Ausführung auf Oleai.

Der Tatauierer *idlemak* wird geholt, wenn sich jemand beschlagen lassen will; ist das nötige besprochen, so gibt man ihm am Tage vor Beginn ein großes Essen und macht ihm auch als Vorausbezahlung viele Geschenke, für ihn und seine Familie. Für eine große Tatauierung sind es oft 150 Stück an Flecht- und Webmatten, Gürtel, Schüsseln, Deckelkisten, Äxte, Messer, ja ein Boot kann dabei sein, denn der ganze große

Schmuck ist mühsam, erfordert viel Arbeit und Geschicklichkeit. Ein berühmter Künstler läßt sich dementsprechend bezahlen. Er zeichnet mit einer Kokosfiederrippe *(log)*, die er wie einen Pinsel in die schwarze Farbe (Ruß von Calophyllumnüssen mit Wasser angemacht) taucht, die Muster *gaar* in 5—10 Tagen fertig. Hat das Schlagen begonnen, so schläft der Geschlagene

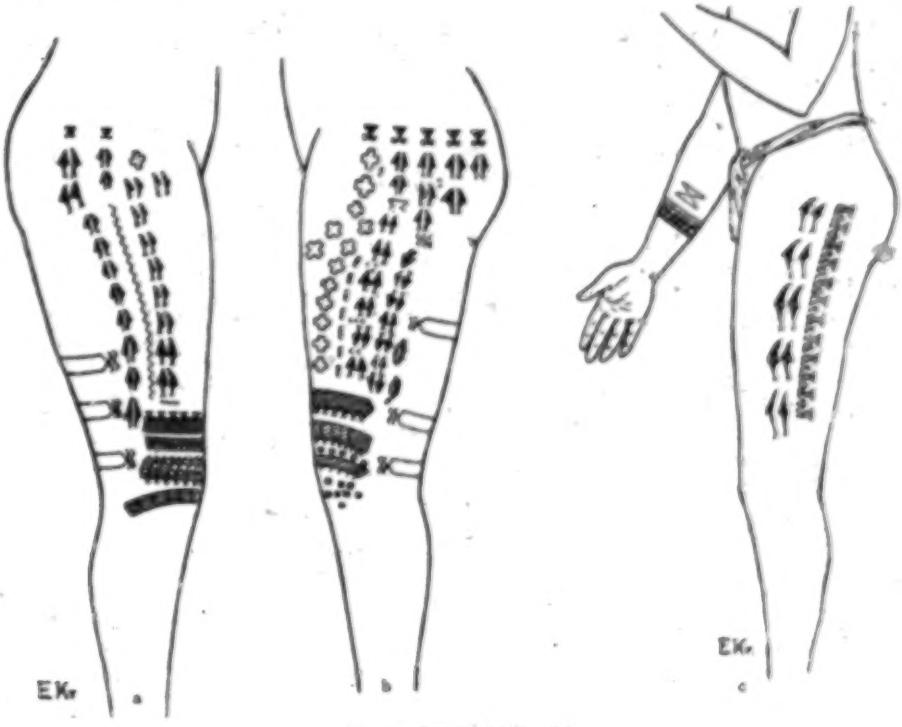


Abb. 93. Frauentatauierungen.

immer auf der beschlagenen Stelle, damit das Sekret abfließen kann. Ist nach vielen Tagen alles zum glücklichen Ende gebracht, so marschiert der Geschmückte auf dem großen Weg durch das Dorf, damit alle Leute ihn sehen und bewundern können. Er hat eine Matte mit sich, auf die er sich zuweilen niedersetzt und erhält von allen Seiten Erfrischungen.

Im ganzen gilt er als tabu, d. h. er darf z. B. mit Frauen nicht zusammen essen und verkehren; dann tritt er wieder ins Alltagsleben ein.

Die Tatauierhacken *gálēt* sind wie Aderlasser vorhanden (Kr. 256—259). Schneide aus Fregattvogelknochen; die Hämmer *olo* oder *vao* sind oft recht lang, fünfeckig, wie der auf Abb. 94, (Kr. 264 = 304911), der 45 cm lang ist; ihre

Abb. 94. Tatauierhammer.

Abb. 95. Tatauierhammer.

Form ist als Vogel unverkennbar. Das Holz soll vom *gōngi*-Baum stammen (s. Feis), der aber auf Oleai ausgestorben sein soll. Einen einfacheren Hammer zeigt Abb. 95, He. 1609c *daiō* oder *daijo* aus *ira*-Holz; man schlägt mit dem verjüngten Ende.

Das Baumharz *rumaio* (Kr. 405) oder *rau* (He. 1774) dient zur Rußbereitung *bollāt* (He. 1609).

Bemalung mit Gelbwurzpulver *reng* (Ko.: *rahn*).

2. Ernährungs-Wirtschaft.

a) Pflanzenprodukte.

Wichtigste Nahrungsmittel und Geräte:

lu Kokosnuß (Born *nu*, *djan'nelú* Kokoswasser, *djal* Wasser, *bōr* Flasche; zum Abnehmen der Kokosnüsse gibt es einen Sitzstock bzw. Kletterfußsessel Abb. 96, He. 1937 u. 5727 Abb. 96 s. S. 232. Ko.: Kokos *ni*, abhülsen *pajōl*,

Abb. 96. Kletterstock.

udt Edeltaro (Ko.: *eoth*)
pūlag[1] Großtaro (Ko.: *wulach*)
fillē Großtaro (Ko.: *villa*)
uidj Bananen (Aberglaube S. 284) (Ko. *ul*)
mei Brotfrucht (Ko. *md*)
e mamis Gurkenart
uōu Zuckerrohr
faliap Eugenia malaccensis; beliebt bei Kindern
gadji Palmsaft (Born *gatschi mem*, sauer *faloba*) erst 14 Tage nach Schnitt Ertrag gut.)

[1] Born *bulak*, nach geschlechtsloser Nacht gestochen. Tagaulap hat kein Feld.

nach Born Papaya *galoruk* und Crataeva *jabatsch*; v. Kittlitz S. 155 gibt an, daß Tacca pinnatifida *(mókamok* Truk S. 420) sehr viel auf der Insel Raur vorkomme (Ko.: *mogemug*).

b) Gerichte:

djél gestampfter Taro oder Brotfruchtteig mit *gadji* oder Preßmilch gemischt. Born: *djarong* Cocos mit *bulak*-Stücken.

limelim: Tarostiele enthäutet und mit Preßmilch oder *gadji* gekocht, ebenso *mar*.

Das Klären des Busches geschieht durch die Männer; so werden Rodungen *ídravol* erzielt. Die Erde *mádjor* wird mit einem ruderähnlichen Grabstock *goldívol*[1] (Abb. 97 Kr. 263) umgebrochen. Die Frau pflanzt den Taro; gelegentlich auch Männer, wenn sie es verstehen. Blätterdüngung *rál*.

Abb. 97. Holzspaten.

c) Kochen.

Arbeit der Frau, die auch im Kochhaus webt (Lütke). Es gibt eine Art Kochschulen.

d) Küchengeräte.

Kokosschale (zum Trinken) *tagag e lául*, Wasserflasche *baradjal*

Löffel *ólil*[2], Abb. 98;

Eßspatel He. 1678 *gátik* (Fischschwanz *perál*), *átak* aus Test-Knochen Abb. 99, Kr. 253 = 303811, 29 cm lang, zum Kokosnuß aufschlagen, ausschaben und essen; s. auch Linden-Museum Nr. 41258 Taf. 7.

Abb. 98. Teelöffel aus Palau.

Stössel *fál*, Abb. 100, Stampfer für Taro, Brotfrucht usw. He. 1852 und 565011 und Kr. 282 = 306611, Höhe ca. 18 cm; auch aus »Steine« *faisúss* He. 1679 Stoßbrett *al'líf*, stampfen *sugu* (Ko.: *lovis*)

Kokosraspel *wégin* Abb. 101, He. 1627 = 545711 von Máriam, Holz *félé*, Muschel *pílig*

---

[1] He 1857 *ottiwdri* oder He. 1943 *udi* aus Kokosholz.

[2] Auch Schildpattlöffel von Palau fanden wir hier vor (He. 1697), und He. 1658 Trinkröhrchen.

Bambusmesser *gig* (Yap) (He. 1785) zum Sägen von Schildpatt gebraucht (Ko.: schneiden *kulovi*)

Taroschaber, große Becherkoralle, Kr. 407.

Abb. 99. Spatel.

Abb. 101. Raspel.

Abb. 100. Sitzbrett.

Taroschaber aus Perlschale He. 4649 *sár*

Feuer *sáf*, -Hobel *weelit*; neuerdings Stahl und Stein in Täschchen He. 1558 *kaigéra*, 4643 *sigeréra*; s. auch die Feuerholzbüchsen bei den Gefäßen S. 242; Zunderholz *gabát*

Herd *fálang*, Feuerfächer *gálipo*, Brunnen *djálal*.

Kokoshüllenspalter He. 1860 *gátubirra* Wurzelknotenholz; He. 1885 = 56761 Kletterfußfessel aus Bast *laviteg*; He. 1937 Sitzstock, Sitzholz *valevaib* zum Palmen besteigen, Abb. 96, zwecks Reinigung, Nüssepflücken und Palmwein schneiden. Hacke aus Testknochen (vgl. Ku. Bd. 61 S. 50), breite Schneide, Nil ähnlich Palau.

Turdus columbinus für Männer tabū, weil sie sonst von den Kokospalmen fallen.

e) Tierische Nahrung.

Hauptsächlich Fisch *ig* (Born *ik*).

Cantova S. 316 erzählt vom Walfang (Delphin?) nach dem Bericht eines Eingeborenen von Oleai: Wenn ein Wal in die Lagune kommt, fahren Boote sofort zum Einlaß und versuchen das erschrockene Tier ins Flachwasser zu treiben. Sie springen dann ins Wasser und speeren den Fisch, andere werfen ihm Leinen um, die an Land festgemacht sind. Dann wird er an Land gezogen. Ein großes Fest folgt.

Lütke S. 176 schildert eine Art der Fischkonservierung (vgl. Palau III S. 98): In einem Erdloch macht man Feuer und legt Korallensteine hinein. Sind

sie glühend, bedeckt man sie mit Blättern, legt die Fische darauf, bedeckt diese auch mit Blättern und gibt heiße Steine darauf. Dann wird das Loch mit Sand zugedeckt. Dann sollen die Fische eine Woche gut bleiben.

Grüner Scarus wird roh mit Brotfruchtteig *mar* gegessen.

Nach Lütke Octopus 48 Stunden nach Kochen gegessen.

Turdus columbinus für Männer tabū, weil sie sonst von den Kokospalmen fallen.

3. Fischerei.

a) Allgemeines.

Die Leine *djál* wird aus Fasern von *dromá* gedreht; Rinde von der Epidermis befreit, der Bast mit Muschel geschabt und in der Sonne getrocknet.

Born: Fischfang *seloch*, mit Speer *koboi*, Angel *bau*, Haken *cho*, Reuse *buiau*, Netz *jadeng*, Fischbank *kassutsch*, Fiederfischfang *tülimingar* (s. o. *dulima* . . .).

Abb. 102a—d. Fischhaken.

An Haken *bā* wurden gesammelt: (Angelstock He. *tigo* 1826 *wai*, Angel *wau lü vül*). (Ko.: *gau*) (Zeremonialhaken s. oben Abb. 89, He. 1347 offen von Falális).

Kr. 379 *bā lietam*.

Kr. 381 *bā ligátaf* aus schwarzer Perlmutter *djar* für Fisch *djep*.

Kr. 383 *bā ligataf faibar* aus rotem Spondylus für Fisch *gali*.

Kr. 399 *bā levil* für Bonito *karangāp*; Testhaken Berlin VI 10661 vgl. Feis.
He. 1797 *pā faipar* von Vótagai Abb. 102a für *kalli, mol, detettivars.*
He. 1619 = 5450 *pā fai*, Abb. b, von Mariam, mit Widerhaken außen.
He. 1625 und 1705 (5455 und 5524II) *pa ssār*[1], Abb. c, d, für große *ilam* (s. S. 49).
He. 1795 *fai wai* Blänker schwarze Perlschale *waū*, für *matak'trd, moil, ilam, gali.*
Kr. 397 Testhaken *gō* für alle Fische s. S. 225 (Lam. *gobodj*), *matalipā* Haken für *balug*-Fische vom Boot aus, *baligat'taf*[2] für Innenriff *illang*. Die Behälter für die Haken s. bei Gefäße.
He. 1912 Kokosbüchse mit Fischhaken *wai teri pér.*

Nach Lütke 3 Arten Haken: 1. klein bogenförmig, aus Holz daumengroß, Muscheln, Kofferfischteil, Köder Gerres (Tinga). 2. Perlmutter bei Mond für Serranus, Bodianus, Labrus, Balistes usw. 3. größere für Bonito, geschleppt vom Boot, mit Kokosfiedern.

He. 1552 Fischdrachen aus Brotfruchtbaumblatt *srōu*[3] *e gataug* (Lam. *gedjeg*). Abb. 103 mit Köder aus Haifischhaut *gēli boggo* oder *hoilūl li boggo* (s. S. 48). Länge 70 cm, Breite 35 cm; s. Feis.
Haifang *lemalibóggo* mit Köder *tag*, s. Feis.
Aalschlinge fehlt.

Abb. 103. Fischdrachen.

b) Fischspeere:

He. 1694 *tau* aus Kokosholz; Lütke *hattan* spitzige Stange.
He. 1828 *gōbai* aus Arecaholz von Yap.
He. 1903 kleine *to lik* aus *song* Holz, Zacken *rumūl*, Spitze *meldl; dulimat* mit Fackel auf dem Riff fischen *(dul* Fackel), *dulemangar* auf Flederfische (s. u.).

c) Fischkörbe und -netze s. S. 237 Lütke.

Treibholz fischen *gabeibei i rēl* s. Feis. Am 6. Nov. 1909 wurde ein großer Baumstamm an der Nordseite von Wolea gemeldet, den wir mit Agupelior besahen. Die Fischer fuhren über die Brandung der Riffkante hinaus und befestigten

[1] He. 1787 *ba garangap e ssēr* aus Perlschale.
[2] von *gat'taf* hin und her bewegen.
[3] s. Lam. Blatt *reau.*

die Körbe an den Flanken. Die Leute von Mariong fingen über 100 graue kleine Brassen.

Schon in Bd. 61 Taf. 5 ist ein Stück von Oleai abgebildet. Eingang überdacht, Kammer mit kuppelförmiger Erhöhung; diese Art heißt *ulebam*, He. 1900 = 568911 *ūlepam*, Dach *rūg*, 2 Kammern neben Eingang *peg*. Horizontaler Reifstock im Eingang *pōgepōg*, äußerer Boden *bássebazs*, Kuppel *ung*, Hinterwand *kab*, Steifgabel innen *ula roi*, innere Seitensteifstäbe *sūre*, Ringe *talling lū ū le pam*.

ulebíou sieht aus wie eine längliche Kiste.

ulemorōual (...morōuel) ist keulenförmig, auf einer Seite verdickt.

He. 1899 *ū le gārér* Kippreuse. Wird mit der offenen Seite nach unten ins Wasser gehalten. Schwimmen Fische hinein, so wird der Korb rasch nach oben gedreht. Die starken Längsreifen *olōl* sind aus Wurzelholz *wogarulle giriau*, die dünnen aus *wogarolle lū*; Quergeflecht *gobór*, Griff und Ramen *ū*. He. 1948 gleich, aber mit Handstock; Reuse *tangag*, Holz des Geflechtes *jaro*.

util ist länglich walzenförmig und wird zwischen zwei Booten gehalten.

util wurde aber auch ein Netz mit Ramen genannt (Kr. 266 = 305111). (Ko.: *ueh*) das als Modell mitgebracht wurde (s. Taf. 19a.).

Kr. 265 *gajab* Filetnadel, *uápes* Schwimmer, Senker *fáorem* s. S. 246.

Handnetz für fliegende Fische *sōu*; He. 1645 *srōu*, Namen *atūrtrōu*, Griff *fouwo*. *ūeng* Hochseenetz.

Nach Lütke Frauenarbeit *boschebok*: sie machen im Binnenwasser einen Halbkreis gegen den Strand, die Netze dicht aneinander; die Männer stehen mit Speeren am Strand und jagen die Fische hinein.

Nach Born bringen schwimmende Knaben ein Netz in einen Halbkreis; Enden an Land gezogen, Boote am Rand, viel Geschrei, aber selten viel gefangen. Einmal bei Paliau bei einem Zug einige 1000 lachsartige *skibijak*.

Bei Ankunft eines Fischerbootes rennt alles vom Strand in den Busch, dann Fische ins Haus. Wenn am Feuer, Zeigefinger hineingehalten, dann an Zunge. Dann Verteilung.

Die Fischer *fita, tōfita, tōsAlog, liap* müssen nach Seefahrten (s. S. 271) immer 5 Monate im *fallap* bleiben, sonst werden sie von Haien gefressen, oder die Haie fressen ihre Fische, und ihr Weib wird gestohlen.

d) Bootsgesänge.

1. Bootgesang für Fischer.

Der Sänger will viele Fische haben; er klappt mit den Kokosfiedern *ubut* wie mit Schlittenriemen (s. Lam. Abb. 74); mitgeteilt von Uolegar von Vótagai.

1. *igolō igolō vorāu vorá*	Viele, viele Essensgeschenke,	*vorāu* = *volevu* 1. Bootbaugesang S. 264.
eangeangnlei	schnell, mein Sohn,	*eang* Wind

ma eangeangalipei	komm schnell auf meine Hand	d. h. zu mir
eangeang iligána roro	schnell die Speise reiche,	*gan* Speise (Palau *kál*)
5. *ülö urára*	wie der Regen, im Überfluß.	

2. Gesang für *ba*-Fische (*ba* S. 233).

1. *diribö diribö*	Komm schnell, komm schnell,	
darabö darabö	komm herauf, komm herauf,	
daraböbo, dágadjak gö	komm herauf, komm in die Höhe	*metá gö* Was ist das?
garangäp ale foiüle	Bonito, an dem Riff da	*/ai* Stein, kleines Riff.
5. *iöiö mälü*	sind viele Fische zusammen;	
vujevuj gárang	verrückt der Bonito	*gárang* = *garangäp* = *eás* s. u.

3. *alus i le garangäp*, Bonitolied (vergl. S. 54).

meibung, meibung	Er stößt, er stößt;	der Fischer in den Schwarm
sinetog eás /aleöti	komm zurück, Bonito, unter mein Boot,	*eas* s. o. */an* unter
välei ia	heute, jetzt.	der Fisch schwimmt vom Boot fort, wird aber durch den Geist zurückgebracht.

Bei Kotzebue III S. 125 (Truk S. 451) heißt es über die Delfin Jagd: »Es kommen drei Arten Delphine mit weißen, roten, schwarzen Bäuchen in diesem Meerstriche vor. Wenn die von Ulea diese Tiere gewahr werden, so gehen kleine Boote, gegen 80 an der Zahl, in die See, umzingeln die Heerde, treiben selbige gegen das Land, und wenn sie sich dem hinreichend genähert, belästigen sie die Tiere mit Steinwürfen, bis sie sich auf den Strand werfen. So wird man ihrer in großer Anzahl habhaft. Ihr Fleisch wird gern gegessen. Bei dem Zerschneiden sind kunstgerechte Schnitte zu beobachten. Ein falscher Schnitt entfernt die Tiere auf eine gewisse Zeit von der Insel. Zu Svilick[1], wo der Riff nur einen schmalen

[1] Wo?

Eingang hat, werden die Tiere in die Laguna getrieben, und es wird keines getötet, bis sie sich in gehöriger Anzahl (gegen ein halbes Hundert) eingefangen haben. Auf den zu Ulea gehörigen Inseln wird diese Treibjagd mit besonderem Erfolg ausgeübt. Man versteht auf anderen die Kunst nicht so gut.«

Hierzu vgl. Die Samoainseln Bd. I S. 354 Gesch. 13.

Bei Kotzebue S. 132 wird hinzugefügt, daß Kinder mit einem häufig gefangenen kleinen Fisch (wohl die Sardine *sennif* Truk) belehrt werden: »Geschehe es, daß wer einen dieser Fische bei dem Schwanz anfasse und aufhöbe, so daß der Kopf nach unten hinge, würden bei dem nächsten Fischfange, alle Fische ebenso mit dem Kopf nach unten die Tiefe suchen und es könnte keiner gefangen werden.«

Nach Lütke S. 166 ist im Okt. und Nov. Mangel an Fischen und Früchten. Ersatz Seevögel. Fang 2—4 Uhr früh und 8—9. Vorher Beischlaf tabū. Auslegen der Fischkörbe (aus Volkameria-Zweigen), Mündung gegen den Gezeitenstrom; alle 2 Tage nachsehen, weshalb jeder 2 Körbe hat, wenn nicht mehr; für Frauen kleine *unaḍaba* mit Krebsköder, ohne solchen bei großen *ouh* in kleinen und großen Tiefen, mit beschwertem Hakensenker gehoben; dabei Öl (gekauten Kern) aufs Wasser, um besser sehen zu können. Fang mit Handnetz in der Sonne oder Nachts mit Fackeln aus 3 Kokoswedeln in der Linken. Nachtfang *eddoll*.

4. Handwerk, Geräte, Waffen.

a) Holzbearbeitung.

Erzeugnisse: Holzschüsseln
Kopfbank (Hausrat)
Haus und Boot.
(Ko.: behauen *falla*).

b) Geräte.

(Ko.: Eisen *parang*, Meißel *tété*, Axt *moil*, Messer *sar*, Schleifstein *fasitte)*, Drillbohrer Kr. 291 = 30751I, He. 1874 *wūruwur manupok*, Eisen *parang*[1], Eisenaxt *bosogul*, Handbohrer *vuruvur* Kr. 292 und He. 1722 = 55381I, aus Haizahn oder Fregattvogelknochen.

He. 1669, 1921 Muschel zum Patt-Raspeln *pelig*, *falá trig*, dafür auch Rochenhaut.

Kr. 294—301 Tridacnaklingen (s. S. 62) für Axt *atilagi* Abb. 104 Länge 29 und Abb. 105 = 13,3 cm, Dexel *gasuéla*.

Kr. 302 Äxte mit Klingen.

[1] He. 1789 ist ein Kombinationsbohrer *ni li baggo ma parang* aus Haizahn und Eisen, zugleich Messer und Säge. Eisen ist seit 100 etwa Jahren vorhanden, durch eine Strandung (s. Truk S. 13). s. auch Kotzebue III S. 124.

Kr. 304 Hohlklinge aus Mitra-Schnecke, He. 1365 aus einem Stück der Cassis-Schnecke.

He. 1567, 1680 Beilklinge *dallę barâ*[1] aus Tridacna *sûm* (s. S. 62).

He. 1595, 1665 Beilklinge *dallē* aus großer Tridacnaart *gi*.

He. 1647 Hohle Beilklinge *dallē koroilimang* aus Muschel *maidjal (maial)*.

He. 4648 aus Konus *kórror*; jetzt als Schaber gebraucht, früher Hohlbeil.

Abb. 104. Dechselklinge. Abb. 105.

He. 1893 = 5682II Muschelbeil Hohlklinge *dallē*, Schaberform von *Sêtowal*.

Pfriemen s. Webnadeln.

Schleifsteine wurden ehemals von Yap geholt, He. 1701 ein leichtes Lavastück.

Die Holzarten sind Kokos, Brotfruchtbaum *mqi; nga; ut* (He. 1699 Schüssel); *ira* (S. 230); *gálliu, kalu* (Cordia subcordata); für Schüsseln auch Calophyllum *ragits;* Eugenia; *kadrió* (He. 1811) seit Taifun nicht mehr da; *mareill* Hibiscus *(gulivâ)*.

Harz vom Brotfruchtbaum *bilis*, (Kr. 404 war 1933 entsetzlich stinkend); ein Harz *rumâio* war angeschwemmt, auch Paraffinstücke.

c) Gefäße.

Die Holzschüsseln, *tabbi* (Ko. *tapi)* schließen sich in der Form denen von den östlichen Inseln an[2]. Die Bodenfläche innen ist meist gefalzt, geht also nicht mählich in die Seitenwand über. Nasen oft sehr lang, durchlocht für Schnur. Man unterscheidet:

Holzschüsseln Abb. 106a—r.

Schüsseln ohne Füße.

a) Kr. 280 = 30641I Abb. a länglich, Enden abgerundet; Länge 22 cm, Breite 9,2 cm, Höhe 6 cm, s. Durchmesser a'.
Kr. 279 u. 272 breiter als lang 15:14 u. 41:38 cm.

b) He. 1888 = 56781I Abb. b von Vótagai, Bootform; Länge 31,5 cm, Breite 12,2 cm, Höhe 6,8 cm, Boden flach, für Yapfarbe *ē ngap*. Vgl. Vogelform Abb. c. Durchmesser b'.

c) Berlin VI 25365 Abb. c, rote Farbschale in Fregattvogelform, Länge 35 cm, Breite 11,5, s. Lam. Schwanz hinten abgesetzt; (s. u. Kr. 492).

[1] He. 1834 *parâ*, Stil *érat*, Ellbogen (Nacken S. 62) *gapûl*, Klingenlager *kor u lal*, Verschnürung *vóval*.

[2] He. 1674 *tapi, tapi, tâpi*, Griffe *metatapi* (Spitze, Auge), oberer Rand *narret tepi* (s. S. 221), Nasen *bôati tepi*, Füße *peréri tepi*; ich notierte folgende Teile: außen *luge tébbi*, innen *lane tébbi*, Griffplatte *metatébbi*, Nase *bodjiltébbi*, Längsrand *ngasel* t., unten *tobel* t., Fuß *bedjal* t.,

Abb. 106a—i. Holzschalen.

d) Kr. 276 = 3061II *eadjal* Schöpfschale mit Griff *ejal*, Abb. d rund, Diam. 23 cm, Höhe 7 cm.

Schüsseln mit Längsfüßen (2 Längsleisten am Boden):
(He. 1915 = 5706II *perrĕt tépi* kleine Schüssel mit 2 Füßen).

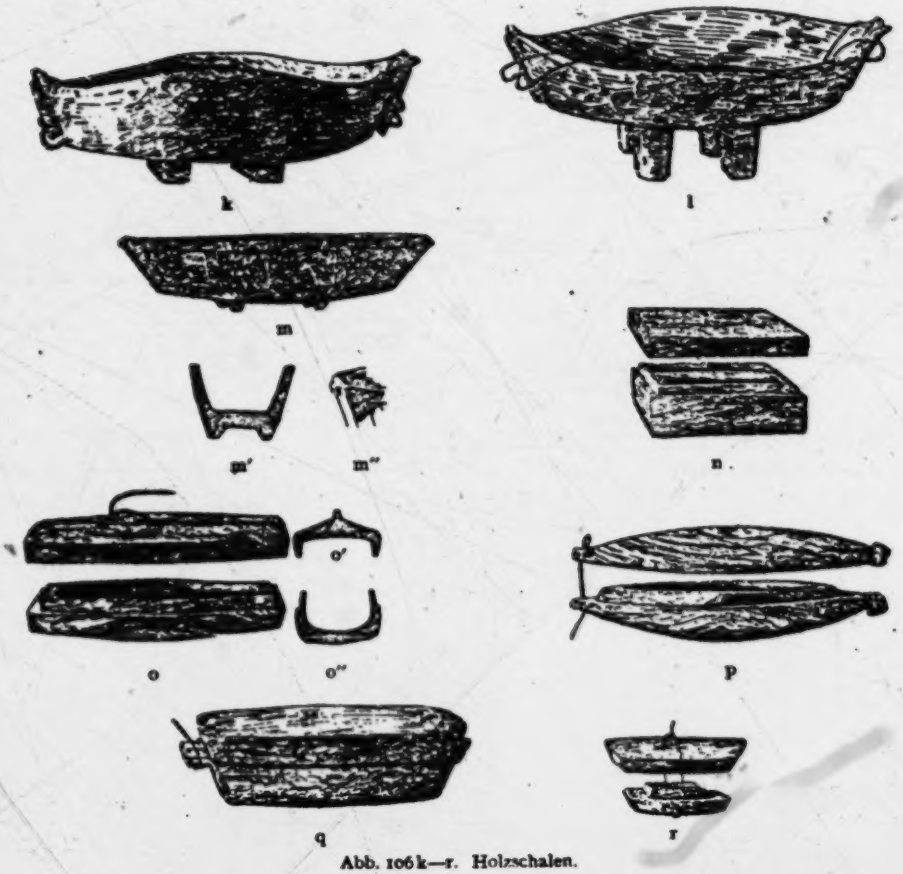


Abb. 106 k—r. Holzschalen.

e) Kr. 273 = 3058II Abb. e, Griffplatte oben; Länge 44 cm, Breite 27 cm, Höhe 16 cm, Fuß halb so hoch. Boden platt, Brotfruchtbaum-Holz: ebenso Kr. 270 Calophyllum-Holz. Durchmesser e'.

f) He. 1696 = 5517II Abb. f, Rand sanft geschwungen; Länge 31 cm, Breite 23,5 cm, Höhe 10 cm. Nase lang, Griffplatte nach oben gewölbt. 2 Längsfüße, nur wenig hoch.

g) Kr. 279 = 30631I Abb. g, Rand stark geschwungen; Länge 14 cm, Breite 15 cm, Höhe 6 cm, Durchschnitt g' schüsselförmig, Füße kurz.

h) He. 1700 = 55191I Abb. h, breiter als lang, querelliptisch (Palau III S. 121); Länge 30,5 cm, Breite 37 cm, Höhe 9,5 cm. Füße sehr klein auf dem flachen Boden. Brotfruchtholz. Durchmesser h'.

Schüsseln mit Querfüßen.

i) He. 1915 = 37061I Abb. i, Längsschüssel mit durchlochten hohen Nasen und Henkel. Länge 23,5 cm, Breite 19,5 cm, Höhe 9,3 cm. Füße 2—3 cm hoch. Durchmesser i'.

k) He. 1674 = 54961I Abb. k ähnlich wie vorige, Rand mehr geschwungen; Länge 40 cm, Breite 24 cm, Höhe 10,5 cm, Calophyllum-Holz.

Schüsseln mit 4 Füßen.

l) Kr. 274 = 30591I Abb. l, mit gehobenem Sattel über Nase; Länge 38 cm, Breite 27 cm, Höhe 13—15 cm; Walzige Füße etwa 7 cm hoch.

m) Kr. 281 = 30651I *tabbi en'nap*[1] (für Farbe) Abb. m, trogartig; Länge 32 cm, Breite 10,5 cm, Höhe 7,5 cm. Wände mit je 4 viereckigen Vertiefungen; Füße stummelförmig. Durchmesser m', Nase m".

Deckelkasten *sap*[2].

n) Kr. 398 = 31561I Angelhakenbehälter, 2teilig Abb. n; Länge 16 cm, Breite 8,5 cm, Höhe 6,4 cm, mit Falz, viereckig.

o) Kr. 400 = 31571I Abb. o, Behälter für *ba levil*; Länge 26 cm, Breite 9 cm, Höhe 8 cm, viereckig. Deckel oben mit Griff, keine an den Enden. Durchmesser o' und o".

p) He. 1864 = 56581I *sáp* Abb. p, längsoval mit Knöpfen; Länge 32 cm, Breite 7,6 cm, Höhe 8 cm, Holz *gálliu (kalu)*.

q) He. 1847 = 56451I Abb. q, viereckig; Länge 26,8 cm, Breite 10 cm, Höhe 8,8 cm.

r) He. 1717 = 5534 Abb. r, viereckig, nach unten kleiner werdend. Länge 14 cm, Breite 5,2 cm, Höhe 5 cm.
He. 1907 Enden schiefer, He. 1877 Enden sehr schief mit Zapfen, ohne Obengriff.
He. 1341 (Falálap) Voléa, Griffplatte wie *lios en mingau* Truk S. 150d'.

[1] He. 1887 rote Yapfarbe *i ngap*.
[2] He. 1802 Deckeldose (2teilig) *dkidiu*.

Bambusbüchsen[1].

He. *gulugul*, Deckel *sése*, Falz *autél* nach indonesischer Art ornamentiert. Leipzig Mi. 1793 u. 99 zeigen Büchsen, die noch von der Godeffroy-Sammlung stammen.

Abb. 107a.
Bambusbüchse.

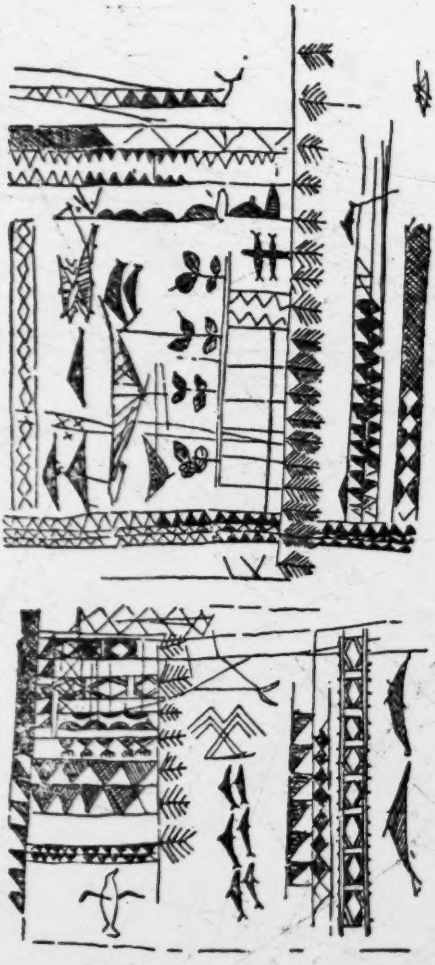


Abb. 107b.
Bambusbüchse mit Abwicklung.

Abb. 108.
Bambusbüchse.

[1] He. 1643, ...73. Kokosbüchse *ware* für Tabak, Deckel *pdlepal (pilipildl)* aus Brotfruchtholz, s. S. 245.

s) Hamburg: He. 1719 = 553511 Abb. 107a mit Abwicklung b; Länge 32 cm.
t) He. 1761 = 556811 Abb. 108; Länge 35 cm.
u) He. 1920 = 571211 Abb. 109a mit Abwicklung b; Länge 21 cm.
v) He. 4654 = 821811 Abb. 110; Länge 50 cm, Durchmesser 4,2 cm.

Dazu wurde noch gesammelt:

Kr. 491 = 324511 Fischeßbrett *rólig*.
Kr. 492 Schüssel mit 2 Fregattvogelköpfen.
Kr. 493. Schüssel als sitzender Fregattvogel.
He. 1878 = 566811 *ságeag*, eine Seepocke als Farbbehälter Abb. 111.

Abb. 109a. Bambusbüchse.

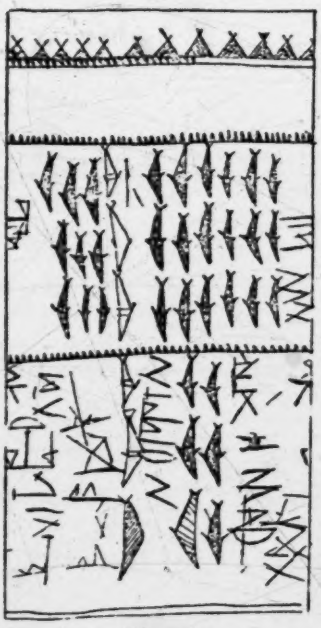


Abb. 109b. Bambusbüchse mit Abwicklung.

Abb. 110. Feuerholzbüchse.

Abb. 111. Seepocke als Farbtopf.

Ornamentik.

s. Lamotrek S. 88 und 175.

Eine Menge Muster zeigen sich auf den eben erwähnten Bambusgefäßen, wie auch die der Strahlen-Tatauierung, deren eine große Menge Abb. 79 von Lámotrek zeigt, die Ornamente Abb. 107b—109b, nicht wesentlich verschieden sind. Wie bei Lamotrek zeigen auch hier die Häuser Giebelschmuck (s. u.).

d) Waffen.

gibt es wenige, wie auf Lámotrek. Ich fand an Keulen nur eine alte von Truk (Kr. 409) und zwar auf Vótagai, wo sie als Stange für ein Mückennetz Verwendung fand.

An Angriffswaffen sind nur Reißringe mit Haizähnen oder Fischdornen vorhanden.

Abb. 112a. Haizähne Reißring.

Abb. 112b. Nasenstacheln.

He. 1835 = 563511 Abb. 112 *rajerás* mit Haizähnen (a).
He. 1692 mit zwei Naseus-Stacheln *baráli ge váleval* (b).
He. 1693 mit Haizähnen *ni li bago*.
Kotzebue III S. 61 nennt Speer, Schleuder; s. Krieg.

e) Geld, Maaße; nicht besonders ermittelt. Zählschnur Abb. 133.

f) Flechterei.

(vgl. Tafel 19).

(Ko.: nähen *thigi.)*

Zum Flechten dienen wie üblich Kokoswedel und Pandanusblätter; letztere werden welk *mang* (s. Bd. 61 S. 178) am Feuer, nicht in der Sonne getrocknet, in eine Rolle *sābil* gewickelt. Diese Rolle *sabil lü mang* wird bis zum Gebrauch aufbewahrt.

Zum Schaben der Blätter bzw. der Streifen dienen Perlschalen, zum Flechten das Holz *wā sigerára* (He. 1830).

Matten.

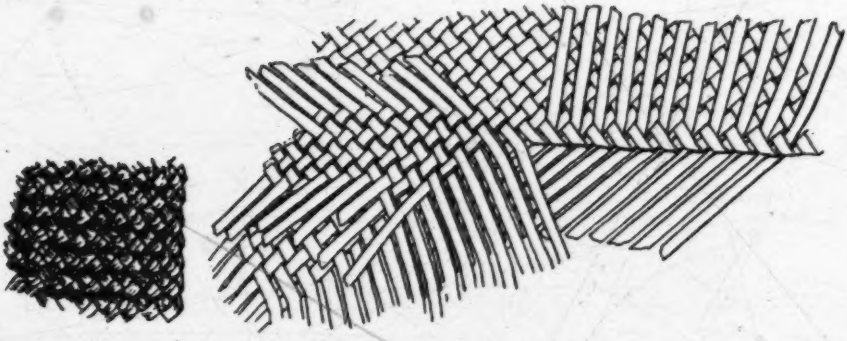
Kotzebue III S. 62 Matte von Pandanusblättern *mang*, Schlafmatte *sagi*, Zeug aus Bananenfaser *kou*.

He. 1443 = 529511 Schlafmatte.

He. 1642 ist eine kleine Pandanusmatte *géagi*, die in einer Kinderwiege lag (s. S. 113).

He. 1832 = 563111 gibt ein Bild der Matte Abb. 113a und die Flechtart b aus dem Hamburger Museum. Geflecht *faije pé*, Mittelflechtansatz *fōlu*; ohne Flechtnadel gearbeitet.

He. 1850 *vaijepek* (vgl. oben *faijepé)*, Streifen *géagi*.



a b

Abb. 113. Flechtart einer Schlafmatte.

Taschen.

He. 1571 ein quadratisches Täschchen *sigerára* aus Pandanusblättern mit Deckel *pilipilál*[1], wie auf Taf. 5 m zu sehen. Herstellung mit Hilfe des Holzes *wāisigerára* s. o.

Auch hier die *gaigérs* Taschen (s. S. 67); oft für Feuerstahl usw. gebraucht, aus Pandanusblättern.

He. 1924 ein Täschchen aus Kokosblättern *déibe*.

Körbe ohne Henkel.

Kr. 308 *tjuk i le monga* »Eßkorb« für rohe Feldfrüchte, Abb. 19 g schnell aus zwei halben Wedeln gefertigt, am Boden innen Zopf.

Sonst heißt man nach He. 1598 diese Art Kokoskörbe *tūg watálu*, gemeinhin *watau* (s. S. 69), breite Seiten *golongal watau*, oberer Rand *jawále*, Außenboden *verélle*, Inneres *lánne*, schmale Seiten *tawole*, Knoten *vúgevug*, grüne Kokosblätter *bálnu*, trockene *épal*. Auch ein Frauenhandkörbchen He. 1556 wird *wóatau* genannt, ein Männerkorb He. 1570 *ware wotau*.

He. 1779 *watálu* mit je einer Öse an den Ecken, gebunden mit Armband aus Menschenhaar *tim* und Muschel *tigere* (s. Taf. 5 h).

Auch der runde Webekorb (Truk S. 169 *abeas*) erscheint hier:

He. 1540 *gabéts*, He. 1829 *gabédj*, unten der Boden viereckig.

He. 1541 *ka'caul* ein runder hoher Korb mit viereckigem Boden.

Körbe mit Henkel.

Kr. 306 = 308911 *gat* für Aufbewahrung von Speisen. Taf. 19 b.

Kr. 307 *gappare*, Henkel innen von Kokos *gappari*; Abb. Taf. 19 c, He. 1539 *kapoló*,

[1] s. S. 242, Anm. 1.

kato, 1554 *kaporó*, He. 1755 = 55641I *kaporo*, *kād*, Abb. Taf. 19c, langer Henkel in der Mitte.

He. 1642 = 54711I *tug e sari* Kinderwiege Abb. Taf. 19h.

Kr. 305 = 30881I *tuk ĕ sari* Korb für ein Neugeborenes, Abb. Taf. 19f, Flechtart *faoagell*. 2 Henkel, auf jeder Seite einer; bei h geflochten, bei f aus Schnur (Mariam) umgreifend gefertigt. Vergleiche die Wiegen auf Lamotrek.

Fächer

für Feuer, Wind, Mücken.

Kr. 309 = 30921I Feuerfächer *galipo*, Flechtart *tarasjill* über 1. Taf. 19i.

Kr. 310 Feuerfächer *galipo*, Flechtart *tarauál* über 2. Taf. 19k.

He. 1559 Fächer *saipe*.

Flechtmuster

Das Truk'sche Windrad kommt vor; s. Lamotrek.

g) Zwirnarbeiten.

Seildreherei s. S. 72

ist vorhanden; Schnur *gologól*, Knäuel *gassegül lü g*. He. 1853. Gestell *méil* wie in Lam. Abb. 44.

Kotzebue III S. 62: Seil *tal*, Schnur *kologol*.

Schnurkörbe.

Kr. 406 = 31631I ein Schnurkorb *uotáudjo* (s. o. S. 245 *wátau)*.

He. 1628 *watáu sóu*, wird nicht mehr angefertigt, während sie früher sehr verbreitet waren.

He. 1646 = 5477 dreieckige *srótur*-Tasche aus Schnur mit Befestigungsringen *talling*.

He. 1695 kleine dreieckige Stricktasche *djóu* für Frauen.

He. 1698 *komän* oder *komádle* Kokosbastklopfer.

Netzarbeit.

He. 1718 Netzgabel *kasäb*, s. Fischerei S. 235 *gajab*, offene Enden *ĕwäli*.

He. 1823 Netzstrickholz *jäf*.

Knoten *búgäbug*, Maschen *métal*, fertiges Senknetz *ading*; ins Wasser fadenweis ausgeben *kalligilögi*, obere Schwimmerleine *tantiabess*, Schwimmer *úabess* aus Actocarpus Holz, Korallensteinsenker *válurem* (s. *fáorem* S. 235).

h) Weberei.

(vgl. Tafel 17 und 20).

Abb. 114 die Zeichnung einer webenden Frau nach Phot. 387.

Taf. 20 zeigt die Gleichheit der Matte mit Lamotrek. Es gibt also auch hier dreistreifige mit Querbändern, und vielstreifige. Die Ornamente sind natürlich örtlich verschieden; die Herstellung der Muster geschieht während des Webens mit Webenadeln *dji dāb* aus Knochen *dji* der Schildkröte oder sonstigen Fischen. Abb. 115 a—c zeigt 3 Nadeln.

a) He. 1858 = 5654[II] *čii i dāδb* »Knochenmuster«, Fischknochen *daχo rare*, Länge 17 cm.

b) He. 1677 = 5499[II] *druiitob*, Kopf *sēmēl*, Spitze *tawól*, Holz *kaini*, 27 cm lang.

c) He. 1734 = 5537[II] *čii dāb*, Testknochen *čii le wong*.

Kr. 254 Webnadel *sútop* aus angetriebenem Holz, s. oben Webekorb.

Born: Webrahmen *pap*, Spanngürtel *talletoi*, Schwert *gopop* aus *jengi*-Holz.

Kr. 355 *mür* schwarzer Bimstein zum Färben von Garn.

He. 1701 Bimstein, mit dem alte Eisenteile abgerieben werden; der Rost wird mit gestampften *kid*-Blättern in Salzwasser aufbewahrt. In dieser Lauge werden Bananen- und Hibiscusfasern schwarz gefärbt.

Abb. 115a—c. Webnadeln.

Bündel Hibiscusfaser *dallivörsik gulivā* (He. 1883).

Moskitovorhang *márup* (He. 4625).

Männermatten für T-Binden, *karir*, *genurs* (He. 1863) s. E. K. *kenuj*).

schwarze Streifen	*ligoróe*
helle Streifen	*ligawassa*
Fransen	*matē rēlle*.

Die Art der Matten erhellt am besten aus E. Krämers Katalogaufzeichnungen:

vielstreifige, s. Taf. 20.

Kr. 366 = 312311 *kenuj* siebenstreifige Bananenmatte rot und grün (import.), Webart *ligos*, Leinenbindung.

Kr. 367 *kenuj ligadja* ebenso, mit 7 roten Streifen; Webart *ligos*.

He. 1904 Streifen rot berandet.

Kr. 368 *kenuj* ebenso, schwarz und weiß, Webart *gasúitip*, Dreifachbildung.

He. 1581 1.—4. und 7 Streifen grün; Salkante rot.

Kr. 369 *kenuj* ebenso, aber feiner, mit *sūk* Fransenborte; *materel*-Zöpfe an Stelle der losen Fäden.

Abb. 114. Beim Weben.

Kr. 376 = 313311 *gilifoi* siebenstreifige »Hibiscus-matte« für Frauen typisch; Webart *gasuitip*, Dreifach, mit schmückenden Bananenfäden, schwer zu bekommen, alt.

Kr. 377 = 313411 ebenso, nur in Webart *goilipat*, Vierfach, s. Taf. 20, Breite 49 cm, Länge 197 cm.

He. 4627 *karir, genús*, schön siebenstreifig, schwarz weiß.

He. 4636 siebenstreifig, gesprenkelt bräunlich mit 6—7 feinen weißen Streifchen.

Dreistreifige Matten.

Kr. 370 = 312711 *balüelúf*, dreistreifige Bananenmatte, weiß und grün *(bugo-garau)*, Webart *nigos* (Leinenbindung).

Kr. 371 *balüelúf etáp* ebenso, mit *tap* Durchflechtmuster; Muster *ngisum* Tridacnazahn, *pub* Fisch; Webart *nigos*.

Kr. 372 *peig*[1] dreistreifige Bananenmatte, Streifen von roten Streifen unterbrochen, Durchflechtmuster *tap*, Webart *gasuitip*, Dreifach (s. S. 76).

Kr. 373 *peig* ebenso, aber feiner; mit 3 Mustern: 1. *bailimal* Vogelklaue, 2. *ngisum* Tridacnazahn, 3. *failimat* Augenlid.

Kr. 374 = 313111 *peig ugo tal* ebenso, auch die Muster 1. *ngisum* △, 2. *fallimat* ⊏, 3. *ballimal* ⊔, Mittelstreifen in 3 aufgelöst, Webart *gasuinp* s. Taf. 20k; Breite 48 cm, Länge 203 cm.

Kr. 375 *maletilil, ngarevutelil* dreistreifig aus Hibiscus mit schmückenden Bananenfäden, Webart *goilipat*, mit Vierfach; schwer zu bekommen. Ist vom Hamburger dem Rostocker Museum überwiesen worden.

Kr. 377 Taf. 20h, 197 cm lang, 49 cm breit.

Kr. 946 = 365811 *peig* feine Frauenmatte, Webart *gasuitieb*, Dreifach, Taf. 20i, Breite 47½ cm, Länge 207 cm.

Kr. 947 = 952 ähnlich.

Kr. 953 = 366111 Webart *galút*, Vierfach, s. Taf. 20d, Länge 193 cm, Breite 50½ cm.

Kr. 954—55 ähnlich.

Kr. 956 Webart *gasuitieb*, Dreifach.

Kr. 957 = 366311 sehr fein nach Ifalukart, Länge 210 cm, Breite 52 cm, Taf. 20e.

Auf der Tafel sind noch folgende von Hellwig:

a) He. 1776 = 557711 *kab, gab*, Breite 61 cm, Länge 260 cm; grob, Taf. 20a.

b) He. 1851 = 564911 *kab*, Bananenfasern, Breite 66 cm, Länge 252 cm. Wótagai. Taf. 20b.

c) He. 1778 = 557911 *kab*, Breite 56½ cm, Länge 237 cm, grob. Wótagai.

f) He. 1640 = 546911 *durr, torr, pak*[2], Breite 45½ cm, Länge 187 cm, Mariam, Taf. 20f.

[1] s. S. 70. [2] s. S. 77.

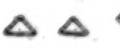
g) He. 1584 = 542011 Breite 47½ cm, Länge 214 cm. Wolea. Taf. 20g.
l) He. 4631 = 819411 *palüe līidj*, Breite 48 cm, Länge 178 cm, grob. Wolea. Taf. 20l.

Für eine ziemlich gleiche wie He. 1640 gab Hellwig folgende Namen an:

breite schwarze Längsstreifen	*nugurále*
schmale Längsstreifen (rot)	*nigotrá*
äußerer Randstreifen	*narēlól*
innerer Randstreifen	*neriwór*
Querstreifen	*dāōbō* (s. o. *tap*)

Muster:

a *bosurúe*

b  *sebassairiwiri* schwarz *erutrále* s. S. 77 Nr. 3
rot *ertrá*

c *fairimát* s. S. 78 Nr. 7

d *dorruwāli*

e *rau nugeripár*

f *gutterilange*

g *garáp* s. S. 78 Nr. 11

h *pairimél* s. S. 79 Nr. 14.

5. Handel.

Eisen Truk S. 13; Ko.: *parang*, Meißel = *eis*, Nagel *téld*.

Oleai-Boote gingen meist nur nach Feis; gelegentlich aber auch nach Mokemok (Ululsi) und Yap. In Feis blieben sie 1—2 Monate (s. Navigation und segelten wieder mit gutem Wind zurück.

Von einem Tribut nach Yap war nicht die Rede (s. o. Lam.). Die Zwischenhändler können die Sachen für sich behalten und bezahlen dann mit ihrem Besitz. Ein Zwang ist nicht vorhanden. Verkauft Oleai Land, kann es beliebig viel an Inefel geben. Früher wurde erzählt, daß ihm Oleai gehöre.

Born sagt, jetzt fährt nur noch Mogemog nach Yap, wo die *gau*-Scheibchen, das Yapgold sehr beliebt sind, ebenso wie *rang*, das besonders von Truk geholt wurde, als Oleaigold galt. Handelsware war sonst: Matten *dōr (lor)* und Harz *bilis* (S. 95). Eisen

und Boote[1] seitens Oleai, während die einzelnen Inseln von Oleai bestimmte Absatzpunkte hatten. Raur fuhr nach Faterai (Ululsi). Paliau, Lolepéleg und Vósavo auf Ost-Volea, dann die Insel Máriong, fuhren nach Falálap (Ululsi). Tagáulap, Soluap und von West-Volea Iefang usw. fuhren nach Meiángeang und Falálap (Ululsi). Falális und Dorf Bigol auf Votagai endlich brachten ihre Waren zu Tulei auf Feis.

Im allgemeinen galten für die Oleai-Inseln folgende Empfänger auf Yap (s. Feis) Inefel für Raur, Vótagai außer Bigoldorf, für das Fetal galt, Meiu für Páliau, Lolepéleg (Voléa) und Máriong. Fetal in Oneán für Vósavo Volea und Bigol (s. o.). Fólávu für Jefang (Volea). Bógilrou für Tagáulap und Soluap. Tárangau und Galipevai für Falális.

6. Haus.

Dorf *fálü*. (vgl. Tafel 13, 14, 15, 17).

a) Hausarten:

fal'lap (fan'nap)	Junggesellenhaus
faldoã	Boothaus (Born kleiner Canusschuppen *thapal* s. Yap)
fal connap	s. Tagaulap
im	Wohnhaus *(imai, ...om, ..al, ..adj.)* (Born *im molut*, Plankenhaus *im pap)*
malum	Kochhaus (Born *malam)*
im alipel	Gebärhaus (auch *imateing)* (Born *im mallipel)*
im ali gogobong	Zehnnächtehaus s. S. 268
im ali fám	Geburtshaus nach *fam* Geburt
im meljagobung	Bluthaus (Born)

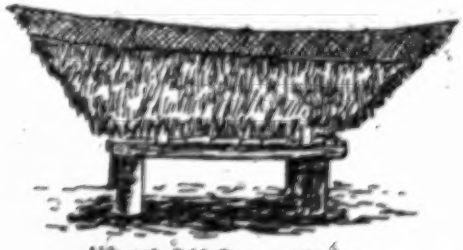


Abb. 116. Schlafhaus auf Pfählen.

imoõ	Schlafhaus auf Pfählen (Abb. 116) nach dem Fußboden *bõ*
imapõ, fannõ	Vorratshaus (früher viele, jetzt wenig)
im motucko	Kokosspeicher (Born).

[1] Kotzebue S. 127: «Die von Feis, Eap und Mogemug holen Boote in Ulea gegen Cocosmagalver. Die von den östlicheren Inseln haben den Brotfruchtbaum im Überfluß und bauen alle ihre Boote selbst, die von Nugor und Tuch holen in Ulia Eisen gegen Zeuge. Die von Ulea fahren auch gegen Tuch und Nugor, die von Sawasinomuch (Lukunór) wurden auf diesen Reisen besucht, ohne selbst andere Inseln zu besuchen.

Die Wohnhäuser im Oleai-Bezirk sind fast durchweg sechseckig, wie die von Yap, nur ohne Steinunterbau, wie sie übrigens auf Yap auch vorkommen, wovon Christian S. 258 auf einer Tafel ein Zeugnis gibt. Den Grundstock bildet hier, wie auch schon weiter ostwärts, das Ramenhaus mit Holzwänden, also eine viereckige Cella, an die giebelseitig dreieckige Vorbaue, Veranden *faleping* genannt, sich anlehnen. Da das Dach deshalb, die Firstspitze, stark vor-

Abb. 117. Sechseckhaus, Veranda offen.

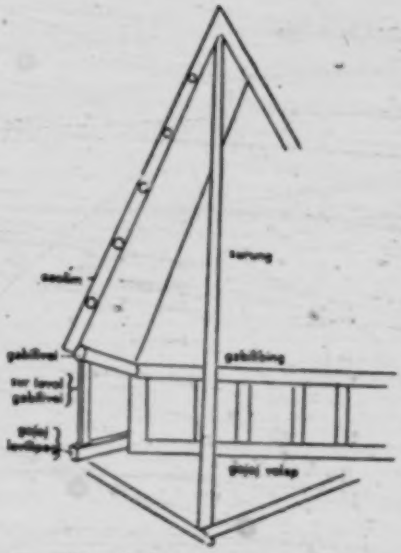


Abb. 118. Sechseckhaus, Gerüst.

springen muß, wird diese gern durch eine oft 4 m lange Säule *sirung* unterstützt, die Abb. 117 u. 118 an einem Vorratshause zeigt, uns Taf. 17b (Phot. 299); hier steht sie aber schief; hiervon weiter unten. Zuerst sei noch bemerkt, daß meist aber diese Säule fehlt; das Walmdach der Giebelseite lagert dann auf dem dreieckigen Vorbau, wenn die Cella an der Giebelseite offen und unmittelbar mit dem Raum des Vorbaues verbunden ist, wie Abb. 119 des H. 1. Sangi, und (Phot. 287) H. 3 (Taf. 15a) zeigt, während z. B. das Innere des H. 8 Fálel (S. 211) innen rechteckig ist, ähnlich wie es Abb. 117 zeigt. Hier ist die Veranda ein besonderer Raum, vorn und hinten (Born *im mal paloi*).

Ist der dreieckige Vorbau aus Planken nicht da, so baut man ein dreieckiges Dachgerüst, das durch den Firstspitzenpfeiler *sirung* gestützt wird, wie die Phot. 299 Taf. 17b zeigt, oder es bleibt dieser fort, und man nimmt nur 1—2 Stützpfosten für die Traufe (Abb. 120). Dann wird das Dreieck mehr abgerundet, und,

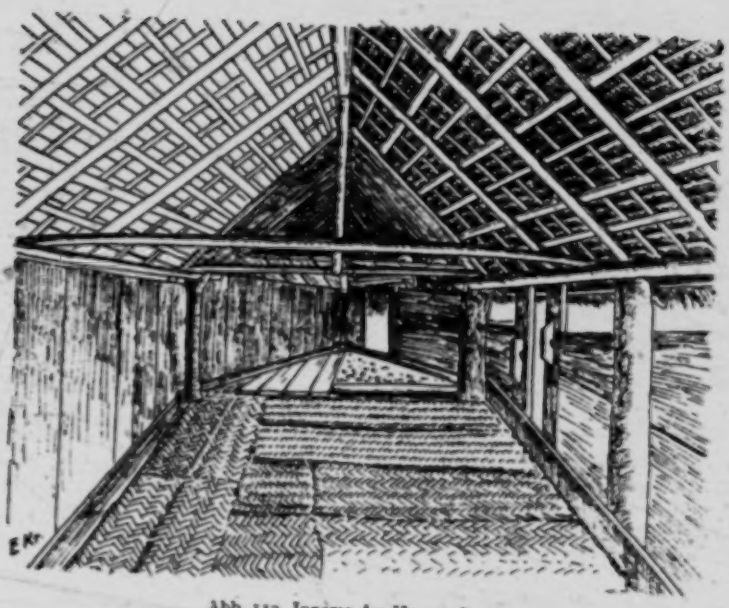


Abb. 119. Inneres des Haus 1 Sangi.

Abb. 120. Verandadachart.

wie beim vorigen wird eine hutkrempenähnliche Traufe aus 3—4 Stangen gebildet. Diese Randpfetten sind bei Abb. 120 aus einem Stück außen herumgebogen und es lagern auf ihnen in beiden Fällen noch kurze sparrenähnliche Stäbe.

Das H. 8 Fálel hat also eine abgeschlossene viereckige Celle und ein solch rundliches Verandadach vorn und hinten. Aber nicht allein der Pfeiler, sondern auch die einzelnen Stützpfosten können fehlen; man stützt dann das Vordach durch horizontale Stäbe, die hauslängs hervorschießen, auf dem oberen Rahmen der Giebelseite lagernd, wie es Abb. 84 u. 85 im Bd. 6 I. S. 180 u. 181 zeigt; unterstützend wirkt hier höchstens ein Joch, wie es von Truk S. 220 Abb. 174 usw. bekannt ist, vom Schlappdach des Boothauses. Ein solches Haus mit gebogener Randpfette vor den Stäben sah ich auf Vótagai, wo, wie auf Tagaûlap noch viele alte schöne Häuser vorhanden waren, da ja diese Inseln vom Taifun 1907 nicht so zerstört wurden.

Vielfach vorhanden sind, wie erwähnt, auch die Häuser ohne die dreieckigen Giebelvorbauten, also einfach rechteckig, aus Werkholz, das einfache Ramenhaus.

In einem Fall, beim H. 1 Gabengatîl auf Tagaûlap, war die Giebelwand der Cella mit ihren Wandfüllungen und der Tür in der Mitte, nicht so hoch wie der obere Ramenbalken, so daß also hier noch einer darunter saß, wie beim *bai* auf Palau, so daß ein Fenster vorhanden war, aber nur an den Giebelseiten; Vorbaue fehlten hier.

Bei dem Haus mit dem Firstspitzenpfeiler *surung* auf Vótagai waren am giebelseitigen Dachrand Planken, wie die äußeren Giebelramen der Palau-Bai, durch die die Pfettenenden stoßen; sie heißen *eáolim*; sie ruhen auf den ungefähr 1 m lang vorspringenden oberen Längsramenbalken *gapilivei*, die wiederum durch einen Pfosten *sur tavol gapilivei* gestützt sind, der auf dem vorspringenden unteren Längsrahmenbalken, *gogodj levilipeg*, und zwar auf dessen Ende *tavol* ruht. Der untere Querrahmenbalken der Cella heißt *gogodj votap*, der obere *gabilibing* Abb. 118.

Neben den Werkholzhäusern gibt es auch einfache Trukhütten ähnliche wie Abb. 121 zeigt, die ähnlich den Vorratshäusern wirtschaftlichen Zwecken dienen. Das zeigt auch die Unterbringung von Holzschüsseln unter Tischen, wie Abb. 122 zeigt.

Steinunterbauten waren auf Oleai zu unserer Zeit nicht vorhanden, wie sie auch auf Lámotrek fehlten (s. S. 83). Aber wie wir auf Aurepik solche von 2 m Höhe antrafen (s. Bd. I S. 245), so mögen sie auch hier früher vorhanden gewesen sein. Eine Mitteilung sagt: Gamelai, der Vater von Metag in Aurepik (hier Eaurupeg) baute mit seinem Sohne Feker die großen Sockel in Aurepik unter die Häuser. Dies geschah nach einem Taifun, durch den die Bevölkerung bis auf 4 umgekommen war. Der Yaper Goru mit dem Bezirksamtmann um 1905

Abb. 121. Einfache Hütte.

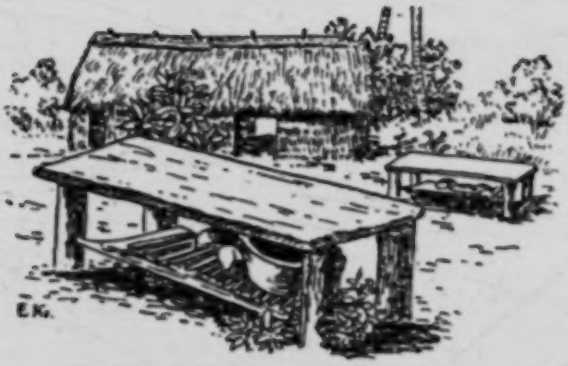


Abb. 122. Einfaches Haus mit Tischen.

Abb. 123. Kopfbank.

nach Aurepik kam, lebte Gamelai noch, aber sehr betagt (wohl 90 Jahre). Er hatte sein Yapisch, das er früher gekonnt hatte, ganz vergessen. Es sind also die Steinunterbauten von Aurepik nur auf lokalen Einfällen beruhend, die natürlich überall vorkommen können. Aber sie haben sich nicht durchsetzen können.

Der Taifun von Aurepik scheint um 1830 auch Oleai heimgesucht zu haben; s. im übrigen die Steinwerften der *faʻlap*-Häuser.

Dach	*fátafat*
Holztüre	*gâtam* (aus *rijeng*-Holz)
Treppe	*eál*
Wand	*tipāp*
Herd	*fálang*
Zaun	*óror, bēi* um Grab (im Haus Nachahmung)
Schlafstelle	*lélliei, masúr*
Kopfbank, Kopfstütze	*eēlungei, ūlūl* Abb. 123 (Kr. 286).
Schlafmatte	*giégi* (poss. *giei*)
Kehrichthaufen	*ūálū beibei*
(Unkraut) jäten	*uīuī, fēngi*
fegen	*bōbō*
Brunnen	*djálūl*
Waschwasser	*djalutūtū*
taulomónu	Mückennetz aus gewebten Matten (Pollap)

He. 1882 Haken *tauung* zum Aufhängen von Eßkörben, nach Born auch aus Haifischwirbeln.

Von öffentlichen, großen Häusern waren auf Oleai die Boothäuser *faleoā*, Taf. 13a, b, c, die ja dem ganzen Gebiet angehören, zum Tagesaufenthalt der Männer; es waren auf jeder Insel 3—4, auf Tagaulap und Mariong 1; die Traufen reichen fast zur Erde, Giebelfläche fehlt.

Daneben gab es noch Junggesellenhäuser, kurzweg *faʻlap* »großes Haus« genannt, nach Born *falepai*. Ich sah sie noch 1907, als ich Oleai auf dem Wege nach Truk passierte; 4 Monate später bei der Rückkehr nach Palau waren sie durch den Taifun zerstört, also nicht mehr vorhanden und sind auch nicht mehr aufgebaut worden. Hätte meine Frau beim ersten Besuch nicht ein kleines Aquarell von der Südspitze von Paliau und der Nordspitze von Raur gemacht, Abb. 80, wo auf beiden Spitzen je ein *faʻlap* stand, so würden diese Zeugen westlicher Gesellschaftsausbildung[1] spurlos von der Erde verschwunden sein.

[1] Ich hörte auf Kapingamarangi, daß angetriebene Leute aus Oleai dort ein Junggesellenhaus gebaut hätten; es war zu unserer Zeit nicht mehr da. Sie sollen auch die Brotfrucht gebracht haben.

Diese Häuser standen vorgerückt auf Steinwerften (Born) am offenen Innenstrand weshalb der Taifun sie auch so vollständig zu zerstören vermochte. Das Bild zeigt bei dem Paliauhaus die Umzäunung mit einer Mauer und die vielen Türen, Am Vordergiebel 2 und an der Längsseite 3. Bei dem Expeditionsbesuch 1909 ließ ich mir durch den Häuptling Agupelior ein Modell eines solchen *falʻlap* anfertigen, dessen Längsseite Abb. 124 zeigt. Born sagt; es sei auf jeder Insel 1 *falepoi* gewesen, auf Falalis 2.

Zunächst fiel auf, daß das Hausgerüst nicht auf hölzernen Pfosten *sur* lagerte, sondern daß nur 4 steinerne Pfeiler *sur*, vorhanden waren, auf denen die beiden

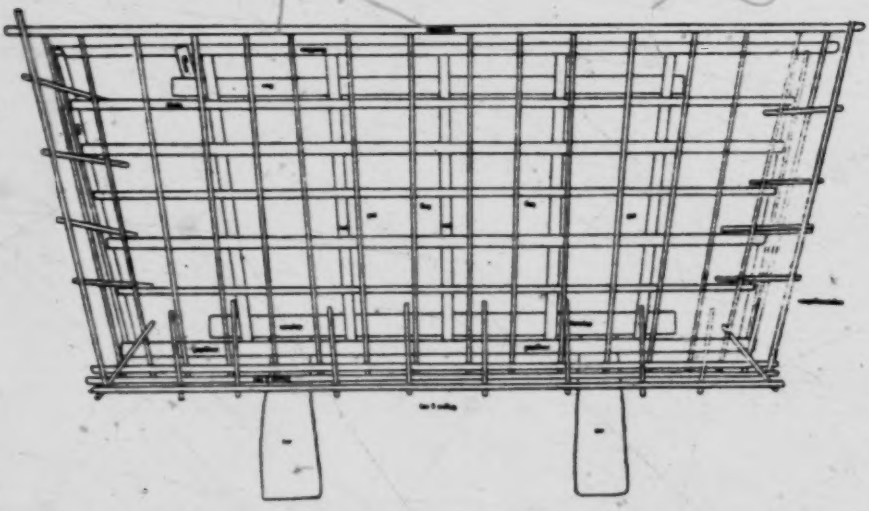


Abb. 124. Junggesellenhaus *falʻlap*.

Längsramenbalken *tanelap* ruhten, ganz wie es auf Feis der Fall ist. Auf den Längsbalken lagern die Querramenbalken *gōusam*, auf denen die Stuhlsäulen *bōt* stehen. Die 2 Stuhlsäulen tragen den Firstbalken *ung*, der die Größe des inneren Giebelhauses bestimmt. Über ihm liegt der zweite obere Firstbalken *ungaseg* oder *ungngáseg*, der die Größe des eigentlichen Daches hat. Über diesem kommt endlich eine dritte lange Firststange *sógoram (sogoramár)* zu liegen, die die Firstspitze des vorspringenden Giebeldaches. Auf Abb. 125 sieht man von vorne die 3 Firstbalken;

es lagert also der erste *ung* auf den Stuhlsäulen bzw. dem ornamentierten Mittelsparren des Giebels.

der zweite *ung ngaseg* wird von den starken Sparren *vōi* getragen,

der dritte *sógoram* von den dünneren Außensparren *gat*.

Auf den *vōi*-Sparren lagern die dicken Pfetten *gápangag*, deren unterste Randpfette *gapilivoi* heißt. Die kleinen runden Pfetten heißen *i fag*, die kleinen Sparren und die langen Pfetten der Dachtraufe *bailimélug*, die langen Sparren und kleinen Pfetten am Giebel werden *langolimetálias* genannt (Abb. 124 u. 125).

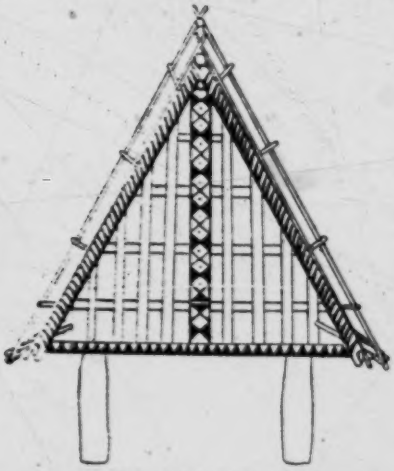


Abb. 125. Giebel eines *fal'lap*.

Der Giebelschmuck *tēbáu* ist wie auf Lamotrek dem von Yap I Taf. 48 und Palau V Taf. XI gleich;

die 2 Seitenramen *eáo* zeigen Haizähne *ngi le boggo*,

der unter Querramen *gapileping* ein Dreieckmuster *ngi sum* »Tridacnazähne«, die auf Palau V Taf. 31q, 32v, 33 Bai 21 usw. als *klivuk* sehr beliebt sind, nur in anderer Anordnung.

Die Mittelplanke hat schwarze Dreiecke *basal e vulegálei* (*basal* = *bedjél* sein Fuß oder Schwanz des *bulegálei* Acanthurusfisches),

die weißen Rauten mit dem Punkt mitten werden *pup* genannt, sind also die rautigen Balistesfische (Truk S. 150x).

Der Giebelschmuck steht also im Zeichen der Fische.

Wie der Giebel, so wird auch der Innenraum des Hauses in 2 Hälften geschieden;

die Seehälfte *jétab fal matalifal* ist für die Häuptlinge *támol*,

die Landhälfte *jetab fal apélifal* für die Leute *e áramat*;

das innere heißt *nifal (nim)*,

das äußere *lugilifal (lugilīm)*.

b) Bau.

Soll ein *fal'lap* gebaut werden, bringen alle Männer von den verschiedenen Inseln Kokosgarn; sie setzen sich mit ihrer Gabe am Strande hin und werden mit Kokosnüssen entlonnt.

Die Frauen kommen geschmückt, mit Essen, vor das Versammlungshaus und machen einen Tanz *ur*.

Die Frauen des Platzes, wo gebaut wird, sitzen im Hause und lassen die Fremden nicht herein, obwohl diese von allen Seiten einzudringen suchen. Sie setzen sich dann mit ihrem Oberhaupt außen hin, während der Ortshäuptling innen mit den Frauen sitzt, denen er Kokosnüsse gibt.

Wenn der Bau fertig ist, wird ein großes Kokostabû *ē vāü* gemacht.

Eine Unmasse von Kokosnüssen werden gebracht und um den Bau herum aufgehäuft. Ist die Sammlung beendet, lädt der Bauherr alles zu einem bestimmten Tag ein, da das Haus eingeweiht werden soll.

An dem bestimmten Tage strömen die Gäste herbei. Die Frauen aller Plätze kommen schön geschmückt und tanzen um das Haus herum. Zum Schluß geben sie ihre Halsketten usw. den scheidenden Männern, wenn diese ihre Kokos-

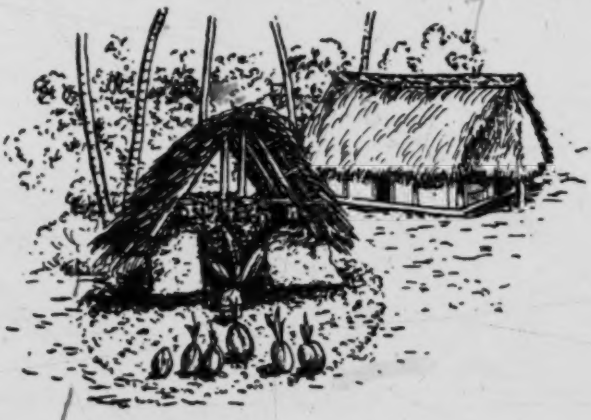


Abb. 126. Geisterhaus auf Tagaulap.

anteile erhalten haben. Sie haben sich alle niedergesetzt und der Bauherr hält eine Rede, in der er ihnen die Bazahlung mit Kokosnüssen ankündigt; er wünsche sie sollen ihnen keine üble Nachrede machen und gesund bleiben. Ist das Fest auf Voléa, so erhält Falális 1000 Nüsse, Vótagai 3000, Tagaulap 1000, Máriong 500, Páliau 500, Raur 500. Dann zerstreut sich die Festversammlung.

Steinpfosten: Merkwürdig ist, daß das Geisterhaus auf Tagaûlap (s. S. 279) Steinpfosten hat, wie die Wohnhäuser auf Feis (Abb. 126). Da bei der Religion ausgeführt, daß fremder Einfluß hier am Werk war, so ist dieser zweifellos daran Schuld. Die Steinplatten als Hauspfosten gehören völlig Feis zu.

Hausrat gering. Haken aus Holz zum Aufhängen von Körben beobachtet. Kopfbank *ûlûl* (von Falális Kr. I 86) s. Abb. 123. Schlafmatten S. 244.

7. Boot *oā*.

(vgl. Tafel 15 und 17.)

Wörter von Kotzebue III S. 62: Boot *oa*, Mast *gkeus*, Segel *üi*, Floß *tham*, Hinterboot *muril*, *mol*, steuern *ekailioth*, rudern *fathel*, treiben *sasol*, drehen *thou*, lavieren *tattagul*, scheitern *eckail*.

Erfindung des Bootes s. Gesch. des Palúelap S. 285.

Die Boote von Oleai waren sehr geschätzt (s. S. 250).

Neben dem großen Segelboot gibt es ein kleines (Born *wa mar)*, dann Lagunenboote mit der gleichen Gabelschwanzgallion (Born *rassim)*, nur der Ausleger und die Leeplattform ist viel einfacher. In Luv ist auf der *baraf*-Planke,

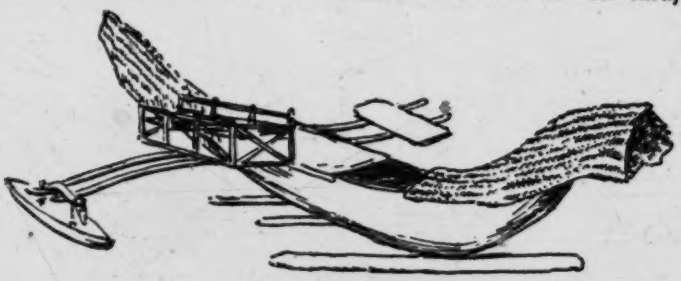


Abb. 127. Lagunenboot.

da wo der Ausleger beginnt, ein umzäunter Behälter zur Aufnahme von Sachen, Abb. 127. Ein Boot zum Fischen heißt *máluvil* (Born: Ruderboot klein *tschosmal*, größer (10—12 ♂) *wa fetul)*; Frauen gute Ruderer.

Kr. 403 = 31601I *bilis* Brotfruchtharz zum Kalfatern; hatte nach 25 Jahren einen Höllengestank angenommen. Kitt nach Born aus Brotfruchtmilch, Kalk, Asche von Kokosschale und Wurzelsaft von Pandanus.

a) Bootbau (s. S. 92)

vom *sel'lap* Robgial.

Will jemand ein neues Boot haben, wendet er sich an einen Zimmermann *sel'lap*. Er bestimmt einen Brotfruchtbaum, der geschlagen wird; der Baum hat oder erhält einen Namen, der dann aufs Boot übergeht; dann frägt er: »Wie lang soll das Boot werden?« Der Bauherr: »Fünf Faden«. Der *sel'lap*: »Gut, laßt uns 4 Faden schlagen«. Der Stamm *bul* wird dann von allen Männern ins Bootshaus am Strand gezogne, wo das Boot geschlagen werden soll; dafür erhalten sie Essen an Fisch, Taro, Kokos usw, das *bai lúrúr oā*. Der Zimmermann erhält in der Folge während der Arbeit täglich 3 Schüsseln mit Speisen, alle 10 Tage 50 Schüsseln für seine Gehilfen und seine Familie, das *bai le fálěfal* oder *bai le oā*.

Mit der Breithacke, dem Dechsel *gasuéla* (Eisen s. oben S. 250) schlägt man den Stamm *bul ēli oā* zurecht (s. Lam. S. 92), dann den Steven *māt* oder *bādj*[1], dann die *bab* Planken, dann die Auslegerstangen *kio*[2], nach deren Fertigstellung

[1] Über die Gallion von Oleai ꝑ bei Lam. S. 93.

[2] Diese, die Luvseite heißt *palietam*, die Außenseite *theta*, *fale* unter, daher der Raum darunter mit seinen 3 Teilen: 1. *fale báraf (báraf* s. u.), 2. *fale fang (fang* Gräting) auch *falest* und 3. *o nidusap*.

der *sel'laṗ* kleine Geschenke an Matten und *ſaibar* erhält, das *gaköul le vá*. Es folgt die gewölbte Luvplanke *ſáramoi*, die Leereling *galigasá* und die Reling *mesáṗ*, die *ſaramoi* mit *badj* verbindet. Alles wird aufeinander gelegt, aber nicht gebunden, dann auseinander genommen. Bei der endgültigen Zusammensetzung der Planken wird Brotfruchtharz *bilis* auf die Stoßflächen geschmiert und Kokoshüllenfasern werden dazu gegeben. Vor dem Aufeinanderlegen werden die Flächen noch kurz übers Feuer gehalten. Das Harz wird bereitet, indem man die aus Stammwunden ausfließende Milch in Kokosschalen sammelt und über heißen Steinen kocht. In Wasser wird dann das Harz herausgenommen, in Kokosblattscheiden gewickelt und aufbewahrt. Die Kalfaterung (s. S. 271) erfolgt erst vor dem Stapellauf.

Jetzt fertigt man auch schon die Bänke *dó*.

1. *do le ſateſat* (s. Truk S. 229) außen.
2. *mátongor*
3. *tivětiſ*
4. *doialü*
5. *sasakio*.

Es folgt die *baraſ*-Planke, die Luvplattform *(libaraṗ)* (Truk S. 230 Abb. 188 *ſaraſ)* und das *ülingal*[1] *ma lĕ masur* = »seine Kopfbank zum schlafen«.

Die Diagonalversteifung[2] *matáraſang* (Truk S. 230 *teléam)*, die Gräting *ſang* einschließend. Die Gräting außerhalb, weiter luvwärts heißt *djodjo liĕlau* oder *lélial a Luluei* (s. Gesch. S. 288) »Schlafplatz des Gottes.«

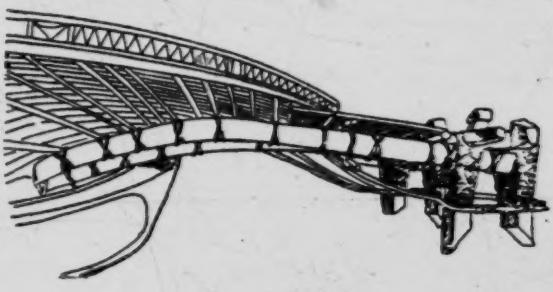


Abb. 128. Ausleger.

Für die Befestigung der *ſang* am *kio*-Balken sind 2 große Bindungen *eágatiu le baráſ* vorhanden.

Jetzt kommt auch die Innenseite des Bootes *niva* daran, wobei man Schotten *gábung* stehen läßt, und das Loch *lógolog* an den Ansätzen des *matáraſang* zwischen diesen und dem *ülingal* (s. o.).

Es folgen die 4 *eám* Gabelpflöcke, Abb. 128, mit ihrer starken Verschnürung *ſoſóllam*, darüber der Querstab *vasoso* (Truk S. 230 *vaiso)* und das Joch *valeángalaṗ* zum Belegen des Luvstags *ĕ ángalaṗ* (vgl. Palau III S. 180). Taf. 15b u. c.

---

[1] Kopfbank *ülül*, Abb. 123.

[2] Auf Phot. 294, 290, 288 ist die Außenfläche die ganze Länge mit Buchstaben und ähnlichen Zeichen bedeckt (Taf. 15d).

Dazu kommen 4 *djē* krumme Auslegerbalken mit 3 Querstäben, außen *gabidjē*, innen (von den Pflöcken) *dariedjē* und oben am kio *eōpasa*.

Die Leeplattform *ēbep* (Taf. 15b u. c) ruht auf 2 *sūa*, die unter den *suilap* am *kio* gesteckt werden. Eine quere Ramenplanke *vólivalēbép*, auf der die zwei Aufbaubänke *folag*, Querbank *folag iēs*, ruhen. Zwei längs der *sua* laufenden Ramenlatten *paliēbép* und eine quere äußere *valiēbép*. Die Stäbe des Bodens der Plattform heißen *taragaliebép*, die äußerste Gräting *fang ali ēbép*, und das Loch darin *ti eli ēbép*.

Abb. 129. Pagaie mit Singknopf.

Born gibt an: Großes Boot *wa luwē*
Lehnbänke *falak*
Auslegerverschläge *geimeru* für Schutz vor Wind.

Takelung Tau *sós* (s. S. 288).
Mast *gois*, Fall für das Segel *urur*.
Luvstag *eángalap*, Vorder- und Achterstag *tálligas (tēnegaj* S. 288).
Leestag *dāugeta (iketa* lee, *itam* luv).
gāg steuern
Ösfaß *gamát*
Segel *ii (eū)*, Raa[1] *juju* und ihr Fuß *áviteg*, Baum *lim*
Schot *moél*, (Block *gárigerig)*
Bindung des Segel *mobulira*, Kleider *tēlab*, Quernähte *tēgaro*.
(Deckhäuser s. S. 272).

Kr. 288 = 3072[II] Abb. 129: Paddel *fádul* mit Singknopf *róvuj eorior* (Palau III S. 182 u. Truk S. 233).

Wenn der *sel'lap* mit allem fertig ist, außer den Deckshäusern, die nur für große Reise auch vom *sel'lap* angefertigt werden, so kommt die große Bezahlung *goú*[2] *sel'lap* mit Holzschüsseln, *faibar*, Matten, Moskitonetz, Messer, Äxten usw., was es eben gibt. In alter Zeit konnten es bis zu 100 Holzschüsseln sein; jetzt meist nur 30—50. Es kommt dann das Essen mit Gebet (s. Ges. 3).

b) Bootslieder.

Ges. 1. Gebet vor der Reise,
mit oder ohne Sturmzauber *(goselefei)*, mitgeteilt von Eangitáliba H. 2. (Taf. 14b).

1. *im selētog semól* Alu- Dreh dich um, Häuptling *vatóketok* kehrt! = *im s.*;
luei Alúluei, *semol* = *tamól* Al. S. 150

[1] *gou, goum, goul.* [2] An der Raanock flattert der Wimpel *gāsang*, s. Taf. 19e.

ivā gāingāluk	ich spreche zu dir,	
a mūgoi melalúel	dein ist der Zweig,	*valúel* Zweig in der Hand
mag e djēgédjegél	keine große Arbeit,	z. B. beim Arznei machen.
5. *iálog ā seleſēſel*		*ā = ae*
gose móngodjok	du nicht esse mich,	
gose móngovai	dich nicht esse ich,	
ai ſetalaſale godjóu	du gehst, es kommt Regen,	
ēl lāina tovolagen	mach ihn zur Seite gehn,	
10. *ēvel gadüidûug*	ich wasche dich,	*düdü* waschen; Volk zu Hohen als Ehrenbezeugung
gō Ilúelap *bō* Marasí	du Alúelap als Wasserhose,	*etúváso* W. sonst für *anu en* Marasí Bd. 6 I S. 115, s. Feis
goisóu golága lēmetáu	du gehst nach der Hochsee;	*sóu* gehen
imeselētog semól Alúluei	dreh dich um, Herr Alúluei,	Z. 1
gobiriáilēngi	schneide ihn ab im Himmel,	den Regen
15. *seratáilēngi*	kratze ihn weg im Himmel,	
aisavomēsop	auf beiden Seiten	*setau* oder *tavol = savomēsop* Pollap
me lúgalapálapal	und in der Mitte,	
ē makúemak	breche ihn,	
ē makú ngēliva djā i lúgalap	breche ihn für die Leute in der Mitte,	*djā = ēromat drō = aramas* Truk S. 226
20. *ēlúlümes*	für die Geister,	
ē Tibiou *mēseróua*	Tivio, ich beuge mich;	*serō* gebückt gehen vor Häuptlingen, T. *alus* für Wind und Regen
ngē rikeriketíu	steige herab,	
ē rikeriketá	steige hinauf,	
ni sepélūgal	schneid ihn mitten durch;	den Regen
25. *čangáli maur*	Schlafwind,	*maur* schlafen Truk, hier auch *másur*, guter W.
bojang sevāleſal	ich weiß den richtigen Zauber,	*ngang* ich
ielāl ētiu ielāl ētág	seine Stimme geht hinab, ... hinauf,	*ieloi* meine Stimme Ges. 2 Z. 6

ielāleds ielālemāi	seine Stimme ist oben, ist im Boot;	*ás* = *asan* Truk oben am Wind, auch *adj*, *mai* Stamm, *oā* fertig behauen.
i võlega tüutüug	ich wasche dich,	
30. Iluelap *bó* Marasi	Alúelap, als Wasserhose,	Z. 11
go sóu golaga lēmetáu	du gehst nach der Hochsee.	Z. 12

Ges. 2. Bootbau.

ē alus i le jálajal Gesang zum Behauen, von Malipet.

1. *võlevu djikedjik*	Essensgeschenk ein kleines,	*v.* Lam. = Glück s. S. 108
võlevu lábelab	Essensgeschenk ein großes,	
võlevu ē itog	das Essensgeschenk wird kommen,	
vā vagerama	(für das) Boot der Stamm,	der Brotfruchtstamm Lam. *mai* S. 92
5. *iriketõgo, ilajetõgo*	schnell komme es, flink komme es,	*gáturo* schnell, das Behauen
ig ā le mālōl eāloi	Fisch, komme auf meinen Ruf,	*ealoi* meine Stimme s. Ges. 1. Z. 27
galegī iē le jalúei	Delphin, nach meinem Platz Voléa,	*galegī* = *ku*
gadje bā goiog	ich setze mich faul hin,	*goiog* still, faul, weil große Fische selbst kommen
gadje palepal a ngaliva	sie rollen (ihn = Fisch) heran jene Männer,	*palepal* rollen
10. *galeitō madjing*	speeren ihn und ... Taro	... essen ihn mit *mareng* = *fillē*, *madjing* gute Art
meilūgēlang (iē)djieva	aufgehäuft hoch.	*m.* aufhäufen; *dj.* oben, hoch.

aus anderer Quelle anderer Text, beim *uvut (ubud* S. 154) machen für Fischfang Abb. 74; um den Hals gehängt:

1. *võlevo djikedjik*	*uõrale jáligei* Voléa

võlevo lapelap	*iket vólevol*
volevoe táva vogerama	*iket a págoiog*
iriketogo itavatõgo	*ngaikele lóngor*
5. *ĕ agale mălal*	*ngaitõ falúelang*
ălõli i gelegiei	*ngaisõkole gieva.*

Ges. 3. Gebet nach Vollendung des Bootes.

gelegelém ua	Dein Essen dies,	*gan* Speise s. o. Ges. 1 Fischer, *gelem* dein E. = *kelem* Palau; *ua* = *ie*
gelém mana	Dein Essen, Hoheit	*mana* polyn. Ansehen, offenbar; *eja ital manal:* Wie heißt der Herr?
Alúelap	Alúelap	
a Lugeileng	und Lugeileng	
ma Semĕlegoror	und Semelegóror	s. Bd. 61 S. 115.
gai vogaliepa ðāen	macht erfolgreich dies Boot.	*gai võfari* Du mache! *liep* Ruf der Leute am Strand, wenn die Leute draußen viel Fische gefangen haben.

Ges. 4. Gebet zur Fahrt, um Fische zu fangen.
Bitte um große Hitze, weil dann viel Fische kommen; mitgeteilt von Malipet von Falális.

1. *meisu vojevoj*	Brotfruchtbaum stehend (bei) Hitze	
ngei tára vojevoj	geh weg, Hitze!	
Lemedjí Lemedjí	Lemedjí Lemedjí	*alus* für Meer und Fischer
tátara gāla	wird sie wegnehmen,	
5. *vojevoj eli pārang*	sie ist zu heiß für Eisen,	die Eisenäxte werden schlecht
vojevoj e lil'lu	zu heiß für die Bootwäsche,	
vojevoj talĕ gulugul'la	zu heiß für die Muschelaxt,	
eāl emāna Lugeileng	sein Ansehen des Lugeileng,	*eal* sein, *man'na* = *mana* polyn.; L. nur schmuckweise genannt, S. 144

mē djūl vē lē oā il	sie (liegt) auf diesem Boot,	*djul* auf, *lē* = *la* hier
10. *mē djul lē giliſei*	sie (liegt) auf diesem Hibiscus,	
mē djul lē tōla	sie (liegt) auf dem Schotte da,	*tō* Schott (s. S. 94)
: *maragórugoā* :‖	geht weg.	sonst *djú mēkīla* geh weg!

5. Gesang beim Angelfischen. *alus i li sēilog*
mitgeteilt von Rogiol (Taf. 16d).

1. *mēijis e mēifis*	Komm' Fisch, komm' Fisch,	*fis* von engl. fish; *mei* = Samoa *mai* her! in Mogemog und Feis gebräuchlich, auf Oleai *vulog*
mei lá faragátag	her mit ihm, leg ihn hinein,	*dōidōi* aufholen
mei taboāūdj	komm', kleines Ende,	*tavol* Ende der Leine *eō*; *eōdjik*, *audjik* klein *eōlaƥ* groß
mei djuligiliſa	komm', diese Fischleine	*giliſa* Hibiscus
5. *mei djuligō marīk*	komm' dieser Haken, klein,	*gō* Haken
mārugoru gōlāg	er entschwindet ergebnislos.	*marugoru* sich auflösen wie Rauch, *langilaƥ* vergeblicher Fang

Wenn man zu Ende gesungen hat, soll ein Fisch gebissen haben.

267

IV. Geistige Kultur.

1. Gesellschaft.

a) Familie.

Kotzebue III S. 59 Nasengruß *feissong*.

Mertens (s. Truk S. 451) sagt, daß die Frauen viel Freiheit hatten, auch selbständig wie auf Feis an Bord kamen, ohne sich mit den Männern einzulassen. Sie kamen gelegentlich allein im Boot längsseit und riefen die Namen ihrer Freunde. Bei ihrer Zustimmung wird alles getan. Andererseits haben die Männer ihrem Gaste im Haus beim Übernachten ihre Frau angeboten.

In Versammlungen und bei Fremdenbesuch schweigt die Frau.

Nach Lütke sind viele Worte in ihrer Gegenwart tabû *(pennant)*. Bei Lässigkeit wurde sie mit Verbannung bedroht.

Frau nach der Conception 3 Monate lang ohne Beischlaf, dann erlaubt bis zur Niederkunft.

Kotzebue III S. 135: »Die Männer wohnen ihren Weibern auch bei, wenn sie gesegneten Leibes sind, nicht aber wenn sie ein Kind an der Brust haben«. »Wenn der Freund die Gastfreundschaft seines Freundes anspricht, so tritt ihm dieser auf die Zeit seines Besuches sein Weib ab«.

Geburt.

Die schwangere *(ĕsidl*, Kotz.: *sasiel)* Frau hat wenig tabû-Vorschriften.

Niederkunft im *imalipel*. Die Hebamme *valimelau* sitzt zwischen den Beinen der Gebärenden und empfängt das Kind. Eine Helferin *surĕlifĕtĕl* sitzt hinter dem Rücken der Niederkommenden und unterstützt sie. Geht es langsam, tönen die Rufe *tsóng, tsong* presse, presse!

Ist das Kind da, schneidet die Hebamme die Nabelschnur ab *bus*, meist mit einer Entenmuschel *gilegil* und ohne abzubinden. Kommt die Nachgeburt *bĕi* nicht, so tut man nichts, höchstens den Leib sanft massieren *sŏgi*.

Born: Geburt durch Schrei als Signal verkündet; Stellung knieend, Hände auf Oberschenkel, oder halb liegend im Schoß einer andern Frau. Nabelschnur mit *gilgil*-Muschel abgeschnitten, ohne Abbindung; Kraut gekaut auf Wunde gespuckt. Placenta *pei* vergraben. Zwillinge und mehr nicht selten.

Blutet die Wöchnerin stark, so werden *nat*-Blätter im Feuer gedämpft und sie setzt sich in den Dampf. Ist alles gut, so geht die Entbundene zum Strand und

badet im Salzwasser, wo die Frauen ihr auch noch den Leib massieren. Sie bleibt dann noch im *imalipel* mindestens während der 4 Tage, da die Lochien kommen. Erst nach 10 Tagen kehrt sie ins Wohnhaus zurück. Meist baut ihr der Ehemann beim Wohnhaus ein kleines *imalipel*, wo sie mit dem Kinde bleibt. In diesem weilt auch die erstmenstruierte Tochter 8 Tage lang. Auch das Kind wird alsbald nach der Geburt im Salzwasser am Strande gebadet, wo auch die Nachgeburt vergraben wird. Kinderwiege aus Kokoswedelgeflecht Taf. 19 f u. h.

Die Frau bleibt nach der Geburt 8 Tage bis einen Monat im *imalipel*, in der Ferne oder in der Nähe. Dann geht sie 10 Tage ins *im ali gogobóng* »genug Nächte« (von *sagon* genug) und dann 5 Monate ins *im ali fam*, wohl = »Kostgeben«, also »Kosthaus«.

In diese Häuser bringen die Eltern oder die nächsten Verwandten gute Kost, damit das neugeborene Kind gut heranwachse, damit es blühe und gedeihe; das gute Essen s. S. 93. Das Kind wird gut gepflegt; man hat besondere Wiegen (s. o.) für sie, auch viereckige Ramen mit Schnurnetz, das von einer Pandanusmatte *gégi* bedeckt wird, wie Taf. 7.

He. 1880 *üloid*, Ramen *wa lüloid*, Netz *üloid*, Ringe *taling*.

Stufen der Frau.

tardivel	Mädchen vor der Menstruation
dáurang	Mädchen menstruiert, trägt den Grasschurz *sivisif*.
nikabal	Frauen verheiratet oder ledig mit Matte *gabálabal*.
malióüteg	Ehefrau mit Matte; ferner Worte für Ehefrau *ril, fitial, ésagal, djoelevúgetal, djoele gáneal, ētial, djoele iti telivulemel djal*.
nipes	alte Jungfern oder Wittwen.
esamesoutagel	stot ihr Gatte« Witwer und Witwen. Letztere trauert ein Jahr ungefähr, und ist meist Hetäre.

Die *daurang* bleibt, wie schon erwähnt, bei der ersten Menstruation[1] 8 Tage im *imalipel*. Während dieser Zeit bringen ihr Jünglinge junge Kokosnüsse, aber sie darf sich nicht mit ihnen einlassen.

Nach ihrer Rückkehr fragen sie Eltern und Geschwister, wer ihr Kokosnüsse gebracht hat und sie pflegt alle zu nennen. Sie wird nun ermahnt, einen von diesen als Gatten zu wählen, sich aber nicht auf vage Liebeshändel einzulassen.

Der Freier spricht mit den Eltern, und wenn das Mädchen einverstanden ist, folgt sie ihm in sein Haus. Der Gatte pflegt ihr Matten, Gelbwurz *rang* usw., sogar Land zu schenken, ihr oder auch der Familie, was sehr angenehm bemerkt wird.

[1] Born *pungelog*; grün geschmückt; Essen von ♂ bereitet tabū. Beischlaf vorher verboten. Nachher Zurückhaltung. Es soll Frauen geben, die unberührt heiraten.

Stufen des Mannes.

Knabe	*tharemal*
Jüngling	*taremal*
Mann	*mal*
alter Mann	*tógobei*
Greis	*málelap*

Über die Beschneidung s. Feis.

Namengebung: nach Kadu (Kotzebue III S. 134) »sollen die Häuptlinge ihrem Erstgeborenen den Namen ihres Vaters, dem 2. Sohn den Namen des Vaters ihrer Frau, dem 3. wieder den Namen ihres Vaters und so fort, die Leute aus dem Volke hingegen ihrem Erstgeborenen den Namen des Vaters ihrer Frau und den andern Kindern andere Namen geben«. Es mischt sich also hier Vater- mit Mutterrecht. Es würde also der 1. und 3. Sohn gleich heißen! Nach dem Stammbaum des Agupelior S. 216 stimmt es auch nicht; oder nicht mehr?

Kranke geben sich gerne einen andern Namen (s. 2. Gesang); und auch für Geliebte geschieht es oft.

Beschneidung *sopi*, *masopi*, findet auf Oleai und Feis statt, wenn die Knaben 1 Jahr alt sind, und zwar als Circumcision. Der Ring wird vergraben. Auf die Wunde wird der ausgepreßte Saft junger Kokosnüsse von Wallnußgröße getröpfelt. Nach 4—5 Tagen Heilung.

Sippen *gailang*.

1. *gailang ali* Voléa
2. Sauel (Truk S. 257 Sábélo?)
3. Gófalu
4. Mongaulifadj (Truk S. 260 und 264 Nr. 21), oben S. 114)
5. Saufaládjik (s. Lam. S. 115)
6. Sor (Truk Nr. 10).

Sippenehen können vorkommen, wie Haus 6 zeigt; eine Verwandtenehe zeigt Haus 8.

Von Námoluk (Bd. 6 I S. 86) nennt Hambruch 8. Gatamak; diese Sippe Gadamak soll aus Uönë (= Oleai) stammen (s. Bd. 6 II S. 157 Gadamän).

b) Staat und Recht.

Häuptling *tamol*.

Nach Kotzebue III S. 134 Erbfolge erst auf die Brüder, sodann auf die Söhne des Erstgeborenen.

Krieg.

(Ko.: *maul*, Lanze *tilleg*, werfen *kattevi*, treffen *jel*, fehlen *tavami*, Schleuder *kaul*) war so gut wie unbekannt, wie auch Speere und Keulen (s. o.) und Schleuder fehlten. Schon Kadu beteuert seine Abscheu vor dem Kriege (Kotzebue III S. 90, 134), den er bei den Ratakern kennen lernte, wobei er verwundet wurde. »Da weiß man nichts von Krieg und Kampf, da tötet nicht der Mann den Mann, und wer den Krieg sieht, dem wird das Haar weiß.«

Recht.

Kadu erzählte, daß Verbrecher nicht bestraft, sondern verbannt würden.

Tod.

Wenn ein Häuptling stirbt, wird auf alles tabû gelegt, und nur noch das nötigste zum Essen zurückgestellt. Die Haare werden kurz geschoren. Trauer heißt *drafagôu*. Die Toten werden in Matten gewickelt (ein Stein wird mit eingepackt) und mit Tauwerk tüchtig zugebunden. Das Bündel fährt man auf die hohe See und versenkt es. Sind keine Taue entbehrlich, macht man ein Grab *mâs* und nach der Beerdigung einen Hügel darauf. Über dem Grabhügel *pei* baut man ein Grabhaus *imalipei* und einen Zaun drum herum, und man legt Kokosnüsse hinein. Von den Kokosnüssen macht man gelegentlich ein Geschabsel, das man für die Haare gebraucht, *gâbêt* genannt. Ist nach einigen Monaten durch das Tabû viel Nahrung vorhanden (es kann 10 Monate dauern), so macht man das Totenfest, ein großes Essen *gâgieg* mit Tänzen *ur*, zu denen sich die Frauen waschen und schmücken, während die Männer es unterlassen. Das Essen wird an die Besucher verteilt, die Kokosnüsse ähnlich wie es beim *fat'lap* S. 236 beschrieben wurde. Sonst gibt es noch Taro, Brotfrüchte, Fische usw., aber keine Schweine. Die Besucher nehmen ihren Anteil mit.

c) Feste und Tänze.

(Ko.: *waruk*, besonders Tanz im Kreis *walebong*, anderer *kapangach*), s. Hausbau und Tod oben. Sitztanz Phot. Kr. 327 ♀, Stehtänze Taf. 13a, Phot. Kr. 324, 325, 326.

d) Spiel und Sport.

Ko.: baden und schwimmen *evoloch*, tauchen *eulong*, auftauchen *ewâsach*.
He. 1906 = 36951 eine Kinderpaddel, Länge 90 cm, Abb. 130.

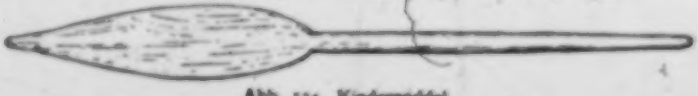


Abb. 134. Kinderpaddel.

Abb. 131. Holzpuppe.

Puppen, kurzweg *lios* (Truk »Bild«) genannt, kommen vor. Die Holzfiguren (s. Abb. 131) haben eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit den Sturmzauberzeichen Abb. 132.

He. 4651 = 821611 Windrad *gā* an der Schnauze eines hölzernen Fisches, auf Bambus gebunden.

2. Wissenschaft.

a) Navigation (s. Handel S. 250).

Wenn ein Häuptling reisen will z. B. nach Feis, so sagt er zu seinen Leuten, sie sollen das Boot richten. Er selbst bringt vor der Reise *uōfalū* einen Monat im *falʾlaf* zu, dessen Besuch für Frauen verboten ist. Dort verbringt er auch nach der 1. Rückkehr 5 Monate, nach der zweiten 1 Monat, nach der dritten ½ Monat, nach der vierten 5 Tage. Bei allen weiteren Heimkehren von Reisen fällt die Klausur fort. An fremden Plätzen braucht kein Tabū eingehalten zu werden. Anders bei Fischern (s. S. 50).

Die Herrichtung des Bootes bezieht sich vor allem auf die Kalfaterung *besdiva*, damit es kein Wasser macht. Es geschieht mit *uadj* »Kalk« in folgender Mischung: Kohle aus Kokoshüllen wird mit Kalk zerrieben unter Zusatz von Saft von ausgepreßten jungen Hüllen, so daß der Saft sich mit dem Pulver mischt.

Ferner wird die Bindung neu überprüft; dann werden neu gemacht die Deckshäuser *gaimodu*, die Taue und das Segel, kurzum die ganze Takelung; auch wird der Bootsleib neu bemalt.

Ist alles fertig, wird das Bodt zu Wasser gebracht und es wird, sobald starker Wind aufkommt, eine Versuchsfahrt im Binnenwasser gemacht. Fällt sie gut aus, so gilt das Boot als segelfertig. Der Schiffsführer stellt nun 4—5 Männer als Matrosen *jōliva* an, aber sie müssen freiwillig gehen, dürfen nicht gezwungen werden.

Dann sagt er zu den Frauen sie sollen das Essen für den *falū* und die *jōliva* bereiten, wobei der Brotfruchtteig *mar* als einzige Konserve voransteht.

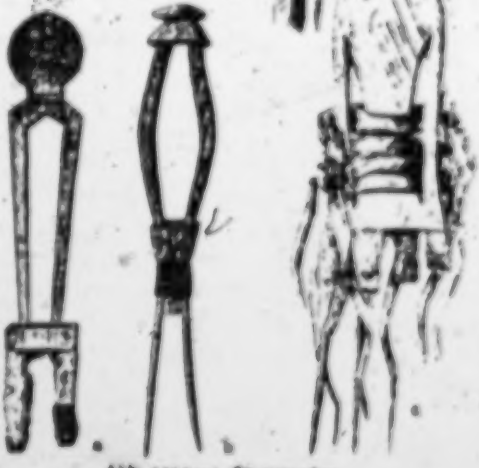


Abb. 132 a—c. Sturmzauber.

Bei gutem Wind aus Osten *(gōtimei)* wird alles an Bord gebracht, besonders sorgt man auch für junge Trinknüsse und für alte zum Essen, nimmt auch noch 20—30 Kokoswasserflaschen, gefüllt mit Süßwasser, mit und schließlich holt der *pallū* noch den Sturmzauber, über den S. 135 schon einiges beigebracht ist. Er wird am Deckhaus angehängt, wo der *pallū* an Bord wohnt.

Näheres über *gosdlifpi* oben und unten S. 284., s. Abb. 132.

Vorbedingungen für gute Fahrt nach Feis.

gute See *djeger ali ile mōlau.*

guter Wind *djeger ale gūi (gui* Monat August S. 133),

in der guten Zeit *murilisfang*, wie die Passatzeit nahe am Ende des *gui*-Monat heißt. Dann steht der Stern *māl* (Sirius S. 136) am Himmel und nördlich der *ōgelik*.

Wenn *e dlimeio* (s. S. 135) am Morgenhimmel steht, ist guter Wind. (Für die Rückkehr ist es der *gāp* Spica und *eramoi* = *aromoi* Arcturus.) Sind die Sterne nicht sichtbar, nimmt man die Segel weg, läßt treiben und wartet so lange, bis die Sterne wieder sichtbar sind.

Die Fahrt wird in Abschnitte *gōlag* eingeteilt, von denen eine bestimmte Zahl auf einen Kurs gehen; z. B. der 1. *gōlag* wird durch die Zeit bestimmt, die das Boot braucht, um außer Sicht der Insel zu kommen, wenn ein Mann auf den Mast steigt. Der erste Kurs auf den *ōgelik* dauert bis zum 4. *gōlag* (nordwestlich); der zweite Kurs auf den Stern *magōrogor* Plejaden macht nur 1 *gōlag* aus (westlich); der letzte Kurs ist auf den *māl*, dann sind es nur noch 2 *gōlag* (nordwestlich).

Nach Aurupeg (Aurepik) sind es 4 *gatag* auf einem Kurs nach dem *tubutumur* untergehende Antores.

Nach Ifaluk sind es 3 *gōlag* mit Stern *ilicl* Oriongürtel (O) bei gutem Wind in 8—12 Stunden (1. *gōlag* Oleai sichtbar; 2. *gōlag* Hochsee, 3 *gōlag* Ifaluk sichtbar). Ifaluk-Lamotrek Stern *ul* Aldeboran aufgehend, 5 *gōlag*.

Nach Fāraulap sind es 5 *gōlag*, 3 *gōlag* auf *tagal-ōgelik*, 1 auf *tagalemailap* aufgehend Atair in Ost) Aufgang West und 1 auf *tagal e goldgo*.

Nach Kadu gingen die Fahrten von Ulea nach Palau, Sonsoror, Pul, Merir, Rückfahrt über Sorol (Kotzebue III S. 104).

Kotzebue III S. 64: Kurs Norden *puc*, Süden *puilung*, Osten *puitag*, Westen *puilug*; Morgen *nissur*, Mittag *ogwol*, Abend *eppong*.

Die Winde und Sterne hier (vgl. S. 194) sind folgende:

	Wind	Stern
N	*fangilap, sangisfang*	*vōlevol*
S	*edngoaur, aurilap*	*tāgalup* aufgehend
		magemeiat 45°
		volevol kulminierend

		madjemeitol 45°
		tubulup untergehend
W	*notóelap*	*gauár* (Venus)
O	*gotímei*	*fusidjál* (Venus)
		weitere:
NW	*lotóafang*	*mailap, vul, magereger*
NO	*gotuáfang*	*möl, gügelik, volégo*
SW	*lotoár*	*mailap — lélafang*
SO	*gotuár*	*vélavel*

Ko.: 24 Rumben: *efangalab, caululor efangeles, caululor coteafau* usw. O. *éliol, sáravol, tümur, metáru, tágalu, mat, volevol*

N Ko. Polarstern *fissimogedigit.*

Mond (s. Nr. 276 Schluß)	*máram*
kleiner Mond	*maramatheg*
roter Mond	*edjá matál i maram*

Passat *sángugodj, sagölëu*
gotuórikom (Stern *tumur*)
gotuáfang (Stern *mäl*)
gölimei (Stern *mailap*)

gut Wetter *rálimei*
schlecht Wetter *rálengau.*

Kotzebue III S. 128: »Sie scheinen auf jeder Fahrt den Auf- und Niedergang eines andern Gestirns zu beobachten.« »Der Steuermann eines Bootes legte nach Don Luis ein Stückchen Holz, einen kleinen Stab flach vor sich hin und glaubt von demselben geleitet zu werden, wie wir von dem Kompaß.« Offenbar legt er den Stab so hin, wie er sich den Kurs denkt.

Auf Oleai kennt man folgende **Inseln:**
Waghal Guajan oder = Guam (Kotzebue III S. 93).

Bannöe (Palau I S. 184)	Eáurupëk
Eap	Faráülap (Fadjáülap), auch Faróelap, S. 100
Katogóbei (Tobi)	Ifaluk
Merir	Woléa
Bul	Elát
Sóngorol	Olimarão
Soról	Námodjek
Ngólu	Sëtovan
Namolülütfu (Mogemog)	Fáiëo
Fais	

Pikélo
Pikélot
Poloat
Sóuk
Tamétam
Bón'nap (Pollap)
Volóul (Onóun)
Pisérars *(...édj)*
Voloú
Mákor
Faiéoin
Namoin
Falálu
Rúo
Múrilo
Dju (Truk)
Losap
Némo
Namolúk
Gdiop

Setoyaláito
Nukulóor, Nukuor
Pikéram (Kapinga...)

Vóroluk
Ingádjik (Ngatik)
Fálepei (Ponape)
Pingelap
Mokil
Gadjau[1] (Kusae)

Rátak
Tapitóuē (Gilbert-J.)
Árorai „
Náuro

Sáneuis
Jépon
Vóu

Ingálapal heißt alles, wo die Sonne im Zenit steht, also die Tropen; was nördlich und südlich liegt, ist diese Seite und jene Seite, *pêigil ma peigil*.

Den Besuch von Palau erwähnte Kadu (Kotzebue III S. 91).

Länder *(falu)* im Süden, bei den Schwarzen:

Im O südlich Pikeram:

Faluelnugaráurau
Faluelnumáu
Faluelnúdja
Faluelnutéten
Faluélluiól
Faluelnáuporoi

Im W südlich Bunat (St. Davids):

Faluélidjel
Faluélikelāu
Faluéliep
Jévisi
Námofizi

Mores s. S. 280.

Bei der besonderen Seebefahrenheit der Oleenser sind diese Angaben von Wichtigkeit wegen alter Verbindungen der Karolinier mit Melanesien, aber eine Lokalisierung ist trotzdem nur äußerst schwierig. Bei Lukunór-Námoluk (Bd. 6 I S. 106) erscheint auch Nudja wie hier, das höchstwahrscheinlich die bekannte Insel Nusa an der Nordspitze von Tombára ist; es kann auch Numau hier gleich Numul dort sein, Nuól = Nūol usw., so daß diese melanesischen Orte hier ehemals

[1] *dj* ganz weich.

weit bekannt gewesen sein dürften, was den Ausführungen Bd. 6 I S. 131 entspricht.

Verschlagungen (s. auch Stöcklein):

Kotzebue III S. 127: »Die 2 Boote, die Cantova gesehen, waren mit vier andern auf der Reise von Fatoilep (Fároilap) nach Ulea von dem Westwinde ergriffen und zerstreut worden. Die meisten Menschen darinnen waren Eingeborne, beider benannten Gruppen, und wir nehmen an, die Boote selbst seyen von diesen Inseln gewesen. Das erste größere Boot, welches 24 Menschen trug, drei Kajüten hatte, und seiner Merkwürdigkeit halber sorgfältig beschrieben wird, heißt: »Fremd[illegible]Boot wenig von dem der Marianen verschiedene usw.

Durch Chamisso wurde die von Kadu bekannt, der als er nach Osten vertrieb, 8 Monate lang umhertrieb. »Drei Monde reichte ihr kärglich gesparter Vorrat hin; fünf Monate erhielten sie sich, ohne süßes Wasser, blos von den Fischen, die sie fingen. Den Durst zu löschen, holte Kadu, in die Tiefe des Meeres tauchend, kühleres, und ihrer Meinung nach, auch minder salziges Wasser, in einer Kokosschale herauf. Der Nordost-Passat trieb sie endlich auf die Gruppe Aur der Kette Radack, wo sie sich im Westen von Ulea zu befinden wähnten. Kadu hatte von einem Greise auf Eap, Kunde von Radack und Ralik vernommen: Seefahrer aus Eap sollen einst auf Radack, und zwar auf die Gruppe Aur verschlagen worden sein und von da über Nugor (Nukuor Kr.) und Ulea den Rückweg nach Eap gefunden haben. Die Namen Radack und Ralik waren ebenfalls einem Eingeborenen aus Lamureck, den wir auf Guajan antrafen, bekannt. Es werden oft Boote aus Ulea und umliegenden Inseln, auf die östlichen Inselketten verschlagen, und noch leben auf der südlichen Gruppe Arno der Kette Radack, fünf Eingeborene aus Lamureck, die ein gleiches Schicksal auf gleicher Bahn dahin geführt.«

Diese starken Stromversetzungen werden durch den Äquatorialgegenstrom erklärt, der etwa 100 Seemeilen breit nördlich des Gleichers von Westen nach Osten zieht. Äußerlich verschwindet er vor den aus NO kommenden Passatseen, aber innerlich wirkt er unter der Oberfläche mit elementarer Gewalt, besonders wenn Windstillen dem Boote keine Segelfahrt ermöglichen. So können also Boote nördlich der Linie vom äußersten Westen der Karolinen bis zu den Ralik-Ratakinseln vertreiben.

Die Verschlagungen, deren noch viele angeführt werden könnten (s. Palau I S. 14) sind aber nur Ausnahmen, durch unregelmäßige Witterung und falsche Ströme verursacht. Wie bekannt die Karolinier als Seefahrer schon um 1800 waren, zeigt ein Bericht von Mertens (Truk S. 451), der sagt, daß auf Oleai die Schiffsführer den Besuchern Briefe vorgezeigt hätten, die ihnen von weißen Kapitänen übergeben worden seien, damit sie sie gelegentlich dem Gouverneur Don Luis de Torres auf Guam brächten.

Vertreibungen zahlreiche bekannt; s. z. B. Haus 4, 6, 12, 19 usw.

Monatstage (Mondtage) Kotzebue III S. 63.

1. *segóuru* Neumond s. 2 r.
2. *ẽleng*
3. *mesẽleng*
4. *mesán*
5. *mesẽvis*
6. *mesoval*
7. *mesẽtiu*
8. *ẽrzmatal*
9. *ẽpei*
10. *szaivo*
11. *ẽrabógui*
12. *olavül*
13. *olamál*
14. *mas* Mond nicht ganz voll
15. *úr* } voll
16. *nẽtu* }
17. *killei* nicht mehr ganz voll
18. *gáloa*
19. *sõpas*
20. *ẽ fálag*
21. *gáratalẽfálag*
22. *sõpadjmẽmur (sẽkap* halb) s. 19. r.
23. *killei* (s. 17)
24. *gomálo*
25. *gomálefal*
26. *ẽrafui*
27. *sóü*
28. *efeing*
29. *iẽjaf*

1. *lingiling*
2. *sigaur*
3. *mesul*
4. *meseven*
5. *nesalim*
6. *mesaul*
7. *mesevel*
8. *mesavol*
9. *mesadu*
10. *tjabong*
11. *alabugi*
12. *oloboa*
13. *olomoal*
14. *alat*
15. *ir*
16. *ladi*
17. *gilei*
18. *kaira*
19. *sopalemir*
20. *orievalan*
21. *olabugi*
22. *olahud*
23. *olamahd*
24. *tamalaval*
25. *areve*
26. *eii*
27. *erevi*
28. *euu*
29. *evan*
30. *elav*

Man sieht ohne weiteres, daß die Namen nicht genau übereinstimmen und etwas verschoben sind, daß aber, wie natürlich, der Mond die Grundlage für die Monate gibt. Da 13—14 Tage nur für eine Füllung des Mondes gebraucht werden, sind die 30 Tage Chamisso's zu viel; aber auch eigentlich die 29 meiner Aufnahme. So erklärt es sich vielleicht, daß für Jahr nur *seikmarsou* angegeben wurde, was 12 bedeutet (s. Nr. 263 Schluß).

Tageseinteilung (Tag *rál*).

Sonnenaufgang	*tagajeál*
ca. 8 Uhr	*ilameilug*
ca. 10 Uhr	*lingáraſat*
Mittag	*eáhel*
2 Uhr	*e paſ'log*
4 Uhr	*atelivai*
5 Uhr	*atelilüel*
6 Uhr	*i atelüelim*
Sonnenuntergang	*eatupeál*
7 Uhr	*niſagáſ*
8—9 Uhr	*niſagaſ e mesóu*
10 Uhr	*ilajojo* (alles schläft)
11 Uhr	*leſagáſ tongá lugdlibung*
Mitternacht	*lugdlibung*
Morgens 1 Uhr	*lugdlibung tongalíft*
„ 2 Uhr	*olimatáhat*
„ 3 Uhr	*olimele malug* (Hahn) 1. Krähen
„ 4 Uhr	*olimadjál*
„ 5 Uhr	*olimalemálu*

Abb. 133. Zählschnur.

Monatsteinteilung s. Lámotrek.

Im Kotzebue III S. 128 steht: »Man zählt auf den Karolinen-Inseln Tage und Monde und theilt das Jahr nach der Wiederkehr und dem Verschwinden der Gestirne in seine Jahreszeiten ein. Niemand aber zählt die Jahre«.

Zählen mit Knoten Abb. 133.

Sturmzauber s. S. 272.

b) Medizin.

Lütke III S. 144ff. beobachtete Linien von Narben (Moxen) auf den Armen, die durch kleine Einschnitte während der Kindheit hervorgerufen werden, durch Behandlung mit der giftigen Milch der Cerbera.

Namenwechsel der Kranken s. S. 269.

Heilkünstler	*tautaſéſ*	Durchfall	*dadjikedj*
Wunde	*gopilag*	Husten	*ſeſ'ſag, ſágaſag*
Vene	*vag*	Schluckauf	*matov*
Eiterbeule klein	*lós*	rülpsen	*gírér*
Phlegmone	*más*	gähnen	*mólegatol*
Hydrocele groß	*mór, mórulap*		

Viel geübt hier Aderlaß und Punktion von Eiterbeulen mit dem Schnepper *fidjefidj i le vâg* oder *i le mör*, je nach der Anwendung.

Erstere zeigt Abb. 134a und b. Kr. 260 mit Haizahn, Kr. 262 = 3047II mit Krebsschere, letztere Abb. c und d. He. 1606 = 5436II und H. 1913 = 5704II aus Bambus *wai* oder Fregattvogelknochen, oder Stachel *faialiik* vom Fisch *felang* mehr als Abszeßöffner benützt, oder für Hydrocele (Kr. 255).

Abb. 134e ist mehr Bohrer (S. 62) mit Haizahn (He. 1722 = 5538II, Länge 35 cm).

Die Punktionswunde wird nicht verbunden.

Abb. 134a—e. Punktiernadeln.

Nach Lütke dienen Acanthurus-Stacheln oder Haizähne zum Aderlaß usw.

Die Hoden, *failimor*, werden bei Schwellung des Hodensacks gerne entfernt: man öffnet mit dem Messer, zieht den Hoden heraus und schneidet ab. Verband mit Blättern. Vadjegëlog hatte sich beide Hoden ausschneiden lassen.

Die Karolinenhand *got ûmel* (Truk S. 310). Ein behafteter Knabe verletzte sich beim Palmweinschneiden das zweite Kleinfingergelenk; als das Blut kam, wurde der Finger wieder gerade.

Perverses: Die labia minora werden auf Oleai bis zu 10 cm verlängert; dadurch Cunnilingus befördert (s. Feis).

3. Religion.

Was bei Lamotrek über Tempel und Opfer gesagt wurde, gilt auch für hier. Zwar fanden wir keine heiligen Häuser mehr, aber das *imaliêlus* »Geisterhaus«

des Eangelaf (Ko. S. 57 Name des Gottes: Engalap) Abb. 126, beim *im* Marúaru auf Tagaûlap zeigt deutlich auf alte Kultstätten, obwohl das Haus fremdem Einfluß zugeschrieben wird, s. S. 259: Raketip kam mit seiner Frau Lētāgo von Faróelap (Fároilap), wo Ûapei als *alus* verehrt wird, nach Tagaûlap, blieb hier und baute das *im ali ēlus*. Nach vielen Jahren kehrten sie nach Faróelap zurück. Eángelaf (Voléa) war aber auch hier Nebengott. Für diesen Gott wurden auch hier am Hausbalken kleine Ölflaschen mit *vut*-Kränzen aufgehängt. Auf Falális galt Iletilimar im Hause Móélifal als *alus*.

Gegenüber Lamotrek war Oleai nicht so ergiebig[1]. Dafür ist noch einiges vor 100 Jahren aufgenommene vorhanden, worüber unten berichtet wird. Hier folgendes: Alúelap wohnt im Haus Fatsomal (*ts* scharf gesprochen) im Himmel, wohin die guten Seelen *ngol* ziehen, während die schlechten nach dem *im aliáf*[2], dem »Haus des Feuers« von ihm geschickt werden. Tempel und Opfer sind hier nicht bekannt (Kotzebue III S. 129). Alúelap, der *alus eoelap*[3], hat Olcai geschaffen. Er sagte zu seinem Bruder Saulal in der Tiefe *i lál*: »Mache ein Riff heraufkommen. Mache einige groß, einige klein«. Auch hieß er ihn, das Meer und die Fische machen. Saulal ist der Gott des Meeres in Gestalt einer Sirene, Menschenleib mit Fischschwanz.

Límagei (S. 110) ist beider Mutter; Litóbeo, ihre Schwester, saß oben im Himmel und riß die Fäden der Menschen ab, so daß sie starben. Die Fäden[4] reichten von oben bis auf die Erde herab zu den Menschen, die durch sie atmeten; erst wenn Litóbeo sie abbrach, hörte das Leben auf.

Alúelap heiratet die Frau Ilámālun. Ihre Kinder waren Lúgeileng[5] *(= lúgelleng)* und Simēlegóror (s. S. 144), der alle Dinge machte: Sonne, Mond, Sterne, Boote, Häuser, Holzschüsseln, Tatauierung usw. Der Name soll »alle Dinge« bedeuten, aber Simē ist wohl = *simes* »Tod«, wie unten bei Simēlegēreger zu sehen.

Ligéreger war eine streitsüchtige Göttin unbekannter Herkunft. Sie stritt einmal mit dem Monde, dem sie zurief:

simē Ligéreger, *simē serēl*!
tot Ligéreger, tot Du! *(simes* tot)

d. h. Wenn ich sterbe, sollen alle sterben!

Der Mond antwortete: Es ist besser, wenn es so ist, wie bei mir;
der junge Mond *(ēlúelang)* ist die Jugend,
der abnehmende alte *(tógovei)* das Alter!

---

[1] Agupelior sagt: All talk before plenty lie! [2] Nicht auf Lamotrek bekannt.
[3] Kotzebue III S. 128: der Gott *(iautup)* von Ulea heißt Engalap; Eóngelap ist Geist von Voléa.
[4] *melowai* mein Lebensfaden, *ēlli melowai* unsere Fäden.
[5] Nach Kotzebue III S. 129: seine Mutter Leteuhieul, aus Ulea gebürtig; S. 56 Gott = *iautup* = Yap Anruf beim Opfern *marsganam guru iautup*; Volk = *iautup*.

Lúgeileng, der erste Sohn des Alúelap, kam nach Vēisálop[1] und heiratete eine Frau, deren Herkunft man nicht wußte[2]; sie gebar den Ólefat. Lugeileng war fortgereist, aber er kehrte, als sie noch schwanger war, zurück. Sie hatte einen großen Bauch, konnte aber nicht niederkommen. Lugeileng erzählte es seinem Vater Aluelap, und dieser sandte ihn nach Veisalop zurück mit der Anweisung, ihr eine *bellik*-Muschel auf den Kopf zu legen, wenn sie Schmerzen und Angst habe. So geschah es, und plötzlich stieg Ólefat durch den Kopf der Frau empor[3]. Das kleine Kind weinte viel. Als die Mutter sich sorgte, was ihm fehle, sagte es: Gieb mir eine Kokosnuß. Die Mutter holte sofort eine her und wollte sie aufschlagen. Der Kleine aber sagte, er wolle nur ein Loch haben. Als die Mutter ihm ein Loch gemacht hatte, saugte Olefat daran, und sah dabei, als er den Kopf zurücklegte, plötzlich seinen Vater Lugeileng im Himmel. Da hieß er seine Mutter ein Feuer machen, und als es qualmte, stieg er in der Rauchsäule nach oben. So kam er zu Lugeileng. Olifat aber war böse; er war mit nichts zufrieden und wechselte immer. Einmal kam er mit einem dicken Bein, dann mit einem dicken Hoden, dann tatauirt, dann untautauirt, dann jung, dann alt, bald schön, bald häßlich, alles wechselnd. Was er eben nahm, warf er bald wieder weg.

Er ging auch nach Mores in Melanesien, wo er Menschen gefressen haben soll.

Zum Schluß wurde Olefat an einem fremden Platz erschlagen. Als Lugeileng dies dem Aluelap erzählte, sagte dieser: »Laß alles heraufkommen, was wertvoll ist; ich will den Platz zerstören«. Als Strafe sandte er die Fliegen, die Stechmücken, die Haifische usw.

Lütke berichtet einiges über die Religion; ob alles von Oleai stammt ist aber unsicher, wie das folgende von Freycinet. Da es für das Gesammtbild nicht unwichtig erscheint, sei es hier aufgeführt: Hanno oder Hannulap kann nur von wenigen gesehen werden, aber sie hören ihn und vermitteln seine Befehle, durch Schamanismus. Auch Kinder können Nachricht bringen. Die Besessenen heulen und bekommen Krämpfe. Schamane geölt, bemalt, mit 2 Lanzen, beim nahen schreiend. Er greift den Kranken an, der sich erhebt und wehrt; sie kämpfen, dann Lanzen weggeworfen und Tanz mit Stäben, tage- oft wochenlang, bis der Zauberer gesiegt hat. So wird der Wille des Anulap bekannt. Jährlich einen Monat lang Feste für Anulap, wobei die Männer oft bis zu zwei Monaten von den Frauen fern bleiben; es darf kein Segel gesetzt werden; während der ersten Woche darf kein Boot in See gehen; Fremde dürfen nicht landen. Vier Tage vor dem Hauptfest Sammeln von Kokosnüssen und Brotfrüchten. Früh am Haupttag Fischzug.

---

[1] Von *sólop* Erde.

[2] Kotzebue III S. 129: Lugeleng hatte zwei Weiber, eine im Himmel und eine auf Erden, Hamulul und Tarisso (= Elamalor S. 146 und Tarisso S. 147, Bd. 61 S. 189). Letztere war an Schönheit und sonstigen Gaben sonder Gleichen; sie gebar Olifat. Schon Cantova schrieb, daß Tarisso von Falalu (Fananu) stamme.

[3] *ni i ili* Olofátás; *mogúlegul* die Fontanelle.

Alles geht dann zum Tempel *led*, der ein gewöhnliches Haus ist; für eine Nacht ist es geschlossen; am Morgen nach Sonnenaufgang tritt der Häuptling vor versammeltem Volk durch nördliche Türe ins Haus, reich geschmückt, mit einem Stock in der Rechten, mit dem er den Weg zu suchen scheint; dabei blickt er vor sich nieder und spricht zu sich; sein Bruder geht kurz vorher an der Südseite an der Spitze von einigen Leuten hinein; sie setzen sich, erheben sich aber, wenn der Häuptling hereinkommt, der sich auf 3 schöne Matten setzt. Dann erst setzten sich die übrigen. Niemand darf sonst herein. Der Bruder naht sich dann den vorhandenen Vorräten und nimmt von jeder der 50 Platten etwas, gibt den größten Fisch und die größte Kokosnuß in einem Korb dem Häuptling und öffnet für ihn 50—60 Nüsse. Dann verteilt er das übrige an die Versammlung, setzt sich dann neben seinen Bruder, um mit ihm zusammen das bereitete Frühstück zu nehmen. Als Lohn erhält er selbst die Nußhüllen, die für Schnurdrehen sehr wertvoll sind (S. 191). In ½ Stunde ist alles fertig. Dann Haus wieder für alle zugänglich. Nur die Asche darf nicht berührt werden. Es bleiben hier meist Kranke, aber nicht allein, aus Furcht vor Anulap.

Freycinet (s. Truk S. 451) bringt im Historischen Teil S. 107ff. einiges über die Religion der Karolinier. Die Aufzeichnungen stammen wie bei Chamisso (s. Palau Bd. I S. 131) von Don Luis de Torres, sind aber bei Freycinet namentlich hinsichtlich der Religion, die wohl von Oleai stammt, ausführlicher. Deshalb seien sie hier angeschlossen.

Die 3 Götter der Karolinier[1] sind Alouhilap = Alúelap, Lougheling = Lugeileng Olifad = Olefat. Ihre Entstehung wird so erklärt: Seit Ewigkeit besteht eine Göttin Ligopoup (s. S. 144), die Schöpferin des Weltalls. Sie schuf Alúelap[2], den Erfinder der Wissenschaften; sein Sohn ist Lugeileng[3], dessen Mutter unbekannt ist (S. 146 Ilamalun); er hatte zwei Frauen die himmlische Ilamoulong (Ilamalun) und die irdische Tariso, letztere von seltener Schönheit (so auch bei Kotzebue S. 129, ebenso das folgende); sie gebar Olefat (S. 147) 4 Tage nach dem Beginn ihrer Schwangerschaft. Er war ganz mit Blut beschmiert, biß seine Nabelschnur selbst ab und begann sofort zu gehen, nach dem er geboren war; aber er wollte sich von niemand berühren lassen, und wenn ihm jemand bei der Reinigung helfen wollte, sagte er, er werde schon selber für sich sorgen, und rieb sich an den Kokosstämmen ab, die deshalb oft so rot sind. Als seine Mutter ihm als erstes eine junge Kokosnuß zum Trinken gab, und er den Kopf hintenüber legte und

[1] So auch Kadu s. Kotzebue III S. 129. Es wurden auch 7 Götter genannt: Ligopoup, Kantal, Alouilap, Litefeo (S. Litobeo), Houlagouf, Lougheling, Olifad.

[2] So auch bei Kotzebue III S. 129: nach Cantova (Freycinet S. 115 Ehulup) Sohn von Sabukur und Hamelul, Schwester Ligobuud. Ehulup heiratet Letöhiöl von Guliai, Sohn Lugheileng «Mitte des Himmels»; dann adoptiert Reschahuileng (wer?), ein Jüngling von Lamotrek. Ligobuud bekam 3 Kinder.

[3] Lügeileng hatte 2 Frauen (Cantova), eine göttliche, die ihm Karrer und Meliliau gebar; die andere stammte von Falalu; gemeint ist Tariaso S. 147 (s. Bd. 61 S. 189).

nach oben blickte (s. o. S. 147 u. 280), sah er seinen Vater Lugeileng, den er sofort ansprach. Er stieg sofort mit seiner Mutter zu ihm hinauf. Als Olifat in den Himmel kam, traf er auf Kinder, die mit einem Haifisch spielten, den sie am Schwanz angebunden hatten[1]. Da der Fisch Lahmheit vortäuschte, um unbeachtet zu bleiben, fürchteten ihn die Kinder[2]. Olefat wollte ihn haben, aber alle wollten ihn nicht hergeben, außer dem Knaben, der den Strang hielt (vgl. S. 147). Dieser gab dem Fremdling den Strang, und so konnte Olefat sich mit dem Tiere vergnügen. Nach einiger Zeit gab er aber dem Knaben den Strang zurück und sagte ihm, er solle vor dem Fisch keine Angst haben, wenn er wild werde; er tue ihm nichts. Olefat machte nämlich einen Zauber, um die übrigen Kinder zu strafen, die ihm seine Bitte abgeschlagen hatten. Daraufhin wuchsen dem Haie große Zähne und mit diesen biß er die Ungefälligen.

So strafte er alle die, die ihm unfreundlich entgegenkamen, und es waren viele, denn sie kannten den Gott ja nicht[3]. So wollte er einmal beim Bau eines großen Hauses von den Bauarbeitern ein Messer zum Abschlagen der Kokoswedel für die Dachdeckung haben. Nur einer kam seiner Bitte nach; da verwandelte er alle übrigen in Statuen.

Lugeileng und Alúelap wußten, daß Olefat sich in den Himmel begab. Als sie von der Verwandlung der Arbeiter erfuhren, frugen sie den, der nicht verwandelt worden war, ob er irgend jemand getroffen hätte; er antwortete, daß er nur einen *kandoura*[4]-Vogel gesehen hätte, (in den sich Olefat verwandelt hatte). Sie befahlen ihm ihn zu rufen; er tat es, aber der Vogel fürchtete die Stimme und entfloh. Lugeileng hieß ihn noch einmal rufen, ohne zu sagen, daß er kommen solle, was er vorher getan hatte, ja er sollte sogar dem Vogel untersagen, zu kommen, weil seine Anwesenheit den Häuptlingen unangenehm sein könnte. Der Arbeiter führte den Befehl aus und verbot dem *kandoura* ins Haus zu kommen und sich auf den Platz der höheren zu setzen; aber der *kandoura* tat das Gegenteil. Als er da saß, ließ Lugeileng durch einen seiner Leute alle die Verwandelten holen. Sie kamen alle, zum großen Erstaunen derer, die anwesend waren. Denn nur Aluelap und Lugeileng wußten, daß das Kind Olefat war.

Der Bau des Hauses wurde fortgesetzt. Als man die Löcher für die Pfosten machen wollte, nahm diese Arbeit Olefat auf sich, was den Arbeitern viel Freude machte, weil sie hofften, ihn so töten zu können, als Rache für das, was er ihnen angetan hatte, und aus Angst, was er ihnen noch antun könnte. Aber er, die

---

[1] Die Geschichte vom Fischspiel s. Palau Bd. IV S. 231 und oben S. 147; bei Kotzebue findet sich die Angabe, daß sie ihn fürchteten und nicht berührten, weil er ihnen aussätzig erschien.

[2] Bei Kotzebue III S. 130 folgt hier: »Er stellte sich, um unerkannt zu bleiben, aussätzig an. Da hielten ihn die Kinder fern von sich und berührten ihn nicht«.

[3] Bei Kotzebue folgt hier: »Da keiner ihn kannte und er zu seinem Vater noch nicht gekommen, der allein ihn erkennen konnte, stellte man seinem Leben nache.

[4] Kotzebue: *candúra*, eine Art Uferläufer.

Absichten erratend, versah sich mit roter Erde, mit Kohle und Kokosblattrippen, die er gut verbarg; darauf machte er die Löcher, aber mit Nischen, damit er in diese hineinschlüpfen konnte. Als alles fertig war, gab er Kunde davon. Alsbald stießen sie auf ihn einen der Pfosten und warfen Erde nach, um ihn zu ersticken. Olefat aber entwischte in die Seitennische, und begann die rote Erde zu kauen, die er nach außen warf. Seine Mörder hielten dies für sein Blut. Darauf, als sie die Kohle herauskommen sahen, die er ebenso gekaut hatte, hielten sie dies für seine Galle, und schlossen daraus, daß er tot war. Indessen durchbohrte Olefat mit einer Kokosblattrippe den Pfosten der Länge nach, und als er durch die Röhre nach oben geschlüpft war, setzte er sich in der Höhe hin, ohne bemerkt zu werden. Seit dieser Zeit haben die Bäume ein Herz. (Dieser Satz fehlt bei Kotzebue.)

Als das Werk vollendet war, versammelten sich die Bauleute, um zu essen. Olefat beauftragte eine Ameise[1], ihm ein kleines Stück Kokosnuß zu bringen. Die Ameise tat, was sie konnte. Olefat verwandelt mit seiner göttlichen Kraft das kleine Stückchen in eine ganze Nuß, und sprach mit lauter Stimme: »Paßt auf, ich will meine Kokosnuß teilen.« Bei diesen Worten drehten sich die Arbeiter um, und waren überrascht von der Tatsache, daß sie ihn gar nicht getötet hatten. Sie erkannte nun, daß er ein *alu*[2] war. Sie gaben daher den Mordplan auf, und sagten ihm, er solle das Essen zum Donner tragen. Olefat ging freudig von dannen, versah sich aber zur Vorsicht mit einem Rohrstock. Als er in das Haus des Donners trat, sagt er: »Halt, ich bin müde vom Herbeitragen der Nahrung für dein schiefes Maul!« Da wollte sich der Donner auf ihn stürzen, aber er schlüpfte in das Rohr und rettete sich so[3]. So erfüllte er seinen Auftrag, ohne daß ihm übles wiederfuhr, zum großen Erstaunen seiner Genossen. Diese sandten ihn von neuem mit einem Fischessen vom botete de espinas[4], wie die Spanier ihn nennen. Olefat ging, nur mit einer Muschel bewaffnet. Als er in die Wohnung des Fisches eingetreten war, bemächtigte sich dieser der Türe und wollte ihn am Hinausgehen verhindern; aber beim Anbruch der Nacht legte er die Muschel dem Fische auf seinen Oberkiefer und schritt über ihn hinweg. Deshalb hat dieser Fisch, nach Angabe der Karolinier, an dieser Stelle eine Vertiefung.

Endlich gab man ihm ein Essen von dem langmauligen Fisch, den man *fela*[5] nennt. Da er diesen nicht zu Hause traf, gab er das Essen denen, die er traf, und ging fort. Diese erzählten es dem *fela*, als er kam und frug, wer es gebracht habe; sie kannten ihn nicht. Da nahm er einen Haken mit einer langen Leine, und

[1] s. Palau Tlbd. 4 S. 234 u. 40. Die Aufgabe der Ameise ist bei Kub. anders, daß sie ihm Essen bringt.
[2] Kotzebue *alus*; sonst alles gleich.
[3] Bei Kotzebue ist hier eingefügt: »Der Donner konnte ihn nicht finden und ließ ab, ihn zu verfolgen«.
[4] *bote* Schlag, *espina* Stachel, wohl Synanceia, der eine Vertiefung für die Stacheln hat. Der Rochen heißt raya; fehlt bei Kotzebue.
[5] Auf Truk u. Palau *ngal*, der Hecht Belone; der mit gekürztem Oberkiefer = Hemiramphus.

warf ihn nach allen Windstrichen. Er bekam so den Olefat im Norden, und tötete ihn.

Als er nicht wieder kam, beglückwünschten sich die Bauleute. Aber als Lugeileng seinen Sohn suchte und ihn ohne Leben und voll von Würmern fand, da weckte er ihn auf und frug ihn, wer ihn getötet habe. Olefat aber sagte, er sei nicht getötet, sondern schlafe nur. Lugeileng ließ den *fela*-Fisch kommen und schlug ihn mit einem Stock auf den Oberkiefer. Daher ist der obere kürzer als der untere Kiefer. So brachten die 3 Götter Gerechtigkeit ins Leben der Menschen.

Sturmzauber (s. S. 155).

i liliti riailengil	Geh weg ungetroffen dieser Regen	*leng*[1] Regen s. Nr. 238
meisálat riailengil	entschwinde ungetroffen,	
vailēfē tēttog	nicht komme er	
voleōái ē oāil	auf mein Boot, das Boot!	*vol* auf, s. S. 202
ē táralog italōia	Geh langsam unten weg	*italō* unten.

Der Regen, der Sturm soll vorbeiziehen. Der Zauberer gebraucht dabei den Zauberstab (s. Lam. S. 152).

Oben S. 272 wurde seine Mitnahme an Bord schon erwähnt, näheres über ihn schon bei Lámotrek. Über die Rochenstacheln hörte ich auf Volea, daß Paluelap auf seiner Reise einen Speer mit Rochenstacheln bei sich führte, mit dem er die Schlechten bestrafte. Gefürchtet waren ja die Rochenstacheln als Kampfmittel.

Der Name Alúluei kommt auch hier von *alus levêi* Geist der Reise.

Man sagt	*i bale vai*	ich reise
	go bale vai	du reisest
	oā levei	das Boot reist, Reise, Hochseeboot.

Ein *gosilifei* von 52 cm Länge mit 4 Rochenstacheln (2 brachen beim Taifun 1907 ab) erhielt ich Mariong im Boothaus Falefō (Kr. 268 = 3053) Abb. 132c. Eine alte Form zeigt Abb. a Kr. 269, bei der an Stelle des Kopfes nur eine Scheibe ist, und der Leib aus zwei Stangen besteht. Ähnlich geformt ist ein altes Stück Abb. b 32174:1 im Hamburger Museum.

Zählen. Zum zählen hatte man eine Schnur mit Knoten, wie z. B. Kadu nach Kotzebue III S. 89 die Monde seines Aufenthalts in Ratak notierte. He. 1948 sammelte ein Stück (Abb. 133), mittels der der Hausbesitzer Géaf seine Palmen zählte (100 = 100).

Aberglauben s. z. B. bei Fischfang Kotzebue III S. 132 sagt: »Es dürfen nicht mehrere Menschen Früchte von derselben Bananentraube genießen. Wer eine der Bananen gegessen hat, nur der darf die andern verzehren.«

[1] *saratailengil* vom Regen getroffen, *riailengil* vom Regen ungetroffen, von *ria* fehlen.

4. Geschichten *fiong*, ehemals *mesūe* und Gesänge.

Die Ausbeute war mager, und es scheint, als ob die Überlieferung und Erzählung hier nicht sehr gepflegt würde.

Ein gewisser Ersatz ist die eine große Geschichte von Palúelap, von der bei Pollap (Bd. 6 I S. 284) schon berichtet wurde.

Da ich sie auf Lámotrek hörte und aufschrieb, deutet auch darauf hin, daß sie mehr aus Osten, aus Bon'nap, stammt.

1. Die Geschichte von den Söhnen des Palúelap, Róngerik, Róngelap, Alúluei und Fárávai.

Palúelap von Pólap[1] hatte 2 Söhne Róngedjīk und Róngelap. Der letztere kümmerte sich wenig um seinen Vater. Hingegen Rongedjik, der Jüngere, gab von seinem Essen, das er bekam, oder von Truk und den übrigen Inseln sich holte, immer seinem Vater ab, wofür dieser ihn liebte und in die Geheimnisse der Seefahrt und Navigation einweihte. Als Rongelap das hörte und sah, ward er zornig und schmipfte und schlug seinen Vater, und als sein Vater frug, warum er so gegen ihn handle, sagte er: »Warum theilst Du mir nicht Deine Kenntnisse mit?« Dann sagte der Alte: »Warum sollte ich dies wohl thun?« Dann antwortete Rongelap: »Du bist doch mein Vater!« »Allerdings«, sagte Palúelap »aber Du sorgtest nicht für mich, wie Dein jüngerer Bruder; deshalb, weil er gut gegen mich war, hat er alles erfahren«. Zu seiner Beruhigung fing er indessen an, auch ihn zu belehren, aber nur unzureichend. Als Rongelap auf die Reise ging, verfehlte er sein Ziel. Er kam zu einer großen Kokospalme mit Nüssen daran, mitten im Meere, und sandte einen Mann hinauf, sie ihm herabzuwerfen in das Boot, das unten wartete. An einer der Nüsse, die herabflogen, saß aber eine große schwarze Eidechse, die faßte den Rongelap und biß ihn entzwei, und er fiel ins Meer.

Als Rongelap nicht wiederkam, sprach Palúelap zu Rongedjik: »Dein Bruder ist nicht mehr zurückgekehrt; sieh nach ihm bei der Palme!« Rongedjik fuhr alsbald hin; er fand die Bootbesatzung des Rongelap und frug: »Wo ist Rongelap?« Sie sagten: »Er liegt im Salzwasser!« und berichteten ihm den Vorgang. Da machte Rongedjik einen Zauber, den er von seinem Vater gelernt hatte, fand so die zwei Stücke seines Bruders und setzte sie zusammen. Als er wieder lebte, frug ihn Rongedjik, was er getan habe, und Rongelap antwortete: »Ich habe geschlafen.«

Rongedjik frug weiter: »Was? Lagst du nicht im Wasser? Warum holtest du die Nüsse?« Rongelap antwortete: »Wir waren hungrig!« Rongedjik holte nun die Nüsse, und sie aßen.

Als sie fertig waren, wollte Róngelap gehen und nahm seinen Kurs auf. Da rief ihm sein Bruder zu: »Wohin willst du denn fahren? Dein Kurs führt nach

[1] Auf Lámotrek, wo die Geschichte erzählt wurde, Bon'nap gesprochen. S. Pollap Gesch. 7 Bd. 6 I S. 284.

keinem Land!« Rongelap kehrte sich nicht daran und fuhr davon. Nach langer Fahrt fand er einen Mann mit Namen Sâuperon, auf einem Riff stehend und fischend. Rongelap bat ihn um Fische, aber er wollte nichts hergeben. Da rief Rongelap wütend: »Wenn du mir keine gibst, schlage ich dich tot!« Da faßte ihn der Fischer und ertränkte ihn. Rongedjik kam nachgefahren, und frug nach seinem Bruder. Man zeigte ihm denselben im Meere treibend. Rongedjik frug die Leiche: »Was machst du?« Sie antwortete: »Ich schlafe«. »Nein« rief der erstere, »du bist tot«. Er machte wieder den Zauber, so daß Rongelap wieder auflebte.

Sie nahmen dann zusammen wieder eine Mahlzeit. Dann wollte Rongelap wieder fort. Sein Bruder warnte ihn: »Du findest kein Land, du kommst nur wieder um!« Aber er ging doch, trotz erneuter Warnung, und Rongedjik folgte ihm, ihn zu beschützen.

Rongelap fand nun unterwegs einen großen Taro, und wollte ihn pflücken. Aber die Pflanze tauchte unter wie ein Fisch. Rongedjik sah es, stürzte sich ins Wasser und holte den Taro herauf, den sie dann zusammen verspeisten.

Danach zog Rongelap wieder weiter. Er kam nun zu der kleinen Insel Piánipalúelap, wo in einem Haus zwei alte Frauen wohnten, die Schwestern seines Vaters Paluelap, für den sie gerade ein Segel flochten. Da Rongelap sein Segel eingebüßt hatte, wollte er das neue haben, aber die zwei Frauen gaben es nicht heraus, trotzdem er mit Totschlag drohte. »Lieber sterben als hergeben« riefen sie. Als er nun seinen Arm zum Todesstreich erhob, wurde dieser plötzlich steif und so fand ihn Rongedjik und frug ihn, was er denn tue. Der Übeltäter erzählte das Begebnis und rief aus: »Siehst du denn nicht, ich kann nicht schlagen!« Rongedjik erwiederte: »Ja, willst du denn die Schwestern des Vaters ermorden?« »Ja«, sagte Rongelap, »sie sind nicht gut!« Nun bat der Jüngere die beiden Alten um das Segel, und sie gaben es ihm bereitwilligst, der es dann seinem Bruder überantwortete.

Der böse Geist des Rongelap war aber immer noch nicht gebrochen. Er fuhr wieder von dannen, der Jüngere hinterdrein. Bald hatten sie kein Essen und kein Wasser mehr. Als Rongelap klagte, rief Rongedjik: »Was, kennst du nicht das Wasser des Palúelap?« Hohe Brecher waren an dem Orte, aber Rongedjik machte seinen Zauber und holte Wasser aus dem Meere, obwohl kein Land da war. Er gab davon seinem Bruder und dieser, endlich mürbe und überwältigt, gab nun nach, und kehrte mit Rongedjik nach Polap zurück, wo er reuig zu seinem Vater trat und fortan gut an ihm zu handeln bestrebt war.

Um jene Zeit war auf Truk[1] ein *kulung*-Vogel, der so viel Menschen fraß, daß fast alle Dörfer ausstarben. Auch alles an Taro, Brotfrucht, Kokosnüssen usw. fraß er auf. Von Truk ging er nach Póloat, wo ers ebenso trieb, dann nach Sog,

[1] s. Truk S. 362.

Sätowan, Námodjek, Ifaluk, Voleai, Aúrūpek, Feis, Mógemog, Sórol, Eáp, Ngólu, Bánnōè. Endlich auf der Rückkehr kam er nach Polap.

Inesávo, die Tochter des Palúelap, hatte von ihrem Vater den Auftrag bekommen, alle von auswärts kommenden Kanu zu empfangen und zum Platz zu bringen. Als der Kulung angeflogen war, sagte sie: »Komm, du kannst Essen haben!« »Was?« rief der Kulung aus; »alle die andern Plätze haben nicht vermocht, meinen Bauch zu füllen, und dieser kleine Fleck sollte mich sättigen? Du hast mich zum Narren!« Inesávo nahm einen Taro, stampfte ihn, gab ihn in eine Kokosschale und goß Preßmilch darauf, dann öffnete sie eine junge Kokosnuß und brachte beides ins Haus, wo der Kulung saß. Der lachte: »Das soll mein Essen sein?« Das Mädchen sprach: »Iß nur, es wird schon genug sein!« Der Kulung aß und trank und wurde nicht fertig; immer wuchs neues Essen aus der Schale nach. Als sein Bauch so dick war, daß er nicht mehr konnte, wollte er nach Truk zurück. Inesávo und Palúelap gaben ihm noch Essen mit, 200 Körbe, ungeheuer groß, voll Taro und 2 riesige Kokosnüsse, was sie ihm alles unter die Flügel und um den Hals banden. Selig flog der Vogel davon. Als er aber über dem offenen Meere war, machte Palúelap einen mächtigen Zauber, so daß der Wind aufhörte und der Kulung ins Meer fiel, wo er von Haifischen aufgefressen wurde.

Die Frau des Palúelap ward schwanger. Er sagte zu seinen zwei Söhnen Rongedjik und Rongelap: »Der Knabe Alúluei im Bauche meiner Frau hört alles; wenn er geboren ist, bleibt er alsbald im Haus sitzen.« So kam es. Aluluei war mit übergewöhnlichen dämonischen Kräften ausgestattet. Wenn Paluelap ein Mahl einnahm, gab er stets seinem jüngsten Sohne davon. Die beiden älteren haßten ihn wegen dieser Bevorzugung, die allenthalben hervortrat. Sie bauten nun ein großes Boot, aber gaben ihm keine Auslegerbalken. Da frug sie ihr Vater: »Warum macht ihr keine Auslegerbalken?« Die beiden antworteten: »Gib uns deine Leute, damit wir die beiden Balken schneiden.« Paluelap wies den kleinen Aluluei an, in den Busch zu gehen und die Hölzer zu schlagen. Rongelap hieß den Jungen erst auf einen *faliap*-Baum steigen, um seinen Auftrag zu verrichten. Während er aber oben arbeitete, warfen die beiden Brüder mit Steinen nach ihm, so daß er herunterfiel. Darauf »zerkratzten« und schlugen sie ihn, daß er starb. Als er tot war, banden sie die Leiche in Kokosblätter ein, beschwerten das Bündel mit Steinen und versenkten es ins Meer. Darauf gingen sie wieder an ihre Arbeit.

Palúelap kam und frug nach seinem Jüngsten; er wußte wohl, was geschehen war. Er ging in den Busch, machte einen Zauber und rief den Aluluei als Geist, für die andern unsichtbar, zurück. Zum Schutz gegen Überfälle besetzte er dann seinen Kopf mit Augen[1], so daß er nach allen Seiten sehen konnte. Sie waren wie die Sterne am Himmelszelt. Paluelap hieß ihn nun in stetem Diebstahl Kokosnüsse, Taro, Weiber, kurzum alles, dessen er habhaft werden konnte, weg-

[1] Daher der Januskopf des Sturmzaubers Abb. 132c.

nehmen, und Aluluei tat, wie ihm geheißen war. Bald kamen Rongedjik und Rongelap zu ihrem Vater und riefen: »Wer stiehlt uns alles? Wer ist das?« Paluelap sprach: »Ich weiß es nicht. Wenn ihr es aber erfahren wollt, wer es ist, so macht ein Boot fertig[1], setzt ein Haus darauf, und bringt das Fahrzeug ins Wasser; dann wird er schon kommen.« Die beiden taten also, und als Paluelap das Boot im Wasser sah, sandte er Leute in den Busch, die riefen: »Wie schön ist das Boot des Rongedjik und Rongelap.« Aluluei hörte es alsbald, ging zum Strand in sichtbarer Gestalt und sah das Boot, das in der Tat herrlich war. Er ging an Bord, besichtigte alles und kehrte darauf in den Busch zurück. Als die beiden Brüder einen Mann an Bord ihres Schiffes gesehen hatten, gingen sie zu Paluelap und erzählten die Begebenheit. Der Alte frug: »Wie viel Deckshäuser sind auf dem Boot?« Sie sagten: »Eines«. »Gut« fuhr dann ihr Vater fort, »dann müßt ihr noch ein zweites bauen«. Sie taten es und als auch das zweite fertig an Deck stand, sandte er wieder Leute in den Busch, die Schönheit des Bootes laut auszurufen. Aluluei vernahm es und dachte: »Das ist gut für mich«. Er rief 40 Ratten zusammen, ging mit ihnen auf das Schiff, während Rongedjik und Rongelap am Strande saßen und staunend sahen, wie das Boot weggepullt und dann Segel gesetzt wurde. Denn sie sahen nur den einen Mann und konnten nicht begreifen wie dieser allein solch schwere Arbeit zu verrichten vermochte. »Das muß unser getöteter Bruder Alúluei sein«, sagten sie. Dieser nun hatte, als er an Bord ging, Sand und Pandanus mitgenommen. Als er auf offener See war, ließ er den Sand fallen, bis eine Insel entstand. Dann nahm er ein Deckshaus mit an Land, um darinnen zu wohnen und pflanzte den Pandanus. Hier, auf seiner Sandinsel Piálalúluei blieb er wohnen, lange lange Zeit und wohnte noch da, als seine beiden älteren Brüder schon gestorben waren.

Inzwischen war aber seinem Vater ein vierter Sohn, **Fáravai** mit Namen, geboren worden. Er lernte auch die Seefahrtkunst, als deren Gott nun Aluluei galt, und zog eines Tages mit 5 Booten aus, um die fremden Inseln zu besuchen. Als er auf Truk sich befand, erhielt er mit seinen vier Begleitern Essensgeschenke. Während nun die viere von ihren Teilen Fisch und Kokosnüsse für Aluluei als Opfergabe beiseite legten, legte Fáravai nur die Haut der Fische und die Kokoshüllen zusammen und bedeckte sie mit Taroblättern, als seinen Tribut an den Gott. Aluluei, der Allessehende, gewahrte es und sagte: »Alle haben mir gute Sachen gegeben, nur Fáravai hat nichts für mich übrig gehabt.«

---

[1] Zum Fertigmachen gehörte auch die Takelung, die ihnen der Vater fertigzustellen auftrug. Er zeigte ihnen die Schot. Als sie nach dem Namen des Taues frugen, sagte er: *mɔdi*, weil dies nämlich »kratzen« heißt, denn sie hatten ja den Alúluei zerkratzt (s. o.). Ähnliche Racheworte waren

für	Fall	*urúr* = wegholen	Ostaß	*gamdi* = unter sich lassen bei Tod
	Stage	*ŋinagaj* =	Segel	*sú* = Hals umschnürt, beim Ertrinken
	Luvstag	*eangalap* = viel fechten	Tau	*sos* = Blut *djo*.

Da waren die beiden so erschrocken, daß sie nicht mehr zu fragen wagten.

Als die 5 Boote heimwärts nach Polap fuhren, kam ein Sturm und zerbrach das Boot des Fáravai. Während die vier andern ihre Heimat erreichten, mußte Fáravai auf den Schiffstrümmern weiterzukommen trachten. Er gelangte nach Pfalalúluei. Als Fáravai an Land kam, saß Aluluei ihm den Rücken zuwendend und sprach: »Ach kommst Du, Fáravai?« Dieser war erstaunt, daß der Fremde ihn ungesehen so ohne weiteres kannte und frug ihn: »Wie heißt Du?« Aluluei antwortete: »Kennst du mich nicht? Wie kannst du mich nicht kennen, da ich dich doch kenne!« Faravai sprach: »Ich kenne dich nicht!« und er: »Wie, du kennst mich nicht? ich bin Alúluei« Und weiter ging Frage und Antwort:

»Was machst Du?«

»Nichts. Woher kommst Du?« Faravai erzählte seine Erlebnisse.

Alulnei sagte darauf: »Gut! komm und drehe mir Tauwerk!«

»Ich bin hungrig.«

»Ich habe nichts zu essen. Sieh meinen Platz an. Aber hier sind jaTaroblätter, darunter Haut von Fischen und Kokoshüllen!«

»Das ist kein gutes Essen.«

»Was, das ist nicht gut, du hast es mir doch gegeben, nun iß es selber.«

»Aber da liegen ja doch Fische und Taro und Brotfrucht!«

»Ja, das ist von deinen vier Begleitern, die es mir gegeben haben, das gehört nicht dir.«

Faravai wurde traurig. Aluluei fuhr fort:

»Da ist eine *bellik*-Muschel mit Wasser; die kannst du austrinken.«

»O, das ist ja gar nichts.«

»Trink nur, trink nur, es wird schon reichen.«

Faravai trank und trank und sein Durst ward gestillt. Darauf klagte er von neuem über Hunger und Aluluei sagte schließlich:

»Gehe hin zum Wasser, dort sind Fische. Fange sie!«

Faravai sah einen *karangáb*-Fisch, er ging hin und fing ihn leicht mit der Hand, brachte ihn an Land und machte Feuer. Dann zerlegte er auf Geheiß von Aluluei den Fisch, um ihn alsbald zu braten. Er schnitt zuerst den Schwanz ab: da verschwand das Fleisch von den Beinen des Aluluei; er schnitt den Bauch des Fisches weg, da verschwand der Leib seines Bruders, und so gings mit den Eingeweiden, dem Kopf, Rücken, den Seiten: sobald er diese Stücke von dem Tiere trennte, verschwanden sie auch von Aluluei, und als Fáravai sich umsah sah er ein Gerippe neben sich sitzen, so daß es ihm kalt wurde vor Schrecken.

»Was hast du?« frug Aluluei.

»Ich sterbe, ich sterbe!«

»Nein, fürchte mich nicht, ich fresse dich nicht.«

»Warum tust du so übles?«

»Du hast nicht gut an mir gehandelt! Mache es in Zukunft so: Der Schwanz gehört mir, ebenso der Bauch mit dem Magen, der Rücken und die Augen des Fisches!«

»Gut, so will ichs halten.«

Als er nun nicht essen wollte, sagte Aluluei:

»Esse nur. Wenn du heimkommst, lege die Stücke stets als mir gehörig beiseite. Erst wenn du das andere gegessen hast, kannst du auch meine Sachen essen.«

»Gut, das ist schön. Ich will nun heimkehren.«

»Gut.«

»Ich habe aber kein Schiff.«

»Lause mich!«

Faravai tat es, erschrak aber, als er im Haar verborgen die Augen erblickte. Er zitterte.

»Was hast du?« frug Aluluei.

»Du hast ja Augen auf dem Kopfe!«

»Das macht nichts, das sind keine Augen, das sind Sterne!«

und er erklärte ihm alle ihre Namen, im Osten, Norden, Westen und Süden. Dann sprach er:

»Nun kannst Du gehen.«

Er zeichnete ihm ein Kanu in den Sand, macht einen Zauberspruch und plötzlich lag ein schönes Boot im Wasser. Faravai machte sich auf die Reise nach Polap, aber sein Kanu zerbrach unterwegs, weil es aus Schattensand war. Ein Hai kam auf ihn zu. Faravai rief: »Bring mich nach Polap«.

Aber der Hai wollte nicht. Da kam ein Delphin.

Er rief: »Bring mich nach Polap.«

Aber der Delphin wollte nicht. Endlich kam die Schildkröte als Retter. Sie nahm ihn auf den Rücken und brachte ihn nach Polap. Auf dem Riff draußen sagte sie: »Gut, steige ab.« Aber er bat, sie möchte ihn noch ein Stückchen weiter bringen. Als sie dem Strande nahe waren, bat sie ihn wiederum abzusteigen, aber er wollte noch ein Stückchen weiter, und selbst, als sie auf dem Strande waren, veranlaßte er sie, ihn bis in sein Haus zu tragen. Hier angekommen, rief er nach seinen Leuten und schrie: »Fangt die Schildkröte«. Da wurde sie eingefangen, totgeschlagen und gekocht.

Faravai hatte 2 Söhne, denen er alles vertraute: Vórieng, der sich mit schlechten, und Fálus, der sich mit guten Frauen verheiratete[1]. Vorieng begehrte die Frau des Fálus. Er sann auf eine List, seinen Bruder zu beseitigen, und so lud er ihn ein, mit ihm nach Truk zu fahren, um Matten, Gelbwurz, rote Muschelscheibchen und Brotfruchtkonserven zu holen. Falus fuhr mit und sie waren glücklich im Erwerb. Da, als das Boot auf der Rückkehr wieder Polap sich nahte,

[1] s. Bd. 6 I S. 278.

4: Kräner OR21 Woleai

stand Vórieng hinten am Steuer, während Fálus die Schot hielt. Vórieng rief seinem Bruder zu, er solle doch nach achtern kommen und das Steuer nehmen. Als er kam, stieß ihn Vorieng an, so daß er in die See fiel. »Rette mich, Vorieng, rette mich!« rief er, aber dieser antwortete: »Nein! Stirb nur!« und ließ ihn zurück. Vorieng kam allein nach Polap zurück und erzählte, Falus sei umgekommen. Er heiratete dann seines Bruders Frau. Falus aber schwamm und fand einen Bambus, in den er hineinkroch, und welcher dann in Polap antrieb. Seine ehemalige Frau kam gerade an den Strand und Falus rief ihr zu: »Kennst du mich nicht?« »Was?« sagte sie, »bist du nicht tot?« Falus erzählte ihr, was sich zugetragen hatte. Die beiden gingen ins Haus und Falus verbarg sich oben auf dem Boden. Vorieng, der im großen Bootshaus war, sagte zu der Frau, sie solle Taro kochen. Man sei schon auf den Fischfang gegangen.

Die Frau kochte eine Menge Taro und nahm ihn ins Wohnhaus. Falus kam vom Boden herab, stieg in eine große trukische Holzschüssel und die Frau deckte ihn mit dem Taro zu, so daß man nichts mehr von ihm sehen konnte. Dann rief sie den Vorieng, der Taro sei fertig, es könne nun gegessen werden. Als die Fische da waren, ließ Vorieng die Schüssel ins Boothaus bringen. Viele Leute kamen zu dem Fischessen. Vorieng griff in die Schüssel, um den Taro auszuteilen; da biß ihn Falus in die Hände. Vorieng sah plötzlich seinen von ihm ermordet geglaubten Bruder und bekam einen solchen Schrecken, daß er alsbald starb. Falus kam nun aus der Schüssel hervor und erzählte den Leuten die Missetat seines Bruders. Darauf teilte er das Essen aus, ohne die Anteile von Aluluei, Paluelap und Vorieng zu vergessen. Dann aßen alle Leute und freuten sich.

Gesänge *alus* (s. Tanz S. 364).

Ges. 1. Liebesgesang *baruch*.

1. *gadiúdju* von Morogólimeng ♀ † in Falálus

Erinnerungstrauergesang für den Sohn des Bruders, hier für Gafelélimar in Yap, schon vor seiner Abreise gedichtet.

1. *magipalálleis*	Er riecht gut wie Parinarium,	*eis* der Baum Truk S. 417. Erinnerungsgeruch
gudjelúngas ali ból	wie Gras wohlriechend im Tarofeld,	*ngas* wohlriechend, *guddul* Truk = Curcumaart hier *gudjel*
e ais i vóvoli	wie Parinarium, mein Geruch,	*voi, vom, vol* mein, dein, sein Geruch; *ais* = *eis*
ólfali iíri mareí	an seinen Duft gemahnt meine Halskette;	*dafatiá, iafatug, ...ti* mein, dein, sein Duft.

5. *eiēsē tangig*	*eis*-Duft strömt heraus,	*gē sē tangi* du nimm es weg!
voi imes i rēngam	sein Geruch ist wie viel Gelbwurz,	*emis* reichlich, *reng* Curcuma (mit Öl angemacht)
meiaur fit ē modj	gefällig gebunden wie fest,	*meiaur* wenn man etwas gern an einem sieht; *fili* binden, *modj* fest
gafili iēsi ngāli	gezeigt gut ihm, (ihm,	*gafali* lehren
a fari mēdju mēlai	mein Auge weilte stets auf	*fari* machen, *m.* mein Blick
10. *laulālē tagil*	schön ist sein Äußeres	*tagi*, ...*im*, ...*il*
mē arurē taiugēg	und die Seite des großen Mannes,	*edrur* Seite, Wand
mai livē djim(el)	schön sein Haar,	*mamai* gut
ēsafili fidjidjog	gut sein Ansehen,	
walluēmū fātāul	dein Schmuck, der Federkamm,	*walfei*, ...*om*; *ālelgolaf* Fregattvogelfederkamm
15. *gēragi uā djim*	eingesteckt ins Kopfhaar,	*djim* Kopf
ētali walē mangir	die Blumen geringelt,	*ētilualual* alle Blumen, *mangir* gelockt
bētali gadjiau	bunt wie *gadjiau*,	kleine rote Blumen, durch Taifun zerstört, Ixora s. S. 24
walīē mulādjur	sein Schmuck am Morgen;	
igdud mafīoei	freudig ist mein Herz,	
20. *ngē fetālē vāfael*	ich will gehen zu ihm,	*fētalog* kommen, *fetālog* fortgehen
dipēli fēgālom	aber alle sind traurig,	*dipei* denken mein, ...*om* dein, ...*al* sein, ...*ali* viele, *ifagdg* traurig ich, ...*om* viele
lingeri mēgādjik	sind böse und unwillig;	*lingeringēr* böse sein, *gadjikadjik* unwillig, weil er fort will.
rēdjalurēgi mārik	ich bin betrübt über meine Halskette;	
ogola fitrek	(er soll) nicht auf die Reise gehen;	*gola* nicht, *wā* Reise
25. *mē lāgungalir ē djog*	aber es sehnt sich in ihnen doch sehr.	*ngali* für 1 Mann ...*ir* viele, *djog* verstärkend

palú é milé aluth	Seefahrer von dieser Insel,	*milé* dies: die Insel Tagaulap
vé re vi fogógidj	die Leute sind traurig um uns;	*fogó* traurig, *gidj* wir
vé galúng gélérong	sie will gehen Lagapéreng,	Schwester von Gafelélimar
i fetíla védjug	sie will gehen zu ihm	*várevi* sie alle, *djug* zusammen

Der Rest des Liedes blieb unübersetzt:

irákí peliok
valisalé mélétu
mé falúi odarul
éi galingeling é vai
falu uá milé drul
i varú djagu djúei
vé gaiúl umétib
eimali uéi sérág
ngai fatí alé carúl
ei vasé ragé gafúl
mélai mai sérag
i sengi fogó latiu
liali iai gadjang
mei é singé laúr
liami lélé edrudj
mé palá iai sérag
iáretai répi
rétagú lai tipei
iai téfémgé laiudj
vai angú gamirimei
me djali ué léring
vé gapítei mérei
rétaié tángig
ué falú edjé alut
djui é mamé
magi palélé edidjé gapítei

2. Text von Hambruch (unübersetzt).

masolétél yimdl
pasóle fómóg
yatlóle gámisegúl
pálletág
perák mulegóuls
rág tsivang lisolá
pelú lúán
fotsálop

3. Ein Gesang von Tapitúea (Gilbert-Inseln), wo ein Schuner war, der Arbeiter nach Samoa brachte; die Frau heiratete und kam nach Ifaluk, wo sie starb. Ein Tanzgesang.

1. *e jdeor rungui*	.....	
esennag edfalú	..... Ein Dampfer	*vafalú* Dampfer
veliveling aletór	kommt gerade in die Einfahrt,	*velevel* gerade, *tór* Einfahrt
ngaiegás sé bagitiu	bei Windstoß legt er sich	
5. *mé lugú Tépitau*	außerhalb Tapitúea,	
savalia lédugul	segelt drum herum außen	

djalévissi mavuinebei	nach Djalut und Ponape	
ganagá ragú Gajáu	kommt auf nach Kusae.	
taiti péli esag	Sie mag nicht, die Frau,	*esag* s. Z. 25
10. *tamai aulangés*	sie ist krank, »guter Geruch«	*áingas* guter Geruch
mátamai	und, sie ist krank,	der Kranke gibt sich gern einen andern Namen,
séli matéu	sie will nicht in der Fremde sterben,	*nimetálu* auf hoher See
élamé falússéu	will schnell nach ihrem Platz	
tanúpéi égilaril	nach den vielen Plätzen um...,	gemeint Ifaluk
15. *ngaradju bái séu*	um eine Hand zu drücken.	
gapilimé gatiemém	Kapitän, meine Frau	Anrede des Ifalukmannes mit Händedruck *djubái*
gasilégangi mésó	kann nicht fort, wenn du auch stark redest,	
lofalú elileto	wir wollen nicht an einen anderen Platz.	
vélengabóng imelétud	Die Mondsichel da,	*engabong* Abendmondsichel, *melétó* dort
20. *gapilóur odjág*	mitten in der Einfahrt, doch	
ia vélevelitagi safój	läßt man herab ein	*velivelitag* das Rasseln,
gélégi leú ól	Boot vom Dampfer.	*gélégi* = *vafalú* Boot und Schiff, *ól* Feuer
valegatau rolóng	Das Boot bringt sie an Land,	
i valdiagú melétud	beinahe fertig dort	*voldug* beinahe fertig. *mel.* Z. 19
25. *idj ilgámmoi éség*	der Vertrag, zerrissen mit der Frau.	*idj* = ink Tinte, Vertrag, *samoi* zerrissen.

5. Musik.

Keine Beobachtungen.

6. Kunst (s. S. 175).

Wir fanden ein chinesisches Speckstein stück vor, das mit geometrischen Reihenornamenten verziert war.

295

V. Kulturvergleich s. Feis.

VI. Indices.

1. Fauna (s. S. 178 und Wörterverz. Nr. 110ff).

a) Säuger, Lurche.

Hund *galág*
Katzen *gato, vuth* s. Kotzebue III S. 125; S. 66 *gato*
Schwein *silo*
Ratte *gedj* (Ko.: *gīt*), Falle He. 1702 u. 59 *ūlegedj*, Paddel *faděl*, Korb *ū*, Bügel *adewidj*, Schlinge *lemállüal*, Gabel *fauwol*, Längsstäbe *kaūlod*, Querstäbe *kaūwar*, *tō* Köder Kokosnuß.
Eidechse dunkel *dagurūbái*, sauft den Palmwein (Ko. *purupur*).
Eidechse schwarz *kuel* (s. Truk)
Eidechse klein mit blauem Schwanz *gúmasal*
Geko *usel*

Don Luis de Torres führte Rinder und Schweine ein, die aber wegen Schädigung der Pflanzungen wieder ausgerottet wurden.

b) Vögel (s. S. 179).

Hahn	*malug*, Henne *moál* (Ko.: *mallich* u. *malugofeivil*)
Kuckuck	v. Kittlitz S. 155
Star	*muěli*
Grasmücke	*niterr*
	ligāpelai Gesang ui, ui, ui
Gygis	*giegi*

Nach Kotzebue III S. 66 Vogel *girigagk* (s. S. 178), Fregattvogel *gutaf*.

Lütke erwähnt den Kuckuck (Eudynamis), Sterna alba sehr gemein, auf Bäumen, Sterna stolida und tenuirostris, melanauchen, auf dem Sand nistend.

Libelle *górap* Turdus S. 233.

Nach Kotzebue III S. 99 wurde seit alters Fayo, gemeint West-Faju, besucht, um Schildkröten zu fangen. Da dieses aber 180 Seemeilen ostwärts, 40 Sm N zu O von Lamotrek liegt, dürfte es zu weit abliegen. West-Faju ist ein Atoll mit einer kleinen unbewohnten Insel.

c) Fische (s. v. Kittlitz S. 161).

Lütke S. 307 werden erwähnt: Labride Axodon Cuv. mit großen Vorderzähnen, ähnlich Julis, von denen der schöne J. Gaymardi Quoy vorkommt. Weiter Chaetodon rostratus, Balistes, Holacantus dux und trimaculatus, Acanthurus usw.

Wie in Truk S. 435 erwähnt, hat der Maschinist Kühne mit Farbstiften Fische gezeichnet, besonders auch während der Liegezeit im Binnenwasser von Oleai. Sie sind so gut ausgeführt, daß das Genus ohne weiteres erkannt werden konnte (s. auch Lamotrek).

balug in der See vom Boot aus mit Haken *matálipá* gefangen
bulegálei s. S. 258
boggo Hai (Ko.: *paghu)* anacau (Lütke) Hecht mit langer Schnauze. Feis.
dat s. Lam.
djagulat (Kü. 6 *zaridat)* s. Lam. Upeneus rötlich, mit gelbgrünen Flossen, 2 Bartfäden, ca. 20 cm lang
djep Caranx s. Lam.
djóngong (Kü. 7 *Zongong)* s. Lam. *sogolalo* Upeneus, 23 cm lang.
ĕiam nach He. ein Raubfisch, Lam. Seebarbe.
fadjilimat, klein *nimeliff* Kü. 8, s. Lam. *ealugulúng* Scarus Art; Truk *feisidju* (dort nicht erwähnt).
fai Rochen
felang s. S. 283
fofo Makrele grau, gut!
galegi s. S. 264 Z. 7 = *gu*.
gali, gralli s. Lam. *gali*, Länge 16 cm Epinephelus (Serranus albofuscus).
gu Delphin (Ko.: *gui)*
karangáp Bonito
mangar Flederfisch (Ko.: *mongar)*.
máravat Kü. 19. Acanthurus olivaceus; dunkel, hinter dem Auge blaues Hufeisen, mit orange gefüllt; s. Bd. 61 S. 162.
matior s. Lam. *madjior* Epinephelus urodelus.
modj(ou) Acanthurus mit Dornen s. Palau 9
moschzun (modjou) Kü. 5, s. Lam. *nagei* Acanthurus
natuigal s. Lam. *gasingal* Acanthurus

návut, sauefang, schwarz *vör*, rot gestreift *i láues*, Muränen, nicht gegessen.
nimeliff s. *fadjil*...
pudogalli Kü. 20 Naseus, dunkel, Schnauze, R. u. Schwanz mit gelbem Band, am Schwanzhals 2 rote Flecke. 2. B. rot.
pulochállei (Kü. 4) Lam. *pulogálei* Naseus, schwärzlich, gelbe Br. u. B.-Flosse, am Schwanzhals zwei orange Flecke.
pup (Kü. 12 *puw*) Balistes, massiver Stachel an R. u. B. (Palau *ilamrokl*).
rai = Lam. *vail*
rosoat s. Lam. *malebos*
soetam s. *etam*
mod in Lam. *mot* Acanthurus.
sauefang weiße Muräne, *návut* gescheckt
tag Belone
tát Lutianus-Art (Palau *thothes*)
til kleiner Fisch (Lam.) in großen Mengen gefangen wohl gleich *sennif* Truk s. S. 60
vadjola, Lam. *livadjola*, Zanclus
volá s. Lam. *oolá* Kü. 15. Variola louti? (Serranus) (Palau *bagungór*)
vong Testudo (Ko.: *woal*)
vül nach He. Sammelnamen für *garauap, dagü* und *faſa*
skibijak Born (= *jaringáb*) lachsähnlich.

d) Schalen.

Triton	*daui* (Ko.: *taui*)
Cardium	*bellik*
Tridacna	*sum, gi*
Perlschale	*sër*, schwarz *djär*
Dolium	*ubuil*
Pteroceras	*lëang*
He. Muscheln	*girrigir* (Haken), *bajok, ssare (sër), tigere* (Korb) s. S. 69 *maidjal, wai*
für Haken	*faibar, sáruthol*
Lepas	*gilegil* (s. S. 267)

Kotzebue III S. 66 Seeigel *mugol*;
nach Lütke schlafen die Einsiedlerkrebse auf den Tournefortia-Bäumen (Bd. 6 I S. 253).

2. Flora (s. Wörter Nr. 179ff.).

Die von Don Luis de Torres eingeführte Ananas gedieh anfangs, ging aber später aus wegen vieler Versetzung.

Nutzpflanzen s. S. 230, Hölzer S. 238.

Gefunden wurde eine Seegrasart Halodule (Diplanthera), Fam. Potamogetonacee. ferner:

Asplenium nidus	*i luluk*
sonstige Farne	*gámarak, sisi*
Calophyllum	*ragits, sĕfang*
Cordia subcordata	*kalu (galliu* He.)
Cassytha	*tig, tigieleu*, roh gegessen, auch als Bündel zum Auslutschen
Eugenia malaccensis	*fáliaṗ*
Ficus tinct.	*gáoan, oán*
Fragraea	*ut*
Gramineen (Gras)	*búgor*
Hibiscus	*marevál*, He. *gulivā*, Ko.: *giliveu*
Ixora	*gadjíau*, Ges. 1 Z. 17 S. 292.
Melochia indica	*gorúĕl (gerúal* Feis)
Morinda	*nĕn*
Pandanus	*fadj*, breite Art *bógu* (Ko.: *faht)*
Parinarium	*eis* (1. Gesang S. 291)
Pipturus	*aromĕ* (Ko.: *aromä)*
Rotkraut	*gavalaval*
Scaevola	*nat* S. 267
Stachysähnlich	*gogo*
Trionfettia	*gárak*, Ko.: *karach, kărach*
Wedelia	*văn*
Vignaähnlich	*valimag*
Curcuma	*reng* soll auf Oleai nach Kadu vorkommen, nur nicht so reichlich als auf Yap.

Kotzebue nennt sie *eong*; er gibt noch an:

Bambus	*wowau.*

299

Feis.

Position: Ostkante 9° 46′ N. Br., 140° 35′ O.-L. Japankarte (SO-Spitze): B. 9° 45′ 26″, L. 140° 31′ 07″.

I. Entdeckung und Erschließung.

1. Segelhandbuch.

S. 40: Feis. (Tromelin, Astrolabe), etwa 100 Sm nördlich von den Sorol-Inseln, ist kein Atoll, besitzt nur im Süden ein schmales Riff und erhebt sich zu einer Hochfläche von 18—20 m Meereshöhe[1]. An den nicht vom Riff begleiteten Seiten fällt die Insel steil ab, die Küste zeigt festes, tropfsteinartiges Gestein, das an manchen Stellen durch die Brandung tief ausgehöhlt ist. Landung ist zuweilen schwierig. Feis ist reich an Phosphat. Die Nordosthälfte der Insel ist seit 1911 an die Westkarolinengesellschaft verpachtet. Die Eingeborenen wohnen auf der Südwesthälfte.

Handelsstation im SW.

Eingeborene: Zahl betrug 1904 etwa 300.

Wind und Wetter: Feis hat mäßig feuchtes tropisches Seeklima mit 27,1°[2] im Jahresmittel; Bewölkung 5, mittlere Windstärke 2. Der Nordostpassat setzt Ende November oder Anfang Dezember bei Feis und den benachbarten Inseln ein, er weht am stärksten im Dezember bis Februar, dann abflauend, um im April, manchmal im Mai, aufzuhören. Der Wind dreht dann östlich und längere Windstillen treten ein. Von Ende Juli bis Ende September herrscht der Südwestmonsun, der indessen nicht dauernd weht, sondern meist nur in Böen auftritt. Dann folgen wieder Windstillen, die ebenso wie im Frühjahr die Hauptniederschläge bringen. Die Temperatur ist ziemlich gleichmäßig das ganze Jahr hindurch. Das Thermometer steigt während der Mittagstunden auf 30 bis 34° C und fällt nachts auf 25 bis 22°. Der Barometerdruck bewegt sich sehr gleichmäßig zwischen 750 u. 760 mm. Nur zeitweise treten geringere Drücke auf und sind dann als Vorboten schwerer Stürme zu betrachten.

Taifun hat am 30. März 1907 die Insel heimgesucht und gewaltige Verwüstungen angerichtet.

---

[1] Nach eigener Erhebung etwa 10 m hoch durchschnittlich (s. u. S. 310).
[2] Natürlich Celsius Kr.

Regen. Auf die Monate April, Juni und August kamen von 2812 mm Regen 1434, also über 50%; am wenigsten Regen, 92 mm, empfing der Dezember, am meisten, 408 mm der Januar. Die Jahreshälfte vom April bis September war mit 1677 mm Niederschlag weit regenreicher als die entgegengesetzte mit 1135.

Ankerplätze. S.M.S. Kormoran ankerte 1910 auf 35 m Wassertiefe am Südwestende von Feis; der Ankerplatz bietet aber auch bei Nordostpassat wenig Schutz. An der Südseite von Feis hat der Dampfer Natuna sowie derRegierungs-

Karte 11

schoner Ponape mehrfach geankert. An der Nordostspitze von Feis ankerte 1911 der Regierungsdampfer »Delphin« auf 15 m Wasser.

Bootsdurchfahrt ist in der Nähe des Ankerplatzes südlich von Feis durch das Riff gesprengt worden. Dort ist eine Landungsstelle.

Dazu Karte 93 (Tit. XI Nr. 403) mit Sonderplan. Ostkante Br. 9° 46′ N, L. 140° 35′ O.

P. J. P.: Die Fais-Insel liegt ungefähr 48 Meilen östlich von der Pig-Insel (Br. 9° 47′ N, L. 139° 41′ O), der südlichsten von den Ulithi-Inseln, ist von Riffen

OR21 Woleai

eingerahmt, außer an den nordöstlichen und südwestlichen Enden, die steil sind. Die Mitte der Insel ist bepflanzt und ist 60—65 Fuß (18,3—19,8 m) hoch; der Rest ist mit Kokospalmen bedeckt.

Es ist kein sicherer Ankerplatz bei der Insel und kein guter Landungsplatz ist vorhanden, aber bei Hochwasser kann man gegenüber der Handelstation landen, am südlichen Ende der Insel, gegenüber einem hervortretenden Haus. An der südwestlichen Seite ist am wenigsten Brandung und der Strand ist sandig.

1930 waren 368 Bewohner vorhanden.

Hauptprodukte Kopra und Pilze[1]. Es ist berichtet, daß kleine Lager von Phosphaten auf der Insel seien. Wenige Hühner sind erhältlich.

Karte 772. Plan 1:25000 nach japanischen Aufnahmen von 1925.

[1] Wohl Batate gemeint.

2. Entdeckungsgeschichte.

Meinicke's Angabe, daß Feis im Jahre 1527 entdeckt worden sei, ist unrichtig. Palau I S. 174 ist schon angeführt, daß es Villalobos 1542 war, der Feis zuerst sah. So auch Miguel, der als Entdeckungstag den 23. Januar 1543 angibt.

Was Miguel dann über die Begrüßung »Buenos dias, matalotes« angeschlossen hat, habe ich schon in Palau I S. 7 behandelt.

Dann wurde Feis von dem Fregattenkapitän Legoarant de Tromelin »entdeckt«, weshalb die Insel seinen Namen erhielt, wie im Nautical Magazine 1852 S. 283 zu lesen ist. Im 18. Bd. der Bibliothèque des Voyages S. 389 steht aber: Je traversai les Carolines sans en voir aucune, quoique ma route passe exactement sur la position assignée à diverses îles. Von Guam westwärts fahrend passierte er die Karolinen ein zweites Mal: je ne vis qu'une seule île qui n'est sur aucune de mes cartes (August 1828).

Auf der Karte von Cantova hätte er Feis finden können, freilich ohne Position, aber durch die Höhe erkennbar.

Chamisso erwähnt (Kotzebue III S. 101): Feis, »von der Nassauischen Flotte 1625 gesehen?« Ein Beweis läßt sich nicht dafür erbringen.

Als erstes Schiff in den 1800ern ist der Modesto aus Manila[1], von dem Chamisso berichtet (Kotzebue III S. 95): »Wir hatten Kadu ein Lied von Feis singen gehört, welches sich auf ein Schiff bezog, womit die Insulaner in Ansicht ihrer Insel, ohne daß es sich aufgehalten habe, gehandelt hatten. Er besang die Namen Jose Maria und Salvador. Wir erfuhren auf Guajan, daß im Jahre 1808 oder 1809 der Modesto aus Manila, Kapt. Jose Maria Fernandez, welches Trepang einzusammeln die Pelew-Inseln aufsuchte, dieselben verfehlte und in Ansicht von Feis kam. Als darauf der Modesto die Pelew-Inseln erreichte, fand sich dort einer der Eingeborenen von Feis, mit denen man zur See verkehrt hatte; dieser war, den Handel fortzusetzen, dem Schiffe vorausgeeilt. — Der Gouverneur der Marianen, D. Jose de Medinilla y Pinedo, befand sich an Bord des Modesto.«

Lütke hat Faïs am 20. 12. 1828 kartographisch aufgenommen, nachdem er diese Insel im April vergeblich gesucht hatte[2], was v. Kittlitz S. 163 vermerkt; S. 417 seines Buches berichtet er über den späteren Besuch:

»Erst am 20. Dezember brachten wir den größten Teil des Tages bei der Insel Faïs zu, deren Lage der Kapitain nach den letzten Andeutungen der Bewohner

[1] Erwähnt Palau I S. 132, s. auch oben S. 6, capitaine.
[2] Deshalb fehlte Feis auf der Carte Générale in der Partie Historique.

von Uleai so genau getroffen, daß es gar keines wirklichen Aufsuchens bedurft hatte. — Die Gestalt dieser kleinen Insel ist merkwürdig: — der Korallenfelsen, aus dem sie besteht, erhebt sich auf beinahe 100 Fuß mit senkrechten Wänden über den Wasserspiegel; er ist oben wie gewöhnlich flach, vertieft sich aber nach innen, und zeigt so sehr deutlich die ehemals mit Wasser gefüllte, jetzt emporgehobene Lagune; der hufeisenförmige Rand derselben ist der höchste Teil des Ganzen. Ein außerhalb der Wände wenigstens teilweise umherlaufender schmaler Strand gehört sichtbar zu dem späteren Anbau der Korallen, der noch jetzt als Untiefe die Insel umgibt. — Die Brandung auf dieser Untiefe konnten wir mit unserem Boote nicht durchschiffen, wir wurden deshalb durch Piroguen der Eingeborenen aufgenommen und ans Land gebracht. Bei der Kleinheit der Insel, deren Umfang nach Kapitän Lütke's Schätzung nur 4 Werste, mithin wenig mehr als eine halbe deutsche Meile[1] beträgt, ist die Bevölkerung ungewöhnlich stark[2] wie man auch schon aus den nahe beieinander liegenden Häusern sieht. Diese werden durchweg von zahlreichen Kokospalmen beschattet, an denen es auch auf den emporgehobenen Rändern der ehemaligen Untiefe nicht fehlt; außerdem bauen die Einwohner sehr sorgfältig Taropflanzen und Bananen, doch besitzen sie nur wenig Brotfruchtbäume. Die Menschen und ihre Wohnungen glichen der Hauptsache nach denen von Uleai, doch bemerkten wir, wie früher schon erwähnt, hier nichts von der Absonderung der Frauen. — In der Kleidung des weiblichen Geschlechts fiel uns hier ein Unterschied auf, der allem Anschein nach zwischen verheirateten und ledigen Personen stattfand; erstere trugen die engen gewebten Röcke, welche wir schon auf Lugunor und Uleai gesehen hatten, die jüngeren aber ein ähnliches, aus einer Art langer Frenzen zusammengesetztes Kleidungsstück, welches an die Tracht der Männer von Funopet[3] erinnerte. Dagegen vermißten wir die frischen Laubgeflechte der Mädchen von Uleai.

Die Menge der gefangenen Fische, welche wir hier sahen, war nicht besonders groß; wir kannten die meisten Arten schon von Uleai her; unter den für uns neuen war eine schöne Spezies von Amphiprion, schwarz mit orangegelb und hellblau gezeichnet, sehr ähnlich dem Rüpell'schen Amphiprion bicinctus vom Roten Meere.

Wir fanden hier ziemlich viel Strandvögel, aber nur von den uns schon bekannten Arten. Numenius tenuirostris kam zahlreich in vereinzelten Exemplaren vor; ich schoß eines derselben, sowie zwei von Tringa minuta, die sich in kleinen Gesellschaften am Ufer zeigte. Sonst erhielt ich noch die schwarze Lamprothornis[4] von Lugunor und Uleai; sie war häufig auf den Kokospalmen[5]. — —

[1] Nach meiner Karte ist der Umfang eine ganze deutsche Meile = 7500 m.
[2] Nach Angaben bei Freycinet S. 101 um 1800 ca. 500 Bewohner.
[3] Ponape. [4] Truk S. 429 Nr. 7 und Ku Bd. 6 I S. 132.
[5] Voyage autour du monde S. 39.

Erwähnenswert ist noch, daß Mertens im Bd. III S. 143 des Werkes von all den Inseln gerade Feys besonders genannt hat — ohne Riff und Lagune, mehr als zwölf Klafter hoch; wenig Brotfrucht, viel Bananen usw. —; S. 140, in den Observations sur les habitans des îles Carlines, wird Ouléai und Feiss besonders genannt, ebenso S. 151 in Des Moeurs et usages des..., wo Floyd's Angaben verwertet sind (s. Bd. 6 I S. 7 u. 164).

Viele Schiffe haben vorher und nachher Feis gesehen, wie die Antreibungen S. 275, 370 zeigen, aber man weiß nichts mehr davon.

Im Jahr 1829 kam Dumont d'Urville (Palau I S. 364) auf seiner 2. Astrolabe-Reise 1826—29 vor Feis, das er nach seinem Schiffe benannte (S. 299).

Am 4. April 1904 kam der Beamte Senfft auf seiner Inspektionsreise (D. Kolonialblatt 1905 S. 192) nach Feis, ohne neues zu beobachten; 10 m Höhe des Landes. Er berichtete nur, daß angeblich eine Ansiedlung blonder blauäugiger Menschen hier vorhanden sei. Dann wieder 1905 am 8.—12. Dezember, wobei die Zahl der Bewohner auf 300 festgesetzt wurde, 129 ♂ und 108 ♀, Kinder 39 + 24; das Fehlen der Blauäugigen wurde festgestellt. (D. Kolonialblatt 1906 S. 383).

Vom 21. Sept. 1909 bis 3. Okt. 12.20 Uhr Mittags war die Phosphat-Expedition von der »Natuna« unter Leitung des Südseeforschers Friederici auf der Insel, vornehmlich die Herren Pilz, Schön und Prager, die durch 92 Schürflöcher mehr als 300000 Tonnen 80% phosphorsauren Kalk auf der Insel vorhanden nachwiesen. Als der »Peiho« 1 Uhr nachmittags (s. Bd. 1 S. 227) die Insel in Sicht bekam, sahen wir noch die Rauchwolken der abziehenden Natuna. Die Rauchwolke des »Peiho« grüßte uns am folgenden 17. Oktober in der Morgenfrühe, mich und E. Kr., die wir zwei am 3. Oktober vom Peiho abgesetzt worden waren, wie Bd. I S. 227 und 238—240 nachweist.

Die letzte Zeit war sehr stürmisch gewesen; dabei zeigten sich einige Eingeborene recht wiederwillig und feindlich, was angesichts der zwei längeren eindringlichen Besuche von Weißen unmittelbar hintereinander nicht verwunderlich ist. Da sagte ich ihnen am 17., ich hätte jetzt genug von ihnen, ich ließe mir am folgenden Morgen das Schiff kommen. Im Bewußtsein der Pünktlichkeit und Tüchtigkeit unseres Kapitän Vahsel konnte ich mich ja auf den Termin verlassen. Die Eingeborenen lächelten nur ungläubig. Aber als sie am 18. früh eine Rauchwolke südwärts am Horizont bemerkte, kamen sie zu mir gelaufen und drückten ihr Erstaunen aus über meine Macht. Sie hielten mich wohl für einen großen Zauberer. Ich nützte dies, um noch im letzten Augenblick etwas über den Gott Róngola aus ihnen herauszubekommen. Was es war, ist bei der Religion vermerkt. Um 9½ Uhr kam das Boot mit dem I. Offizier und kenterte in der hohen Brandung. Mühsam wurde unser Gepäck auf das Schiff befördert. Mit dem 3. Boot fuhren wir zwei; eine 2 m hohe Sturzsee deckte uns von vorne zu. Das Boot schlug aber nicht ganz voll, so daß wir zwar naß, aber wohlbehalten an Bord gelangten.

305

3. Anthropologie und Demographie.

Bei Oleai S. 201 wurde über 12 Eingeborene berichtet. Hier liegen von Hambruch nur 6 Messungen vor, und zwar von 6 Männern, die 158—166 cm groß sind. Ihr Schädel ist mesokephal, zwischen 76,9 und 80,2 stehend. Sonst gilt dasselbe für hier, wie es auf Oleai war. Über die Gesichter gilt im allgemeinen das, was bei Lamotrek gesagt wurde, ebenso über die Haare. Die Form ist oft lang und schmal wie z. B. beim Zauberer Moloáedjeg Haus 10 die indonesische Art Abb. 136. Da Hambruch auf Mogemog zahlreiche Messungen gemacht hat, muß bei der nahen Verwandtschaft auch auf dorthin verwiesen werden.

Abb. 136. Zauberer Moloáedjeg Ha. 10.

Albino *djolegáelang*.

Bevölkerung gutartig. Zahl hat gegen früher abgenommen (S. 303[2] und 304).

4. Name.

Der Name Paiz erscheint schon im Brief des Pater Clain 1697 und auf Serrano's Karte (Palau I S. 178). Auf Cantova's Karte 1721 steht Feis und auf der von Torres Fais (Kotzebue II S. 85), so Krusenstern auch Fais, und so wechselt fürderhin Fais und Feis stetig. Am Orte selbst sagt man meist Fais. Das Wort kommt von *fai* »Stein«[1], der felsigen Insel-Gestalt halber. Es wäre also Fais richtiger; aber das Wort wird auswärts meist mehr wie Feis (deutsch Eis) gesprochen und ist so mehr im Gebrauch, weshalb es auch hier als Name angesetzt wurde.

Auf Yap wird Feis auch Vöeêi genannt, also mit *vo* beginnend wie bei Woleai usw. (s. S. 202).

5. Sprache (s. Verzeichnis am Schluß).

Die zentralkarolinische Sprache gilt auch hier.

Possessivsufixe wie üblich, z. B. Boot 1. *oái*, 2. *oám*, 3. *oál*, 4. *oádj*, 5. ?, 6. *oár*; Gatte 1. *rī*, 2. *rim*, 3. *ril*; Mann, Frau *mal*, *fēfel eirei*, *eirom*, *eirel*; Hüfttuch *gabállei*, *gabállom*, *gabal*; Feld *mátei*, *mátom*, *mátāl*, mein Halsband *marei*; meine Tatauierung *makei*. Wem gehört das Feld? *matāl ítei*; das Boot *oál ítēi*? Daneben tritt hier das vorgesetzte Possessiv stärker auf, wovon schon bei Palau II S. 334 die Rede war; mein, dein, sein heißt *leái*, *leám*, *leál*; mein Tau, meine Matte *eai dall*, *eai giegi*; Kokos *eai lu*; mein Hund da *lai béselē*, *lom*, *lol*; Schwein *lei bábui*; Kind *lei aluidj*, *lom*, *lol*.

[1] Ich bilde deshalb (s. Palau II S. 315 *bad*) das Wort Feisu(a)ner für die Eingeborenen.

E. Kr. hat einige Worte notiert, von denen einige in die Wortsammlung aufgenommen sind. Das übrige hier:

Wie heißt das?	*methá melle* (Sachen)	steh auf	*süthach, olloch*
Wie heißest du?	*iffaithóm*	es ist gut	*sailē*
warte	*uthiéi*	es ist einerlei	*ega fétheg, ilekelim*
zufrieden (du)	*samomaithebéirém*[1]	schön	*bidjoai, tamommai*
verliebt (du)	*safulthebérirém*	reich	*merés*
Geliebter	*gomeréi*	arm	*gávogoi*
traurig (du)	*sataikofethebeirém*	geizig	*migeledj*
böse (du)	*sesongairem*	freigebig	*móll*
faul (ich)	*sagadjigidjikirei*	dünn	*budj*
ich will	*igomoai*	fang an	*uofēsu*
sehen	*levokomagói*	geizig	*miggeletj*
kaufen	*safangafaliel*	wie viel Tage?	*fithēral*
Was willst du dafür?	*methamlaggomai*	freigebig	*emmol*
		fleißig	*mathángathang, masoso*
es ist dein	*ēam*		
es ist mein	*ēai*	in 3 Tagen	*varalagól*
zeige mir	*samo (korangalie)*	in 4 Tagen	*sepálagol*
mach das	*fēri mela*	Mittags 12 Uhr	*sauel*
komm	*mei igá*	2 Uhr	*sápal*
bring her	*a sidoch iga*	5 Uhr	*sāvong*
geh weg	*djē mēgala*	Nachts	*satoleál*
setz dich	*mororom*		

Verben.

nicht	*ta!*	ihr 2	*gariemal gaevēlogo*
ist da	*imil*	sie	*ré*
nicht da	*támil*	ich gehe ins Haus	*i velēlog ilīm*
gestern war ich nicht da	*lolo i tai mil*	ich gehe mit	*ai vathavog*
		gehe mit mir	*gobathauéiéi*
ich war im Faliou	*i mil* Faliou	gehe mit dir	*gobathueiómi*
gehen	*sálog*	ich gehe fischen	*i velē láfita*
ich gehe	*i velēlog*	geh' weg, es ist verboten	*djimegela, ietap*
du gehst	*go (gel) velēlog*		
er geht	*siálog*	arbeiten	*ēngang*
wir gehen	*silēlog*	ich arbeite	*i voēngang*
wir 2 incl.	*si velēlog*	du arbeitest	*go voēngang*
wir 2 excl.	*gaevelēlog*	er arbeitet	*re ēngang*

[1] Nr. 789 *mom'mai* gut, *rem* weist auf »deine« hin.

ich habe nicht gehört	*i tai róngorong*	ich komme morgen zu dir	*valesu i sabuthog irem*
gieb mir	*ngalêei*	komm jetzt zu mir	*buthog irei igaládjeg*
schimpfen	*sasong*	Du kannst nicht kommen	*toaiog lêgo vovúthog* (ich *lêi*)
viel	*le vófetheg*	ich liebe dich	*i samamangég (djég)*
lege hin	*gamarothi*	du mich	*go... mangiei*
lege dich hin	*tethí*	es weint der Mann	*sátángere metalá* (viele Männer *áromet*)
Warum?	*methafar*:		
warum du nicht kommst?	*methafál go tâi buthog*	ich weine	*itetang*
Komme morgen zu mir	*valesu golabuthog irei*	er weint	*sa tang*

Weben (s. S. 342).

6. Mission

1910 noch keine vorhanden.

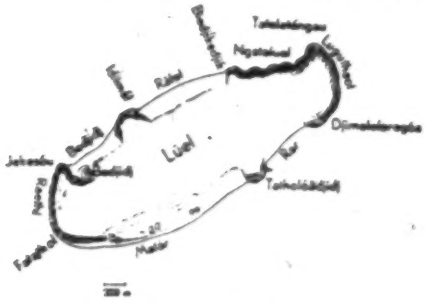
308

II. Landesbeschreibung und Siedlung.

s. Karte 12. Eigene Aufnahme.

Drei mangelhafte Booteinlässe sind im O an der Luvkante vorhanden: Thaualap. Thauas und Thaualegedj.

Chamisso berichtet nach Kadu (Kotzebue III S. 101): »Feis, obgleich von derselben Bildung als die übrigen niederen Inseln, ist erhöhter und bei weitem fruchtbarer als alle. Drei Inseln oder Gebiete heißen: Litötö, Soso und Vaneo. Der Chef von Litötö ist unabhängiger Fürst von Feis.« Die drei Inseln oder Gebiete sind die 3 Dörfer oder Dorfteile von Feis, nämlich Ledjodjoi, Ilotóu und Falióu, die weiter unten näher beschrieben werden. Sie liegen an der östlichen Südseite.



Karte 12 Feis. A. Kr.

Die Insel, die ungefähr 2½ km lang, von WSW nach ONO[1], ist und ca. 1300 m breit, Umfang etwa 7½ km, hat an beiden Enden eine Steilküste von 10—12 m Höhe. Sowohl an der Nordküste, wie auch im Süden (s. Japankarte 11) ist ein Strandriff. Der Sandstrand beiderseits ist durch ein Felsenklotz in zwei Teile geteilt: An der Nordküste westlich Bĕdjidj und östlich Rĕfel, getrennt durch den Felsen Idjimál; an der Südküste westlich Matár und östlich Rar, getrennt durch den Felsen Tatholóedjidj.

Der südöstliche Luvstrand gleicht der Schilderung in meiner Korallenarbeit (s. Truk S. 42 Anm. 1) S. 12—17, dort auf Taf. II oben ist das Bild vom Südende des mit Steinen stark durchmischten Sandstrandes gebracht, seines Schuttwalles, der steil ansteigt; das Wasser reicht bis an seinen Fuß. Wie breit dieser Strand bei Niedrigwasser ist, macht Abb. 135 klar; Phot. 225 zeigt ihn am Südkap Fatathol. Auf Abb. 135 erscheinen schon die beiden Boothäuser. Blickt man von

[1] Der Strand Matár verläuft ganz im Süden ziemlich west-östlich, biegt dann mehr nach Norden um und hat beim 1. Gehöft wieder einen Knick, so daß er weiterhin N 50° O verläuft (s. Karte 13).

ihnen südwärts, so fallen die Steine im Sande auf; dieses sind Strandsandsteine, die ich in der Korallenarbeit S. 48 beschrieben habe.

Den Leestrand Bēdjidj sieht man auf weiteren Lichtbildern; er zeigt die erwähnten Eigenheiten, sanftes Ansteigen und feiner Sand mit wenig Steinen; sogar kleine Pflanzen gedeihen auf ihm (vgl. Pollap Bd. 61 Taf. 21c). Nordwärts eine Höhle im Fels Idjímál.

Über dem Strande Matár liegen, über den 2 Bootshäusern (Abb. 135), die 3 Dörfer. Denn von diesem Sandstrand, der selbst 2—3 m ansteigt, steigt landwärts steil

Abb. 135 Südoststrand.

auf eine 3—4 m hohe Schotterterrasse, über einen Schuttwall, an, hinter dem die 3 Dörfer eng beisammen liegen. Dies ist ja bei allen Koralleninseln so, die an der Luvseite, — was ja bei Feis der Fall ist — einen 2—3 m hohen Schuttwall haben, hinter dem die Siedlung liegt. Da diese sonst fast immer in Lee liegt, an der Binnenwasserseite der Atolle, so bekommt man diesen Wall meist nicht zu sehen, wenn man nicht gerade nach der Luvseite einen Spaziergang macht, was ja auf Djalut die Gepflogenheit war[1], weil dort ein Weg angelegt ist.

[1] s. A. Kr. Hawaii, Ostw. u. S. S. 237

Am 1. Nachmittag unseres Aufenthaltes, am 4. X. 1909, besuchten wir das Wasserloch am Strande Bēdjidj, das auch Bēdjidj genannt wird; es ist 8 Minuten nördlich vom Dorf Ilotou entfernt und liegt etwa 10 m hoch; wir stiegen nämlich direkt hinter dem Dorf ca. 3 m steil an, und gelangten so auf die Hochfläche, die eben ist und also ziemlich genau 10 m hoch.

Es wurde behauptet (s. S. 303), daß sie tiefer liege als der Rand und somit die ehemalige Lagune eines Atolls sei. Die Ränder sind allerdings an einigen Stellen etwa 2 m höher, doch bestehen sie dann aus anstehendem Kalkfels, so daß es sich hier doch nur um Erosionserscheinungen handeln dürfte[1].

Die Höhe wird in einigen Quellen zu hoch angegeben, zu 18—20 m; ich habe aber so genaue Aufnahmen gemacht, daß ich für meine Angaben eintreten kann. Übrigens hat schon Miguel nach spanischen Messungen auch 12 m angegeben, so daß die nautischen Aufzeichnungen nur Schätzungen vom Schiff aus sein können.

Die Hochebene ist mit Süßkartoffeln reich bepflanzt; Kokospalmen stehen nur einzeln oder in kleinen Gruppen herum. Taro (groß *filla*, klein *eōth*) kommt nur spärlich fort. Ratten waren zahlreich. Das erwähnte Wasserloch liegt in einem 10 m tiefen, stufigen Trichter; es hat ca. 3 m im Durchmesser und ist nur 1 m tief. Zeitweilig wird es ausgeschöpft und gereinigt, nachdem man durch ein Loch unter dem Wasserspiegel für Abfluß gesorgt hat; dieses wird nach der Reinigung mit Steinen wieder verstopft. Trotzdem ist das Wasser bald wieder trüb und grün, wie auf allen Koralleninseln.

Im Norden, im Dorf Falióu, ist übrigens auch ein Wasserloch, Djēlefalióu genannt, in ähnlicher Form.

Vom Wasserloch Bēdjidj oben sieht man schön den hell glänzenden ca. 400 m langen Sandstrand, zwischen dem Felsenkap Ikesóu (W) und Idjimál (O) gelegen; letzterer Fels unterbricht den Gesamtsandstrand völlig, wie auch die Japankarte zeigt. Vom Wasserloch stiegen wir am 6. Oktober in NNW-Richtung zum Strand hinab und wanderten bequem auf dem schönen Strand (Phot. 210c) östlich zum Fels Idjimal, den wir erstiegen, um wieder auf die Hochfläche zu gelangen. Oben stand ein Vorrat- und ein Kochhaus, und dabei waren Anpflanzungen von Taro, Papayabäumen und Terminalien.

Der Felsblock war etwa 200 Schritt breit. Alsbald stiegen wir durch Barringtoniengebüsch wieder zum Sandstrand, zum östlichen Rēfél, hinab. Etwa 1000 m lang dehnt er sich ostwärts aus; seewärts sah man eine schöne Brandung sich auf ihm brechen, da die Seen des NO-Passates ihn treffen; südwärts war er durch ein dichtes Gebüsch von Scaevola, Tournefortia usw. vom Abfall getrennt.

Dieser Strand bildet einen sanften Bogen bis zum Kap Biedjíkedjik hin, mit

[1] Anders auf Nauru A. Kr. Globus 1898 Bd. 74 S. 156.

dem die östliche Steilküste beginnt, deren niedrigeres Nordkap Tétélegéngálu oder Tateleténgau vom Sandstrand aus gerade noch gesehen werden kann.

Wie weit sich die östliche Steilküste ausdehnt, zeigt meine Karte: zwischen dem Cap Biedjíkedjik und dem Nordkap Tétéleténgau liegt die Strecke Ngatalúel; der richtige Ostteil heißt Luguthóol, und der südöstliche an 12 m hohe Teil Djimeleferegóa. Der Weg am Rande der Felsen ist sehr beschwerlich, aber wo man hinabblicken kann, gewahrt man Wunder über Wunder. Wie die Seen hier die zernagten Felsen umwühlen und mit donnerähnlichem Getose der Gischt heraufspritzt, läßt sich mit der Feder nicht schildern. Deshalb wächst auch oben in der Nähe der Kante nichts; erst weiter inlands sind Anpflanzungen von Bataten, Taro und Yams, die auf dem ebenen Phosphatboden trefflich gedeihen. Der Schönheit der Wetterseite gibt übrigens die Westseite nichts nach, die als schroffe Steilküste Raethí oder Vulubagér zwischen dem schon erwähnten Cap Jekesóu und dem SW-Cap Fatathol liegt. Reichen schon die Passatseen hierher um die Ecke herum, so ist das Seebild bei Südwestwind von unbeschreiblicher Schönheit. Gerade während der letzten Tage unseres Aufenthalts, am 13.—16. Oktober, setzten SW-Stürme ein, die unsere Behausung schwer mitnahmen. Dafür schufen sie uns Brandungsbilder von unglaublicher Wucht, die wir oft zu genießen vermochten, da unsere Wohnung nur wenige Minuten von der Steilküste entfernt und diese leichter zugänglich war, als die ferne östliche. Die 10 m hohen Felsen fallen hier senkrecht ab und waren meist hohlkehlenartig unterwaschen, zweifellos die Bildung einer langen ruhigen Zeit, wenn stetige NO-Winde wehen. Kommen aber Weststürme, so suchen die Seen den Überhang zu zertrümmern, wie das Bild auf Taf. 6 S. 214 des Bandes Palau I zeigt, das ich für die dortige Hohlkehlenbildung herangezogen habe; dort S. 212 habe ich einen Durchschnitt durch eine Hohlkehle gegeben, deren Fuß auf dem Bild Taf. 6[1] nur viel weniger abfallend, ja geradezu eben ist, wie ein schöner Spazierweg; die Felsennase am Ende des Weges zeigt noch den Überhang, der über dem Weg, der roten Brandungsgalerie, schon zerstört ist. Das Bild b auf Taf. 21 hier zeigt die gleiche Stelle, nur daß der Weg nun durch eine Brandungssee überschwemmt ist. Auf Taf. 21 a sieht man schön die heranrollenden langen, 3—4 m hohen Westseen, und die noch nicht zertrümmerte Hohlkehlenspitze.

Der anstehende Riffkalk ist stark zerklüftet und durchhöhlt; dafür hat man die Beweise oben, wo an mehreren Stellen 10—20 m von der Kante entfernt aus Spalten Wasserdampf und Luft ausgepreßt wird, sobald eine mächtige See gegen die Felsen andonnert[1]. Im südlichen Teil, östlich vom Cap Fatathol, ist inlands sogar ein großes Loch, der Einbruch der Höhle Ngatátapamag, die 8 m breit und lang ist und 2 m hoch am Steilabfall ausmündet; hier ist die ganze Hochfläche bis

[1] Sprutzloch ogál, Steilküste odáthol.

zum Rande bewachsen. Nördlich davon aber ist die 10 m hohe Fläche inlands von der Kante, etwa 50—100 Schritte weit, fast allen Pflanzenwuchses bar; höchstens sieht man etwas Gras und Unkraut; erst dann beginnen Pandanus- und Scaevola Büsche, und erst in etwa 100 m Entfernung vom Rande beginnen die Batatenfelder und Taropflanzungen, und es erscheinen einzelne Kokospalmen.

Zu erwähnen ist noch der etwa 600 m lange Sandstrand Rar zwischen dem mächtigen SO-Cap Djimeleferegóa und dem Felsblock Tatholoëdjidj. Landwärts stehen hier viele *ngog*-Bäume mit großen weißen Blüten, die auf Yap vorkommen sollen, ferner eine Myrtacee. Am westlichen Teil des Strandes gedeihen aber in Einzelflecken als Rasen auf dem Sande Trionfettia, Vigna lutea und Cassytha; ein Zeichen, daß auch dieser kleine Strand, wie Bëdjidj im NW, in geschützter Lage sich befindet.

1. Siedlung.

Plan 13.

H. = (Haus), Hof W. = Wohnhaus
K. = Kochhaus Bl. = Bluthaus
D. = Dächer

Der längste Sandstrand von ca. 1800 m ist der Matár, über dem im Westen die drei Dörfer liegen, auf der genannten Schotterterrasse, etwa 6 m über dem Meer. Das Riff hat 3 Booteinlässe, die aber nur für Kenner bedingt brauchbar sind: Tau ale gédj, Thauás, Thaualap, s. Plan. Nach der Landung durch den letzten südlichsten sieht man nordwärts das südlichste Boothaus D. Faluiong, Abb. 135.

Die Siedlungsform sind nahe beieinander liegende Gehöfte, nur Nr. 1, 2 u. 3 liegen ostwärts etwas vereinsamt.

Jedes Gehöft *thëvugot* hat 2—7 Dächer; Dorf heißt *sëafaltii*.

Ein Weg *el'lap* führt von Nr. 3 mitten durch die Dorfschaft westwärts (s. Plan).

Dorf. A. Falióu, Häuptling Vëlemog H. 7.

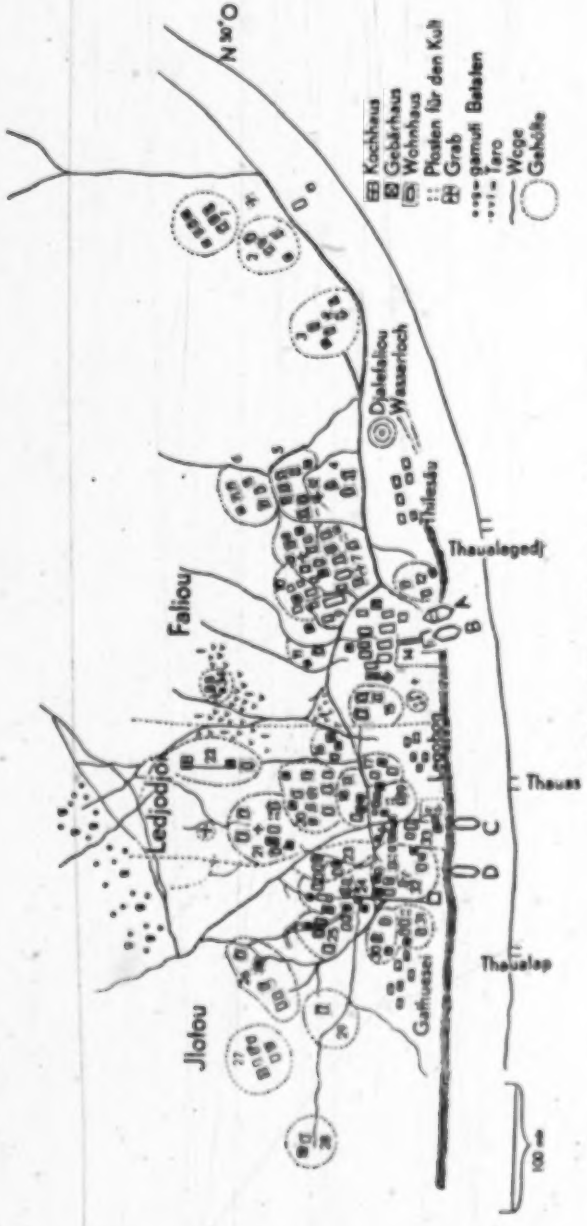
Häuptling Falërang, *fal* (Boothaus) A Faleör und B. Falegáur[2].

Bluthausgruppe Thilesëu.

H. 1. Gehöft Farërep liegt etwa 200 m von Nr. 4 ab. Hausherr war Rag, dessen

[1] Eine großblütige weiße Winde (Ipomoea) kommt auf Pollap vor, dort *pespás* genannt (nachtragen in Bd. 61 S. 087); sie kann nicht gemeint sein. Wahrscheinlicher ist Bikkia Gaudichaudiana (DC) K. Schum., die freilich von Volkens auf Yap nicht nachgewiesen wurde; sie heißt auf Palau *rur* (s. IV S. 323) an den Gogealwänden, im Bismarckarchipel auf Korallenkalk.

[2] *golo gaura fatkalel* = »du siehst suchend«. Wegen der 2 Boothäuser sagte man: »Viele Leute haben viel Schnur« (zum Binden).



Karte (Plan) 13. Die 3 Feindörfer.
Rechthäuser A Fakör, B Fakgaur, C Falegier, D Falubög.

Tod wir in der Frühe des 6. Oktober erfuhren (s. Tod S. 362 u. Taf. 25); 7 Dächer = 4 Wohnhäuser, 1 Kochhaus und 2 Geburtshäuser (Lage s. Plan).

In der Nähe ist am Strande ein *fal*, das aber nicht Bootshaus ist, sondern nur für die Männer zum Schlafen dient, da die beiden zum Dorf gehörigen *fal* A und B 400 m weit abliegen.

H. 2. Farĕrep, Eigner Théluel.
4 W. + 1 Bl. = 5 D., neben H. 1.

H. 3. Pisefo, Eigner Mangíredjag.
Einzeln gelegen, mitten zwischen 2. u. 4.

H. 4. Bĕlor, Eigner Ragamángĕ.
4 W.
Dicht dabei jenseits des Weges das Wasserloch Djĕle falióu, daneben westlich auf unbebautem Gelände seewärts vom Weg die Bluthausgruppe des Dorfes Falióu, Thileseu genannt.

H. 5. Bĕlor mĕlefang, Eigner Galathemál.
6 Häuser und 1 Bluthaus (6 + 1), inlands von 4.

H. 6. Thángadjik[1], Eigner Ealŏusóu ∞ S. 317.
5 + 1 = 6 Dächer, inlands von 5.

H. 7. Matalfefang *e djeg lábelab*, Gehöft des Häuptling von Falióu, Vĕlemog, ungefähr 12 Dächer, in der Ecke, die der Dorfweg macht und landwärts davon, darunter das große Haus *bogot ale alus* (S. 372) Phot. 269.
Der Vater von Vĕlemog ist So, sein Großvater Vaseg, sein Sohn Moloáedgeg H. 10.

H. 8. Valebĕsí, Eigner Garong, Phot. 266 Taf. 23b.
5 Dächer = 4 + 1, nordöstlich von 7., darunter 1 *fal*.

H. 9. Matalfefang vaedjidj »kleine« große s. H. 7, Eigner Eár.
Westlich von 7. und zu ihm gehörig, 2 Häuser und 1 großes viereckiges Dach.

H. 10. Faludj, Eigner Moloáedjeg der Zauberer, (s. S. 305), Sohn von H. 7 (Farbtaf. 3 u. Abb. 136). Haus *bogot ali alus* (s. H. 7), 4 + 1 (Kochhaus), hinter 7. gelegen, Phot. 259a u. b. Giebelschmuck usw. s. Farbtaf. 3; 1 Vorratshaus Phot. 270.

H. 11. Falegódjól, Eigner Morolúl, der auf Ngeaur (Palau) war.

H. 12. Matarong, Eigner Udjúlevang.
2 + 1 = 3 Dächer, am Strande neben dem Boothaus Faleŏr.

H. 13. Faliou, Eigner Ealusólemar, Fischausteiler.

---

[1] Wort = »Eisvogel« Palau IV S. 332.

3 + 1 (Bl.) 3 Dächer, inlands vom Boothaus A Faleōr.
Auch einige Gräber hier, Phot. 271.

H. 14. Limetáefoi, Eigner Tangiól ∞ S. 317; Phot. 272 aus W.
5 + 2 (Bl.) = 7 Dächer, inlands vom Boothaus B Falegaur.
Großes Einzelgrab mit Steinplatten in einem kleinen Hof.

H. 15. Póuăg, Eigner Mathevēmeng.

Dorf Ledjodjoi, Häuptling Tulei H. 20.
Boothaus C. Falagíer, Bluthausgruppe Legóbog.

H. 16. Itērāū, Eigner Liédj.
1 + 1 (Bl.) + 1 (Koch) = 3 Dächer, an Grenze inlands vom Weg.

H. 17. Togoár, Eigner Rogoláetham.
2 + 1 (Bl.) = 3 Dächer, nahe Strand und Grenze; meerwärts die Bluthausgruppe Legóbog (5 Dächer).
3 + 1 (Bl.) + 1 (Koch) = 5 Dächer.

H. 18. Morodj, Eigner Máreieg Fischverteiler
3 + 1 (Bl.) + 1 (Koch.) = 5 Dächer.

H. 19. Falekíl, Eigner Gapethēres, Taf. 23c aus W.
5 + 1 Bl. + 1 (Koch) = 7 Dächer + 1; seewärts 2 Gräber.

H. 20. Ipēr, Eigner Oberhäuptling Túlăi, Taf. 21c.
7 + 2 (Bl.) + 1 (Koch) = 10 Dächer. landwärts von 18 s. u.

H. 21. Dápirē, reiches Haus, Eigner Ealamothāū (Iēlamathau) Fischverteiler s. S. 336.
5 + 1 (K.) + 1 (Bl.) = 7 Dächer, mitten ein Grab; nordwestlich von 20, unmittelbar anschließend.
Viele Zaubergegenstände hier bekommen; denn es ist ein wichtiges Haus, das einen schönen Giebel hat und dessen *alus* Lagasúleng heißt, dessen Vater Liár hieß, der Großvater Gafalölíor.
Ahnen des Hausherrn: I. Votangómar (Vater), II. Lengálemar, III. Tángomar, IV. Ealamathāū.

H. 22. Ipērméret, Eigner Malálefel.
1 + 1 + 1 = 3 D.
Hierher gehört noch H. 33 s. u.

Dorf Ilotóu, Häuptling Falērang H. 30.
Boothaus D. Faluióng (s. Abb. 135), Bluthausgruppe Gathuesei, Phot. 268.

H. 23. Pēmathol *materál*, Eigner Laól.

H. 24. Pēmathol *djodjol*, Eigner Falílemog.

H. 25. Pêmathol *mēlethou*, Eigner Ithâlap.

H. 26. Falegúrugur, Eigner Lugemál.

H. 27. Uóthol, Eigner Fâlumar, s. S. 372, Phot. 261 mit vielen Blütenkränzen und Pattringen am Giebel große Crinumpflanze davor.
4 + 1 + 1 = 6 D. im NW. Frau von hier S. 317.

H. 28. Uotóp, Eigner Roro
1 (W.) + 1 (K). = 2 D., isoliert im Westen.

H. 29. Maiúr, Eigner Rong[1], Taf. 24a.
1 W.

H. 30. Lífal *ē maiefang*, Eigner Súerang; Frau des Tulei von hier s. S. 317.

H. 31. Lífal *ē maiór*, Eigner Saumar, Stammbaum S. 318.
Hier unsere Wohnung, Ph. 256.
Westlich von 30. und 31. liegt Bluthausgruppe (6 D.) Gathúesei, Ph. 268.

H. 32. Fâlpar, Eigner Häuptling Falërang von Yap, Fam. Jálumal; dicht dabei am Strand das *fal*, Taf. 23d aus O.
31. u. 32. nahe Strand.

H. 33. Bémai, Eigner Thaithau; von hier die Frau Ithomo S. 317; zu Ledjódjoi gehörig. Östlich Legóbog s. Nr. 17. Nahebei das *fal* C Falagier.

H. 34. Elaier, Eigner Ling.

2. Häuptlinge *tamól.*

Es wurde schon erwähnt, daß 3 Häuptlinge vorhanden sind, die den 3 Dörfern vorstehen: Falëráng in Ilotou, Tulei in Ledjódjoi und Vëlemog in Falióu[2]. Da Ledjodjoi das wichtigste Dorf ist, der Hauptort, so ist Tulei auch der Oberhäuptling von Feis. Cantova S. 298[3] schreibt, daß 1722, also ca. 190 Jahre vor uns, Meirang der Herr von Feis war. Der Name fehlt aber in meiner Häuptlingsliste, die folgende Namen als Vorgänger von Tulei aufzeigt: Djï Vater, Malálefel, Milelúl, Lúllă.

Auch die Vorgänger des 2. Häuptlings Vëlemog, die schon erwähnten So und Vaseg klingen nicht an, während der 3. Häuptling Falërang eine gewisse Möglichkeit böte (M statt Fal, ei = ë); aber er ist von Yap und kann vor 190 Jahren nicht gelebt haben.

---

[1] Es hieß *rong* bedeute »groß« wie *lab*, aber das vieldeutige Wort ist schon (Truk S. 256 u. 275) gekennzeichnet.

[2] Vorrechte beim Fischausteilen S. 336.

[3] s. Lettres édif. Tome XV, Palau II S. 362.

Die Familie des Oberhäuptling Tulei: 1910.
Ahnen S. 316, H = Haus, Hof; Ngeaur = dort zur Arbeit.

Dji †♂ ∞ Ilemálemog †♀

1. Tulei ♂
∞ I Jorofalir †♀
Schwester v. Vēlemog †
a) Ithēleng ♂
b) Lamangasafál ♂ (Ngesur)
∞ Semaisom ♀ (H. 27)
↓
3 Kinder
c) Ilagaróng ♀
↓ ∞ Tangiól (H. 14)
a) Sagílemar ♀ (16—18j.)
∞ Ealousóu (H. 6)
b) Rauath ♀ (14—15j.)
∞ Tángemar (Ngeaur)
∞ II Djalefeirang ♀ (H. 30)

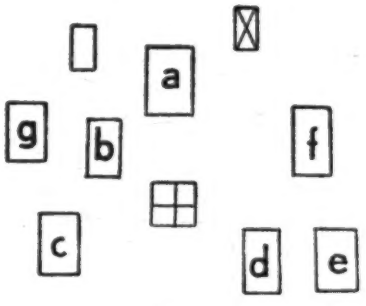
2. Lug ♂ †
∞ Ithomo †♀ (H 33)

3. Malálefel †♂
∞ Epalemar
↓ ♀ †
a) Farthag♂ †
b) Marlémog♂ †
c) Ulol ♂
∞ Laes ♀
↓
a) Lirou ♀
b) Litēthap ♀
c) Ufaliól ♂ (2—3j.)

4. Lipeg ♀
∞ Milelúl ♂ †
↓
Rethaf ♂ (Yap) (H. 7)

5. Vulegol ♀ †

Die Verteilung der Familienmitglieder im Hof 20 Iper ist so (Plan 14):



Plan 14.

a) Tulei
b) Lamangasafál
c) Sapálemal ♂ † ∞ Rorathao ♀ (jung)
d) Rüemó ♂
e) Ulól
f) Dji ♂ (Ngeaur)
g) Tángemar (Ngeaur)

Stammbaum des Saumar H. 31.

Abb. 137. Besebes und Saumar nach Phot. 256.

Riulemar † ∞ Thathog ♀ Rogalaisom † ∞ Lioi ♀

a) Lolet ♀ ∞ Mathep
b) Saumar ♂ ∞ b) Bésebes ♀ (Abb. 137)
α) Dassó ♀ (20—25 j.) ∞ Logodjú
Bedjelemar ♂
Gathugeséi ♂
Gathagolís ♂ 8—10 j.
} Ngeaur
β) Malau (6—8 j.) ♂
c) Samal ♂ †

a) Lumor ♀ ∞ Falielemog
α) Fagelemar ♂
β) Josésemal ♂
γ) Vadjisip ♂

3. Exogamie.

Früher, als viele Boote nach Feis kamen, wurde viel nach auswärts geheiratet. Jetzt ist Feis fast endogam; ca. 20 Frauen von Feis sind in Mogemog, während auf Oleai wenig sind.

In Lamotrek war Sope's Mutter aus Feis (S. 27) sonst hier und auf Sorol niemand.

In Feis leben wenig fremde Frauen aus Oleai; fast alle stammen aus Feis.

Früher gabs viel Ehebruch, da viel Leute da waren 500—600 ♂, gegen 200 jetzt. Kinder jetzt 2—3, früher 6—10.

4. Karten.

Die erste bekannte Karte stammt von Lütke 1828; sie ist in seinem Atlas Tafel XXIX; verglichen mit dem von mir aufgenommenen Plan fehlt nur die große Steinmasse der Ostspitze, die nur klein an der Südostecke angedeutet ist. Die Richtung der Insel gibt er mit N 51 E an; das Profil des Ganzen gleicht einem Sargdeckel. Die Sonderkarte 1:50000 auf der Karte 93 des Reichsmarineamts 1903 ist eher eine Verschlechterung, da die Form hier rautenförmig ist, der SO-Capstein Tatholóëdjidj fehlt, dazu natürlich ebenso die O-Spitze. Beide sind auf der Japan-Karte von 1925 (Karte 11) nur schwach angedeutet, ebenso die NO-Spitze Tateleténgau, die auf meinem Plan (Karte 12) so deutlich hervortritt. Da die Japankarte auch die Lotungen ringsum bringt, so wurde sie hier wiedergegeben, wobei sich zeigt, daß die Richtung der länglichen Insel, die bei Lütke beinahe westöstlich liegt, fast nordöstlich gerichtet ist, während sie bei mir sich nach ONO neigt.

5. Taifune:

Rong H. 29 hat 5 Taifune in 60 Jahren erlebt. Klima s. S. 299.

III. Stoffliche Kultur.

1. Tracht.

a) Kleidung.

(vgl. Farbtafel 3 und Tafel 22.)

Junge Mädchen, *tarefēvil*, tragen den oft mächtigen *bathül*-Bastrock[1] (Kr. 135 = 29191ı) aus Kokosfiedern (Abb. 138); *bodj* ist der Knabenschurz aus Hibiscus, vorn und hinten an einem Strang, Kr. 150 = 29331ı, Abb. 139. Männer tragen Binde (Taf. 21 d) oder ein ornamentiertes Mattenkleid *(g)uludj* (Kr. 145 u. 203) und ein ornamentiertes Mattenkleid (Kr. 146) *madji* (Kr. 208, 204 mit Zöpfchen); Frauen haben auch hier Matten *gilifei* (Kr. 199 u. 205) als Kleid aus *gilifei* Hibiscus und *udj* Bananenfaser. Auch ein Hüfttuch wird neuerdings getragen: *gabal*.

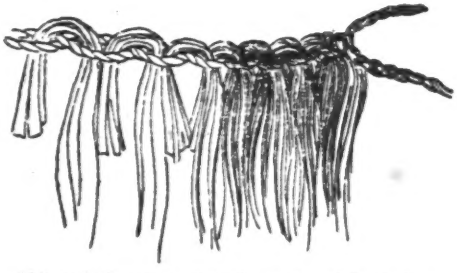


Abb. 138. Bastrock, Befestigung der Kokosfiedern.

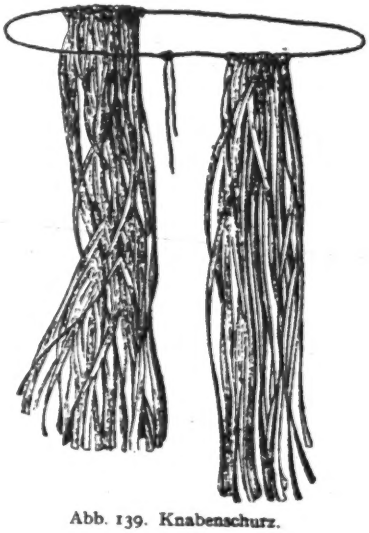


Abb. 139. Knabenschurz.

Die Herstellung des *bathül* Mädchenbastrockes (Abb. 138).

Zu einem solchen Schurz oder Faserrock gehören etwa 10 junge Kokoswedel, von denen die kürzeren Fiedern der Spitze weggelassen werden. Die anderen werden mit dem Daumennagel geschlitzt in feine Streifchen von Millimeterbreite bis nahe an den Ansatz, in der Sonne getrocknet und gebleicht, und darauf die zerfaserten Fiedern von der Wedelrippe abgerissen. Zu 2 und 2 werden sie verarbeitet. Eine Kokosschnur, zwei Armspannen lang, wird in der Mitte mit einer Schlinge versehen, durch die die Flechterin einen großen Zeh steckt und die beiden Enden auf sich zu legt. Zwischen die Schnüre kommen zwei Fiedern

[1] Wie bathél sich anhörend; Mächtigkeit ähnlich Yap; von Mertens (Truk S. 451) schon beobachtet; bis zum Knie reichend.

so gelegt, daß ein kurzes, handspannenlanges Stück nach unten, der übrige, längere Teil nach oben weist (s. Abb. 138 links. Darüber werden die Schnüre zum halben Knoten gekreuzt. Auf den Knotenpunkt kommen zwei neue Fiedern, nachdem die langen Enden umbiegend sich darauf gelegt haben, wobei eine kleine Drehung nach links erfolgt. Wieder halber Knoten, Umbiegen und zwei neue Fiedern, usw.

Zum Kopfschmuck gehören auch die »Geisteraugen« *metál alus* von Lamotrek (S. 152), hier *matál o vuth* »Muränenaugen« genannt, die zum Tanz getragen werden.

b) Schmuck *dji ele uóthel.*

Kopfkränze und Halsketten heißen *máramar* (poss. *marei*). E. Kr. aquarellierte einen leuchtenden gelbroten Kranz auf dem schwarzen Haar eines hübschen Mädchens, Abb. 140, s. auch Taf. 22 c u. d. Halsketten bis zum Bauch herabhängend aus Kokosscheibchen mit rotweißem Zwischenstück; unten ein *faubar*-Stück mit einem Hänger. Stirnschmuck *mare djimal*, Halsschmuck *mare falüel; faubar*-Halsketten heißen auch *lamalug*, lange Brustketten *isés*.

Abb. 140. Mädchen im Schmuck.

Haarfrisur mit Knoten hinten *abē* oder *legúidjamom* (poss.), durch Kamm gehalten oder lose, Abb. 136.

Der Spitzhut, *djólevadj*, wird nur beim Fischen oder auf dem Feld bei der Arbeit getragen.

Die weißen Scheibchen *vûl* werden aus der kleinen weißen Konusschnecke *fasulu vûl* gewonnen; sie werden mit dem Drillbohrer *búrobur* durchbohrt, das *uassülovul*, auf einer Planke *bab* (s. Abb. 141). Ähnlich werden die schwarzen Scheibchen aus der Kokosschale hergestellt, nachdem man die Schale mit dem Messer dünn gemacht hat *(fálafal* abschlagen, auch *etérret*, bohren *djēdjē)*; dann kommt das Abschlagen kleiner Stücke mit der Hacke, *fáladjig*. Zur Rundung legt man die Stückchen auf die Schenkel und dreht sie, wobei man sie mit einem Haizahn, auf ein Stäbchen gesteckt und gebunden, beschneidet. Das Schleifen der einzelnen Scheiben ge-

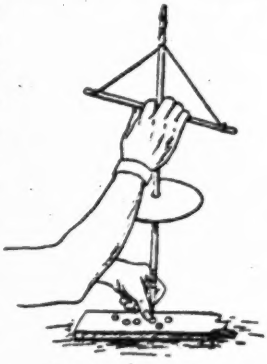


Abb. 141. Drillbohrer.

schieht, indem man sie in das Ende eines Holzstockes einläßt *(assügüssüg basölle tal* E. Kr.). Dann werden die so fertig gemachten Scheibchen alle auf eine Schnur gereiht und außen mit einem Stein (Yapstein *metakál)* abgeschliffen.

Kr. 175 = 29581I Ohrringe mit Kokos- oder Perlmutterringen oft gezahnt, eingehängt; Form der Pattringe *uodj*, von denen einer eine 1 Durchmesser von 185 mm hat.

Im allgemeinen wird der Stoff zu Ketten, Gürteln, Armbändern usw. von Osten und Westen eingeführt, die Scheibchen und Ringe werden aber meist auf Feis gefertigt, so Fingerringe *lēgēlēg* aus Kokos Kr. 194 = 29771I Abb. 142, Armringe aus Kokosschale *lāgālāg tagag* Kr. 193 = 2976 II Abb. 143, und die breiten *rodjal tagág* Kr. 174 = 29571I, Abb. 144 mit 3 eingeritzten Rillen (vergl. Bd. 6 I S. 39).

Armringe heißen *rsole pāl*, Fußringe *rsole bedjél*, Fingerringe *lāg ele gáthol*. Trochus-Armringe heißen *eētóiog*, aus Trochus *lāg ele pól*. Konus-Armringe nach

Abb. 142. Ring.

Abb. 143. Armring.

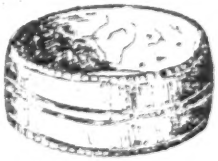


Abb. 144. Armring.

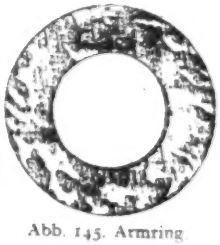


Abb. 145. Armring.

Yap-Art. *ileng* (Kr. 160). Die Armringe aus Schildpatt (Kr. 148 u. 168) heißen kurzweg *uod* (poss. *bodjédl*); so heißen auch die Pattscheibenringe Abb. 145 (Kr. 168 = 29511I) Durchmesser 18,5 cm, Loch 6 cm. Eine hatte neben dem Hauptloch auf jeder Seite ein kleines Nebenloch. Sie sind vom ganzen Osten her bekannt.

Ohrschmuck *djí e talengal* sind die erwähnten Pattringe und die bekannten Konusboden *mad* (Kr. 172).

Abb. 145a. Ohrschmuck.

Ohrloch *uiāuí*, wie Nasenloch, mit Fischknochen durchbohrt. Kleine runde schwarze Scheibchen werden auch aus der *sar*-Muschel (Meleagrina) geformt; sie heißen *djüedjü* Kr. 149 = 29321I Abb. 146, wie aber auch Blätterschmuck im Ohr heißt; Kr. 169 heißt *faliú repēg* Muscheldreieck als Hänger, Bd. 6 I Taf. 3a am Hals und Truk S. 104 am Ohr, hier auch Doppelperle Taf. 21d vergl. Palau III Abb. 12, Kr. 187 ist ein Ohrschmuck aus Kokosscheibchen, angeblich aus Oleai stammend.

Auch für die **Gürtel** *dáradar* poss. *darei*, *tarel*, auch kurzweg *vûl* genannt, braucht man die Scheibchen *vûl*, Kr. 195 aus Kokos *tagág ale vûl*, und aus kleinen Konusschnecken *fath ele (fasulu* s. o.*) vûl*. Die Spangen *djébog* sind meist aus Patt.

E. Kr. berichtet über die Gürtel:

Gürtel werden auf Feis fast bei jeder Frau angetroffen und bestehen meist aus 9 Reihen Scheibchen, sowohl der weißen *basölle vûl* aus Konusschnecken, als der schwarzen, feinen Kokosschale, die in bestimmter Reihenfolge aufgezogen sind. Die Herstellung der Gürtel ist Männerarbeit. Die Muschelstückchen werden abgeschlagen[1], wie auf Ngulu beobachtet, dann in einem Holzstock steckend (s. o.) auf beiden Seiten abgeschliffen, mit dem Drillbohrer[2] durchlocht, auf eine Schnur gereiht außen abgeschliffen, damit sie schön rund werden. Die Gürtel gelten als so kostbar, daß sie beim Tribut auf Yap nur besonders verlangt abgegeben werden (s. S. 37).

c) Körper-Bemalung.

Geschieht auch hier mit Gelbwurzpulver *rang* und wird deshalb *saráng̃arang* genannt. Aber auch mit roter oder schwarzer Farbe zum Gebet (s. S. 117).

d) Tatauierung *mak*[3] (Muster).

Die erste Strahlentatauierung[4] wurde durch Lütke bekannt, der sie in seinem Atlas Tafel 28 abbildet; die beiden Männer heißen Nei und Abien, und folgen unmittelbar den 5 Männern Ouaouk, Romfan, Taliour, Orsan und Romomen. Da Taliour schon von Bd. 6 I S. 42 her als Lukunenser bekannt ist, muß man eigentlich Abien und Nei auch als von Ku stammend betrachten, da offenbar dort Zeit zum Zeichnen war. Aber die völlige Übereinstimmung mit den Mustern der Westkarolinen läßt mich doch die beiden der Inseln Feis oder Oleai zuweisen, zumal ihrer Beine wegen, die *karangãp*-Linien zeigen und unten S. 324 erwähnt sind. Es ließe sich vielleicht durch die Postelschen Zeichnungen feststellen (s. Bd. 6 I Vorwort).

Von Kubary's und Müller's Abbildung weiter unten.

Wie auf Oleái S. 226, so kommt hier, und auf Mógemog noch ausgeprägter, die Strahlentatauierung vor, weshalb ich meine Aufnahmen von dort mit heranziehe. Die Feisuner sagen, die Tatauierung von Mógemog stamme von Gadjbar

[1] Die Kokosschale wird, wie auf Ngulu, dünngeschliffen, innen mit Axt und Meißel bearbeitet, dann mit diesen beiden nach dem Augenmaß kleine viereckige Stückchen auf einem Stück Holz herausgeschlagen.

[2] Einspitziger Bohrer, Querstab mit der Linken bewegt, Abb. 141; die Rechte hält das Stückchen auf dem Knie.

[3] *makei* meine, *makem* deine, *makell* seine, *makalt* unsere, *makalá* eure Tatauierung. Das Beschlagen heißt *fálafal*, das Behauen z. B. des Bootes, des Schmuckes, S. 93.

[4] Von mir so benannt nach den Strahlen auf der Brust und auf der Seite.

auf Yap, das es in Maki[1] gelernt habe. Von Gadjbar haben die Mógemogleute die Kunst mitgenommen. Ich hörte, Oloméng von Mogemog habe die Kunst aus Yap geholt[2]. Das ist wenig wahrscheinlich, da die Haupttatauierung von Yap die *fille verdák* (W. M. Yap I S. 34 *dilevotság)* herrschend neben der belanglosen Strahlentatauierung *yol* (W. M.) steht, die lediglich auf Yap als Schmuck gilt. Auch die Namen der Muster, die in Yap I S. 46ff. gebracht werden, sind rein zentralkarolinisch; im besonderen stammen sie von Mogemog und decken sich mit meinen Aufnahmen von dort, in der Hauptsache wenigstens.

Die Farbe *boloth* wird aus den Nüssen des Calophyllum *(fitoi)* bereitet. Man gibt die Kerne auf eine Holzplatte oder in eine Kokosschale, zündet sie an und hält eine Tonschale aus Yap darüber, damit der Ruß sich niederschlägt. Der Ruß wird dann mit Wasser angerieben. Dabei wird kein Zauberspruch hergesagt; erst wenn die Muster aufgezeichnet sind, wird zum Geiste des Vaters des zu Beschlagenden gesprochen.

Abb. 146. Tatauierte Frau.

Die Hacke *galét*, Knochen vom *gátap*, der Hammer *taióu* aus *gângī*-Holz. Der Tatauierer heißt *thelepalemék*, der erst die Aufzeichnung *(gal)* der Muster *(mak)* mit Kokosblattrippe und Farbe vornimmt. Die Arbeit dauert 1—3 Monde je nach dem Ertragungsvermögen des Bearbeiteten. Er dient in der Hauptsache als Schmuck, als einziges Gut, das man ins Grab mitnimmt, wie auch die Ralik-Rataker sagen.

Frauen werden von Frauen tatauiert, am Arm *mak elepāl* und am Bein *mak elepidjél* nach den Streifen des *garangáp*-Fisches, des Bonito (vgl. die Beine von Nei und Abien s. o.); *faleſal* Schamtatauierung nach Fregattvogel *gátap*; *dor* Bänder am Oberschenkel, s. Abb. 146.

Über die *eól*-Tatauierung erhielt ich auf Yap eine Geschichte von Jélafadj (Müller Yap S. 307), und da sie Müller nicht mit verwertet hat, will ich sie hier noch nachtragen:

Jélafadj hatte seine *eól*-Tatauierung nur nachts an, am Tage trug er seinen *ildjebou*-Ringwurm zur Schau, da er morgens früh erstere auszog und in eine Kokosschale legte. Als eines Abends seine Leute bis Mitternacht um ihn versammelt waren und dann erst fortgingen, blieb seine Frau bei ihm allein zurück

[1] Auf Yap hörte ich, Maggi sei der Ort der Tatauierer; Yap S. 50 sagt Mákí in der Landschaft Gagil, westlich von Gadjbar.

[2] Ein Tatauierlied an ihn auf Feis heißt:
faragamalóm Oloméng, *go magamadji váreg al mak alé*.
(Ich) bitte dich Oloméng, du nimm weg den Schmerz von der Tatauierung jetzt!

und frug ihn: »Was machst du nur, Jélafadj, daß du deinen *eól*-Schmuck nicht auch am Tage trägst? Du solltest sie am Tage tragen, damit du den Ringwurm los wirst; der ist so häßlich!« Aber er wollte darauf nicht eingehen. Als Jélafadj darauf beharrte, versuchte sie es mit einer List. Sie bat ihn, ihr einen Bindfaden zu drehen, aber einen recht langen, da sie ihn notwendig brauche. Er frug nicht weiter, sondern fand sich bereit zu der Arbeit. So begann er zu drehen, und wenn er eine gewisse Länge erreicht hatte und aufhören wollte, rief sie: »Länger, noch viel länger!« So fuhr sie fort, und jedesmal wenn er aufhören wollte, rief sie »Länger, länger«. Erst als um 6 Uhr der Tag angebrochen war, sagte sie »Nun ist es gut!« Da sank er ermüdet in tiefen Schlaf, ehe ihm noch möglich gewesen war, seine *eól* auszuziehen. Als er erwachte war es heller Tag und die Leute sahen ihn so und bewunderten ihn. Da behielt er sie am Tage an; seine Frau aber bekam den Ringwurm.

Diese Geschichte erzählt Müller Yap S. 666 sehr unvollkommen; Yelafádj ist aber hier der Lehrer der Tatauierung; sein Sohn der kleine Yelafadj ist Olifat (s. S. 147).

Preis: Maielai, der Rong's Tatauierung ausführte, erhielt dafür Gelbwurzfarbe, Matten, Kaliko, Schnur usw.

Da ich bei Oleai die Ordnung und die Muster nicht aufgeführt habe, will ich dies hier bei Feis tun, da ja dies im Mittelpunkt zwischen Oleai und Mogemog liegt; Mogemog scheint mir ein Zentrum dieser Kunsttätigkeit zu sein; da aber, wie erwähnt, die Muster-Bezeichnungen von W. Müller in Yap I S. 46ff. gebracht worden sind, sehe ich von einer Einschließung von Mogemog ab, um so mehr, als Hambruch's Aufnahmen von dort eine besondere Bearbeitung erfahren.

Ich bringe nur die eigens ermittelten Namen. Zum Vergleich gebrauche ich die gleichen Nummern, die W. Müller gebraucht hat.

		Feis Kr.	Oleai Kr.	Mogemog Kr.	W. M. Yap S. 46
		Hals *uós*	—	*uóth* (hinten) *eáthol uas*	*uos*
Spitzen der Kragen	1.	—	—	—	*popó*
Bänder	2.	—	—	—	*uorél*
,,	3.	—	—	—	*ngilipegáu*
,,	4.	—	—	—	,,
,,	5.	—	—	—	,,
,,	6.	—	—	—	,,
Triglyphen zwischen 2 Linien	7.	—	—	*valetol*	*gatám*

		Feis Kr.	Oleai Kr.	Mogemog Kr.	W. M. Yap S. 46
Zickzackstreifen	8.	*ngiisithog* (Yap *tsiv* = Orakel S. 375)	—	—	*ngilidjog*
Orn-Netz	9.	*popoi*	—	*valumáravaf*[1]	*tsilipar*
	10.	—	—	—	*garagalúmal*
(Netz)	11.	*popoi* (s. 9)	—	*valumáravat*	*tsilipar*
	12.	*iathelúas*	—	*valuas*	*uā lū uŏs*
kleinere Seitenschmuck	13.	—	—	—	,,
,,	14.	—	—	—	,,
,,	15.	—	—	—	*pilot*
Rücken					
schwarzer oberster Flügel	16.	*uóulap*, gabelnd als *gapitsop*	—	*uōlep* (4 Flügel) *kapitep*	*uólap* *gāpiman*
2. Flügel	17.	*thureluóu* Gabel wie 16	—	*bedáp* *kapiluk*	*uoi* *gapiman*
3. Flügel	18.	*marebitēbbi* Huf über Nates *gapēmál*	—	— *kapímal* (s. Nr. 16)	,,
4. Flügel	19.	*marebitēbbi* Ende *eóle gapūmál*	—	—	*marepitēpi*
weiterer Strang	20.	*gapelúg*, seitliches Huf, verlängerte Spitze *gilung*	—	*belúk* (W. M. Yap = *molov* Fregattvogel	*gapelúg*
mittleres Seitenhuf	21	*eole gapelug*	—	—	*yol e gapelúg*
vorderes Huf	22.	*gapirúr*	—	—	*gopi yārór*
	23.	(s. 36) Boot des Solang (s. S. 95)	*fath*	*fath gaoél*	*fadj*
	24.	—	—	—	—
4 Seitenstrahlen (hinter 27)	25.	*sepállia*	*sepállia*	*sapállia*	*sapália*
Säule mit Kreuz für 27	26.	*djodjo moaj* Kreuz *alus utēth* »Seegeist«, Vorbild Seestern Linkia	*tángenu*	—	*tsotsé mmots*

[1] *vale marafadj* wurde mir für ein Dreieckmuster angegeben, wie Doppelsäge = den beiden Schwanzstacheln des *marwat*, Bd. 6 I S. 162 Anm. 4.

	Feis Kr.	Oleai Kr.	Mogemog Kr.	W. M. Yap S. 46
4 Strahlen seitlich v. 34 u. 35	27. *eóthag*	*eóvotag*	*eódag*	*yauadjág*
Dreieck	28. *mógul* Schulterstreifen *eóle mogu*	*mógul*	*mogul*	*mogúl*
	29. —	—	*ioll* (Schnur)	*yolli mogúl, liau* (Kr) „
	30. *gadjáu* die 2 oberen Spitzen *eáuai gadjau*	*gásau*	*gadáu*	*gatsáu*
Vorne Mittelmast	31. *djiie garangap* »Rückgrat des Bonito«	*sü legarangáp*	*tuivulo garangáp*	*tsiligarangáp*
Mittelmast vorn	32. —	—	—	„
	33. —	—	*botall burebur*	*pilepil*
2 Brust- und Bauchplatten Säulen für 35	34. *djodjo*	*tangenú*	—	*tsotsoi llai*
4 Strahlen Brust	35. *tangalú*	*eóvotag*	*tongolú*	*tingil llúg*
	36. *rór*	*bilebil*	*rur* (s. 23)	*rorr*
	37. —	—	—	„
vorderer Armstreifen mit Rauten	38. *fagasar*	*fagasari*	*fathar* (Rhombus = *buw*-Fisch)	*fongesar*
hintere Schwarzfläche mit Kreuz (Abb 148a)[2]	39. *djalepethúl* mit *maram*[1]	*solipanu* Kreuz *voarál*	*dol bathil belét*	*tsol'li pádjöll marám*
hinterster Armstreifen mit Zinnen	40. *lugulipói*	*lugulipói*	*lukulipoi*	*lugulipói*
	38.—40. sind auf	Vorderarm	*uólebodj*	
		Innenarm	*labelodj*	
		Rückseitenarm	*lugulibodj*	
	oberer Abschluß durch *bíletal e pál e fél.*			

[1] W. M. Yap, S. 46, bildet auch andere Ornamente ab, wie auf Yap *asangól* die Libelle, wofür auf Mog. *maram* der Mond. Ich sah auf Feis auch eine Mondfigur *máramalimík* und ähnliches, alles ist im Schwarzen *sauang*, S. 364, oder *djobung* schwarz. [2] s. Yap I S. 48 Nr. 39.

Abb. 147a—c. Tatauierter Häuptling.

Aus all dem geht hervor, daß eine feste Ordnung vorhanden ist, wie ich sie zuerst von Samoa beschrieb.

Hier ist sie folgende:

1. Halskragen *uós* vorne, auf den Schlüsselbeinen lagernd, schmal mit 2 Spitzen, hinten breit, Schulterblätter bedeckend, mit der Doppelspitze im Nacken bis zur Haargrenze reichend. Die Schmuckstreifen darin wechseln, wenn auch einzelne 12., 11. meist vorkommen.

2. Rücken mit 4 festen schwarzen Doppelflügeln, die 2 mittleren enden in einen Schwanz (Vogel, Fisch), die 2 äußeren in ein Huf. Solcher Hufe gibt es noch je 2, je 1 auf der Seite (Hanke), je 1 vorn (Leistengegend); deren Streifen gehen aus nach unten vom Boot des Solang (23); auf diesem stehen die 4 Seitenstrahlen und die Pfeiler für die 4 Strahlen, die an das Papillendreieck stoßen.

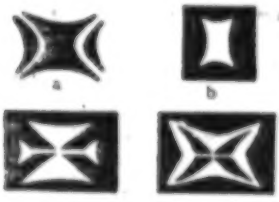


Abb. 148a—d. Kreuzähnliches Muster.

3. Die eigentliche Brusttatauierung zeigt je 4 Strahlen, die oben an den Vorderkragen stoßen und auf je einem Pfeile ruhen. Beide sind getrennt durch einen Mast.

4. Armtatauierung mit einer großen Platte auf dem Oberarm und eine auf den Unterarm.

Sonstige Ornamente an Armen, Beinen usw., was nicht in die Ordnung, den »guten Schmuck« *mak mommai* gehört, bezeichnet man mit *dărifall*.

Bemalung nicht beobachtet.

2. Ernährungs-Wirtschaft.

Gegenüber den niedrigen Koralleninseln macht Feis eine gewisse Ausnahme, da der Feldboden ca. 10 m erhöht liegt. Auffallend waren hier Süßkartoffelfelder[1].

Das gute Gedeihen der Pflanzungen wird wohl mit auf den Phosphatgehalt zurückzuführen sein. Schon Chamisso schrieb: »Feis erfreut sich unter allen niedern Inseln des reichsten Bodens und der reichsten Flora. Der seines vielfachen Nutzens wegen aus Eap verpflanzte Bambus ist da gut fortgekommen.«

Kinder essen gern morgens die Hülle apfelgroßer unreifer Kokosnüsse. Es findet täglich ein Gebet beim Essen statt (s. S. 359).

Wenn man aber glaubt, daß Feis keine Nahrungssorgen habe, so trifft das nicht zu. Viel ist früher von Hungersnöten die Rede und erst durch die Einführung der Süßkartoffel *gamuti* durch einen Yapmann Thágofel von Oneán um 1850 ist die Not behoben worden, da diese vortrefflich gediehen. Zahlreiche Süß-

[1] s. Friederici Anthropos 1929 Bd. 24 S. 441—487. S. Bd. 6 I S. 47 u. 221.

kartoffelfelder (s. Taf. 23a) auf der Höhe geben Zeugnis von der Wertschätzung. Etwa 10—20 *gamuti*, je nach Größe, und ½ Kokosnuß verbraucht ein Mann täglich zur Ernährung. Eine Familie hat 3—4 Felder von ca. 10 Faden Länge. Nach 1 Jahr wird ein neues Feld angelegt. Nach Einsetzen der Setzlinge macht man nach 10 Tagen einen Erdhaufen *pälepäl*; nach 3 Monaten Ernte. Die Frau hält die Pflanzung sauber, erntet und kocht. Früher gabs nur Taro und Yams (je 2 Arten), Brot frucht (Bäume durch Taifune sehr geschädigt) und die wilde Morinda *löll* (s. Ralik).

An Fleisch hier auch Fische vorherrschend. Während unserer Anwesenheit waren nur 3 Schweine auf der Insel, die einem Yapmann gehörten. Durch den Taifun 1907 waren viele Hühner umgekommen, so daß auch diese sehr knapp waren. Da Hühner und Schweine als Nahrung sehr beliebt sind, handelt es sich also nur um Lässigkeit. Yap, Oelai und Lamotrek geben ihnen jedenfalls keine ab.

Abb. 149. Gestelle zum Palmweinschneiden.

a) Pflanzenprodukte:

djo Kokosnuß (Hüllenfaser *eologódj*) *lö*, *lu* junge Kokosnuß, geschabt *göregor*, Sahne *ärrong*, Rückstand (Dust) *gudjo*.

Gestell zum Palmweinschneiden Abb. 149, Melasse *ludj*.

Yams *dän*, lila *dóok*

Taro *ooth*; Arten *ooth älle jällüg*, *oothopä*.

Großer (Wald)taro *jillé*, aufhäufen von Korallensteinen darum *iretag*, herausgraben *killinge*: Art *moallüg*, *loi*.

kleine, weißliche Früchte *atöll* (kleine Knöllchen von den Wurzelfaserenden)

Bataten *gamuti*; Arten *gamutitjä*, *gamutiuddj*, auf der Hochfläche in zahlreichen Feldern vorhanden[1] s. o.

Papaya *baosi*

Kürbis *kalebás* (Kalebasse)

Gelbwurz *gudjöll* (nur Blatt gebraucht), sonst *mägomog* (s. Stärke); Art *iungedjik* S. 320c.

Stärke *mägomog* (für Fischer und Seefahrer verboten) s. unter Bereitung.

jäten *peggüpéng*.

Brotfrucht *mai* oder *mēi*. Arten: *māifei* (ohne Stein), *maigeradji*, *mailebédjidj* *mailepémadjol*, *tagomeliu*, *sameirão*, *mémadjei*, *soaig*, *mauli*.
Banane *udj*
Winde *djēuall* (S. 312)
Unkrautgemüse *augus* (s. Bd. 6 I S. 48)
gegessen: Ficus *gauall*
Morinda *löll* (s. o.)

b) Wörter zum Feldbau (E. Kr.).

Grabstock (Kokosholz) *lúrog*	Rodung *ēalág* (Männerarbeit)
Feldstück *oāl*	Feld *matēi*
Acker *lipelup* (5—10 Faden lang)	umgraben *attumūl*
Stock dazu *gūth*	Erde anhäufen um Setzling *pólepōl* (s. o.)
Weg *i faellap*	Ernte *ftágil*
Regenmatte *tebogóu*	Spitzhut gegen Sonne *djólevadj*.

Im Sommer, in den Monaten Juni, Juli, *serávol* genannt (S. 370), wird auf Geheiß des Häuptlings (S. 361) *mógemog* (Taccastärkewurzel) gegraben. Man reinigt dann die Wurzel, kratzt die Haut ab, reibt sie auf Korallen oder auf Holz, das mit einer Schnur umwickelt ist, alles in einem kleinen Boot. Der Brei wird dann in einen Mattensack gegeben, mit Wasser übergossen, das in eine Holzschüssel abfließt. Hat sich die Stärke abgesetzt gießt man das Wasser ab und wickelt den Satz naß in trockene *bogú*-Pandanusblätter. In diesen trocknet die Stärke von selbst und kann einige Jahre aufbewahrt werden.

c) Küche.

Frauen kochen; Mann, Frau und Kinder essen zusammen. Kinder essen gern in der Frühe die Hülle von apfelgroßen Kokosnüssen. Hier trifft man auf Töpfe *ip* aus Ton *ath'ip nu áp*, aus Yap; erhandelt sind auch eiserne, vorhanden sind *ráu*; Trinkschalen (Kokos) *berödjél*. Holzschüsseln S. 337.

Sonstige Geräte.

Kokosschaber *orúgorú djo*, *uāigang* oder *uóthungēk* (Abb. 150) in 3 Formen.
Löffel *isisevodj*, umrühren *edro sā*.
Stössel *falefás*, *v(e)all(fāl)*, stampfen *inōssügge*, *sus*; aus *gēngi* Holz (Abb. 151 Kr. 162 = 2945[11] *fal*) 30,5 cm lang, und aus Korallen-*falefás*.
Stampfbrett *eallif (ēlleſ)*, viel für Bataten gebraucht (Abb. 152).
Feuerhobel *alāl*[1], Bahn *ailit (ithil)* (Holzart: *adr*, *gilifei*, *ira)* (Abb. 153 Kr. 166 = 2949[11]); Feuerschlagen *lédjēledj*, Feuerstein *bedjē*, Lunte *lūt* (Brotfrucht-

[1] so „Holz" Ralik

baumholz) in Bambusbüchsen *vóuau* Abb. 154 (Kr. 151 = 2934II) aufbewahrt, 38 cm lang[1] Eisen *ɛ̂áf*.

Feuerfächer *repoi (rêbêi* Kr. 138 = 2922II) Abb. 168.

Hängebrett für Essen *tâkhaf*.

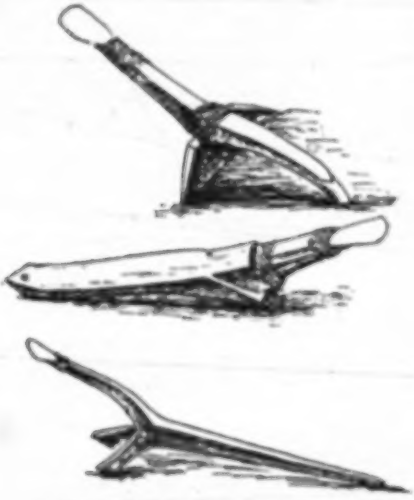


Abb. 150. Schabscheme! in 3 Arten.

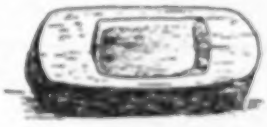


Abb. 152. Stampfbrett.

Abb. 151. Holzstössel.

Abb. 154. Bambusbüchse für Feuerzeug.

Abb. 153. Feuerhobel.

Das Unkraut *dûgus* wird sauber gemacht, mit Wasser und etwas *gomuli* dazwischen gekocht; wenn vorhanden wird etwas *adji* Palmwein zugegeben, sonst Preßmilch *ɛ̂árong*.

gôbâl: gomuli geschält, gekocht, gestampft mit *ɛ̂árong* gemischt, umgerührt, gegessen.

fiêfi: Man kocht Morinda *(löll)* Früchte, zerdrückt sie in der Holzschüssel, nimmt die Steine heraus, gibt Preßmilch *ɛ̂árong* dazu, samt dem Dust *gudjo*; umrühren; gegessen.

[1] Ornamente oben Fregattvögel *gûaf*, unten Delfine *gui*.

limelim: Tarowedelstile werden in kleine Stücke geschnitten und in Wasser gekocht; in Holzschüssel geschüttet werden die Stückchen zerfetzt, mit Preßmilch *ĕárong* versetzt und gegessen.

matol: Brotfrucht wird geschält, dann gekocht und zerstampft; dann wird Preßmilch zugegeben und gegessen.

sepédjeg (sopedjik): Brotfrucht ungekocht geschält, in Würfel geschnitten, im Topf mit Wasser unter Zusatz von Preßmilch gekocht.

tapiliot: eoth-Taro wird gekocht, abgeschält, gestampft, mit Preßmilch angerührt, genossen.

thalâli: viererlei zusammen:
z. B. *augus* + *djauel* (Winde) + *po* (Winde)
oder *limelim* (s. o.) + *djo* (Kokos) + *adji* (Palmsaft).

ilâldeth (Lamotrek): Palmsaft mit Kokosgeschabsel zusammengekocht unter stetigem Umrühren, bis es ein Brei ist; der wird in ein Bananenblatt gewickelt und aufbewahrt; hält 3 Monate.

mógemog: Stärke mit Palmsaft und Preßmilch unter Umrühren zu Brei gekocht, gegessen.

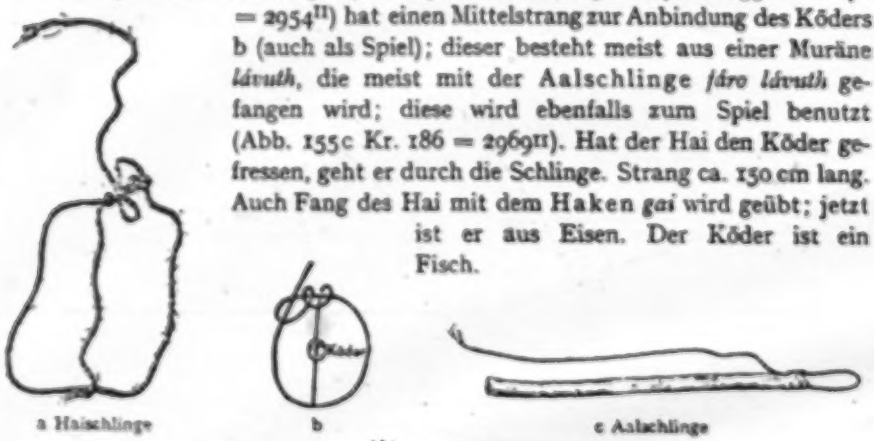
lofith (fasäsü): gaual Ficusfrüchte gekocht, gestampft, mit Preßmilch versetzt, dann auf Feuer unter Umrühren gekocht, gegessen.

3. Fischerei (vgl. Tafel 22).

Fischfang mit Gift *sûp*. Wurzel zerstoßen, bei Sonne Nasenreizung.

Fischspeer *tileg* (Yap *thêllak*), *pisîka*; Fackel dazu *thûl*, Bogen *gasik*, Pfeil *galigêsik* sehr einfach.

Haifang mit der Schlinge *djólu bógou*. Die Schlinge *thî* (Abb. 155a Kr. 171 = 2954II) hat einen Mittelstrang zur Anbindung des Köders b (auch als Spiel); dieser besteht meist aus einer Muräne *lávuth*, die meist mit der Aalschlinge *fáro lávuth* gefangen wird; diese wird ebenfalls zum Spiel benutzt (Abb. 155c Kr. 186 = 2969II). Hat der Hai den Köder gefressen, geht er durch die Schlinge. Strang ca. 150 cm lang. Auch Fang des Hai mit dem Haken *gai* wird geübt; jetzt ist er aus Eisen. Der Köder ist ein Fisch.



a Haischlinge b c Aalschlinge

Abb. 155a—c.

Die Herstellung der Fischleine *ao* (Kr. 178 = 29621) ein Bündel Pipturus-Bast *ē ol fithefith êroma).*

Die Haut wird vom Bast des *e êröma*-Strauches abgekrazt, und zwar mittels eines Ringes *ēálogodj*, der aus feinem Kokosgarn ringförmig geknüpft und um Mittel- und Zeigefinger gelegt wird Abb. 156. In die Sonne zum Trocknen gelegt, dann

Abb. 156.
Fingerschlinge.

Abb. 157.
Fischhaken aus zwei Stücken.

Abb. 158.
Schildpatthaken.

Bast abgezogen, mit den Fingern zerteilt und auf Schenkel zu Fischleine *terdlegoi* gedreht; von Hibiscus *(gilifei)* hergestellt heißt sie *edu*; europäische Leinen heißen *eaulibesedj*. Angelstock *udu*, Köder *pálegoi*.

Haken *bá*. Aus Schildpatt mit Perlmutterblänker[1] in Berlin VI 27129. Befestigung s. Abb. 157; zweifellos für Bonitofang (s. Oleai).

Gefangen 8 Fische: *garangâp, tagū, fōfō, eséllei, tépar, tángerr, êrong, tlam.*

Schildpatthaken *govodj* (Abb. 158 Kr. 191 = 29741) zum Fang des roten Fisches *mos* in ca. 10 Faden Tiefe. Ähnlich die heiligen Haken.

Fang der Flederfische *mangar* mit dem Winkelhaken *gólemadj* (Palau III S. 77), der aus Kokosschale gefertigt wird; s. S. 49; mit Netz s. u.

Die Hornhechte *sag* werden vom rudernden Boot aus mit Köder aus den getrockneten Adern der Haifische gefangen, in die sich die Fische verbeißen. Fischfang mit Drachen *gedjég, gadjáig* s. S. 50, Abb. 159.

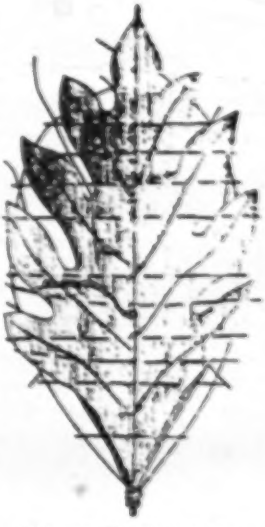


Abb. 159. Drachenscheibe, Brotfruchtblatt, 71 cm lang.

[1] Kr. 156—158, 3 Perlmutterhaken, von 3 Oleaileuten auf Feis mit dem Messer geschnitten. Ein *bá* wurde in einer Kiste sabe von Oleai aufbewahrt. Auch Ralikähnliche Haken kommen vor.

Netze.

Schwimmer	*úgopēs*
Senker	*úgofās*
für die Hochsee	*ugálei*
für fliegende Fische	*ug ele mangár*
Fackel dazu	*thul ule math*

Handnetz für Riff mit Stil *ūg*, Abb. 160, Masche 6—7 mm. Stil *īb*, Gabel *gapár* oberer Bug *gath* s. Taf. 22b.

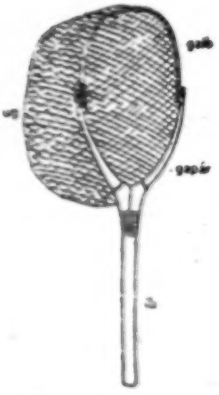


Abb. 160 Handnetz.

Reusen *djel, marâuel.*

An Treibholzstamm *gabēibēi* gebunden, wie auf Oleai beobachtet, Fang *rēl* s. S. 61 u. Am 4. X. 1909 sahen wir einen großen Stamm aus SW. nahen. Drei Boote gingen zum Empfang mit je einem Fischkorb durch die Brandung; die Körbe wurden an den Stamm gebunden, und nach kurzer Zeit hatten die Fischer 150 Stück erbeutet.

Reusenformen nach Abb. 161a, s. auch Taf. 24c *ulebiau*. Große Grundreuse s. Abb. 161b. *ulimoróuel*.

uldm kleiner Fischkorb, mit Deckel, aus Streifen von den Wurzelstelzen des Pandanus geflochten, unten mit Kokosblattrippen verschlossen, zwischen Steinen eingebaut (Kr. 183 = 2966) Taf. 26f.

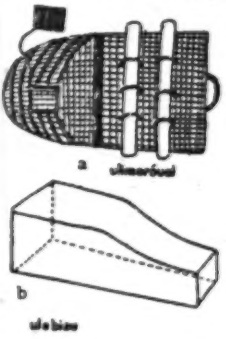


Abb. 161a, b. Fischreusen.

Fischverteilung *ileth*, ein Teil *sēu ileth*.

Jedes Dorf hat seinen Fischausteilplatz, *lingēsáng*. Pelilemog und Folumar sind die Austeiler von Ilotóu. Bei großen gemeinsamen Fischzügen benutzt man den *lingēsáng* bei Gadjabuth (s. Religion S 372), wo Jēlamathāū H. 21 und Máreieg H. 18 verteilen: der ganze Fang wird für die 3 Dörfer in 3 Teile geteilt. Fischt Ledjodjoi allein, so erhält Tulei allein die Hälfte des Fanges, das Volk die andere Hälfte. Faliou aber hat nicht allein 2 Boothäuser, sondern auch zwei Fischausteilplätze. Verteiler Ealusólumar H. 13 und Rangairal.

Beim großen Fischen von Ilotou und Faliou bekommt Tulei aber nur einen großen Fisch, dagegen Falērang und Valēmog je die Hälfte von ihren Dörfern.

Wenn irgend ein Mann der großen Dorfschaft Tabūfische fängt, so gehören sie Tulei, da sie für die andern tabū sind. Solche Fische sind: *tagú* (s. Lam.), *ēál* (Truk S. 439 *eár* Scarus), *thagurár* (Truk S. 436 Schwertfisch), *mám* (Palau IV S. 354 *mámel, mĕm)*. Auf andern Inseln, wo das Tabū nicht gilt, können diese Fische natürlich gegessen werden.

4. Handwerk, Geräte, Waffen.

a) Sachenbemalung.

Außer den Booten sind nur die heiligen Körbe usw. (s. S. 374 u. Farb-Taf. 3) bemalt (Personen s. S. 330).

Die rote Erde *erie* kommt von Yap (s. S. 97), angerührt in Holzschüsseln *tābbi l'lap*[1] Abb. S. 239, c oder in Kokosschalen *lap* (Kr. 124 = 2908), oder in kleinen Doliumschnecken *i thilemei, djageióg* (Kr. 197), Pinsel *galaliu*, Kokoshülle *pēiel*.

Hozkohle *maleséle kamómo* zusammen mit Dolium (Kr. 126 = 2910II) Abb. 162, zur Bemalung für Gebet-Ornamente.

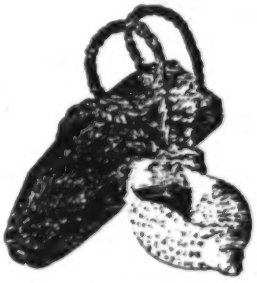


Abb. 162. Holzkohle mit Gefäß.

b) Holzarbeit.

Geräte.

Axt aus Tridacna *tēllē legī* (Kr. 198 = 298III) s. bei Bootbau. Dexel *tēllē*, für Haus und Boot breit (z. B. 17 cm lang, 9 cm breit). Beilstellung *kétham, vodjongēl*. Schleifstein (Yap) *jasitetei*.

Kr. 185 *vúruvur*. Horizontalbohrer, Stäbchen mit Fischzahn (Abb. 134e).

Holzschüsseln *tábbi*.

Vorherrschend sind rundliche Schüsseln, und oblonge. Ein *tabbi bedjēl* war als runder Eßteller geradezu nach einem Palau-Vorbild auf Feis angefertigt (Kr. 142 = 2926) Abb. 163a. Ähnlich ist das *dábbi djidji*.

Eine längliche Schüssel *dabbi le mongai* zeigt Abb. 163b. Ihr Boden ist flach, die Nase ist hier lang und vorstehend; c etwas gedrungener.

Dagegen sind die Truk-ähnlichen Schüsseln mehr in die Breite gehend und bauchig, Abb. 163d.

Die längliche spitz zulaufende Farbschüssel, Abb. 164, *tabbi l'lap*, hat keine Nase, 27 cm lang, 12,6 cm breit und 4,5 cm hoch.

---

[1] Die Farbschüsseln *tabbil'lap* oft in Vogelform = Kr. 134, Regenpfeifer Charadrius *lili*, s. Lamotrek S. 65.

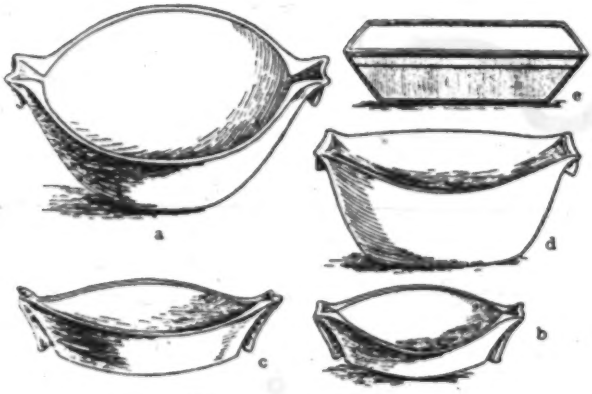


Abb. 163. Holzschüsseln.

Abb. 164. Farbschüssel.

Deckelkasten.

Die Deckelkasten *bār* von Feis zeigen einen hübschen Kantenschmuck, als ob sie mit Borten eingefaßt wären, Abb. 165; (Kr. 154 = 29371I); 57½ cm lang, 16½ cm hoch und 17 cm breit und kann Matten, Curcumafarbe usw. aufnehmen; kleinere Büchsen *tafetef (dābedaf, dāpitep, dēvidēv)* dienen zur Aufbewahrung von Angelhaken. Kr. 155 soll von Oleai stammen.

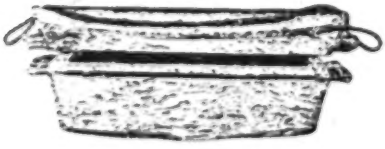


Abb. 165. Deckelkasten.

Einen schönen rot bemalten Kasten *dapitēp* mit schwarzen Borten, an den Längsseiten stark abgeschrägt, zeigt Abb. 163e (vgl. Lam. Abb. 31). Sie wurden von E. Kr. aquarelliert, denn sie war 81 cm lang, 29 cm breit und 21 cm hoch, und war dem Gott Rongola (S 372) geweiht.

Büchsen *kivār, vār*, für Tabak, ähnlich Lamotrek. Eine Bambusbüchse wurde Abb. 154 schon erwähnt und abgebildet. Sie wurde *vōvau* benannt und hatte Ornamente an der Seite: *gui* Delphine und *gatāf* Fregattvögel.

Aus einer langen dünnen Kokosbüchse gefertigt ist Kr. 159a = 29431I s. Abb. 166. Der Deckel ist hier scheibenförmig und ist mit einer Nute eingelassen, 8,8 cm hoch. Form und Ornamente erinnern an das Vorbild Palau III Taf. 7 Nr. 4, das aber viel schöner ist. Zweck: Tabakaufbewahrung, der in Rollen (Kr. 202) gewickelt in den Handel kommt.

Abb. 166. Deckelbüchse, ornamentiert.

c) Waffen.

fehlen in der Hauptsache. Die Speere *tileg* dienen nur zum Fischen. Die Speerschleuder *lēog* ist von Yap her bekannt, wird aber nicht gebraucht. Die Schleuder *gāl* kennt man von Póloat und Truk, gebraucht sie aber nicht.

d) Flechterei.

Die Matten aus Kokosfiedern, *tápogau*, und die am Hausgiebel, *gili*, werden an und in den Häusern reichlich gebraucht, s. Abb. 178, Taf. 23 u. Farb. Taf. 3. Die Pandanusmatten *fadj* als Schlaf- und Totenmatten *mogós* Abb. 182.

Körbe ohne Henkel.

Kr. 137 = 2921 II *saudi* zum Aufhängen für gekochtes Essen. Taf. 26a. Höhe 26 cm, Breite oben 40 cm, unten 32 cm.

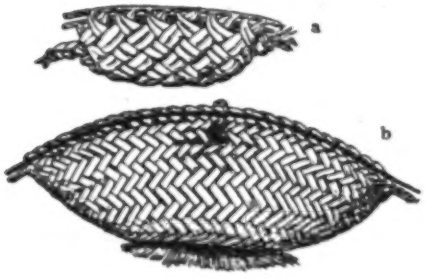


Abb. 167. Körbe.

Abb. 168. Feuerfächer.

Kr. 139 = 2923 *vádj* Schalenkorb, roh aus Kokosfiedern für schnellen Gebrauch. Taf. 26b. Weite 25—27 cm, Höhe 10 cm.

Kr. 141 = 29251I *djúg* Feldkorb für geernteten Taro und Kartoffeln, Abb. 167a.

Kr. 144 = 2929II *botau tangarik* Handkorb. Abb. 167b.
Vgl. den Handkorb des Gottes, Abb. 193, mit den Fransen *feregegél e votáu*, Abb. 167b. Diese Körbe sind oft recht groß, bis zu 1 m lang, wie auf Pollap.

Kr. 140 = 2924II *gabés* Rundkorb für Webgarn. Taf. 26c. Weite 30—34 cm, Höhe 9½ cm.

Korb mit Henkel.

Kr. 177 = 29611I *bēróu (beráu*, E. K. *bäro)* für Früchte. Taf. 26d. Weite 12—23 cm, Höhe 16 cm.

Fächer.

Kr. 137 = 2921II *rébēi* Feuerfächer. Abb. 168.

e) Seilerei.

Junge Kokoshüllen *bēiel* werden drei Monate in Salzwasser gelegt, dann beginnt das Schlagen *süis* (wie *sus* gesprochen); Fasern *eēlegodj*, Abfall *bagalegódj*. Die Fasern in der Sonne getrocknet. Ein Bündel Fasern *táongat eēlegodj*; das Drehen *gólōgol* der Kardeele *mōrr*; zwei Kardeele geben die Schnur *gólōgol*.

Für Tauwerk *dáll* nimmt man 3 Kardeele *mōrr*, für dicke Taue das Drehkreuz *pekepelilido*, Abb. 44; ein Bündel Schnur *súgul ü gólogol* (Kr. 184).

Kr. 136 = 292011 *djou* Kokoszwirnkorb, Höhe 42 cm, größte Breite 90 cm, obere Breite 30 cm, Taf. 26e. An beiden Enden eine Öse.

Kr. 200 = 298311 *dōdjou* ein alter Zwirnkorb, angeblich aus Oleai stammend, s dort S. 246. (Truk S. 185 *boddou*).

f) Weberei (E. Kr.)

Die Weberei von Feis gleicht fast in jeder Weise der von Lámotrek, sowohl Art der Matten wie Herstellung, höchstens zeigt sich Unterschied in der Häufigkeit gewisser Arten. So sah ich als Frauenmatte fast ausschließlich die schon bei Lámotrek beschriebene 7streifige Hibiskusmatte, mit einzelnen Bananenfäden in der Kette als Wirkung, namens *giliſog*, und die 7streifige Bananenmatte in feinster Webart für die Männer. Daneben aber die herrlich gemusterten Männermatten mit Durchflechtarbeit in reichen Mustern.

Der Hibiskusbast wird in der beschriebenen Weise gewonnen; von mittelstarken, saftreichen Zweigen des Hibiskus wird die Rinde abgeschält, 4 Tage mit Steinen beschwert in die See gelegt, dann der Bast von der harten Rinde abgelöst, ausgestrichen und getrocknet. Die dicken Baststücke werden von den Frauen mit dem Nagel ihres zierlichen Daumens in feine Streifen abgespalten, und diese mit einem kunstvollen Knoten an einandergefügt, abgeteilt und die feinen Streifen mit einem kunstvollen Knoten *bugos* immer wieder aneinander gebunden.

Der Knoten *bugos*.

Er besteht aus drei Schlägen über die die gekreuzten Fäden haltenden Daumen und Zeigefinger, Abb. 169a. An der Kreuzung liegt der arbeitende Faden, (der von links oben nach rechts unten verläuft) über dem anderen. Mit seinem unteren Verlauf werden zwei größere lose Schläge und ein kleiner gemacht, der sich fest um die Kreuzungsstelle legt. Auf

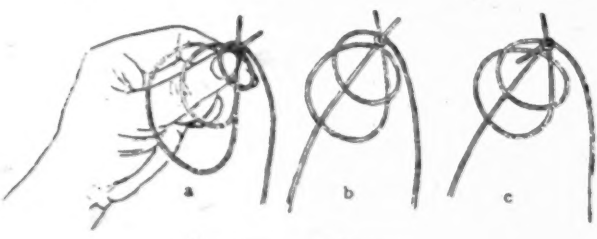


Abb. 169a—c. Weberknoten.

ihn und unter die beiden losen Ösen wird nun das Fadenstückchen, das rechts oben heraussteht, zurückgebogen, vom Daumen gehalten und darauf die drei Schlingen langsam festgezogen. Dies erfordert einige Übung und will nicht immer glücken, doch gibt es einen festen, glatten Knoten; solcher Knoten gibt es eine unendliche Menge bis das Garn für eine Matte vor- handen ist. Eine siebenstreifige Frauenmatte besteht aus:

ungefärbtem Hibiskus = *gilifei*
Bananenfaser = *udj*
feinster Bananenfaser, weiß = *badj udj*
schwarz gefärbtem Hibiskus = *daradja* auch *urier*
gröberer, weniger guter Bananenfaser = *battadjik*,
schwarzer, sehr feiner Bananenfaser = *uludj*;
roter Hibiskus, der auch vorkommt, heißt = *ligauol*.

Bananenfaser liefert die hier in Feis wachsende Art, die eßbare Früchte trägt. Man verwendet die Schichten vom Stamm einer jungen, noch nicht blühenden Pflanze. Die Herstellung, das Ausstreichen der fleischigen Massen, Trocknen, Spalten ist wie in Lámotrek

ulugal Bananenschaft,
matara der erste zarte Streifen an der Blattscheidenseite,
chille der mittlere Streifen der Rückseite,
rairek udj das Fleischige herausschaben.

Fast genau wie in Lámotrek (S. 75) geschieht hier das Färben des Garns, sowohl Bananen wie Hibiskus. Terminalienblätter werden auf einem Stein zerstampft, in eine Schüssel getan und Salzwasser darauf gegossen. Hier hinein legt man das Garn, das davon eine helle, grünlich-graue Farbe annimmt. Vor längerer Zeit schon hat man in einem anderen Gefäß ein Stück Eisen in Seewasser rosten lassen. Ein bestimmter harter Stein, angeblich von Yap kommend, wird an dem rostigen Eisenstück so lange gerieben, bis mit dem Rost zusammen etwas von seiner Oberfläche in die Flüssigkeit fällt. Inzwischen wurden die Hüllen von jungen Kokos-Trinknüssen zerstampft, in Seewasser getan und alle diese Flüssigkeiten zusammengegossen. Die Farbe ist fertig. In ihr bleibt das Garn 24 Stunden liegen, um dann im Wasser geschwenkt und getrocknet zu werden.

sügge	zerstampfen	*iou*	Rost
paiel	Kokosnußhülle	*igëg*	reiben
dath	Seewasser	*podj*	fertige Farbe
metakal	Yapstein	*arier*	schwarz färben
rarei	ausstreichen.		

Die sparsam verwendeten roten Fäden werden gefärbt in einer Mischung aus geschabten Morindawurzeln, Kalk und Seewasser, in die der Bast für längere

Zeit gelegt wird. In neuerer Zeit wird auch hier Japanfarbe erhandeit und verwendet.

Worte zur Weberei.

weben	*bossunge*	durchflechten	*vidjividj (ritjioitj* S. 79)
Webstuhl	*thēlher*	eine fertige Reihe Durchflechtarbeit	*uru*
Gestell	*buiassól*	Rückenhalter	*dal* mit Schlinge *galagal*
hinteres Spannbrett	*bab (a) l(e) tóggor*	Trennstab	*tápang*
vorderes Spannbrett	*bab (el) alimat*	Litzenstab	*ngüng*
Zapfen am Spannbrett	*alimat*	Kreuzstab	*ülüj, ülüth*
Lineal, Schwert	*gabób*	Kettfaden	*fetharöll*
fachbildende Flachstäbe	*thieb, thib*	Schußfaden	*atalidj*
Breithalter (eingewebter Stab)	*thieboasso*	Fach	*lebathal*
Breithalter (eingewebte Schnur)	*assoasso, asoasóu*	Schiffchen	*ássab* oder *ataltjilóng*
Hibiskusbast	*giliſei*	Zusammenlegen der Weberei	*nimalog*
Bananenfaser	*udj*	Kettpflock	*maliel*
schwarzer Faden	*daradja*	einschlagen dess.	*sügüi*
roter Faden	*ligauol*	Kette wickeln	*podjou*
Knochennadel zum Durchflechten des schwarzen Musters	*djī*	Entenmuschel zum Abschneiden	*giligil*
Holznadel mit Öhr für denselben Zweck	*thevali gaſēthak*		

Kette wickeln.

Die Kette, die ich in Feis wickeln sah, beanspruchte nicht 5, sondern nur 4 Pflöcke. Der erste Pflock (für das vordere Spannbrett) wurde rechts von der Weberin eingeschlagen, dann maß sie 5 Handspannen nach links und schlug den

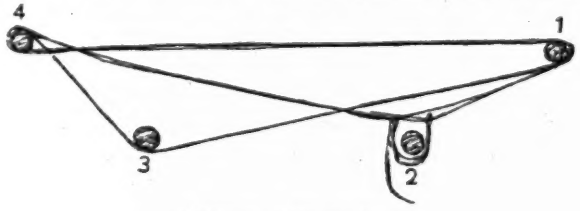


Abb. 170. Kette scheren.

Pflock für das Kreuz (4) ein. Der für das hintere Spannbrett fehlt, dafür werden die beiden Pflöcke für Litzen (2) und Trennstab (3) die zwischen 1 und 4 kommen, stark nach vorn gesetzt und so die Kettefäden klar voneinander gehalten, Abb. 170.

Beim Einklopfen der Pflöcke hielt die Frau namens Gadjigeireng eine kleine Ansprache:

uoro e ällüs
sero totalla
sero lisarērē[1]
kometangatanga djolēai
vosatēiet.

Ferner ein Gesang beim Kettescheren (vergl. S. 364).

1. *i limgó uēlli uērái*
sámalopalú padjách
i savángair éalüs
a pethēlóng messigüj ē
5. *sabái thēréng ēlliéll*
sahatogullúi ēthēg
lēgēussepē mēngudj
dáugesōródjēthú
aútjegóiang le mēirüdj
10. *iualóng messimahoi*

oiangál auērái
kē thingválingi thērei
i sē vassengudj sasiut

Es wird der Faden der fortlaufenden Kette in der üblichen, aus der Zeichnung ersichtlichen Weise bei 1 anfangend hinter 2 und abwechselnd vor und hinter 3 gelegt und bei der Tür hinter 3 ist bei 2 die Litzenschnur eingelegt worden. Rechts von 4 kreuzt der Faden, nachdem er 4 umlaufen hat und kehrt rechts nach 1 zurück.

Die 7-streifige Frauenmatte, deren Kette hier vorbereitet wurde, bestand aus

weiß Hibiskus	*giliſei*	fein weiß Bananenfaden	*badj (udj)*
schwarz Hibiskus	*arier*	gröberes Bananengarn	*bāthadjik*

Soll eine andere Farbe in der Kette erscheinen, so wird zwischen Pflock 1 und 2 der Faden mit der kleinen, scharfen Muschel durchschnitten und das andere Garn angeknotet, z. B. beim Beginn der schwarzen Streifen. Auch werden schon bei Herstellung der Kette zwei weitere, fachbildende Stäbe in die Fäden eingelegt, um die bei Lamotrek S. 81 beschriebenen Schmuckmaschen innerhalb der schwarzen Streifen weben zu können. In Lamotrek geschah dies erst nach Aufbringung der Matte auf den Webstuhl.

Ist die Kette fertig, wird sie von zwei Frauen von den Pflöcken abgenommen und die Teile des Webstuhls treten an ihre Stelle. Beide Frauen sitzen sich gegenüber, beider Fußsohlen berühren rechts und links von den Kettfäden den Trennstab, den sie so zwischen sich festhalten. Die Weberin hat inzwischen das

[1] Webereigöttin s. S. 147.

vordere Spannbrett eingefügt und mit dem Rückenhalter an sich befestigt, während die andere das hintere Spannbrett in Spannung festhält. Das Ordnen und Verteilen der Kettfäden nimmt ziemlich Zeit in Anspruch, bis als erster Schuß ein flacher Bambussplitter eingelegt wird. Ein zweiter folgt beim nächsten Fach, und an diesen steifen Einlagen wird, mit der Handspanne abmessend, die Breite der Matte bestimmt und die Fäden gleichmäßig geordnet. Noch ein paar Einlagen von dickem Bast folgen und erhalten dies Gewebe in der richtigen Breite. Dann wird richtig mit dem Faden gewoben. Das Gestell ist auf Feis einfach wie auf den meisten Inseln, ein paar lange Pflöcke oder Stäbe, an denen

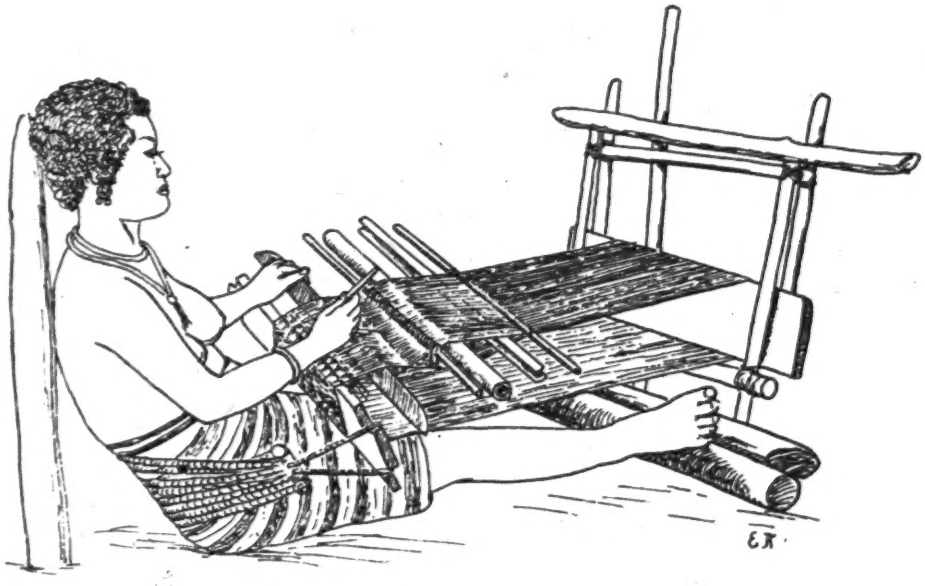


Abb. 171. Am Webstuhl.

das hintere Spannbrett befestigt wird, ein dickerer Stamm oder Balken darunter zum Anstäubern der Füße beim Weben, Abb. 171.

Die reichgemusterten Männerbinden *madji* sind aus feinem Bananengarn, durchweg in Leinenbindung gewebt; Anfang und Ende schmücken durchgeflochtene Muster aus tiefschwarzem Hibiskusbast in ansehnlicher Breite.

Um sich das Abzählen der Fäden zu erleichtern, haben die Frauen flache Stäbe in gewisser Ordnung eingelegt, die sich beim Weben nach hinten schieben lassen. Ist der helle Schußfaden durchgeholt und angeschlagen, kommt der Flachstab mit den abgezählten Fäden, nach vorn und die Weberin kann, das Muster danach

berechnend, hurtig den schwarzen Bast durchziehen. Nachdem der Flachstab zurückging, folgt das andere Webefach und ein neuer, heller Schuß, dann wird wieder der schwarze Bast im Muster durchgeflochten etc.

Die Matten sind gleich denen von Oleai, Taf. 20, nur sind die der Frauen zum Teil noch feiner. Eine vergrößerte Probe zeigt Taf. 26g von

Kr. 145 = 29291I Mannmattenkleid *guludj*, *uludj* (Kr. 203, 206)
Kr. 146 = 29301I ornamentierte Männermatte *madji*.
Kr. 147 *gilifei* gröbere Frauenmatte aus „Hibiscus".
Kr. 199 *gilifei*, Frauenmatte, mit Gelbwurz gefärbt.
Kr. 205 *gilifei* aus Hibiscus mit weißen Bananenstreifen.
Kr. 207 Feinste Männermatte, alt, als Umschlag.

5. Handel.

Tauschhandel *gälhilthil fangál*, Zwischenhandel *vul*.

Inefel von Yap ist der Besitzer aller östlichen Inseln, also gehört der Boden von Feis ihm (S. 361). Für die Benutzung des Landes bezahlen die Feisuner Kleidmatten, Gürtel, Tabak, Schnur, Tauwerk usw. Im Oktober holt Mogemog in Booten den Tribut. Bei der Navigation S. 367 ist zusammengefaßt, wie seit langer Zeit Mogemog den Handel zwischen Yap und den Ostinseln zu monopolisieren versucht hat. Sogar Oleai scheint meist nur bis Feis gekommen zu sein, wenigstens zu gewissen Zeiten (S. 250)[1].

Lamotrek bringt aber seine Kästen *(dafedaf)*, Kleidmatten *(djör)*, Schnur *(gólogol)* usw. nach Oleai.

Die Ost-Koralleninseln bekamen von Yap Kämme, Täschchen *(gaigadj)*, Gelbwurz, Tontöpfe, europäische Sachen, Tabak usw., so daß es sich also nicht um einen reinen Tribut, sondern um Tausch handelt, bei dem aber den Ostinseln die Initiative obliegt.

Man glaubt, falls der Tribut nicht gegeben wird, erkranken alle Menschen und sterben (s. Gesch. der Lorop.).

Mogemog holte von Sórol kleine Boote, Kleidmatten, Holzschüsseln, Ruder usw.; Aurupeg bringt nach Oleai rote Muschelscheibchen *gau*, Oleai bringt alles nach Feis, auch nach Mogemog und Uáp. Die Truksachen werden von Póloat abgeholt, ebenso die von Sêtoval; Pollap s. Bd. 6 I S. 259; auch Lamotrek holt von Sêtoval und bringt die Sachen nach Ifaluk und Oleai; Oleai bringt, wie erwähnt nach Feis, von wo sie durch Mogemog abgeholt wurden.

---

[1] Auch in Bd. 2 Yap S. 287 heißt es, daß die Inseln Áyái (Feis) und Sórol die Nautik *pelú* heute noch nicht besitzen; ihre Bewohner werden von Kapitänen aus Ugoi (Mogemog) abgeholt. Tsuk (Truk), Lámurig (Lámotrek) und Sftauon (Sêtoval) sollen die Kunst erst neuerdings von Volovót (Póloat) erhalten haben. Das ist natürlich Yap-Auffassung!

Die Frage, ob es sich um einen Tribut an Yap handelt, ist S. 82 schon angeschnitten. Zweifellos zeigen die unten angegebenen Mythen, daß Yóngelap (S. 144) und Yélafadj mit Yap stark verbunden waren, und daß also die Gaben als Opfer an die Götter oder als Tribute an die Oberpriester aufzufassen sind. Daß diese Auffassung nicht an allen Plätzen der Centralkarolinen die gleiche war und daß zeitweise Schwankungen des Pflichtgefühls vorkamen, ist naheliegend. So ist auch die Ansicht berechtigt, daß die Waren nur auf dem Handelswege nach Yap gelangten. Aber daß alle gerade nach Yap lieferten, und nicht nach Truk oder Ponape oder Saipan, diesem Drang liegen doch sicher die Götter zugrunde.

Daß auf Yap die verschiedenen Inseln, trotz des Monopols von Mogemog, ihr eigenes Land hatten, wurde früher schon erwähnt (Truk S. 301[8]). Es war auch genau abgeteilt, wohin die Gaben der einzelnen Inseln der Centralkarolinen gingen, wovon ich schon auf Oleai S. 251 einige Angaben bekam; wie gut dort die Namen Inefel, Fólăvu (Yap Taf. 5[4] Gólevu), Bugilrou, also von Oleai 1909, mit meinen Aufnahmen in Yap 1907 (Yap S. 379) übereinstimmen, beweist schon allein die genaue Fühlung unter den Inseln.

Auf Feis hörte ich nun folgende Empfänger auf Yap: Fólabu (Fólevu von Gagil) und Inefel von Delipébinau gelten als gleich angesehen und stark; sie empfangen aber nicht selbst die Waren, sondern jeder Ankömmling bringt sie in ein bestimmtes Haus. Dies gilt auch für die andern.

Empfänger:	Lieferer:
Fólabu und Búgilrou	Jórepig (Aurepik) und von Oleai (s. S. 251) Sóluap, Sógolap (Tagaulap) und das Dorf Jefang auf Voléa.
Inefel	von Ululsi: Mógemog und Fáterai; ½ Ifaluk; von Oleai: Raur, Távagap auf Máriong und Unamarai
Rúebong (Yap Taf. 5[3])	½ Ifaluk; ½ Sórol; Namodjek, Elato, Olimaráu; Sĕtowan; Póloat; Pollap; Truk; Pikĕlo, Pikelot; Saipen[1].
Rúngun in Gádjebar	½ Sórol
Manefel in Oneán	Feis.
Gádjebar und Oneán	Falálap (Mógemog).

Wie diese Verteilung kam, ist schwer auszumachen. Es wurde erzählt, daß die Ostinseln allen verschiedenen Familien von Yap gehört hätten, weil nämlich der Gott Yóngelap alles ausgeteilt habe. So wären also die Koralleninseln alle unter

[1] Ob Saipan damit gemeint ist, war nicht auszumachen; Sĕpen wird auch ein früheres Atoll Gáferudj genannt, angeblich das Hunter-Riff, 24 Sm NNO von Yap, 1791 zuerst gemeldet (S.-H. S. 46), mit 30 m Wassertiefe; W. Müller (Yap S. 304) nennt Sĕpín eine versunkene Zauberinsel, die mit Rumung kulturell zusammenhing; vielleicht liegen hier die Verhältnisse ebenso, wie bei Ngáruangal und Palau (II S. 45).

Yap'scher Botmäßigkeit gewesen[1]. Nur Feis habe Land verkaufen können, ohne zu fragen; es mußte nur dem Inefel dann einen Teil davon abgeben, der dann weiter verteilte (s. den Beginn).

Senfft 1905 schreibt, daß alljährlich zur Zeit des Nordostmonsuns, also ungefähr in den Monaten Dezember bis Juni Leute aus Osten, insbesondere von Feis und Ululsi eintreffen, um ihrem in Gatschbar wohnenden Suzerän, in dem sie gleichzeitig eine Art Hohepriester erblicken, ihren Gehorsam zu beweisen und Tribut abzuliefern. Beim Eintreffen seien sie einer Art von Quarantäne unterworfen, indem sie 4—5 Tage in einem großen, auf dem Riff errichteten Hause bleiben müssen[2]. Am 12. Juni 1904 sah S. die Versammlung. Der Priester saß gelb bemalt auf Steinplattform, einen Blumenkranz auf dem Kopf, neben sich den unteren Teil eines Kokoswedels und eine alte Kokosnuß. Auf einer Seite saß ein Jüngling mit Tritonshorn, auf dem Boden eine große Schar festlich mit Hibiskusblumen, Gelbwurz und bunten Grasröcken geschmückter Männer und Frauen. Zuerst setzte sich ein hoher Eingeborener dem Priester gegenüber; er betupfte ihn mit Farbe aus einer hohlen Betelnuß auf Stirn, Wangen, Brust und Rücken unter Gebetshersage, damit der Fremde vor übler Nachrede auf Yap und später in seiner Heimat geschützt sei. Dann sprach der Priester seine Gebete mit lauter, abgehackter Stimme und pflückte dabei von den Kokosfiedern; endlich schrie er mit „sich überhastender Stimme einen endlosen Satz, nachdem er die Rippe (Wedelstil Kr.) mit der alten, in Kokosschleifen gekleideten Kokosnuß, vertauscht hatte und schloß mit einigen lauten Rufen, zu denen sein Nachbar in die Muschel (Schnecke Kr.) blies. In diesem Augenblick erhob sich alles und schrie mit Lungenkraft, während die Frauen mit Stöcken und Kokosrippen auf die Steine, den Erdboden und die Bäume schlugen."

Der Priester verließ nun seinen Platz und begab sich, gefolgt von der Menge, an das Meeresufer, wo die Kanus auf dem Strande lagen. Er bestieg eins nach dem andern und klopfte je dreimal mit dem Zweige einer in Yap *dschiṭis (seṭiṭ* gelber Zingiber Kr.) genannten Pflanze auf den Rand und Mast; dann warf er den Zweig fort, löste die Schleifen der Kokosnuß und berührte mit ihr gleichfalls dreimal Rumpf und Mast. Für jedes Fahrzeug wurde ein neuer Zweig und eine andere Nuß gebraucht. Immer wenn er ein Kanu verlassen hatte, bestiegen es einige Männer, hoben den Mast aus der Öse und legten ihn längsseits nieder. Der ganze Vorgang wurde durch ununterbrochenes Schreien, durch das sich besonders die Weiber auszeichneten, begleitet. Damit war die Kanuweihe in

[1] Senfft 1905 schreibt: »Eine Reihe der zahlreichen Inseln des Ululsi-Atolls gehört Eingeborenen der Dörfer Gatschbar und Onean, und diese pflegen den Ululsileuten auch die Fahrzeuge zu den Besuchsreisen zu liefern«.

[2] Von W. Müller (Yap S. 300) als Mißverständnis erklärt; er sagte vorher: »In Gagil bleiben die Central-Karolinier, wenn sie den Riffeinlaß Gofenú passiert haben, noch vier Tage lang vor Rikén in ihren Booten«.

Onean beendet, und die Teilnehmer begaben sich nach dem benachbarten Orte Gatschbar, wo sich das Schauspiel wiederholte.

Als Priester war ein Mann aus dem Dorfe Riken[1] tätig. Die Beschwörungsformeln bestehen aus nur ihm bekannten Worten, die er von seinem Vater, der den gleichen Beruf versah, gelernt hat. Nur diesem einen Mann kompetiert die Weihe des Kanus, obschon er von niederer Herkunft ist; denn es besteht der Glaube, daß jeder, der ihm ins Handwerk pfuschen wollte, nach 10 Tagen stürbe. Für seine Verrichtungen erhielt er reiche Bezahlung in Matten und Perlschalen. Der Zweck der Zeremonie ist, die Orte vor Ansteckung zu schützen, vor allem vor Ringwurm und anderen Hautkrankheiten, sowie Augenerkrankungen[2]. Nach ihrer Beendigung steht den Ankömmlingen der Besuch der ganzen Insel Yap frei.

Die Fremden verweilen nun dort, bis westliche Winde einsetzen. Vor Antritt der Heimreise werden wiederum bestimmte Formeln beobachtet. Die Führer der einzelnen Kanus nehmen in die eine Hand einen brennenden Kokoswedel, in die andere einen Zweig des in Yap *ngäl* (wohl *gall* Hibiskus Kr.) und schlagen mit dem Zweig auf den Wedel, während die Kanusteuerer in die Signalmuscheln blasen. Wenn nach diesem Vorgange zwei Tage hintereinander günstiger Wind weht und wenn die Auguria günstig sind, treten sie die Rückreise unter dem Oberbefehl eines besonderen erfahrenen Seemannes an. Draußen auf offener See kommen später auf ein gegebenes Signal sämtliche Fahrzeuge zu dem Kanu des Oberführers, der nun nochmals durch Beklopfen der Masten, Segel und Steuer eine günstige Fahrt herbeizuführen sucht. Bei der Ankunft auf der Insel Ululsi wird wieder eine Art Quarantäne abgehalten. Vier Tage ist den Rückkehrenden das Betreten der Häuser und das Klettern auf Kokospalmen verboten; am letzten Tage der Frist schminken sie sich den Körper mit Gelbwurz und veranstalten ein großes Essen; danach wird durch verschiedene Manipulationen mit einem Kokosblatt die Insel vor Ansteckung geschützt und ihr Betreten den Ankömmlingen freigegeben. — Es stimmt dies alles mit dem schon Mitgeteilten im großen und ganzen überein. Von Rúebong erfuhr ich noch auf Yap: Yap hatte früher viel Krieg. Wenn aber Mógemogleute kamen, hörte der Kampf auf; denn kein Yaper darf einen Mogemogmann schlagen, weil beide Kinder des Éongelap sind, wie ja auch die Yaplandschaften Gagil, Tomil und Gorror deshalb eins sind; die übrigen Yaper sind Söhne der Brüder von Éongelap (S. 116[b]), wie Gesch. 1 es zeigt.

[1] W. Müller (Yap S. 300) sagte es sei der Priester Moón von Riken, der allein diese Art von Zauberei betreibt, einen Zauber *tamalas e ñan*, um die Hochseedämonen *yolóu* am Betreten des Landes zu hindern. Gad;ebar, Oneán und Rikén an der Ostseite der Teilinsel Gagil, die Eingangspforte der Fremden, s. Karte bei A. Kr. 1908.

[2] Vor allem auch vor dem Eindringen der Seegeister, wie schon W. M. betonte, die sich an Bord der Boote zu verbergen pflegen.

Tauschwerte.

5 Körbe Bataten für eine *gilifei*-Matte (Korb ½ Klafter lang)
4—5 Körbe Bataten für eine *goludj*-Matte
5 Körbe Bataten für eine *madji*-Matte.
1 *reng* (Gelbwurzfärbe von Kokosnußgröße) = 3 Korb Bataten.
einhundert Faden Schnur = 1 Korb Bataten.

Das Tragen von Lasten.

Traglast *godjóar*.

In der Hand tragen z. B. Korb *djúledjul*
Frauen: auf Kopf tragen *gádjem*
auf den Seiten *iéfief*
auf dem Rücken, *gadjoi*
auch am Stock.
Männer tragen auf der Schulter *fafár*
zwei Männer tragen an einer Stange *galuetág*.

6. Maaße.

1 Klafter *tagureſá*, *sángaf*
½ Klafter *sosolóp*
1½ Klafter *tagoriangáf*
1 Handspanne *séang*, zwischen Kanubindelöchern *djédje*
½ Handspanne *togoséang* (Daumenspitze und Zeigefingerknöchel)
2 Spannen *rúsang*
3 Spannen *thelúang*
bis Handgelenk *sabadjálem*
bis Ellbogen *samallú*
bis 2 Ellbogen *samallú palling*
bis Arm *sapái*
bis 2. Schulter *sévar* (½ Klafter + ½ Brust).

7. Haus.

(Vgl. Farbtafel 3 und Tafel 23, 24 und 25.)

Die Boothäuser und Wohnhäuser lehnen sich ganz an Oleai und Yap an, nur daß besonders letztere einige Eigenarten haben. Farbtafel 3 zeigt die Form und die Häufung in einem Gehöft vortrefflich.

Die Wohnhäuser mit offenem und verdecktem Giebel s. offen Taf. 24a, verdeckt Abb. 172.

In Gehöften s. Plan 3 und Taf. 23.

a) Hausarten.

Boothaus */al*, klein *sépalod* s. Abb. 135. Inneres Taf. 24c
Kleines Gerüst für ein Boot */dtafel*

Abb. 172. Wohnhaus mit verdecktem Giebel.

Abb. 173. Wohnhaus.

Abb. 174. Vorratshaus.

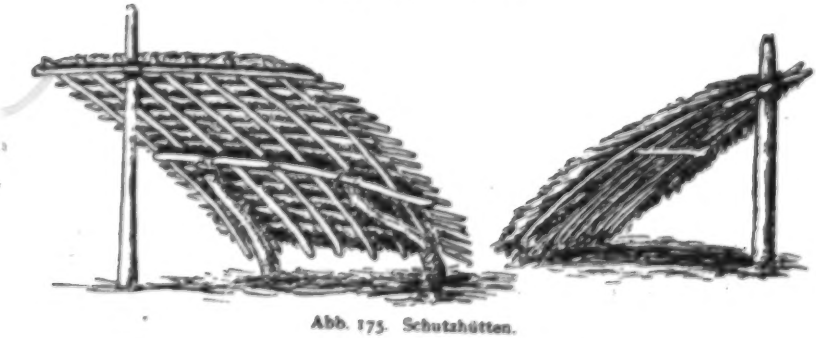


Abb. 175. Schutzhütten.

Junggesellenhaus */alú o* fehlt (vgl. Oleai S. 256)
Geisterhaus */alúdj* (s. S. 372) Farb. Taf. 3 (s. H. 10)
Wohnhaus *im* (Häuptling = *im a tamól)* Abb. 173
Bluthaus *imádan, sabal*

Gebärhaus *imalipél* S. 360
Kochhaus *malúm*, *úm* (mein.. *eai m.*) Taf. 23d links
Vorratshaus *luségel* Abb. 174
Unterkunftshütte in der Pflanzung *bangalím* Taf. 23a
Schweinestall *erór lă bábui*
Hühnerhaus *im elle málug*
Schuppen klein, sehr einfach Abb. 175.

b) Hausbau *gángalim*.

Wohnhaus, Inneres Abb. 176.

Zuerst werden die 4 Steinpfosten *sur elim* aufgestellt, auf denen die 2 Längsarmenbalken *thafél elop* lagern; auf diese kommen an den Enden die 2 Quer-

Abb. 176. Wohnhaus, zwei der vier Steinpfosten sichtbar

ramenbalken *godjóm* auf diesen stehen die beiden Stuhlsäulen *surethai*, auf denen der Firstbalken *unga lap* lagert. Auf dem großen Firstbalken und den Längsramenbalken liegen die großen Innensparren *uóu*, die durch eine Diagonalpfette *eélobei* (s. Truk S. 219) in ihrer Lage gehalten werden.

Auf und über den Sparrenspitzen lagert die kleine obere Firststange *unga djik*. Auf den Sparren lagern ferner abwärts die Pfetten *gápangag*. Über denen sind wieder kleinere Außensparren *gath*, und über diesen ist die dritte Firststange *sogolemál*. An den Außensparren bindet man die Dachblätter *eás* an[1]. Auf den First oben kommen Kokosmatten *ung*, die mit Stäben *thóu* festgesteckt werden (Abb. 173).

Der Verandenvorbau *matál i im*[2] erfordert auch eine Dachverlängerung, ein Vordach *tíbau* (Lam. S. 89), Abb. 177.

Dafür wird der kleine Firstbalken *ungadjik* verlängert, und ebenso springen die Pfetten vor, oben weiter wie unten, wo der verlängerte aber viel dünnere Längsramen *likolog* recht klein ist. Deshalb sind auch hier die drei Außensparren *gath* (die Innensparren fehlen) unten recht eng nebeneinander, während sie oben weit voneinander abstehen. An den Enden des kleinen Firstbalken und der Pfetten ist eine Grenzlatte *eáfel*, und zwar gedoppelt, da sie die Enden der Hölzer von innen und außen durch einen Bund sichert; und stößt sie auf das Ende des *likilog*, das durch einen Pfosten *sur e likilog* unterstützt wird. Auf der Farbtafel 3 sieht man dies recht gut.

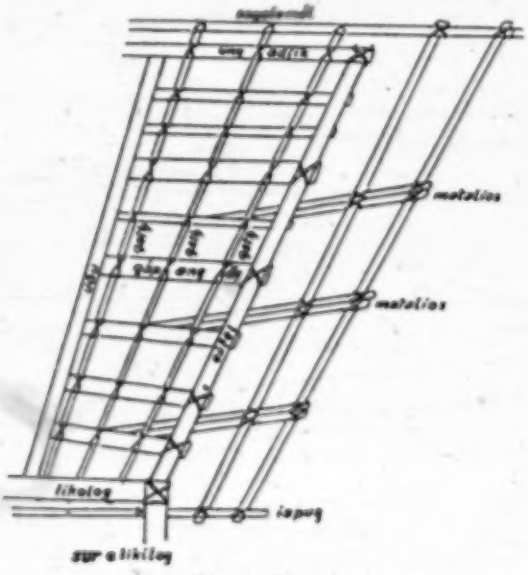


Abb. 177. Vordach.

Es wird aber noch eine Verlängerung angebracht, damit das Vordach recht weit ausladet, wie Abb. 177 es vortrefflich an den Boothäusern des Strandes zeigt. Da das Dachgerüst dadurch zu schwer würde, werden die Pfetten nicht mehr verlängert; statt ihrer nimmt man drei Paare von kurzen Stäben *matalios*, die man einfach an das bisherige Dach schräg so anbindet, daß ihre Enden nach oben zeigen. Man verbindet sie untereinander durch zwei sparrenartige auch *matalios* genannten, schon recht schief stehende Stangen, die oben an eine Verlängerung der obersten 3. Firststange *sogolemál* anstoßen, unten an die Stange *iapúg* (mit

[1] Meist aus Kokosfiedern, die nur 1 Jahr halten. Dach *tíalim*.
[2] vorne *matalim litamálle*, hinten *m. malatwolár*.

ɛaffiaiapug, wenn eine Randbegrenzung wie *dafal* vorhanden); sie liegt meist etwas tiefer als die *lihiog*. Ist die Veranda ganz abgedeckt, kielförmig, so heißen die verlängerten Längsramenbalken, hier beiderseits schief nach vorne springend und zusammenstoßend, *sɔgolɛi*.

Die Bodenramenstangen heißen alle *tā*. Jetzt steht die Firstspitze so weit vor, daß sie durch einen Pfosten in ganzer Haushöhe unterstützt werden muß, den

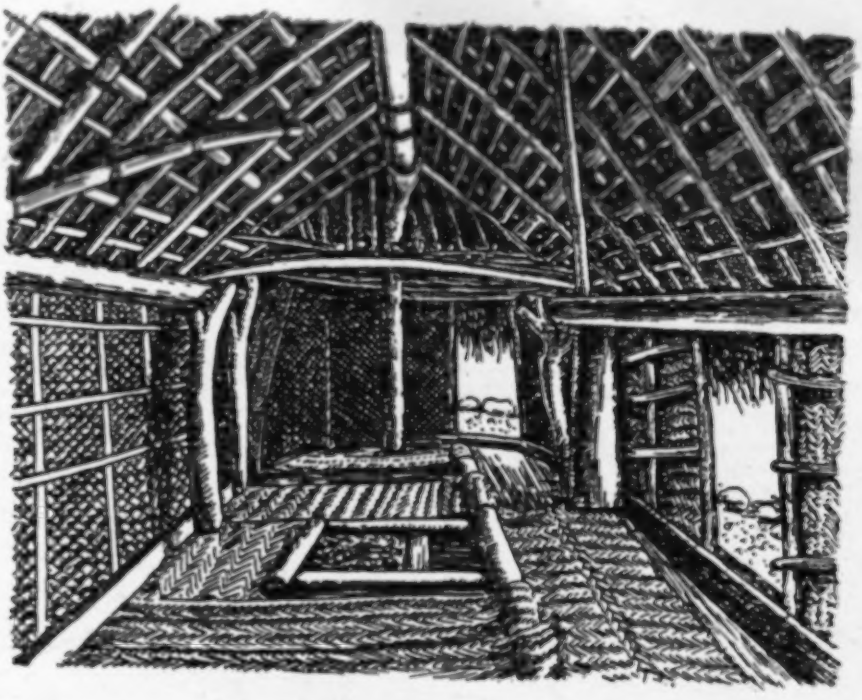


Abb. 178. Innenraum eines Nichtplankenhauses.

sur ɛ lungedjek (s. S. 252) Farbtafel 3 zeigt das Kulthaus offen, aber die Wohnhäuser abgedeckt. In die Deckung muß dann die Tür gemacht werden, durch zwei Türpfosten *thīg*, namentlich wenn kein Plankenraum vorhanden ist, wie Abb. 178 zeigt.

Die Plankentüre *pillat* (Türöffnung *gátam)* zeigt auf Feis eine recht gute Ausbildung Abb. 179. Oben hat sie einen Falz *djimal ɛ pillat*, und unten hat sie Schlaufen *talenga mālil*, in die ein Querstab *vángel* gesteckt wird. Es können 6 Türen in einem Haus sein, je 2 an der Giebelseite, und je 1 an der Traufenseite.

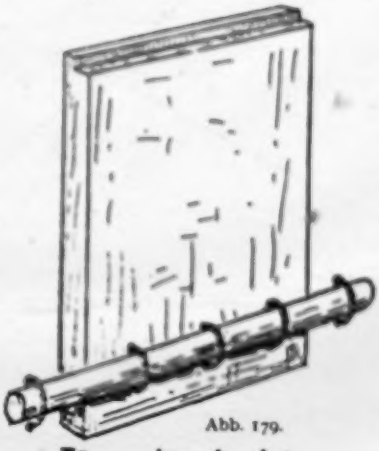


Abb. 179.

Türe djimalepilat

Beim Einsetzen der Giebelmatten *bing (gili)* (bei fehlendem Vordach) und Auflegen der Firstmatten *ung* werden besondere Gebräuche beobachtet.

Der Bauherr sagt zu seinen Leuten, sie sollen Essen bringen, denn er wolle einen *volevol*-Zauber machen[1]; und die Familie pflegt sich einzufinden.

Das bereitete Essen wird vor der Veranda auf die Erde gelegt. Der Herr macht eine Giebelmatte fest und sagt zu einem andern, er solle eine angezündete Blütenscheide *gäkal* bringen. Ehe dieser kommt, nimmt er einen *ĕar*-Zweig, schlägt mit ihm die Matte und singt:

go selĕ Lugéileng, Lugéileng	Bitte L. L. (S. 144).
valengăi imel'lĕ imei	mach glücklich dies Haus, mein Haus;
uĕthog mongai	es komme das Essen
uĕthog uállŭ	bringt junge Kokosnüsse,
uĕthog ig	bringt Fische
ngaliĕi vălei	für mich heute!

Darauf steckt er den Zweig an den Giebel, nimmt dem Bringer des Feuers dieses ab, und schwenkt es vor dem Giebel hin und her, damit die bösen Geister entweichen.

Dazu spricht er:

go selĕle gafief	Ich schwenke das Feuer nach links,	
mogotomĕi legafief	ich schwenke das Feuer nach rechts;	
gugŭ pără	grulender Donner	*par* Donner
gogŏ pară	grollender Donner,	
i ĕlemagĕi fefisegálodj	die bösen Geister gehen weg,	
ealusŭllu metál im ellĕ	die Geister im Giebel dieses Hauses.	*metál* sein Auge, Giebel.
i ĕlemagĕi fefisegálog malătamăi	die Geister im Giebel dieses Hauses, die kleinen Tiere,	d. h. ihr übles Gerede

[1] *i tolevolengai imue* ich mache Zauber *(volevol)* für dieses Haus s. S. 89, 107, 110, 151.

i llemagil fefisegálog mathpil die Geister im Giebel dieses Hauses, das Gerede *maipil* s. S. 359

thiolog ĕ thiolog ĕ thiolog geht weg, geht weg, geht weg!

Zuletzt bringt er das Feuer ins Haus zum Feuerplatz, wo das erste Feuer entzündet wird. Darauf wird die gelöschte *gaudí*-Blütenscheide Abb. 180 auch an den Giebel gesteckt. Dann folgt die Essensausteilung an Handwerker und Familie.

Abb. 180. Gebrannte Kokosblütenscheide.

Schnur zum Binden *gólogol*
Ofen *ûm*, Herd *lim*
Wand (Brett) *seŏáb*, *us* (Pandanuswurzel)
Steineinfassung des Vorplatzes *odjodj*, bestreut mit Korallengrus *vassémag* Abb. 173
Umzäunung *óror*
Schlafstelle *liliei* (mein...)
alle Plätze *giegi* (Truk S. 162 *fáng* heißt ein Wandbord in der Veranda s. S. 89 und 98).
Kopfstütze *lúlung*
Feuerfächer *félang* (Abb. 168)
Brunnen *djál*
Kehrichthaufen *bés*
Unkraut jäten *tartar volúel*.

c) Bootshäuser.

Die **Boothäuser** *fal* werden angeblich ohne Zauberhandlungen gebaut. Das Dorf Ilotóu liefert das Essen, während Ledjódjoi und Falióu die Bäume schlagen und das Holz bearbeiten. Die Schnur wird von allen dreien angefertigt. Nach der Vollendung macht Ilotou das große Essen *galiengáng*, das es den beiden andern zusendet.

Der Vorraum des Boothauses heißt *rágarag* Abb. 181. Auf dem Bild sieht man links den Querramenbalken *godjom* (Truk S. 220 *audjam*) auf dem Längsramenbalken lagern. Dazu kommt zur Verstärkung der im offenen Winde liegenden Häuser (Abb. 135) ein zweiter Ramen außen vom ersten mit dem Längsbalken *moth* und dem Querbalken *godjom e le moth*. Das Bootshaus vertritt hier das Männerhaus s. S. 359, 360.

d) Hausrat.

Beim **Hausrat** sei auf die quadratisch geformten **Herde** in den Wohnhäusern aufmerksam gemacht, und die Matten die den Kieselboden bedecken. Abb. 176 und 178.

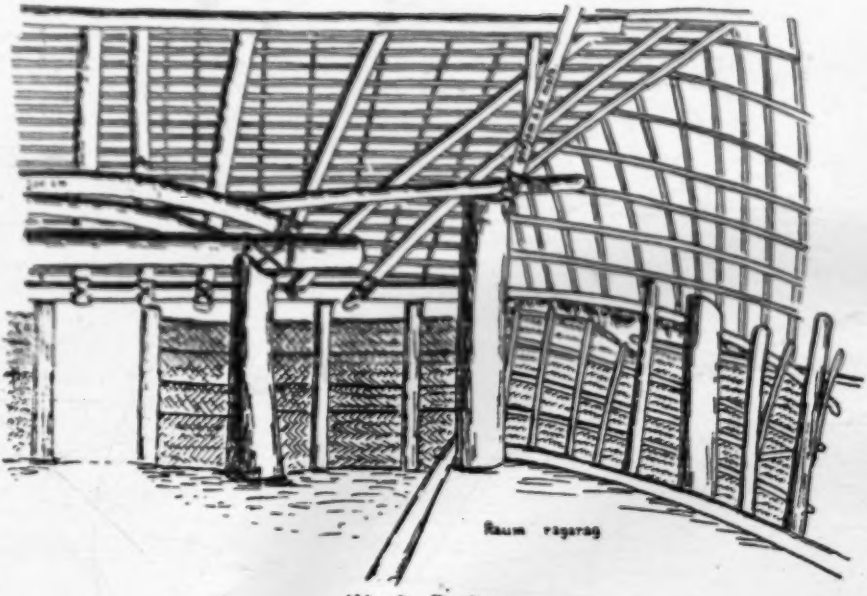


Abb. 181. Boothaus.

8. Boote.

Das Bild Abb. 135 zeigt die Hochseeboote *valivei*[1], wie sie von den frühern Inseln bekannt sind.

Die Gabelschwanzgallion (s. S. 149) wird hier *bar* genannt Yap *berur)*; auch als Schwanz des Fregattvogels *ataf* gedeutet.

Die Fischerboote haben auf dem Ausleger anstelle des *fáraf*-Brettes einen viereckigen Trog Abb. 182a (Truk S. 230) für die Fischleinen, Steine usw.

Luvwärts ruht er und ist begrenzt durch einen Querstab *varóro*, dessen über den Auslegerbalken *kio* hinausragenden Enden zum Tragen des Bootes dienen.

Luvwärts davon ist eine Gräting *eálau*[2], dann ist der Raum zwischen den *kio* offen, bis der Querstab *vasidjel* kommt, an den der innere Teil des Schwimmers *tham* angelascht ist. Die äußere Abdachung des *tham* hat auch einen Lochsteg, der mit dem äußeren Gabelpflock *láf* verschnürt ist (s. Abb. 182b); die beiden äußeren Pflöcke *láf* sind durch eine Stange *eólovei*[3] verbunden, damit sie feststehen,

[1] *ól* Boot, *vei* s. S. 159 Anm. 1.

[2] Luvgräting in Lamotrek *fáng*, s. S. 98; für die Ramung der Gräting hörte ich aber: Längshölzer *tilang ali feng*, winkelförmiges Querholz *ioi oli feng*.

[3] ...*vei* auf Abb. a ist Schreibfehler.

und ebenso geht von den beiden *kio* innerhalb von *vasidjel* je ein gebogener Stab *abidjé* herunter zu dem vorderen und dem hinteren Pflockpaar. Die Verschnürung heißt *tötö;* es sollen immer 6 Turen sein.

Das Ruder *fatuloilül* zeigt Abb. 182c.

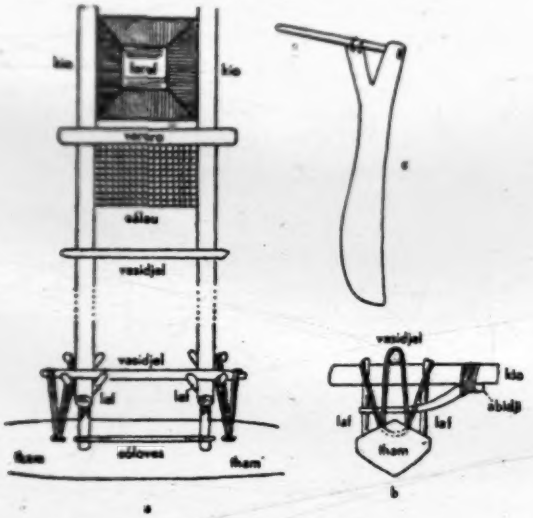


Abb. 182a—c. Ausleger.

Abb. 183. Zeremonialaxt.

Kiel	*bull*	Segel	*ui*
Planke	*bäb*	Steinanker	*limetag*
Ruderbank	*dö*	Ruder	*fatuloilül*
Paddel	*fáthelt*	Ösfaß	*gámat*

Kochstelle eine Kiste mit Steinen *faláng ali gap*
Matten zum Auffangen von Regenwasser und Bootbedecken am Strand *giegi*.
Schnürung des *kio* an der Leeseite *olotarao kio*
Verschnürung der Bootleibplanken *ëágoëóg*.

Bootbau.

Wie auf Lamotrek (S. 92), so wird auch auf Feis das Bootbehauen mit einer Zeremonialaxt *gï*, begonnen (Abb. 183 Kr. 122 : 29061I, 42 cm lang), die geschmückt ist mit Kokosfiederknoten. Der Stil *mol* wurde neu gefertigt von Lengálemar, dem Großvater des jetzigen Hausherrn von Dapirë (H. Nr. 21). Die Axt selbst von dessen Großvater Eálamathaü. Beim Bootbau wird erst mit dieser begonnen,

Abb. 184. Zauberbemalung.

unter Zaubersprüchen, dann darf mit andern Äxten gearbeitet werden. Die *uvuth*-Knoten (s. Lam. S. 154) werden immer neu gemacht, um die Ahnen gutzustimmen. Es gilt als heiliger Schmuck *volial*.

Folgendes ist ein Gebet, wobei der Sprecher einen Flecken mit Gelb oder Rot über die Nasenwurzel malt (Abb. 184, *rang ale pálui* genannt, da die Bemalung auch für die Schiffsführer *palui* zutrifft:

fariga malóm gel e Solang	Sei gütig du Solang	beide Götter S. 144
ma gel Lugēileng	und du Lugēileng	
go lovüē vāte i feléfāla.	Glück soll schnell kommen durch Behauen.	

volebu Glück, *petég* Geld, *fálafal* Behauen soll heißen: wenn das Boot fertig ist, soll es schnell gegen Geld verkauft werden, oder man soll mit ihm Glück haben z. B. auf See, durch Fang eines großen Fisches usw. Schon beim Maaß nehmen mit einer Zeremonialschnur *talúa* (E. Kr. *sölang*[1]) (Taf. 26 h Kr. 125 : 29091I) werden Gebete, ähnlich dem vorigen, gesprochen; sie ist rot gefärbt; gespannt und anschlagend hinterläßt sie einen Strich (s. Palau III S. 187). Gebetet wird, während sie, von 2 Leuten gehalten, liegt. Dann erst beginnt der erste Schlag mit der Zeremonialaxt.

[1] Wohl nach dem Gotte Solang s. o.

359

IV. Geistige Kultur.

1. Gesellschaft.

a) Familie *djolóp, djolebúgetal.*

Frau folgt dem Mann, aber Stellung der Frau sehr begünstigt. Mertens (Truk S. 451) erzählt, daß die Frauen scharf widersprachen, als die Männer beim Tauschhandel die schön geschmückten Matten weggeben wollten, worauf der Handel nicht zustande kam. Eine Verstimmung sei aber nicht daraus erwachsen. Sie kamen auch selbständig an Bord wie auf Oleai, ohne sich aber mit den Männern einzulassen.

Worte über Familie Nr. 612ff. (S. 402ff.).

Worte von E. Kr.: Geburt *fam*, Hilfe dabei *rékufath*, Helferinnen *djole gadjāū*, Nachgeburt *pai*.

Die Wöchnerin verweilt 10 Tage im Frauenhaus.

Es wird täglich vor dem Essen gebetet; ein Gebet *(maipil uedi* Ansprache meine) lautet:

agēle mele tamdi	An dich mein Vater,	*mde* Partikel? gestorben
agēle mele sillē	an dich meine Mutter,	s. Nr. 620ff. gestorben
agēle mele uithi	an dich mein Bruder,	gestorben
agēle mele mēangai	an dich meine Schwester,	wende ich mich; gestorben
go le vūaeēi	seid gut zu mir,	*isēolovú* ich finde; ihr macht mich gut.
go fanga tota vágalai	ihr gebt mir ein wenig Essen!	*go vo ngalēei tot gálei* ihr gebt mir ein wenig Essensteil!

Heirat *riri.* (Exogamie S. 318).

Versprechung schon sehr früh, die Kinder bleiben bei den Eltern. Beim Verspruch holen die Eltern des Knaben viele alte und junge Kokosnüsse, die Mutter der Braut bringt Bataten, Taro usw.; Auswechseln der Nahrung. Wenn das Mädchen zum erstenmal aus dem Bluthaus kommt, geht sie ins Haus der Männer und bleibt bei ihrem Verlobten. Nach 2—3 Tagen gehen sie ins Haus der Brauteltern, bleiben einige Tage dort, um dann ins Haus der Manneseltern zu ziehen. Nach 2—3 Monaten hat [illegible] ein kleines Haus für beide gemacht. Vorher geht der

junge Mann den Tag über ins Boothaus, und die junge Frau zu ihren Eltern. Im Boothaus schläft der Ehemann, wenn seine Frau im Bluthaus ist; dort schlafen auch die Junggesellen und Fremden.

Beschneidung s. Oleai S. 269.

Geburt *fam.*

In Hockerstellung. Alles hilft mit Zaubersprüchen und Arznei *rékufath*. 2—3. Helfer bei der Geburt; Hebamme *djole gadjâu*. Der Nabelstrang wird mitten gefaßt, auf das Kind zu abgestrichen, dort geknotet und mit Bambus abgeschnitten. Meist kommt die Frau im Wohnhaus nieder, geht dann mit dem Kind ins *imëlipël*, wo sie 10 Tage bleibt. Die Wöchnerin schläft viel, während ihre Mutter, oder eine nahe Verwandte, nach dem Kinde sieht. Das Kind bekommt erst Kokospreßmilch, erst nach ca. 12 Stunden die Brust.

Sippen.

Auf Feis wurden mir folgende Höfe (s. S. 312) als Sippen *ainang* genannt und zwar als große *lab*

1. Mataliefang H. 7
2. Iper H. 20
3. Faipar H. 32
4. Pëmathol H. 23
5. Dápirë H. 21

als kleine *vadjidj*

6. Limataefoi (Lematêfoi) H. 14
7. Faliou H. 13
8. Farërep (Berérep) H. 2
9. Faludj H. 10
10. Béior H. 4 u. 5
11. Thangadjik (Sangadjeg) H. 6
12. Falegúrugur H. 26
13. Uothol H. 27
14. Ilefal (Lífal H. 30 u. 31?)
15. Morodj H. 18
16. Bémai H. 33
17. Itérau H. 16

Während die Sippen von Oleai S. 86 noch deutliche Beziehungen zu Truk zeigen, wenigstens 2 —3 von den 6 noch zu Truk gehören, hören auf Feis die östlichen Beziehungen hierin völlig auf. Die Gebundenheit der Sippen an die Höfe erinnert an ähnliche Bildungen, die *klebliil* auf Palau, wie Palau III S. 260 und 359ff. zu sehen. Auf **Ululsi** und **Yap** sollen folgende Sippen vorhanden sein:

Fasülüs *laṗ* = Yap Bëbinau
Lomerui *laṗ* = Yap Marelo
Falemei *laṗ* ..... Bëbinau
Lómadag *laṗ* ..... Bëbinau
Falegalau *laṗ* .... Bëbinau
Lugofälü *vadjidj* .. Márelo
Falegiiifei *vadjidj* . Mëriung

b) Häuptling *tamól*.

Er hält auf Ordnung, sorgt z. B. auch dafür, daß keine zu jungen Früchte geerntet werden, um die Ernährung auf der Insel zu sichern. Das Graben der Pfeilwurz ordnet er an (s. S. 332). In Wirklichkeit gehört das Land alles dem Inefel in Gadjabar (s. S. 345). Als Häuptlingstabu = *ealól tamól* gelten:

Niemand soll stehlen.
Niemand soll andere Leute schlagen.
Niemand soll Fischkörbe nehmen, außer auf des Häuptlings Geheiß.
Wenn er Fischen anordnet, geht alles trotz Wind und Wetter.
Was er sagt, wird ausgeführt.
Kokostabu kann er nicht machen, weil sonst alles stürbe.
Stärke *(mogemog)* ist tabu für Fischer und Seefahrer.

Der Oberhäuptling von Ledjodjoi gilt als Vater der Dorfschaft; von Tulei hieß es: Tulei *tamer re* Ledjodjoi, Tulei *eámi tamól pálling* = T. ist Vater von L., T. ist euer Großhäuptling.

c) Recht.

Erbrecht *mál*[1].
Totschlag *livémés*[2].
leihen *ivagási* *isagatafálithog*
ich nehme ich gebe zurück.

Beschimpfung *sik*:	*djábil e vuriel sil*	Arschbacken seiner Mutter[3]!
	beága sillom	Kot deiner Mutter!
	go vō	du stinkst!

Vergeltung durch Wiederbeschimpfung; bei Schlägen verhindern die Anwesenden s. S. 116.
Ehebruch *berafangali*.

d) Krieg *maul*.

Immer Frieden *siagamál*.
Freund *marierēi*.

---

[1] *sames tamei i saimeli imal, go saimeli.*
tot Vater, es gehört mir sein Haus; du erbst.
[2] *li* Schlag, z. B. *li bavuilavémes* Schlage das Schwein tot.
[3] s. A. Kr. Hawaii, Ostmikronesien und Samoa S. 320 und 336.

e) Tod und Bestattung.

Die Gräber sind bei den Häusern, s. Plan 13. Abb. 185 zeigt, wie die Einfriedigung mit Korallenplatten geschieht (s. auch Taf. 23c). Dies z. B. bei Haus Falekil Nr. 19.

Aufnahme von E. Kr. nach Beobachtung (s. Abb. 186): Der Tote lag in einem Wohnhause auf einer groben und einer feinen Matte, etwa 7—8 Frauen um ihn herum. Sein Gesicht und seine Brust waren mit Streifen von rotem Reng (Gelbwurz) bemalt. Eine alte und zwei junge Frauen waren damit beschäftigt, unter einer großen rot gefärbten, feinen Trukmatte den After und die Harnröhre mit kleinen Gelbwurzstücken zu verstopfen. Erst reinigten sie die Gegenden mit

Abb. 185. Grab mit Steinplatten.

Kokoshüllen, stopften dann ein und bemalten auch die Umgebung. Dann wurde dem toten Manne eine schön rot durchschossene Matte mit prächtigen Mustern nach Mogemog-Art umgelegt und darüber kam eine feine Frauenmatte, darauf ein *táral*-Gürtel (s. S. 37, 225); ums Haar eine Halskette aus blauen Glasperlen, von E. Kr. gestiftet, ein kleiner grüner Kranz, und ins Haar ein Kamm mit mehreren schwarzen und weißen Federn, mit rot und einem Federbeleg nach Trukart umwunden (Truk Taf. 14b). Der Körper der Leiche wurde mit hellerem gelben Reng eingerieben und mit einer kleinen Matte[1] umhüllt, wobei der Oberkörper aufgerichtet ist. Die große gröbere Matte zu unterst bleibt dabei geöffnet. Er sitzt in der Hausveranda und wird dort betrauert. Eine Frau fing einen Gesang an unter Heulen und Jammern; alle fielen dann im Takt mit ein ...·/...·, im Viervierteltakt in kleiner Terz, das letzte Viertel in den Grundton zurückfallend. Zeitweise sangen sie mehrstimmig in kleinen Terzen; viele hatten Tränen in den Augen.

[1] Totenmatte aus Pandanus heißt *mogós*.

Darauf wurde noch viel Reng gestreut, auf die Beine, auf die hinteren Teile eine mißfarbene grauweiße Art, wohl ein Rückstand. Schließlich wurden grobe Matten fest um die Leiche gelegt, dann trugen die Frauen das Bündel zum Grabe, das, von Frauen begonnen, von Männern vertieft worden war, Taf. 25a, b, während die Frauen um die Leiche saßen. Dann wurde sie ins Grab gelegt, den Kopf

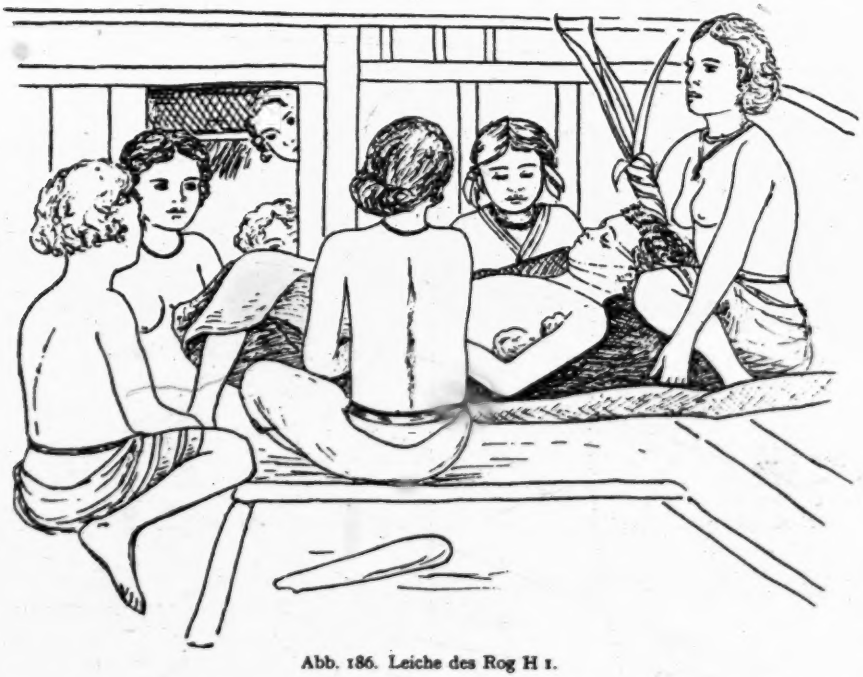


Abb. 186. Leiche des Rog H 1.

nach Osten. Als Beigabe legt man Körbe, Matten, Reng usw. auf das Bündel, dann wurde Erde darauf geworfen und festgetreten. Ein kleiner Grabhügel wurde gemacht und auf ihn eine Steinplatte gelegt, Grabhütte Taf. 25c. Dies geschah zwischen Dorf und Strand, wo ein kleiner Friedhof war. Danach Erbteilung Taf. 25d.

Ein Totengesang lautet:

1. *ibo tangidjek*	Ich will bei dir weinen,	
lai ʃēgē(rē) iĕlog	ich bin traurig	*isaʃogor* traurig
sari uĕ raruiĕmāl	darüber, und zwei Jünglinge,	

	marĕ thĕ veiĕlog	du gehst mit ihnen in den Grund.
5.	*thithoe limesel*	Du weißt nichts mehr,
	remĕi regăróp	wir legen dich hin
	rĕolóp ĕ biĕrép	und füllen Erde auf dich,
	rogói li sĕua	zwei Mann in einem Grab,
	ma sóual li ſagoiál	die zwei sind auch nicht vergessen,
10.	*dji ĕ mamĕ*	und nun stirbst auch du;
	i lo tangidjek	ich will weinen
	ĕ lo tangidjek ſangáng	ich will weinen, ich!

f) Tanz und Fest.

Tanz *varug* scheint nur gemacht zu werden, wenn der Häuptling Tulei von Yap heimkehrt; dann findet auch ein kleines Essen statt.

Der Tanzschmuck *vuliágedj* besteht in der Hauptsache aus jungen Kokosfiedern *úvuth* (S. 154). Tanzplatz am Sandstrand.

Ein Tanz, der zum Spiel überleitet, ist der Handschlagtanz[1] *gadjúedju*. Ich habe hier den Text des Gesanges durch wiederholte Aufnahme besonders genau aufnehmen können, so daß er als zuverlässig gelten darf. Als ich ihn in dieser Fassung mit erhobener Stimme vor dem Mitteiler Rong vorlas, rief er wiederholt *e álus, e álus* aus, also „ein Dämon", was ungefähr den Sinn von Hexerei hat. Der Text wird gern von Frauen beim Kettenscheren S. 343 gesungen. Das Lied soll im Traume durch einen *álus* vermittelt worden sein.

1.	*lemóu alí uĕrái*	Möchte meine Haut schön wie *mou*-Blätter sein,	*mou* gelb aussehend, schön wie brauner Mann.
	samalú palú padjăg	blendend wie Feuer	
	savangaĭr e alus	oder wie die dämonische Tatauierschwärze	*sávang* schwarz s. S. 327
	ĕ aga pethŏlong mesigidj	mit Öl eingerieben,	*loi* Öl, *mesigidj* einschmieren
5.	*sagai thĕréng alliol*	bemalt mit Reng wie Sonne;	*iol* = *eal* Sonne

[1] Auf Butaritari *dágauburs* genannt und beschrieben, A. Kr. 1906 S. 322; s. S. 366.

sagátaguluiëthāg	auf der Wange gedreht,	*tebal* seine Wange, *sagatagul* mit Rengstück Kreis auf Wange drehen.
legaúthĕp ĕ mángudj ,	die Wange noch glatt.	*legauth* Wange, *mángudj* glatt, *mĕrĕrei* jung mit glatter Haut.
taugesoródj thī	Am Morgen kommt der Dämon und betört die Leute,	
a udjegoiáng le móirudj	er hat Curcuma in der Hand	*iúngedjik* Art Curcuma.
10. *ie melóm mesí módj*	er reibt alle Leute damit ein[1], und pflanzt sie dann.	der Mann träumt, er möchte schön sein; der *alus* macht ihn schön und blendet die Leute.

Die Übersetzung dauerte 2 Stunden, weil die Eingeborenen meist nur den Sinn angeben, die Bedeutung der Worte aber nicht anzugeben wissen; schuld waren auch heftige Böen, die unterbrechend wirkten.

Tanzgesänge von E. Kr. notiert, ohne Übersetzung.

a taga hōi thul illülóngo
ilüngĕ pa lügatára
uatsaró uagiłji móalla
uatja vulavulach

g) Spiele.

Spielen *kokom*, ringen (2 Jungen) *adada*, verstecken *ika móllomoll*
Schwirrer junges Kokosblatt *kaborthór* (Yap *mareríu*).
Fadenspiel *thīb*.
Ballspiel *lim*, *pik* (Abb. 187), Windrad *igadjodjo* 4 strähnig.

Abb. 187. Ball.

Spielboot *gabelór*, *oā le tétereg;* als Segel dient meist ein Taroblatt; mit Haus *oā ie kokom* (Kr. 164).

Drachen *gadjáig* aus großem Brotfruchtblatt (Abb. 159 Kr. 167 = 295011 Länge 71 cm) auch zum Fischen.

Kinderwebstuhl (Kr. 210 = 299211) Abb. 188; ein Kleiner wedelt die Stechmücken fort.

[1] Damit sie vor Angriffen anderer *alus* sicher sind.

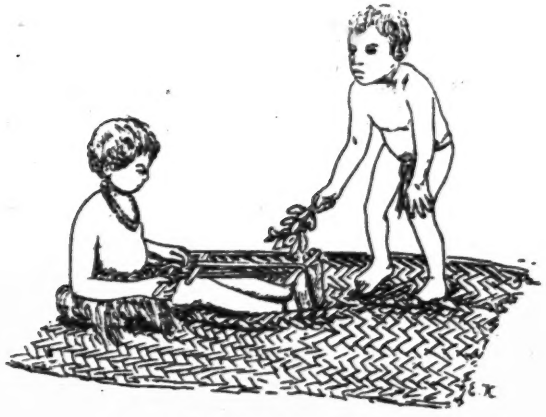


Abb. 188. Webestuhl.

Handklatschspiel (2 gegenüber) *kamath* (S. 364), bald eigene Brust mit einer Hand, dann Knie, dann Hand des Gegenüber, dann Brust gegenüber; dabei eintönig gesungen ein Lied, das obscön schien:

maiółl, lagímarêre, oáth thabola gau pessédj
ia long alengaliédjog iá lathō uá falū
gĕ lĕttĕ sĕilepos iĕl le goug maliethó
alle mó godjú talēth iaremóa le loguoi
missió lüê fallū iél a thōūa idjidj
a le hēng a i tamółl nētje moê marûe ma
nga e uille daggí sēuotj *sase* = fertig!

varüch ist auch ein unzüchtiger Tanz (s. *varug* Tanz S. 364)

Mondscheinspiele *kokomolepi*.

Eingraben in Sand *gallevēg; alleuá* Häufchen machen und Steine verstecken, Löcher in den Sand machen *assevussu, lios* Bild eines Menschen usw.

Ein Zählspiel *so a so* geschieht in folgenden Anordnungen:

. *so*	. *so a so*
. . *a so*	. . *iĕ therü*
. . .	. . . *a i ell*
. . . .	. . . . *i fang* Zahlen S. 411—12
. . . . .	. . . . . *alim*
. . . . .	. . . . . *auoll*
. . . . .	. . . . . *avis*
	. . . . . *iuéll*
	. . . . . *ithiu*

2. Wissenschaft.

a) Navigation.

Die Feisuner treiben selbst keine Hochseefahrt, sondern lassen sich von denen aus Mogemog abholen, wenn sie nach Westen fahren wollen.

Dies kam so: Eongelap (s. S. 144, 279) sagte zu den Leuten von Mogemog: Wenn ihr nach Hause kommt und weiter nach Osten fahrt, findet ihr einen Platz namens Feis. Die Leute dort kennen noch weitere Plätze im Osten.

Als die Mogemog-Leute zu Hause angekommen waren, fuhren sie bald darauf nach Osten, nach Feis. Von hier holten sie 3 Leute ab und nahmen auch Tabak,

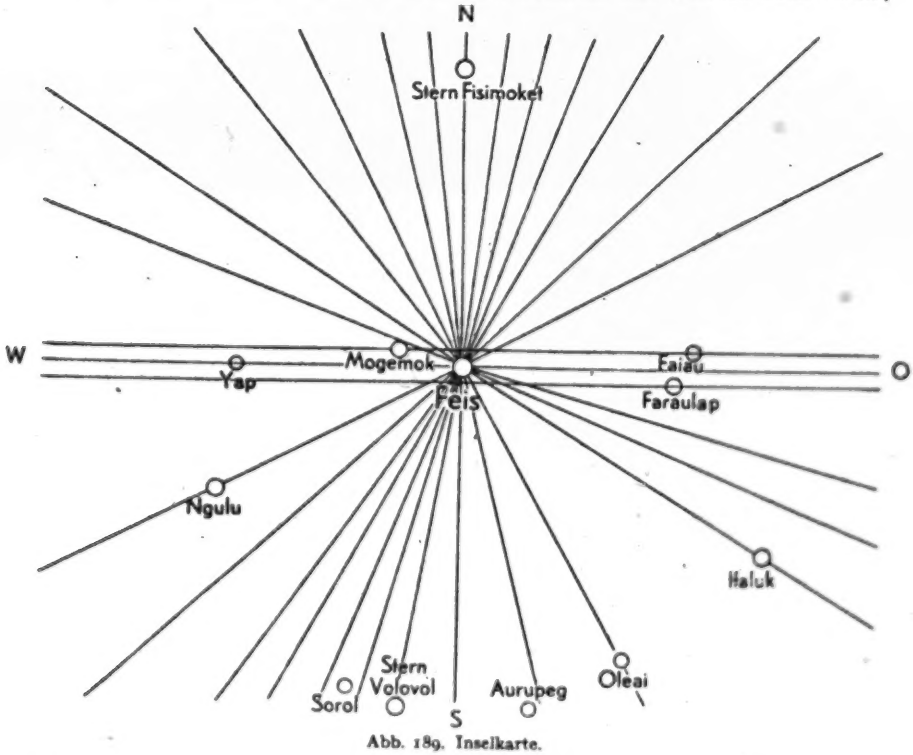


Abb. 189. Inselkarte.

Schnur usw. mit. Dann fuhren sie zurück nach Lósiop[1], blieben dort 2 Monate, fuhren dann wieder nach Feis, wo sie 2 Monate blieben, und dann endlich zurück nach Mógemog; beim Abschied sagten sie zu den Feisuanern: „Kommt nicht selbst nach Mógemog, und fahrt auch nicht nach Yap, das ist unsere Sache". Deshalb geschah es nicht.

[1] Hauptinsel des Nebenatoll im SO. Mógemog war jetzt Vorort.

Nach 4 Monaten kamen die Mogemogleute mit 2 Booten nach Feis, nahmen 20 Feisuaner nebst Schnur, Kokosnüssen, Tabak usw. mit nach Mogemog, blieben dort 2 Monate, um dann alle zusammen nach Yap zu fahren, wo sie 5 Monate blieben und dann von den Yapern Gelbwurz, Kämme, Schildpatt, Töpfe, Feuerstein usw. erhielten, womit sie zusammen nach Mogemog zurückkehrten. Von da fuhr alles zusammen nach 2 weiteren Monaten nach Feis, von wo die Mogemogleute nach 2 Monaten allein heimfuhren. So blieb es immer. Auch Oleai, das früher direkt nach Mogemog kam, wurde auf Feis verwiesen. Dahin brachten sie früher

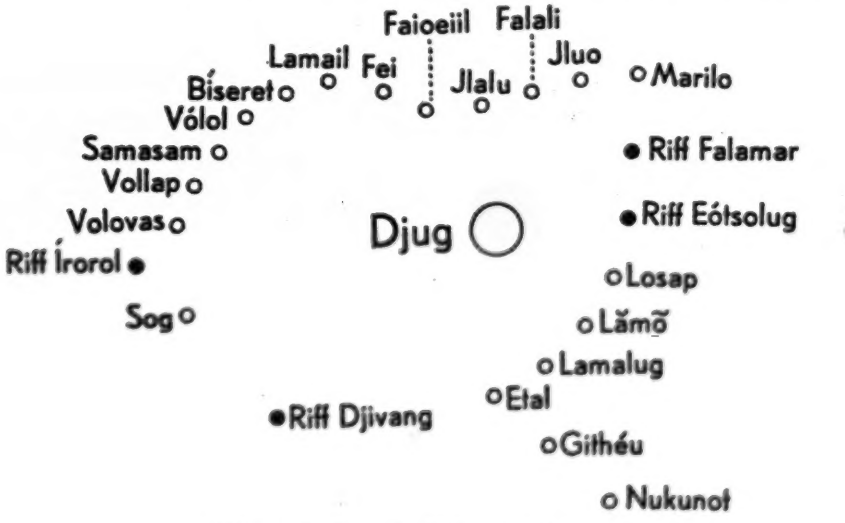


Abb. 190. Inselkarte der Rüebong auf Yap.

ihre Waren und fuhren dann wieder heim. Jetzt warten sie dort auf die Rückkehr der Mogemogleute.

Alles dies deutet sehr darauf hin, daß die Fahrt nach Osten, nach Oleai und Lamotrek seit alters geübt wurde. Aus neuerer Zeit deutet die Fahrt des Sopi und Meireg auf Hochseefahrt hin, wie das Haus 24b in Lamotrek zeigt (s. S. 27).

Lúluei als Gott der Seefahrt ist schon oben S. 150 erwähnt; für Feis im besonderen in Gesch. 3 S. 383. Luluei, Maselēlau, Alumalesí werden als die Söhne des Kulung und der Ilegafasí von Potlap (oder Póloat ?) ausgegeben; ferner die übrigen Seeschrate, die in Gesch. S. 384 verzeichnet sind. Vorieng und Faludj erscheinen mit Lúluei zusammen in den Janusköpfen der Sturmzauber (s. S. 271).

Trotzdem die Feisuner wenig Hochseefahrt betrieben, sind ihnen doch die Lagen der Inseln bekannt, zu denen sie gelegentlich segeln (s. Lamotrek Sopi S. 27). Ihre Karte Abb. 189 zeigt dies. Im Süden haben sie wie auf Lamotrek den

Stern *vólovol*, im Norden den *fisimagut*[1] (Truk S. 302 *fusamókit* Polarstern); im nördlichen Teil liegt keine Insel, wie es sich richtig verhält. In der Mitte sind drei gleichlaufende Linien; auf der nördlichen liegt, nach Westen zu, Mogemog, auf der mittleren Yap; Ngulu liegt westsüdwestlich; im Süden, ein wenig westlich gerückt, Sorol, südsüdöstlich Aurepik, südöstlich Oleai; nur Ifaluk, das ja nahe bei Oleai liegt, ist etwas zu weit nach Osten angesetzt, und Fáraulap zu weit nach Norden, da es auf der südlichen der 3 Linien liegt, während es in Wirklichkeit ein wenig südlicher liegt. Man sieht also, daß die Feisuner im Westen und Süden besser Bescheid wissen als im Osten, wo sie nur für Oleai Interesse haben. Im ganzen ist auch ihre, der Feisuner, Ortskenntnis überraschend.

Im folgenden wird ein Verzeichnis der mir auf Feis als bekannt genannten Inseln gebracht, zugleich zum Vergleich meine Angaben auf Yap, die durch ein Kärtchen von Ruebong begleitet sind. Abb. 190.

Fremde Inseln.

Feis sagt: (im Osten)	Feis (im Westen)	Yap sagt:	Yap
1. Uluthi (Mogemog)	Eáp[2]	1. Ugoi	Uáp
2. Fais	Ngólui (Ngulu)	Uéiei	Ngulú
3. Voléé	Báloi (Palau)	Anangai	Vaiau
4. Soról	Sóngodjoi	Sorol	
5. Eórepig (Aurupég)	Merír	Jórepik	
6. Ifálug	Bul	Fálug	
7. Fodjólep (Fároilap)	Kathógobei (Tobi)	Fatsúlap	
8. Elaf (Elato)	Marianen: Mareáles	Jeláth	
9. Faiéu	(Guam),	Feiau	
10. Lamodjek	Sáipän, Lutä (Rota)	10. Namorek	
11. Sósaval (Sétoval)	Sépin s. S. 346	Sáthovan	
12. Pólovat	Djiliol, Ival	Volovas	
13 Sóg	Lalomákel (bei Saipan)	Sóg	
15. Támatham	Baraiol	Samasam	
14. Pollap	Létal	Vollap	
16. Fáladjik	Akerigai	—	
17. Vólol (Onóun)	Pägang	Volol	
18. (Ualálu)	Besáret	Ilalu Bíseret	
19. Lamóil (Námoin)		Lamail	
20. Fáiovál		20. Faiochil	
21. a Thó		—	
22. Mákor		—	

[1] So schon Kotzebue III S. 63 für Oleai *fisimogodigit*.
[2] Ein Yapmann auf Feis sagte Réiap.

Feis sagt: (in Osten)	Yap sagt:
23. Falálu	23. Falálĭ
24. Rúŏ	24. Iluo
—	25. Márilo
—	26 Riffe Falamar
—	27. Eótsolug
28. (Losap)	28. Losap
29. (Nama)	29. Lámŏ
30. (Lukunór)	30. Nukunot
31 (Satoan)	31. Githéu
32. (Etal)	32. Etal

Antreibungen *mel'log*.

Etwa um 1855 kam ein Europäerboot bei N-Wind aus Süden von Malaro (Menado?); es zerbrach auf dem Riff; die 4 Leute nahm Tulei in ein Haus, wo sie etwa ein Jahr lebten, bis sie ein Schiff nach Yap mitnahm. Die Namen der Leute waren Mangilo, Sivalav, Kabuésang und ein kleiner Láo. Es waren Malaien. Saumar erinnerte sich noch; sie sagten für alte Kokosnuß *mango*, für junge *brinka*.

Monate

Wie auf den andern Inseln, ist die Monatsangabe nicht festsitzend; die Angaben schwanken.

1. *tothŏ* NO-Wind Nov.
2. *lăg*
3. *giii* NO kommt.
4. *ŭl*
5. *iĭliŏl* NO wechselnd, auch Ostwind.
6. *măl* SO.
7. *idj* SO.
8. *serávol* Wind geht überall herum; Juni, Juli. Zeit für Reise nach Mogemog s. S. 332.
9. *eramălas* Ostwind wechselnd.
10. *thúmur* Ostwind.
11. *maidjuk* SW.
12. *mailap* SW., September, Oktober; Mogemog kam früher um diese Zeit nach Feis, um den Tribut zu holen (s. Handel).

Sterne *fis.*

Von Lamotrek nach Oleai *mailaṗ*, von Oleai nach Feis *mâl.*

a) *túmur*
mailaṗ
dliol
sárebol
matárei
tagalúṗ
madjemélet
vólžvol

b) *madjemeitol*
tubulúṗ
tubulemetári
tubutúmur
tubusárevol
tubulioliél
tubulemâlaṗ

c) *tubulûl*
tubulemagéreger
tubulemöl
tubuliegelig
tubulûelõgo

d) *tubumailapélejang*
fisimágut
thagalimâlaṗ dlejang
tagal uelõgo
tagaliegelig
tagali mön
tagali magéreger
tagalûn
tagalimâlap

b) Medizin.

tomai Krankheit.
masélepik die Erkältungskrankheiten mit Fieber.
thepelamdi kein Appetit.
mathakalú bodj Brustschmerz.
mathágil tagurúi Schmerz im Rücken.
mathágil tiei Schmerz im Bauch (mein)
mathágil djimei Schmerz im Kopf (mein)
gilesobóu Ringwurm
mãrágus Framboesie und Lues.
Wunde *sáoes.*
kein Kaiserschnitt.
!ôtafi Medizinmann, *tafi* Arznei.

Arzt sagt: *toaiog i vofari vêoveres*
nicht ich will tun Schmerz *(vâreg* Schmerz)
maipil (Ansprache) des Tulei bei *masélepig:*

faragamalom	Róngola
méongalap	und Eóngalap,
gogadjie maselepik e lê	nehmt weg das m. da
nûle faliñ	von meinem Land!

Bei der Krankheit eines Häuptlings setzt die Hilfe *(regadjâû)* der Familie *règabóng* ein. Sein Platz gibt ein großes Essen *(eagil tamól)*, zu dem jeder etwas beisteuert.

Eine Bombilla kommt vor, das Absaugen der Arznei mit einem Rohr *sir*. Die *iliil*-Ranken werden ohne Blätter mit Kokoswasser zusammen gekaut, das Flüssige mit dem Rohr von der Mutter abgesogen, und dem Kind in den Mund gespien.

Perversitäten.

Wie allenthalben, gut bekannt:

(Coitus	*fei)*	Cunnilingus	*magángi, godjodj*[1]
Sadismus	*isasig*	Päderastie	soll fehlen
Fellare et irrumare	*sumusum*	Onanie	*siresir*

3. Religion.

a) Gottheiten, Kult.

Élulap wohnt im Himmel im Haus Falromál[2] (S. 144) oder Fáramal, das so groß ist, daß jedes Dorf 1 Zimmer hat und wo es viel zu essen gibt; er hat einen Sohn Lugeileng, dessen Sohn Jélefath heißt; dieser weist auf Yap I S. 307 bis 316 hin, wo er als Yélafadj erscheint, und im Haus Masanepáu wohnt (S. 313). Der Sohn des Yélafadj, der kleine Jelefath, ist der Olefat (S. 148); vgl. z. B. Yap S. 695.

Jélefath lebt im Himmel und ist nach anderer Angabe der Bruder von Saulal, der S. 144 als der Bruder von Alúelap gemeldet wurde; die Mutter von Jélefath und Saulal ist Jóural[3], die bei Saulal in der Tiefe wohnte; sie ist einmal eine Koralle (Fungia), dann ein Schwein oder ein Fisch. Der *alus se tel* (S. 51, 170) Saulal wohnt in einem Riffhaus als die Muräne *lábuth*; ißt man sie, so schwillt einem der Bauch an; auch sein Vater, der in Ilol in der Tiefe wohnt, gilt als solche.

Noch ein anderer Sohn von Élulap wird hier genannt, Róngola, den schon Kotzebue S. 57 und 128 als Rongala, den Gott von Feis *(é alus ule Feis)* genannt hat und mit Engalap, dem von Ulea befreundet. Ich hörte, er habe zwei Frauen, Lagasilang und Lemarêleng, beide von Feis stammend, und zwar die erste vom Hof 21 Dapirê und die andere von Hof 27 Uóthol.

Mit ihnen lebte er im Geisterhaus *bogot alê alus* (H. 7 u. 10 S. 314). Hier in Ledjodjoi war auch der Platz Gádjabuth, wo ein *fâng*-Gerüst Abb. 191 von den 3 Dörfern erbaut worden war, als Opfertisch für den Gott von Feis, *é alus ule* Feis

[1] Besonders auf Olosi an den Labia minora.

[2] Yap I S. 313: Fólrómán Clubhaus im Himmel, daneben S. 310: »Das Himmeldorf besitzt auch ein *pitsi* (Clubhaus), welches Foroman heißt«, ohne Wände; südlich von ihm ein Haus Fotsakomán. Lugeilings Tochter Nimegai (s. hier S. 144) heiratet den Yelafath (auf Yap).

[3] sou Palau „unter". S. 377 *sal* Tag.

Röngola. Wie die Abb. zeigt, ist es ein vierfüßiges Gestell, um einen Baum herum, auf dessen Platte die Opfergaben niedergelegt werden. Der Oberhäuptling Tulei z. B. hatte hier Gaben niedergelegt, damit er gute Ansprachen *maipil* habe; aber auch zur Abwehr von Taifunen, für Gedeihen der Früchte usw. sollten solche Opfer dienen. Neben dem *fäng*-Gestell, auch *fäng ä lieliss* von E. Kr. genannt, befand sich ein Steinsitz *(fäng a fas)* aus 3—4 Steinplatten, also senkrechte Pfeiler mit einer Platte darauf, zum Sitzen, damit der Gott von da aus seine ihm geweihten Gaben betrachten könne (vgl. Yap Taf. 68[3] und 69[2]). An einigen größeren Steinpfeilern sah man, daß hier früher ein Haus gestanden hatte, wohl ähnlich wie auf Lamotrek usw. Der etwa 60jährige Rong (Haus Nr. 29) konnte sich aber nicht erinnern, hier ein solches noch gesehen zu haben.

Abb. 191. Opferplatz.

Róngola kam einst vom Himmel nach Feis, blieb aber nur kurze Zeit dort, weil er nach Bur und Melfel wollte, wohin er denn auch fuhr, und nach 2—3 Monden wiederkehrte.

Er hat nichts wesentliches geleistet, sagte nur, man solle ihm seine Gaben auf den *fang* legen. Seine Frauen begleiteten ihn oft auf seinen Reisen; als sie starben, flogen ihre Seelen in den Himmel.

Lugeileng's Zimmermann ist Sēlang (s. S. 149), der die Boote und Häuser baut; er zeigte den Leuten von Ngulú und denen von Modj (Bd. 6 I S. 23) wie Haus, Boot und Deckelschüsseln gemacht werden, wofür er Gelbwurzpulver *reng* und Essen erhält. Ngulu zeigt es Yap, Yap zeigt es Mogemog, diese den Feisunern und diese den Oleaileuten; Modj aber zeigt es Póloat, Pollap usw.

Als jetziges heiliges Haus kann Nr. 10 Faludj gelten, in dem der Priester Molodédjeg wohnt. Das Aquarell (Farb. Taf. 3) zeigt es im Schmuck, wie wir es fanden, mit den 2 Booten *góal*[1] im Giebel (Abb. 192)

Abb. 192. Geisterboot.

[1] Gallion hier *mafilaf* »sein Auge« nach Iélafath, s. Truk S. 240.

Kr. 129 = 29131 Länge 76 cm) und den hölzernen Handkorb *votau* (Abb. 193 Kr. 193 = 29151 Länge 58 vcm Höhe 13, Breite 11 cm)[1]. Das Stück ist das Original vom Zauberhaus, das Moloaëdjeg erst herausgab, nachdem er ein Ersatzstück angefertigt hatte.

Abb. 193. Hölzerner Weihekorb, r. von unten.

Über die Bedeutung dieser Gegenstände hörte ich nur, daß Tangiol, der Großvater des Moloaëdjeg, einen Traum gehabt habe, in dem ihm Jelefath (s. o.) den Auftrag gegeben habe, die Stücke anzufertigen. Weiteres hörte ich auf Feis nicht.

Einiges steht aber zur Erklärung in Yap S. 316, wo Yelafádj einen Korb und einen Weiberschurz anfertigt, letzterer zur täuschenden Bekleidung (Yap S. 675 u. S. 685, 695). Was der Korb bedeutet, geht aber aus der Geschichte nicht hervor. Es bleibt die Frage offen, ob er einen Männerkorb darstellt, wie ihn z. B. jeder Palauer bei sich trägt; dieser heißt aber *tet* oder *tet ulóik* (Palau III S. 139), die Schnurkörbe *seu;* es handelt sich hier aber um einen *votau*, der schon von Truk S. 174 bekannt ist, und von den Koralleninseln Bd. 6 I S. 61, 179, 224, 265, und hier S. 69.

Das Wort ist also rein zentralkarolinisch und so auch die Mythe von Yap. Der Zweck des Korbes kann aber auch sein die Kokosnüsse einzufüllen, die der kleine Yelafádj aus seiner Vorhaut löst (Yap S. 316); dies ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich.

Endlich ist auch über die beiden Boote am Giebel nichts näheres bekannt. Aber der Name *gáoal* (Truk S. 239 *eávan, éavöl* usw.) und die Halbmondgallionen zeigen das gleiche Boot Truk S. 240 und Taf. 28; S. 334 dort ist die Gesch., wie Ólefat, also der kleine Yélafadj, das Geister-Boot schuf. Die sonstigen Weihegaben für den Gott an Blütenkränzen und Matten zeigt Farb. Taf. 3; das rote Tuch bezieht sich möglicherweise auf Yap S. 661. Links hängt auch ein Tritonshorn (s. o. Taf. 4c u. 10c).

Seele *ngoll*.

Schatten	*eóngol*
Gespenst	*ngolemór*
Traumgesicht	*thál*
Zauberei	*vólevol, tangdvang*
Wahrsagung	*sullé*

[1] Ornamente, an der Seite Haizähne *ngileboqou*, durch Linie *djal* getrennt; am Boden die Fransen des Korbes *faregeyil e* [illegible]*tals* (Abb. 167).

Beispiel: *djodjo sullē vel barēōe garoovūthog igela, gar toai vuthog*
Du wahrsage für Boot, ob es kommt jetzt, oder nicht kommt.
ivē sullē ich wahrsage
mommi vēvē es ist gut geworden.

b) Zauber *vōlevol* und *vangēvang* (S. 151); **Orakel.**

was auf Yap *madjemadj*, wird hier *tāpetōp* genannt.
Liebeszauber *vangevang ele ſāeſel.*
Fischzauber *vangēvang ele ig, djib eri ig.*
Hauszauber *volevol l'im.*
Ein großes Amulett zeigt Abb. 137.

Das bekannte Losorakel (s. Bd. 6 I S. 110 *boē*), hier *madjemadj sūluvē* genannt, stimmt in seinem Namen in der Hauptsache mit den westlichen Inseln überein. Auf Yap S. 374 heißt es *vei* (s. S. 143[1], 159[1]). Die Namen für die Knotenpaare sind nach den Angaben auf Feis den Seegeistern entnommen, die alle in einem Boot, dem Schwanzboot *bōbo*, von Ort zu Ort rudern und von Insel zu Insel.

W. Müller hat ähnliches gehört (Yap S. 375); er schreibt: »Diese Namen erklären sich aus der Sage vom Ursprung des *vei*, nach welcher es durch ein Dämonenboot nach den Zentralkarolinen gebracht wurde. Sie sind nämlich die Namen der 16 Insassen des Kanu's, von denen jeder seinen bestimmten Platz einnahm. Wenn daher ein Orakelkundiger seinem Nachfolger die Kunst des *vei* beibringen will, so ordnet er zuerst auf einer Matte 16 Steine in Kanuform an, mit Hilfe derer er ihm die Namen einprägt.« Es folgt dann eine Skizze der Sitzplätze.

Die Geschichte davon Yap S. 616 bringt auch eine Episode auf Lámotrek, wo mir aber über die 16 Dämonen nichts mitgeteilt wurde; von Námoluk nennt Girschner den Losgott Supuneman mit den 16 Losgeistern, aber sonst nichts (Bd. 6 I S. 105).

Die Namen auf Feis und Yap sind folgende:

	Feis	Yap
4+1	Bugólomar (gut)	Lifór
3+1	Langabarál (schlecht)	Lingeparón
2+1	Ilebai (schlecht)	Navāi oder Navailóg
3+2	Mogómei (gut)	Fugomó
4+2	Ilefau[1]	Nifáu
4+3	Djeluel (gut)	Vēngeg (3+4)
4+4	Saufag (gut)	Sēyóg
3+3	Fagálap (gut)	Djagalóp
1+1	Thilifeg ♀	Djilivég

[1] Bei Anfrage, ob einer heute oder morgen kommt, Bedeutung: morgen.

	Feis	Yap
3+4	Véngeg (schlecht)	Tsēnuúl
2+4	Lémâl (Kranke schlecht)	Namán
2+3	Mesóg (gut)	Masóg
1+3	Lubul (gut)	Nivúl
1−4	Ilefar (schlecht[1] für ♂, gut Fische)	Vunimór
2−2	Ilagomal ♀ (gut)	Nagēmón
1+2	Sópes (gut)	Sūpis

Die gute Übereinstimmung mit dem Osten zeigt Bd. 6 I S. 110. Bei Legung der Knoten z. B. zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger, zählt man zuerst die inneren am Zeigefinger, dann die am Daumen außen; s. Abb. 194.

Eine andere Art, das Schicksal zu befragen, durch Faltung *gosedjevál*, heißt *djib*; auch in Yap S. 374 ist sie als *tsif* kurz erwähnt. Abb. 195 links.

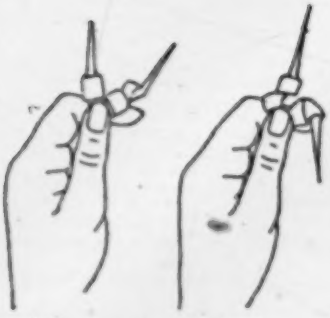


Abb. 194. Lose.

Abb. 195. Knotenkette.

Man nimmt eine halbe Kokosfieder (ohne Rippe) und faltet sie zusammen, in Buchform (Leporello-Form), das Falzblatt — sagen wir — 10 cm breit. Der Rest, der übrig bleibt, ist der *matáldjib*; von seiner Länge hängt das Orakel ab.

Ist er lang:

a) gegen 10 cm heißt er *djēlog eitol*
b) 7—9 cm heißt er *i le mangalemeitol* schlecht
c) 5—7 cm heißt er *lēthogol djódjel* gut

[1] Bei Kranken sehr schlecht, bei Fischen sehr gut, viele Fische tot.

d) 3—5 cm heißt er *i le mangale meiet* gut
e) 1—3 cm heißt er *djēlog meiet* gut
f) unter 1 cm *udje mēlet* gut.

Die Bezeichnungen sind hier keine Namen!

Beabsichtigen die Leute, einen großen Fischzug zu machen, wird schon am frühen Morgen gefaltet; man macht also das *djib eri ig*, um zu erfahren, ob sie am gleichen Tage zum Fischen gehen sollen, oder nicht; e bedeutet dann, viele Fische *djolop ig*, e + f, wenig Fische.

Man singt dabei etwa folgendes:

djib āgó, djibelīēg mein *djib*, *djib* vom Fisch
i velá ʃeta ralēlē[1] ich gehe fischen heute,
ngovoior ig ich fange viele Fische,
sale kodjedjok das ist sehr gut!

Über den **Sturmzauberstab** *gósiliʃei*, der schon S. 155 u. 284 behandelt ist, hier nichts neues. Die Janusgesichter werden auch nach Ost dem Lúluei und Vórieng, nach Westen dem Faludj zu erkannt.

Ein Idol mit Füßen, statt dem die Rochenstachel in einem Bündel daneben hängen, wurde auf Feis in einem angetriebenen Boot von Mogemog gefunden (s. Abb. 196, Kr. 188 = 29711, Länge 23,6 cm).

Am Kopf sind 3 Rillen von 7 mm Breite und 2—3 mm Tiefe.

Auf Feis werden die doppelgesichtigen Köpfe so erklärt:

nach Westen (Mogemog) blicken für den *palui* (Kapitän) Luluei und Faludj (s. S. 368),
nach Osten, Oleaiwärts, blicken Lúluei und Vorieng.

Für den Taifun kannte Tulåi folgende Ansprache *(maipil)*:

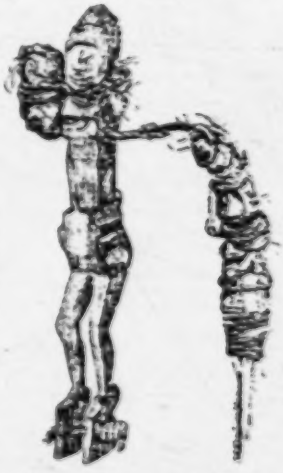


Abb. 196. Sturmzauberidol.

ʃaraga málom gēlo Róngola Ich bitte dich Róngola
ma gē le Eóngalap und dich Eóngalap
gālobo ʃārēral ihr macht den Tag (gut). *gau* ihr, *ʃar* machen, *ral* Tag
gaugo maliáthi ihr macht Windstille
ē ángila den Wind da.
gamaliathi rálilē macht Windstille heute. *ralei* heute.

[1] Auch wie *valēlē* sich anhörend.

378

4. Geschichten.

Wichtig ist hier die Sage von der Entstehung der Insel Feis, die auf Yap und Feis und wahrscheinlich auch auf Mogemog gleicher Weise bekannt ist.

So weit sie von Lorop und ihren 3 Söhnen handelt, ist sie schon 1903 durch Born in den Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten Bd. 16 »Zwei westkarolinische Sagen« bekannt geworden; die zweite Sage dort handelt von verschlagenen Yapern, die auf Feis ermordet wurden. Die dabei erbeutete schöne Halskette (wohl die in Palau III S. 4)[1] wurde von einem Feisuner getragen, als er mit 7 Gefährten und einem Mädchen nach Yap verschlagen worden war. Als er eines Tages den Yapern erzählte, wie er zu diesem Schmuck gekommen war, erschlugen diese aus Rache die 8 Männer von Feis. Das Mädchen aber wurde eine der Ahnfrauen der Yaper.

Gesänge *taigoigoithul*.

1. Die Entstehung von Feis von einem Yaper erzählt.

Eigene Aufnahme.

Auf Yap lebte ein Mann Maraológ[2] vom Dorfe Ológ bei Okau[3] und seine Ehefrau Maragigi[4], die auf dem Berge Bodjēu den Äóngalap gebar (bei Yap I S. 324 der Yongaláv (s. o. S. 144), ferner ein Mädchen Ilabúluei (= Liomarar[5]), ein Knabe Lulumarasi (= Inegau) und Maselēlog (= Gáragar).

Die Eltern der Maragigi wohnten im Himmel; sie sagten zu ihrer Tochter, sie solle in 4 Tagen nach Rumung, jetzt die nördlichste Insel von Yap, kommen, wo sie auch hinkämen; so ging sie mit ihrem Mann nach 4 Tagen dorthin, nach dem Orte Atheból. Dort sahen sie im Norden den Regenbogen Rékim und seine Frau Ólthabeg, die Wasserhose, darunter, und sie liefen deshalb mit den andern Leuten des Ortes fort. Die Wasserhose umschlang die Nordspitze Rumung, so daß sie sich von der großen Insel trennte, dann umarmte sie mit gleicher Wirkung Map und endlich noch Gagil und Tomil, die eine dritte Insel bildete, die aber nicht so gut abgeschnitten wurde.

---

[1] Von K. Müller in Yap I nicht abgebildet.

[2] Yap I S. 321 Maralalog.

[3] An der Westküste; mitten zwischen Okau und der Kolonie liegt Alóg (Karte Müllers Yap I Schluß).

[4] *gigil* ein Vogel mit schwarzem Kopf, Rücken und Schwanz. Yap I S. 321, die Geschichte beider; sie heißt dort in Tamil Leevirang.

[5] Angabe von Ruebong auf Yap, genannt in Yap I S. 324; S. 323 Rüepóng. Yap I S. 324 wandert sie von Yap nach Mogemog weiter.

Maraolog kam dabei in Godjam[1] zu Fall, stieß mit dem Gesicht auf einen Stein und wurde dabei so schwer verletzt, daß er starb. Die Eltern der Maragigi gaben ihr als *madjemadj*-Zauber einen Rochenstachel und einen *tuf*-Stern, um ihn wieder zum Leben zu bringen, dann gingen sie wieder fort. Maragigi nahm beide Stücke in die Hand und stieg mit ihnen über den Toten. Da kam eine kleine Eidechse und als die Frau wieder zurückgestiegen war, erschien ein Star. Als sie nochmals über ihn gestiegen war, da wachte er auf. Da baute sie in Godjam ein Schutzdach, unter das sich der Kranke hinlegte. Maragigi aber wurde schwanger und sie gebar nach und nach folgende Kinder, die die Landschaften von Yap verkörpern:

1. Mágaragoi ♂[2] = Tomil (Yap I S. 322)
2. Útherei ♂ = Ueloi, Rul und Delipébinau
3. Tamair ♂ = Map und Rumung
4. Ath (Af) ♂ = Nímegil (= Giliman + Kanifai)
5. Ngul ♀ = Maki
6. Ávarik ♂ = Fanif
7. Eóngalap ♂ s. o.
8. Aeóng ♂ Haifisch, tabû in Gagil
9. Molóp ♂ Fregattvogel
10. Djoi ♂ Pandanus
11. Liomarar ♀ = Ilabuluei s. o.

Sie wurden die Götter der einzelnen Landschaften auf Yap. Da (1.) Magaragoi Tomil haben wollte und (3.) Tamair Map, so ging (2.) Utherei mit den Eltern nach Olog in der Landschaft Ueloi.

(7.) Eongalap frug: »Was soll ich haben?« Da sagte die Mutter: »Dir gehört Gagil und alles was ostwärts, der Sonne zu liegt[3].« Er ging nach Gadjbar, in das Haus Númerui und dann nach Osten, nach Mogemog[4]. In Numerui wohnte die Frau Negáu und seine Schwester Liomarar; diese ging eines Tages mit ihm. Eongalap fing in Gadjbar eine Schildkröte. Man schlachtete sie, während Liomarar Wasser holte. Als sie zurückkam, war für sie nur eine Flosse übrig gelassen worden, die sie ärgerlich verzehrte. Als bald darauf wieder eine Schildkröte gefangen worden war, ließ ihr ihr Bruder zwar etwas mehr, aber doch auch nur eine Flosse. Sie war verärgert und nahm die Flosse mit an den Strand, zwischen Gadjbar und Oneán, schabte eine Kokosnuß aus und füllte die eine Schalenhälfte

[1] Auf Müller's Karte Gatjám in Tamíl; Yap I S. 321: Gegend von Tageréng.
[2] Die 7 Vegetationsgötter Yap S. 320: Magorogoi, Uetheré, Tamair, Adj, Ngul, Averig, Yongalap.
[3] Sie soll auch gesagt haben, daß die östlichen Inseln ihm Tribut bringen sollen, aber dies ist unsicher. s. Handel.
[4] Er blieb 6 Monate auf Yap und 6 in Mogemog. Am 25. Okt. war ein kleines Fest für ihn in Gadjbar, und im November ein großes, wenn die Mogemogleute schon fort sind. Nach dem Fest ist alles wieder frei (s. Yap I S. 324 ff.).

mit dem Geschabsel, die andere mit Sand. Dann wanderte sie aufs Meer hinaus, ostwärts, bis Yap verschwand. Da nahm sie die zweite Schalenhälfte und schüttete den Sand aus, der sich alsbald so mehrte, daß Ugói[1] entstand. Zuerst legte sie ein kleines Tarofeld an. Die Flosse der Schildkröte brachte sie nach Eor[2]. Dadurch kamen eine Menge Schildkröten zu der Insel und durch das Kokoskerngeschabsel, das sie mitgenommen hatte, gediehen auf der Insel auch viele Kokospalmen, so daß sie in den Ruf großer Fruchtbarkeit kam und viele Menschen von allen Seiten herbeiströmten, so daß sie reich bevölkert wurde[3]. Liomarar bekam eine Tochter Lórop und diese bekam auf Losiŏp[4] 4 Kinder: Mótal ♂, Morŏngarang ♂; Mŏtíketik, ♂[4] und endlich eine ♀ Maus, mit der sie nach Feis ging.

Lórop kehrte unter Mitnahme von viel Essen[5] nach Losiop zurück, während die Maus auf Feis blieb und eine Tochter bekam[6].

Lórop wurde krank. Ihre beiden ältesten Söhne Mótal und Marongaráng kümmerten sich aber nicht um sie und beauftragten ihren jüngeren Bruder Motíketik, nach ihr zu sehen. Sie starb bald darauf. Sie hatte ihm ihr Grab beim Baum Gílio[7] gezeigt; die Brüder sagten ihm, er solle sie in die See werfen, er aber nahm sie nach Feis zu ihrer Tochter. Als er nach Yap heimgekehrt war, wollte er fischen gehen und wollte deshalb Fischleinen machen. Aber er band Kokosfaser an Kokosfaser[8] und schnitt aus der *mereberib*-Kokosschale Fischhaken[9]. (Abb. 197). Alles steckte er heimlich ein.

Abb. 197. Heiliger Fischhaken.

Als Motal einen Fisch gefangen hatte, schnitt Motíketik für sich ein Stück heraus, um seine Haken damit zu beködern, worüber seine Brüder schimpften. Er ließ darauf seinen Haken hinab und holt zuerst Bananen herauf, die seine Brüder ihm wegnahmen und aufaßen. Als er dann beim zweitenmal mit dem neubeköderten Haken einen Bund junger Kokosnüsse heraufholte, erging es ihm

---

[1] So wird das Mogemog-Atoll auf Yap genannt, während Feis Ueiei heißt S. 369. Für Ugoi hörte ich *loco* 1907 Ulúlithi, das sich Ulúlasi anhört (s. Marine-Karte No. 93); Dieser Name gilt für beide Atolle. Dieser Teil der Mythe s. Yap II S. 321. XXXVIII.

[2] Eor oder Ior, auf der Karte Loziĕp bezeichnet, die Hauptinsel des Nebenatolls; s. später Losiop.

[3] Alle ihre Wünsche gingen in Erfüllung, alles kam, was sie wollte, wofür der Spruch gilt: *i gamasúr, i galalóg, i sesial* = ich schließe die Augen, ich mache sie auf, ich bin schwanger (zweifelhaft, s. 788 S. 407); ähnlich Palau IV S. 48.

[4] Yap II S. 526: Lorov, Söhne Motál, Morongrang und Mŏtgitig in Nosŭop.

[5] Nach Yap II S. 526 geschah es, weil die Söhne hungerten; sie ging an's Ende des Riffes, zählte 1, 2, 3, 4, und tauchte dann unter, um nach Feis zu kommen, das noch unter Wasser lag. Auf Feis hörte ich's genau ebenso, nur daß sie die Maus *gedj* mitnahm und auf dem Meeresboden hinmarschierte; die Maus blieb zurück.

[6] Rŭebong wußte die Namen nicht; s. Gesch. der Maus.

[7] Müller: begrub sie neben einem *au*-Baum; an einer Wurzel hakte auch der Fischhaken, als er Land heraufzog.

[8] Er machte dabei unsern Webleinsteg (s. Abb. 61 m).

[9] Diese heiligen Fischhaken (s. auch Abb. 89) waren zuzeiten des Großvaters von Rŭebong verrotte; die Angabe von Tetens, daß man sehr Angst vor diesen Haken habe, sei richtig, nur seien sie eben nicht mehr da.

ebenso und ebenso beim dritten Male mit dem Taro. Die vierte Beute war Diimele feregóa, die NO-Spitze von Feis, die Matol für sich in Anspruch nahm. Beim fünften Mal kam Rēthi, der W-Teil und schließlich die ganze Insel Feis[1].

In Ledjoidjoi (mittlerer Dorfteil von Feis) war ein Grab Gubulúa, an dem das Boot der Brüder liegen blieb. Motiketik schlug mit einem Kokoswedelstil darauf. Motal sagte: Lorop *falilitei mellê*, und Lorop sagte, als Motiketik mit dem Wedelstil schlug: *faliel i* Motiketik![2] Die beiden Brüder ärgerten sich und gingen nach Mogemog. Motiketik aber blieb auf Yap; er machte die 3 großen Einlässe Thaualap, Thauas und Thaualegedj (s. Karte 13). Dann machte er Palmwein und kochte ihn ein[3]. Darauf kamen 3 Männer von Matáng[4], worauf die Leute nach der Westseite wegliefen. Motíketik dachte, sie würden erschreckt werden, aber sie naschten am Palmsaft. Er sah sie dabei sitzen und lief weg. Da sah er ein Mogemog-Boot am Strande von Gadjbar liegen und Motiketik ging zu der Besatzung und erzählte ihr seine Erlebnisse. Eongelap war dabei und hieß die Leute, in Feis nachzusehen. Die Brüder gingen mit[5].

2. Die Entstehung von Feis und die Maus.

Auf Feis ermittelt. Eigene Aufnahme.

Die 3 Söhne waren Morangaráng, Mótal und Motiketik. (Bis hierher ist die Geschichte mit der vorhergehenden ziemlich gleich.) Verschiedenheiten oder Neues ist schon dort in Fußnoten angemerkt.)

Es geht hier so weiter:

Die zwei Brüder gingen eines Tages fischen. Die beiden älteren sagten zu dem Jungen: Bleibe du zurück und passe auf. Der Junge Motíketik sah die Mutter zum Riff gehen und hörte sie 1, 2, 3, 4 zählen, dann tauchte sie unter. Er wartete bis sie zurückkam. Als sie wieder auftauchte, hatte sie viel Essen bei sich. Beim nächsten mal machte sie es ebenso. Da sprang Motiketik ihr nach; da er aber nur 1, 2, 3 gezählt hatte, stieß er mit dem Kopf an einen Stein. Da kehrte er zurück

---

[1] s. Palau IV S. 40.

[2] Nach Yap II S. 527 war es so: Sie stritten um das Land. Motal schlug zuerst mit einer »Kokosrippe« auf das Grab der Lorov und sprach: *Lorov gú lörövd falü li temele?* Es kam keine Antwort. Ebenso beim zweiten. Erst als Motgitig schlug, antwortete eine Stimme: *fálü li* Motgitik »Es ist das Land des M«.

[3] s. den *aildot* von Palau.

[4] s. Palau IV S. 9 Gesch. 8; Eluelap soll von dort stammen, nach Ansicht der Yaper. Matang gilt als das fabelhafte Land, wo Riesen wohnen.

Nach Yap II S. 527 ist einer von den dreien der Gott Rôngola, vor dem Motgitig floh, wobei er *lits* verschüttete. Der Gott tauchte seine Hand in das Verschüttete, leckte daran, was ihm schmeckte. So blieb er auf Feis.

[5] Ruebong sagte, sein Vater habe die Schicksale der drei noch gewußt, aber er hätte die Sagen nicht weitergegeben; sie seien verloren.

Yap II S. 527 heißt es, der Haken sei auf dem Tabuplatz Numuruf gewesen. Im Kriege sei er von Gatsapar ins Meer geworfen worden. Dadurch kam ein Erdbeben, das halb Feis versenkte.

und versuchte es nochmals, wobei er richtig auf 4 zählte. Da öffnete sich der Stein und er gelangte nach Feis, das in der Tiefe sich noch befand. Dort verwandelte er sich in einen *mollei*-Star und setzte sich auf einen *löll*[1]-Baum, denn es war nirgends ein Haus und nirgends sah er jemanden. Auf dem Strauch fraß er eine Frucht. Als Lorop den Vogel gewahrte, wußte sie, daß es ihr Kind sei. So frug sie ihn: Warum kommst Du mir nach? Du willst wohl, daß ich bald sterbe. Da kam er herab und verwandelt sich in Menschengestalt. Sie zeigte ihm darauf den Platz, wo sie beerdigt werden wollte. Darauf kehrten sie beide nach Mogemog zurück; am Tage der Heimkehr aber erkrankte die Mutter.

Motiketik erzählte alles seinen zwei Brüdern und erwähnte auch das Land, das er in der Tiefe gefunden hatte. Eines Tages gingen die beiden älteren fischen; sie trugen dem Jüngeren auf, bei der kranken Mutter zu bleiben. Aber als sie fort waren, starb Lorop. Motiketik wickelte sie in eine Matte, verschnürte sie, nahm das Bündel mit aufs Riff, zählte bis 4 und brachte sie darauf glücklich nach Feis, wo er sie am bestimmten Ort bestattete. Dann kehrte er nach Mogemog zurück. Als die Brüder vom Fischen heimkehrten, teilte er ihnen den Tod der Mutter mit. Sie frugen, wo sie liege, und er sagte, er habe sie ins Meer geworfen.

Als die Brüder nun 3 Fische verzehrten, hatten sie nichts dazu, weil die Mutter fehlte. Motiketik wollte nun eine Fischleine machen, in der Absicht, das nahrungsreiche Land hochzubekommen, aber da er nichts davon verriet, schimpften die beiden über sein Vorhaben. Da ging er an einen abgelegenen Platz, band dort Kokosfasern zusammen und schnitt einen Haken aus einer Kokosschale. Beides nahm er verborgen mit. Er fuhr aufs Meer hinaus und warf nun seine Angel aus, die nach kurzer Zeit festkam. Als seine Brüder dies gewahrten, lachten sie und kamen ihm beim Aufholen zu Hilfe, da er schier verzagte. Sie zogen nun vereint und förderten einen Bund Bananen zu Tage. Als aber Motiketik zum zweiten Male die Angel ausgeworfen hatte, machten sich die beiden Brüder an die Früchte und fraßen sie auf. Genau so gings mit einer Traube von Kokosnüssen, die von den beiden Brüdern getrunken und gegessen wurden, während Motiketik als drittes einen Topf mit gekochter Brotfrucht emporhob. Beim vierten Male hakte es wieder, und als sie alle zogen, erschien ein Stück Land und zwar die Ostküste von Feis, Feregoág[2] genannt. Der Erfolg kam nur dadurch zu Stande, daß Motiketik rief: »Lorop bitte hilf!« Zuerst kam der Osten, dann der Süden, dann der Westen.

Die Brüder bekamen nun Streit, wem das Land gehören solle; da sagte Motiketik: »Wißt ihr, wo das Grab unserer Mutter ist?« Als sie verneinten, zeigte er es ihnen und fügte hinzu: »Dies ist mein Land!« Aber damit gaben sich seine beiden Brüder nicht zufrieden. Morangarang frug zuerst:

Lorobogó, Lorop, *falilitéi falieí*.
Lorobogó, Lorop, wem gehört das Land?

[1] Morinda. [2] Djimele feregoág, die NO Felspartie von Feis.

Aber es kam keine Antwort *(taimaliĕli)*. Dann frug Mótal, aber auch jetzt blieb alles still. Endlich frug Motíketik und Lorop summte erst m.....! Dann sprach sie: *faliem(ut), djugelĕ*

Es gehört dir (das Land), mein Kind!

Da gingen die beiden älteren Brüder fort nach Mogemog. Motiketik aber blieb da. Er machte drei Booteinlässe für Feis: in Ilŏtou den Thaûalap
in Ledjódjoi den Thauás
und in Falio den Thaualegédj.

Als er am letzten arbeitete, kamen drei Geister *alús* von Matáng aus Osten. Sie hießen Móroa[1], Songosongomál und Semágor und waren die Lehrer von Hausbau, Bootbau, Weberei, Korbflechterei, Fischerei usw.

Motiktik lief aus Angst weg und versteckte sich am Geisterhaus Gádjabuth. Dort nahm er einen Topf voll Palmweinsirup *ludj* und goß ihn über den Platz aus. Dann lief er weiter in den Busch. Als die drei nach dem Platze Gadjabúth kamen und die Melasse fanden, schleckten sie sie auf. Motiktik schwamm unterdessen fort nach Yap, wohin seine 2 Brüder auch gekommen waren. Er lebte in dem Hause Eóngelap[2] in Gadjbar, wohin heute noch der erste Tabak einer Anpflanzung gebracht wird, den Inefel in Empfang nimmt, als Weihegabe für Eóngelap und seine Brüder; Inefel gilt jetzt als Besitzer der östlichen Inseln.

Die Ratte auf Feis gebar ein Mädchen Lengelengemók, das als es herangewachsen war, von Semágor, dem Bruder des Móroa, geheiratet wurde. Ihre Kinder waren: ein Junge Lullĕ und eine Tochter Langemar; diese gebar drei Kinder Mĕlelai ♂, Mlelul ♂ und Thélamog ♀. Diese bekam eine Tochter Lípeg, die von Lugolfor geheiratet wurde, der von Yap über Mogemog nach Feis gekommen war. Sie hatten zwei Kinder, ein Mädchen Ilagaróng und einen Sohn Lŭg. Die Ilagaróng freite den Malálefel von Feis und zu ihrer Zeit war es, daß eine Menge Leute aus dem Westen zuströmten. Ihre Kinder waren Itulei ♂, Vĕlemog ♂, Saethau ♂ und Málemet ♀; von Malálefel stammte auch ein Sohn Djl, der der Vater des Häuptlings Túlei ist (s. S. 317).

3. Kulung (s. Bd. 61 S. 280 Pollap).

Der Kulung kam von Westen. In Palau, Yap, Mogemog, überall wurde er nicht satt. Weiter flog er nach Feis, Oleai, Ifaluk, Falóelap, Namodjek, Sĕtoval, Póloat, Sou, Djuk, Pidjeladj, Ulol, Pollap; hier endlich wurde er satt, denn jede Kokosnuß füllte sich von neuem und auf den Holzschüsseln kam immer neues Essen. Hier lebten Luluei[3] und seine Frau Ilabúluei (S. 378) mit ihren Kindern Vórieng,

[1] Bekannt als Großer Gott auf Tombara (s. A. Kr. Die Malanggane von T. S. 33). Er liebte die Ratten; s. o. S. 56. [2] siehe Yapgeschichte.
[3] Oleai II S. 284, Luluei Sohn von Paluelap, oben S. 150.

Faludj, Sābu, Fángala, Levútavut, Olopálipel, Ūmal, Kapioúmulifadj, Ságul, Paluelap, der die Frau Lisābag von Pollap geheiratet hatte und die Söhne Rongothik und Róngelap besaß. Paluelap erhielt von seinen Eltern das Essen, das er dem Kulung gab. Dieser zeigte ihm dafür die Segelkunst. Palúelap versuchte zuerst eine Fahrt nach Póloat, wobei ihm der Kulung voranflog; von dort kehrte er wieder nach Pollap zurück. Ebenso fuhr er dann nach Djuk (Truk). Dabei zeigte der Kulung ihm nachts die Sterne, und wie er nach ihnen fahren müsse. Nach der Rückkehr besuchte er dann Fálau, Pik, Aurepik, Ifaluk, Namodjek, Sētowal und Poloat.

Eines Tages sah der Kühlung einen andern *kulung* Fische fressen. Alles bekam ihm gut, nur der Rochen setzte ihm zu, so daß er starb. Da wußte der Kulung, daß dieser Fisch sehr stark sei. Er nahm deshalb den Stachel *gos* und gab ihn dem Palúelap, damit er sie als *madjemadj*-Zauber gegen starken Wind anwende, und gegen starke Strömung.

Dies alles zeigte Paluelap seinen Söhnen und deren Kindern, denn Rongelap heiratete Baibai von Pollap, die Failepāl ♂ gebar. Dieser hatte einen Sohn Djōsalug, und dieser den Djorig, der alle Plätze kannte, und seinen Nachkommen alles zeigte.

5. Musik.

Keine Beobachtungen.

6. Kunst.

Lamotrek (s. S. 73ff.) schmückt seine Häuser, Webstühle und Matten hervorragend schön.

Auf Oleai tritt dies schon sehr zurück und nur die Strahlentatauierung erscheint dort als etwas besonderes, die ja auch auf Feis vorhanden ist. Aber sonst wird wenig nennenswertes geleistet, obwohl ja wegen der Nähe von Yap und Palau eine stärkere Schmucklust vermutbar wäre.

Dagegen erscheinen für dieses Gebiet der Westkarolinen indonesische Rankenornamente, auf einem Bootmodell, dessen Herkunft freilich unsicher ist. Ich fand es während meiner Spanienreise (Palau I S. 17) zu Valladolid im Kloster, im Convento de los Augustinos filipinos[1], wo eine kleine Sammlung karolinischer Eka's sich befindet. Auf dem Bug und unter der Reling sind zahlreiche Ornamente (Abb. 198), die so aus der Ornamentierung der Karolinen herausfallen, daß sie nur von Indonesien stammen können, wogegen das Boot unbedingt unserem Gebiet zugehört. Auch die Kiste, die auf dem Ausleger lag, zeigt 4 herzförmige Muster. Es ist möglich, daß verschlagene Eingeborene (s. Palau I S. 14) das Boot mit nach den Philippinen gebracht haben, wo es ornamentiert wurde, oder neu vertriebene Karolinier haben das Kult-Boot den Patres zuliebe auf Luzon mit dem malaiischen Beiwerk angefertigt.

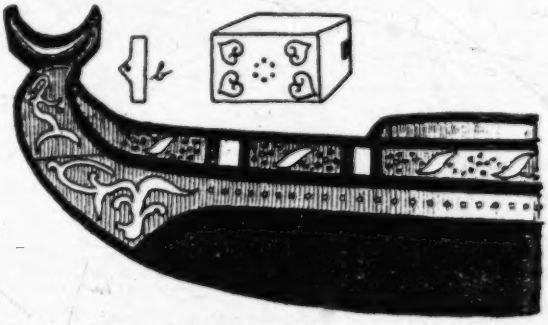


Abb. 198. Ornamentiertes Bootmodell, wohl von den Filipinen.

[1] Schon kurz erwähnt Truk S. 240 Anm. 2 und S. 410.

386

V. Kulturvergleich.

für die Zentralkarolinen, besonders von Lamotrek, Oleai und Feis.

Lamotrek ist noch stärker mit den östlichen Inseln, besonders mit Truk verbunden, als das westlichere Oleai, auf dem die Strahlen-Tatauierung (S. 323) erscheint. Allerdings wurde schon bei Lukunór (Bd. 61 S. 42) erwähnt, daß vor 100 Jahren diese Ordnung auch dort vorgekommen zu sein scheint. Wir sahen aber auf den Inseln östlich von Oleai keine Spur mehr von ihr, und es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß sie in der kurzen Zeit völlig verschwunden ist. Ihr Hauptplatz ist ja zweifellos Mogemog, wie aus den Geschichten bei Feis hervorgeht, und so scheint sie nur den Westkarolinen, außer Palau und Yap (s. S. 324), an, zugehören, ostwärts bis Oleai.

Eben aus den Geschichten geht die starke Verbundenheit von Feis mit Mogemog und Yap hervor. Anthropologisch verhalten sich die 3 Inseln gleich oder doch sehr ähnlich. Was Cantova S. 318 sagt, daß es unter den Westkaroliniern viele Mestizen und Neger oder Mulatten gebe, die wohl von Neu-Guinea stammten und als Bediente lebten, traf 1910 wenigstens nicht mehr zu. Wohl findet man nicht selten krause Haare (vgl. Lámotrek S. 10), aber die Dolichocephalie, die auf Truk S. 23 so vorherrschend ist, ist im Westen selten.

Sprache: Wie aus den Aufnahmen erhellt, ist von Ku bis Feis (Mogemog), einschließlich, Truk eine Sprache, die örtliche Verschiedenheiten aufweist. Dies ist begründet in diesem Verkehrsgebiet, das denselben Bedingungen unterliegt wie Polynesien. Die genaueren Unterschiede müssen der Linguistik vorbehalten bleiben.

Die Verbundenheit mit Yap in religiöser und kommerzieller Hinsicht drückt sich am stärksten im Reiseboot und in der Wohnung aus.

Das Reiseboot reicht mit geringen Unterschieden von Yap bis Lukunór einschließlich Truk.

Haus: Das sechseckige Haus mit viereckiger Zelle und 2 dreieckigen Veranden reicht ebensoweit; aber Truk ist hier nicht einbegriffen.

Das Vorhandensein oder ein Rest von den Plankenhäusern auf den Atollen nördlich von Truk ist allerdings so spärlich, daß man ihre Ostgrenze nach Lámotrek verlegen müßte, wenn nicht die Lukunór-Inseln und Losap-Nama sie aufwiesen. Aber auf Lámotrek setzen sie erst eigentlich recht ein, und die sechseckigen Häuser, deren Grundform auf Yap hinweist, erreichen ihre schönste Aus-

bildung auf Oleai, wo ja auch eine Art besonderer Männerhäuser vorhanden war, wovon S. 256 die Rede war. Sie hatten steinerne Hauspfosten, genau so wie es bei den Wohnhäusern von Feis der Fall ist, aber nicht auf Yap, während die Bai von Palau einen Rest von Steinunterlage bewahrt haben. Yap und Palau sind aber besonders in der Sprache abgetrennt.

Die West-karolinische Strahlentatauierung beginnt ja eigentlich erst auf Oleai; genau wie das Ramenhaus vereinsamt auf Ku noch vorkommt, so steht es mit der Strahlentatauierung wie erwähnt. Eine Erklärung dafür liegt nicht vor.

Daß Lütke sie auf Ku beobachtete, kann, wenn richtig, auf der zufälligen Anwesenheit eines Westkaroliniers beruhen; die Möglichkeit der früheren Ausbreitung über das ganze Gebiet Mogemog-Ku liegt aber vor.

Die Weberei reicht übers ganze Gebiet; viel- und breitstreifige Matten kommen von Yap bis Ku vor.

Die dreistreifigen gehören besonders Lámotrek und Oleai an. Die *madji*-Matten von Mogemog (ähnlich Truk Taf. 8e) fehlen ostwärts. Der Kokosfiederrock ist auf Feis oft ähnlich mächtig wie auf Yap.

Über die Kunst besonders den Rankenschmuck der Bootmodelle von Valladolid (Abb. 198); leichter Anklang bei der Strahlentatauierung, die sonst von den geometrischen Mustern beherrscht wird.

387

VI. Indices.

1. Fauna (s. Wörterv. Nr. 110ff).

a) Säuger, Lurche usw.

Schweine *bābui* und Hühner *málug* s. o. S. 305, 331
Hund S. 305
Über Ratten s. Gesch. S. 383
Falle *tafédj (tafidj) le gédj*
Eidechse schwarz *burúbur* (mit blauem Schwanz s. Yap, Truk) (Nr. 161)
Heuschrecke *gudjire fāfa*
rote Wanze *mareiláng*
Schmetterlinge 2 Arten: *malefithel* (Motte) und *tavúkeveg*
Milleped *udjol*
Scorpion *talegédj*
Spinne *gasabordra*
Ameise *lōng*
Centiped *mallulung*

b) Vögel (s. S. 303).

badjoi Brachvogel (so auf Mógemog der Flederhund)
gátap(l) Fregattvogel S. 64
tili Charadrius (s. *kulung* Lam.)
liok Seevogel
malug Hahn (Henne *erábot)*
mólléi Star

c) Fische (Nr. 152ff.) s. Fischerei.

bágou Haie. Arten: *bāv, djáleſas, eángag, edjabol, galal, dodjóelang, mathál, mongorór, thípalu, thōb*
balēdū Ornament Dreieck *badjál e b.* auf Bambix, Abb. 79 S. 175
belēo Fisch Orn. Schwanz 9 Tatauierung *čal* S. 337
črong S. 335
eséllei S. 335
etam S. 335
fai Rochen
fofo S. 335
garangap Bonito S. 335, 223
gotop s. *vol.*
gui Delphin
láveth Muräne, tabū als Speise (siehe Schmuck S. 321) Köder S. 334, 372
lemertárot Serranus mit weißen Tupfen und 4 schwarzen Flecken auf Rücken
mam S. 337
mangar Flederfisch, Fang S. 335
marafadj s. S. 326
mos S. 335
rēl S. S. 336
sag Belone-Art
tangerr S. 335
tagú Bonitoart S. 337, 335
tépar S. 335
thagurar S. 337
vōl grüne Testudo, *gotóp*

d) Seetiere.

alus utet Linkia Seestern s. S. 326 Nr. 26
djageióg Dolium perdix L. S. 337
fāsu Tridacna
iógdog Trochus
leng = *ūng*?
lum Korallinenalgen
sag Belone (s. S. 335)
sar Schnecke zu Axtklinge, Meleagrina
vul, *fasuluvul* Konusschnecke
ūng Pteroceras als Aufhänger (Kleiderrechen) *sangagel djál* gebraucht.

2. Flora (s. Wörter Nr. 179ff.).

Mertens, der Begleiter von Lütke, hat schon viel Beobachtungen über Pflanzen gemacht; in den Notices sur les iles Carolines Bd. III S. 132 nennt er Kokos, Brotfrucht, Jaquier (Jack), Pandanus (vaquois), Aroideen, Bananen, Zuckerrohr, Ficusarten, Barringtonia, Sonneratia, Rhizophora, Terminalia, Calophyllum, Tournefortia, Scaevola usw. Von Feys sagt er: wenig Brotfrucht, viel Bananen; sonst scheint sich das meiste auf Guam zu beziehen.

Bei der Landesbeschreibung schon einiges genannt, sowie bei der Wirtschaft (näheres Palau IV S. 304).

(g)avalaval rotes Kraut
augus le Feis, oder *gogidj* Fetthenne mit gelben Blüten, Kraut s. S. 332; *a. le besés* fremd, Polygalaähnlich (s. Bd. 6 I S. 221).
athóngothong Hibiscusmoschatus
aár Hollunderähnlich
(e)dróma Pipturus, s. Fischleine S. 335
baibai Papaya *(baoai* S. 331).
bathil s. *uathil*
dal Yams, *dog* Blätter lang und spitz
djáuel Ipomoea littoralis eßbare Winde (E. Kr. aqu. Nr. 29) s. S. 332
djél Tournefortia
djienge Mussaenda
djoi Pandanus tectorius
djídji Farn
eár Premna
eodú Strandkraut mit rosa Blüten
eoth Taro
ēthíath Wedelia
ēvudj Crataeva
(a)falafal Euphorbia pilulifera
falai große Winde Marremia convolv. (Yap *ioi)*
fálauras Hibiscus rosasinensis
fílla großer Taro
fítoi Calophyllum für Tataufarbe S. 324
gadjalletis Bohne, Lam. *gadjoalei*
gamára ein Farn
gūngi gutes schweres Holz s. S. 324 (s. Ralik-Ratak *gengi* Cordia).
gágalūg Miere mit Fettblättern
gāengi Strand = Myrthe s. *gaingi*
gāengiēlal kleine Tempelblumen, Blätter ähnlich *gaengi*
ganuti Ipomoea batatas L. Süßkartoffel (s. o. S. 330) E. Kr. Nr. 135. Taf. 23a.
galár lila Beeren (Yap *gēruvess)*
gaual s. *haual*
gárag Trionfettia procumbens

gēlong Cassia sophera (E. K. *gallong*)
gaugus s. *augus*
gerūal Melochia indica (Trichospermum Richū Seem.) hübsche Blüten weiß u. rote. E. Kr. aqu. 87 *(geriuale)*
gilifei Hibiscus tiliaceus
golóu Vigna lutea (Strandbohne)
giop Crinum Haarlilie
gogidj s. *augus*
gūl ein Strauch mit Früchten wie unser Hirtentäschel (Yap *marat, biuol,* Palau *ptūel?)* Soulamea.
haudl Ficus sp. *(gaodl)*
hun Barringtonie
illūl-Ranken S. 372
hil Terminalia catappa
lath Scaevola
lifos das Knallblatt (s. Palau IV S. 313 *godebiseg* (Yap *lifothol,* Volkens *rumō?)*
lōll Morinda
luuuth ein Kraut
lūll Cassytha, Schößlinge gegessen
mai Brotfrucht-Arten S. 332
moei Clerodendron
mógemog Tacca Stärkewurzel s. S. 331
mog Strandbaum, Blüten mit 8 Staubgefäßen.
ngog (Yap) Strandbaum s. S. 312
ngoi Allophyllus Dreiblatt s. Palau IV S. 309, Yap *angdl*
odl Ficus tinctoria (Yap *wodjēgei,* Volk *wotschogai)* Frucht gekocht gegessen
oão Strand-Myrthe
po eßbare Winde
sup Derris elliptica Wurzelgift
udrong nga lipesedj Ageratum lila
uathil Commelina
vathil s. *uathil*
uth Fragraea viel im Dorf
vala fidjefidj große Winden Convolvulus
vdrang Minze riechend
varang ele limdi Ähren, am Strand
volevol e djalio Unkraut mit weißen Blüten.
Bambus von Yap eingeführt, Truk S. 413.

Holz verwendet von *adr, gilifei, gāngi, ira.*

3. Wörterverzeichnis

nach dem Fragebogen des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Hamburg.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
Körperteile (possessive suffixe mein, dein, sein = 1., 2., 3. usw.)				
1. Zunge	*rōleau* 1. mein *eai* 2. deine *rolauum* 3. seine *rolawai,* 4. unsere *rolawerse* 6. ihre *rolawer*	*leūe*	1. *lōoai* 2. *lēuom* 3. *lēue* (Ko.: *luel)*	*loadj*
2. Mund	höflich *gnarse,* vulg. *au,* 1. —, 2. *eauum,* 3. *ewai,* 4. *awerse* 6. *ewer*	*tedrioaz*	*ōoai* (Ko.: *rol)*	*ōoai*

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
3. 4. Lippen	*tul li au*	oben *metāl i e oaz* unten *fai ie ewāluk*	—	—
5. Nase	*bōt* 1. *bots*, 2. *botim* 3. *botie*, 4. *botirse*, 6. *botir*	*būōt*	1. *uōli, buothi* 2. *buothom*, 3. *buothal* (Ko.: *wathel*)	*bothedjı*
6. Nasenscheidewand	*ongal i bot*	—	—	—
7. Nasenloch	*gatam ai i bot*	—	—	—
8. Nasenflügel	*rof al i bot*	—	—	—
9. Auge	*mat* 1. *metai*[1], 2. *mitum*[1], 3. *mital*	*meta* 1. *āch*, 2. *ām*, 3. *āl*	*metái* (1) (Ko: *matei*)	*metai*
10. Iris	*fai li mat*	—	—	—
11. Pupille	*korap al i mat*	—	—	—
12. Lid	*bulibul li mat*	—	—	—
13. Ohr	*telling* (1. *tellingai*)	*talling*	*talingái* (mein) (Ko: *talengel*)	*talingai*
14. Läppchen	*rofal i telling*	*eōl*	—	—
15. Loch darin	*gnatagnat al telling*	*nlt*	—	—
16. Gehörloch	*gnat ali rong* »Loch des Hörens« s. 89	—	*tuófē telingóm* (2)	—
17. Stirn	*mong al djim*[2]	*māngo*	—	—
18. Kopf	*djim*[2] 1. *djimei* (He. *stimil* sein Kopf)	*zūmur*	(1.) *djimei* (Ko. *methakitim*)	*djimei*
19. Schädel Gehirn	*oong al djim* —	— —	*mádjun* *fahabuiop* (Gehirn)	— *fahabuiep*
20. Augenbrauen	*fat al i mat*	*fatir*	*fatū*	1. *fathei* 2. *om*
21. Wimpern	*kaper al i mat*	*aninn thu muur*	*kapardne metái matarél metai*	—
22. Kopfhaar	*kaper al i djim* (He. *stim*)	*anin zumur*	*ēnedjúmēi* (Ko: *timui*)	*ēle djumei*

[1] Lewis schrieb *mitai*, während ich *mitai* notierte, die näherliegende Umbildung von *i* in *i*. polyn. *mata*, daher possessiv *metāl* wie Truk S. 373 *mesil*.

[2] Lewis schrieb *tschrim*, was bei Truk S. 20 (Truk = Djuk) schon erörtert ist; Ko. Hals auf Oleai *ūel*, polyn. *ua*.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
23. Zahn	*gnie*	*ngi*	1. *ngi*, 2. *ngim*, 3. *ngil* (Ko: *ngir*)	*ngi*
24. Schneidezahn	*gnie li giugui*	*porāl ēn ngi*	—	—
25. Eckzahn	*gnie li luelue*	*la en ni oālh*	—	—
26. Backenzahn	*gnie li patipat*	*nēnpei en ngi oalh*	—	—
27. Bart	*alish* (1. *ilisei*)	*therenne ne la*	*ilisei* (1.), (2.) ...*om*, 3. ..*al* (Ko: *elsal*)	*ilisei*
28. Schnurrbart	*al. al i bot, sērenotei*	—	*gorolliovai*	*goroleuvai*
29. Backenbart	*al. al tep*	—	—	—
30. Kinnbart	*al. al i gat*	—	—	—
31. Schambart	*korr* (Truk *gorr*)	—	*gorolibasoi*	—
32. Wange	*tep*	*te par*	*tebai*	*tebai*
33. Kinn	*e at* (1. *ilei*)	*oatir*	*ilei*	*ilhei*
34. Schulter	*ia/ar*[1] (1. *ifarei*)	*eavera*	—	*ifarei*
35. Arm	*pa* (1. *bei*) (Truk *bei* mein...)	*bei*	1. *bei*, 2. *baum*, 3. *bail* (Ko: *bai*)	*bei*, *baum*, *bein*
r. Arm.	*wudj*			
36. Oberarm	*eapil li pa*[2]	*chrapi li bei*	—	*djilbilebei*
37. Unterarm	*meril li pa*	*meral li bei*	—	*midjingelebei*
38. Ellbogen	*kurup li pa*	*mar ūd bei*	*abelebinebei*	*abelebelebei*
39. Hand	*pa* (E. K. *umojusch*)	*pāra llm*	(Ko: *humutal*)	*gomudji*, 2. *om*, 3. *en*
40. Handrücken	*lugul* (E. K. *umojusch*)	—	*gumúsu*	—
41. Handfläche	*perel timalt*	—	*paralimei*	—
42. Knöchel	*gomurs il i pa*	—	—	—
43. Finger	*kat, gat*	*gatīr*	(Ko: *kasthel*)	*gáthol*
43. a) Daumen	*kat e lap* (»große)	*gatir e pa(rth)*	*gatilap* (Ko: *kasthelep*)	*athilep*
44. Zeigefinger	*kat e tili*	*gatīr e vōrre*	*gatetil*	*athethom*
45. Mittelfinger	*kat al loug* (*lu* Mitte)	*gatīr e chru*	*gatelú*	*athethevdeg*
46. Ringfinger	*kat al tut, gatupoag*	*gatīr e puirk*	*gatisevōh*	*gathielūs*

[1] E. K. Achselhöhle *faripösch*, Hals *farifasch*, Schulter *efarasch*, Nacken *ligurifasch*.
[2] s. S. 393. Nr. 62 ff.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
47. Kleinfinger	*kat e rik* (»kleine«)	*gatîr e rik*	*gatúsek*	*athidjek*
48. Fingernagel	*kul li kat* (Zehen = *kullipera*)	*ku*	—	*kudj*
49. Bein	*pera*	*perra*	*besdi* (Ko: *pethöl*)	*bedjei*
Schienbein	*djus*	–		
50. Oberschenkel	*pelam ali pera*	*rapi le perra*	*gofói*	*gufoi*
51. Unterschenkel	*peras tal*	*meral le perra*	*bäsältivei*	
52. Knie	*buhi ali pera*	*pugu*	*buguei*	*bugiei*
53. Wade	*fitegol, shugali pera*	*thera e perra*	*sagalebesch*	*siele bedjei*
54. Fuß	*pera, pedja*	*paraparál i perra*	*basalcasálebesch* (Ko: *patepatelpethel*)	—
55. Fußrücken	*persepers ali pera*	—	—	—
56. Sohle	*fal li pera*	—	*falebesch*	*fale bedjei*
57. Ferse	*kapilipil li pera*	—	*abinebinebesch*	*abine binebedjei*
58. Zehen	*katul li pera*	*gatir e perra*	*gatilebesch*	*ative b.*
59. Nagel s. 48	—	—	*kule* (*bei* und *bedjei*)	—
60. Körper	*gollung*	—	*dlongai* (Ko: *kagel*)	*dlongai*
61. Leiche	?	—	—	*alis*
62. Hals	*rap il li au*[1]	*chrapili*	*ûei, ûom, ûal* (1., 2., 3).	*djabellei*
63. Nacken	*kap il li gue*[1]	*farîu*	*lukulûei*	*lukeliei*
64. Kehle	*iorong*	—	*vórongai*	—
Schlüsselbein	—	—	—	*djimáramar*
65. Achselhöhle	*fal lipa*[1] (»unter dem Arm«)	—	*fálepei*	—
66. Achselhaare	*horr al i fal li pa*	—	*goroli falépei*	—
67. Schulterblatt	*reau li i affar* (Truk Schulter *afar*)	—	Schulter *évarai*	—
68. Rippen	*rak i rak, djulagáragei*	—	*suli évarai*	—
69. Brust ♂	*oop* (Truk *aubun*)	*up*	*ubei* (Ko: *uwal*)	*ubei*
70. B.-Warze	*tul oop*	—	*dû*	*dö*

[1] E. K. *yaperi posch*, Unter = *majelli posch*, Armbeuge *marárü pösch*, s. Nr. 36 u. 37.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
71. Brust ♀	*tul, dūl*	—	*du* (Ko: *thithi*)	Warze *dō, thūth*
72. Warze	*mlt al i tul*, Hof *djonni dūl*	—	(Ko: Milch *fāll*)	—
73. Bauch	*fāral, shugal*[1]	*thegá*	*ságai* Hanke, *behisagai* (Ko: *sial*)	*siei, ...om*
74. Nabel	(E. K. *putje*, Samoa *pute*)	*bwus* (Truk *bu*)	*púsei*	*mūtei*
75. Strang	*yau i bwus*	—	(*pēi* Placenta)	*autheli peth*
76. Seite	*pai gnau pai kop*[2]	—	*falegatogatoi*	*gatogatói*
77. Rücken	*togur*	—	*tāguru*	*tāgurui*
78. Gesäß	*tap al tog, ur, djapedjap*	—	*būruei*	*vurieb, om, el*
79. Penis	*kai*	—	*gai*	*fāzal, gai*
80. Eichel	*uak*	—	*vóngol*	*eaithoi*
81. Vorhaut	*purang ai i kai*	—	*kili, kin*	*gil*
82. Hodensack	*tukatuk al i murr*	—	—	*morul*
83. Hoden	*murr*	—	*failimor*	—
84. Samen	*wel*	—	—	*odth*
85. Vagina	*tingi*, Scham *pudro*	—	—	*lisni, ...om, ...ūl*
86. Schamlippen	*au al tingi* (s. Nr. 2)	—	—	Scham *bossom*
	vergrößerte innere (bis 5 cm lang) *firr*		—	*firil*
87. Klitoris	*gumurr*	—	—	*sural*
88. Beschneidung	*o*	—	*masopi*	*mul, sopi*
89. After	*gnai al i purro*	—	—	*thēl*
90. Haut	*keil*	*giri*	*kili, kilom, kin*	*gili*
91. Knochen	*dru* (Truk *dju*)	—	*sū, sūm, sun* (Skelett)	*dji*
92. Blut	*tsra* (Truk *tā*)	—	*djá* (Ko: *ta*)	*dja*
93. Menses	*tsra li aluelung*	—	*tāing*	*rēbel*[3]
94. Nachgeburt	*oug, ouk*[4]	—	—	*pēi* (Nr. 75)

[1] E. K. *purusch* leise ausgesprochen.
[2] E. K. *gatagōtusch*, Hüfte *igusch*. [3] Bluthaus *imalipel*.
[4] *i ya a lip a lip* was geschieht mit ihr? — *urthou seripuoug* sie wird beerdigt. Lewis.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
95. Ader	*uah* (Truk *oán*)	—	*wāg*	*wag*
96. Puls	?	—	*engangás*	*ógalaṗ*
97. Fleisch	*fituk*	—	—	*fithe koi*
98. Sehne	*uah*	—	—	—
99. Herz	*bull*[1]	—	*engásangas*	*bú'lei*
100. Leber	*ias*	—	*ásei*	*athei*
101. Lunge	*ari a ua*	—	—	—
102. Magen	*tal e laṗ*, E. K. *sjagasch*	—	*dal*	*djúkulukulei*
103. Darm	*tal e rik*	—	*dadj*	*dai, dam*
104. Speichel	*koot*	—	*gui*	*gui*
105. Urin	*kalolo* (höflich *kamiau*)	—	*galōlo*	*gaillei*
106. Schweiß	*muri a muri, miemie, bodji*	—	*mṙlamei* (Ko: *lāss*)	*vudj*
107. Träne	*val li met, djanietang*	—	*salemetai*	*djalematai*
108. Kot	(pag (höflich *fan i gat*)	—	*bāg*	*bāg, bdag*
109. Atem	*gnas*, atmen *gnasengas*	—	*ngásengas*	*ngásengas*
110. Vierfüßler	*mal* s. 124	—	—	—
112. Hund	*galago*[2]	*kerácho galácho*	*galág*	*bés*
113. Schwein	*siloh*	*ijido* (fehlt)	*silo*	*bavui*
117. Flederhund	*paircí*	—	—	—
119. Ratte	*kerra, gedj*	*chiri*	*gedj*	*gédj*
124. männl. Tier	*mal e mal*	*mal* (s. 618)	—	—
125. weibliches	*mal e robut*[3]	*raubūt*	—	—
126. junges	*gaṗ ali mal*	—	—	—
127. Fell	*kin i mal*	—	—	—
128. Schwanz	*ka-sṙepil*	—	—	—
129. Vogel	*mal e ali al* (*al* fliegen)	*chrigab*	*māl*, ♀ *moal*	*mall*
130. Ei	*sehu gul*	—	(Ko: *fathiel*)	*fathele mal*
131. Schnabel	*au al i mal* (s. 2.)	—	—	*eole mall*
132. Feder	*iui al i mal*	—	(Ko: *leullemell*)	*ilolle mall*
133. Kralle	*kul al i mal*	—	—	*bedjéle mall*

[1] Auf Truk heißt das Herz (99) auch *fau* (Frucht) *n gnasāgnas*.
[2] Eingeführt *chammoró*, also von den Marianen. [3] s. Nr. 619.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
134. Schwanz	*iuk al i mal*	—	(Ko: *patal*)	*bodjólemail*
135. Flügel	*pie al i mal*	—	—	*bólemall*
Nest	—	—	(Ko: *fa*)	—
146. Hahn	*maluk e mal*	*malluk*	*málug*	*mallug*
147. Henne	*maluk e robut*	—	(Ko: *malugo-feivil*)	*m. djaivil*
148. Küken	*gap al i maluk*	—	—	*biebi*
149. Ente	*li au pillig*	—	—	—
152. Fisch	*eak* (Truk *ik*) *ig*	—	(Ko: *igk*)	*ig*
153. Schuppen	*iul al eak*	—	—	*ulalig*
154. Gräte	*srul eak*	—	—	*djilig*
155. Kieme	*bwel*	—	—	*djiorolig*
156. Flosse	*pai eak, iuk*	—	—	*balig*
157. Schwanz	*peral eak*	—	—	*badjalig*
159. Rückenflosse	*ingil eak*	—	—	—
160. Bauchflosse	*babal eak* (Palau *bab* oben)	—	—	—
161. Eidechse	*togorapai*	—	(Ko: *púrupur*) s. S. 295	*burúbur* (schwarz)
andere große	*guele*	—	—	—
165. Krokodil	—	—	*gaus*	—
164. Schildkröte	*wong*	—	(Ko: *woal*)	*vol, gotóp*
166. Hai	*paggo* (Truk *boggo*)	—	—	*bagóu*
167. Insekt	*mal i rik*	—	—	—
168. Schmetterling	*kohs*	—	—	*tavúkeveg*
169. Käfer	*meltro lap*	—	—	—
170. Fliege	*lang* (Truk *lang*)	—	—	*lang*
171. Stechmücke	*lam*	—	—	*lam*
172. Laus	*kuss* (Truk *gu*)	—	*gus*[1]	*gus*
174. Spinne	*ligasuburara (likesobarára)*	—	—	*gasabordra*
		—	—	—
175. Skorpion	*lipaik, tanegedj*	—	—	*talegedj*
176. Krebs	*eure*	—	—	—
Centiped	—	—	—	*mal'lubung*
178. Schnecke	*towi al i falipali*	—	—	—
179. Pflanze	*waliwil*	—	*válivel, váleval*[2]	*volevol*
180. Baum	*waliwil elap*	—	*válivel*	*sápel*

[1] lause mich *buta fagtiei.*

[2] Unkraut, *váleval i setai mongo* Kraut das niemand ißt.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
181a. Blatt	*reau le waliwai*	—	*jôl*, Rippe *lâg* (Ko: *teûl*) Längsrippe *scwûl*	*djoli vôlevol*
181b. Ast	*vâi le waliwai*	—	—	—
182. Rinde	*kin ni waliwai*	—	*gin*	*gill*
183. Rindenstoff	*eul al waliwai* (Bast)	—	—	—
184. Wurzel	*wagar al waliwai*	—	(Ko: *oagar*)	—
185. Dorn	*walag al waliwai*	—	—	—
186. Samen	*fai li waliwai*	—	—	—
187. Harz	*bilis li waliwai*[1]	—	*bilis* (S. 261)	—
188. Schale	*iatil li waliwai*	—	—	—
189. Blüte	*warong li waliwai*	—	*wârong* (Ko: *wal*)	*walwelûel*
190. Frucht	*oah li waliwai*	—	*ûal*, *fai*	*failwelûel*
191. Strauch	*wal i rik* (s. 220)	—	—	—
192. Kraut	—	—	—	—
193. Gras	*bugur*, *efas*	—	*bugêr*	*tumum*
194. Moos	*loom al lue*	—	—	—
Kokos	*lu* (S. 43. 44)	*liû*[2]	*lu* (Ko: *ni*)	*lû* (S. 331)
200. Pandanus	*farrse* (Truk *fadj*)	—	*fadj* (breit *bôgu*) (Ko: *fakt*)	*fadj*
206. Mangrove	*sung*	—	—	—
208. Brotfrucht	*mai* (Truk *mai*)	*mai*	*mei*[3] (Ko: *mâ*)	*mai*
209. Banane	*weis*, *uis* (*uidj*)	*uis*, *fallap*	*uidj* (Ko: *ut*)	*udj*
210. Taro	*wot*, *wot*, *fillê*	*wot*, *bûlak*, *filla*	*wôt* (Ko: *eoth*, *villa*, *wulach*)	*eôth*, *fillâ*
215. (Betel)kalk	*bwers*	—	—	—
219. Kürbis	*pur*	—	—	—
220. Wald	*wal* (Truk *val*) s. 191, 179	—	—	—
224. Rodung	*mat*	—	—	—
Hibiscus	*giliſei*	*gilivau*	(Ko: *giliveu*)	*giliſei*
Gurke	*gavudj*	*awurs*	—	—

[1] s. S. 95.
[2] S. 230.
[3] Samoa *uie*.

398 Feis

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
226. Wasser[1]	*ral*	—	*jāl*, Salzw. *ūl*[2]	*djal(dal)*
229. Feuer	*yaf*	—	*edf* (Ko: *eaf*)[3]	*edf*
230. Feuerbohrer	*ro li gulagui, liok*	—	*niok*	*il, ilh*
232. Rauch	*burak*	—	*burág* (Ko: *oalh*[4])	*burág*
233. Asche	*felang*	—	*feláng*	*felang*
234. Brennholz	*fafe*	—	*fafi*	*fafi*
235. Himmel	*woi lang*	—	*lāng, uol'leng* (Ko: *lang*)	*lāng*
Firmament	*aidjal* (256)	—	*limardharau*	—
236. Luft	*murumur al i yang* (s. 241)	—	*lemolidr*	—
237. Wolke	*mālilang*	—	(Ko: *tharami*)	*malulang*
238. Regen	*drou, gordu (kurdu)*	—	*ojou* (Regenwolke *langimal*) (Ko: *ulh*)	*ddjou*
239. Nebel	*mogol*	—	(Ko: *thaf*)	—
240. Tau	*veilibong*	—	—	—
241. Wind	*e ding, yang* (S. 134)	—	*eāng, mor* (Ko: *dang*)	*eang, mor*
243. Wind SW	*yang al elutu*	—	—	Monsun *lothodr*
Wind NO	*yang anang*	—	—	—
244. Sturm	*malimil*	—	*mālimel nangidelaf*	*malimen*
242. Passat	*gotudfang*	—	*ddngugodj*	*gotidfang*
245. Gewitter	*patēh ime, wari wir*	—	—	—
246. Blitz	*wariwir, badj*	*wōrowōr*	*vórovar*	*vdrivur*
247. Donner	*patēh, badj*	*buts*	*badj*	*badj, par*
248. Regenbogen	*loulliarr*	—	*loiliar* (Ko: *laulūor*)	*lēlior*
249. Welle	*lau, lō*	—	*lo*	*lao*
250. Flut	*gulaetuk*	—	*abūr, lobotag* (Hochwasser)	*ēbur*
Ebbe	*edmaf*	—	*edmet*	*edmalif*

[1] = Süßwasser; Salzwasser wird aber auch gebraucht zum Kochen.
[2] Ko.: Wasser *elūmi*, Grube *tahl*.
[3] Ko.: anzünden *fissigi*. [4] s. Nr. 23, 84 usw.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
251. Dünung	*laulaṗ* (249)	—	*lolápelaṗ*	*edjep*[1]
252. Sonne	*yal*	—	*eāl* (Ko: *al*)	*eāl*
253. Schatten	*lulbur, ngol*	—	*ngol* (Ko: *eángal*)	*eóngol*)
254. Sonnenaufgang	*yalakeyal*	—	*tagajeal*	*eátagadj*
255. Sonnenuntergang	*yalupeyal (ealup eal)*	—	*ealupeal*	*átol eāl*
256. Mittagssonne	*yawol* (235) *eyal*	—	*eduel*	*duel*
257. Tag	*rale*	—	*rāl*	*liteiol*
258. Morgen	*nijur*	—	(Ko: *eral*)	*lisor*
259. Mittag	*ya wol*	—	(Ko: *tajet*)	
260. Abend	*fagaf*	—	(Ko: *thasuleal*) s. Nr. 255	*atoliluel*
261. Nacht	*bong, eāpong*	—	*vong* (Ko: *bong*)	*liómakin*
262. Mitternacht	*lugal e bong*	—	—	—
263. Jahr	*rak e me avang*	—	*seikmaruou*[2]	*zdurag*
264. Monat	*aluelang*	—	*maram*	Mond *maram*
265. Regenzeit	*atul li kurro*	—	*nédjag* (Brotfrucht) *tatoulaṗ gorōu bangalran*	—
266. Trockenzeit	*atul li ran i mai*	—	*niefang* (viel Fische)	—
267. Sommer Winter	*rak* *avang*	—	Halbjahr *rak*	—
268. Nord	*iefang (avang) e laṗ*[3]	—	*iefang* (Ko: *maćvan*)	*fangiaṗ*
269. Süd	*iaur (iour) e laṗ*[3]	—	*iaur* (Ko: *majūrr*)	*idūrilaṗ*
270. West	*iletou (lulo) e laṗ*[3]	—	*lotou* (Ko: *māleso*)	*lodjóilaṗ*
271. Ost	*gotu(e) (kolue) mei*[3], *gotiúmai*	—	*gōteu* (Ko: *mattaral*)	*godjiilel*
272. Nordwest	*lutoavang, lotoáfang*	—	*ilotoualiefang*	*lothoáfang*
273. Nordost	*kolueavang, gotuáfang*	—	*goteuclie fang*	*gotiáfang*

[1] Auf Oleai heißt *djep* fechten, z. B. 2 Hähne.
[2] Wohl eine spätere Bildung, da 12 bedeutend 2. Zahlen; vgl. Palau III S. 325, s. o. S. 276.
[3] Vgl. die zusammengestellten Bezeichnungen bei Christians The Karol. Inseln. S. 400.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
274. Südwest	*lutowarr, lotoár*	—	*ilotoarliaur*	*lothoár*
275. Südost	*kotueiour, gotuór*	—	*gotueliaur*	*gothiór*
276. Mond	*maram, merram* (Truk *mara*)	—	*máram* (Ko: *moram*)	*maram*
277. Neumond	*ling a feau*	—	*segóuru*	*marammakit*
278. Vollmond	*bong ali eure, marammelép*	—	*esáluluti marám*	*marammelaf*
279. Abnehmender Mond	*eutschig elok ali merram*	—	—	—
280. Zunehmender Mond	*fetai ituk ali merram*	—	*sălaf maram* Halbmond	—
281. Mondfinsternis	*korort al i merram*	—	—	—
282. Sonnenfinsternis	—	—	—	—
283. Stern	*fūs, fois*, Meteór *ngol* s. Nr. 867	—	*fus* (Ko: *fiss*)	*fis (fisi, ...im,..il)*
284. Morgenstern	*fois e tehral, gile; teiol*	—	—	*fisirar*
285. Abendstern	*ilelemangár*	—	—	*alangatáleth*
286. Orion	*uliel*	—	—	—
287. Sirius	*golong al i mal*	—	—	—
288. Plejaden	*magárigar* (Truk *moériger*)	—	*magéreger*	—
289. Skorpion	*mitarue*	—	—	—
290. Milchstraße	*yal al i mai*	—	—	—
291. Südliches Kreuz	*boop (bup)*	—	—	—
292. Erdboden	*murrur*, Erde *sălop dēlol*	—	*morór (dēlol, dēl'tol)*	*dolol*
293. Land	*falue*	—	*falū*	*faliēl* (1)
294. Tarofeld	*bul, bol, boāl*	—	*fal*	*oāl*
295. Ebene	*tul e mai*	—	—	—
296. Weg	*yal, eāi*	—	*eāl* (Ko: *ieal*)	*eallaf, el'laf*
297. Berg	—	—	—	—
298. Hügel	*tag e at*	—	—	—
Sumpf	*mór* (Wind S. 135)	—	—	—
301. Höhle	—	—	—	*ngataliodj*
302. Insel	*falue* (s. 293)	—	*alut, ēlut, falu* (Ko: *valli*)	hoch *faliedju* niedrig *dō*
303. Strand	*marang al tel*	—	*bi*	—
304. Sand	*pee* (Truk S. 43 *bi*)	—	*bi*	*bi*

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
305. Stein	*fai*	—	*fai*	*fáü*, Kiesel *faümag*
Lagune	*mótog*			
306. Fels	*fai li worrs, odj*	—	(Ko: *vas*)	*odj*
Einlaß	*ila tāu, taur*	—	(Ko: *thau*)	*thau*
Bootkanal	*tau ali va*	—	—	—
Salz	—	—	*gasíg*	—
Erdbeben	—	—	(Ko: *fallamar*)	—

309. —337. Haus s. S. 89.

Feis.

590. Fußspur	*gevolebedjél*
591. Schatten	*eangol* (Seele *ngoll*)
592. Name	*(ith* Wurzel*)* 1. *thei*, 2. *thom*, 3. *thal*
593. Bild	*lios*
594. Stimme	*edllol*, Rede *mülpil*
595. Wort	*bathal*
596. Schlaf	*masérr*
597. Gott	*e alus e palling*
602. Erbrecht	*māl*

Lamotrek.

	Lamotrek	Oleai	Feis
Ozean	*marau*[1], *lulugüos, nēmetau*	(Ko: *lao*)	*nimetau mētau*
Meer	*set*, tiefes Wasser *vómei*	außen vom Riff *luguluór*	—
Salz		*gasig*	—
Salzwasser	*dat*	—	—
Brandung	*lau, lō*, schlechte See *lō ngau* Lärm *lō pongepong*	(Ko: *faleram*)	—
Flut anfangs	*gulotog*, Ende *burotog*, Hochwasser *esābur, eābur*[2]	(Ko: *fasach*)	—

[1] von *limaraharau* dem unendlichen blauen Himmel.
[2] Im Okt.-Dez. größtes Niedrigwasser bei Nacht *mórabung*.

	Lamotrek	Oleai	Feis
Ebbe fallend	*mafilog*, Niedrigwasser *eābot*, Springniedrig *mōretat*	(Ko: *eisowil*)	—
Strömung	*fongodj* s. S. 294, Kabbelung *metalifongódj*, OW *fongarābuil* nach S *fongodjāgiaur*, nach N *tefang*, WO *fatag*	(Ko: *eath*) Kabbelung *lō*	—
Stein	*motog*	—	—
Riff	*uós*	*uós* bei Hochwasser *esavor* bei Niedrigwasser *esábat*	
Riffkante	*aulung*	—	—
Dünung	*lō labēlab*	—	—
Insel	*falue*	(Ko: *valli*; niedrige Inseln *lūgülling*)	—
Einlaß	*tau(r)*	*thau* (Ko: *thau*)	*thau*
kleine Einlässe	*taualivá*	—	—
Lagune	*lénam*	*lálam*	—
Sand Strand	*bi*	*bi*	*bi*
Riffbruch	*mōi* s. S. 199	—	—
Wind stark	*mor*, sanft *djigar* (S. 135)	*eang*	*eang*

	Lamotrek (Kr.).	Elato (Ham.)	Oleai	Feis
612. Geburt	*fam*	*mallaual*	(Ko: *sasiemelau*) s. S. 267	*fam*
613. Geburt Knabe	—	—	—	—
614. Geburt Mäd-	*felát*	—	—	—
615. Zwillinge	*lipoi*	*lipoi*	—	*livei*
616. Kindheit	—	*liposarū*	(Ko: *sagen*)	—
617. Mannbarkeit Mädchen	—	*kabuitiu*	—	—
618. Mann	*mal*	*mal* (s. S. 124)	*māl* (Ko: *mamoan*)	*taramálamar mál*
Jüngling	—	*jar i mal*	(Ko: *oaélit*	*taramálálap*
15—16 Jahr	—	*tari mal*	*taremal* (Ko: *taraman*)	*taramoál*

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
kleines Kind	—	*sarri*	—	*ĕluídj* (Säugling)
619. Frau	*rŏbut*[1]	*rawut* (820)	(Ko: *tabut*)	*jĕfel, levĕmar*[2]
Mädchen	*ulut* (kinderlos (s. S. 142)	*jar i rawut*	(Ko: *tarvével*)	*levĕdjig*
Backfisch	—	*traifil*	—	*tareſĕvii*
620. Vater	—	*tam* 1. *ei* 2. *ŏum* 3. *dl*	(Ko: *taman*)	*tam, tamei* (1)
621. Mutter	—	*thinn, thill*	(Ko: *rehn*)	*sil, silei* (1)
622. Bruder	—	*push* 1. ..*i* 2. *om* 3. *il* 4. *imam*	*buisi*	*uithi* (1)
623. jüngerer Bruder	—	—	*agitegit*	*lĕavadj*
624. älterer Bruder	—	—	*ĕaulaf*	*mĕangai lĕalaf*
625. Schwester von Bruder	—	*mang* 1. ..*iai* 2. *ier* 3. *al* 4. *emam* 5. *ami* 6. *ir*	*mángĕaĕ*	*mĕangai*
626/27. ältere und jüngere Schwester	—	—	—	*mĕangai lĕalaf* u. *lĕavadj*
628. Ehemann	—	*ejautak, ro elle im*	—	*rik, rim, ril*
629. Ehefrau	—	*rou le gandi*	—	—
Witwe	*lepidj*	—	—	*lepidj*
			(Ko: älter *molles*	*lei, lom, leil*
630. Sohn	—	*(jar) lei mai* (mein Sohn)	jünger *usel*	*lodj, leimi, lei ir*
631. Tochter	—	*(jar) lei rawut* (meine Frau)	(Ko: *moengel*)	*lei*
632. Großvater	—	*tamai e tamai*	—	*tamáltamat*
633. Großmutter	—	*thill e laf*	—	—
634. Mutter's Vater	—	*tamai e thinn*	—	—
635. Mutter's Mutter	—	*thinn e thinn, thin e laf*	—	—

[1] Ich hörte: *rŏ* Leute, *but* gebrochen (Bd. 6 I S. 268); *harsi* Fischweib; *faivil* unhöflich = Weib! (Ko.: S. 37 Weib *faivil* Feis.) Frauennamen beginnen mit Le...

[2] Auch *ĕluidj tarafĕfĕl*, junge Frau *lefĕdjih*, ältere *lefĕimoar*, alte *i lŏlop*.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
636. Vaterbruder	—	*tamai*	—	*uithil tamal*
638. Mutterbruder	—	*mal i lap*	—	*uithil silél*
652. Sohn des Sohnes	—	*lauulei* (Kind meines Kindes)	—	*lol'lei*
653. Tochter des Sohnes	—	*lauulei*	—	*lol'lei*
654. Sohn von Bruder oder Schwester	—	—	—	*lalomēangai*
657. Mutter der Ehefrau	—	—	—	*sil e rīl*
658. Bruder der Ehefrau		—	—	*uithil rīl*
Schwager	—	—	—	*meangal e rīl*
666. Familie	—	*aremāt el im*	—	*rēgabong*
669. Fremder	—	*oušolá*	—	*rabéssedj, vasóla*
670. Greis	—	*togowéi*	*malelap* (Ko: *it.* (Alter *togobei*)	*malel'lap*
671. Greisin	—	—		*ilólap* (671)
672. Häuptling	—	*tamól*	*tamol* (Ko: *tamolin*)	*tamól*
673. Freund	—	*puši*	(Ko: *marer*)	*marērei*
675. Europäer	—	*roa fálu, apišás* (Filipin)	—	s. 669
676. Zahlen	—	—	—	—
Vorfahren	—	—	—	*mesilei*
Volk, Leute	—	—	*aremat, djē* (Ko: *malegaffagen*)	*ēramat*
677. eine Hand	—	*šé par*	—	—
678. beide Hände	—	*ruo par, ilegil*[1] *ma ruo par* alle	—	—
680. Teil	—	*thou éi góu fit* (ein von Ganzes)	—	—
681. wenig	—	*thi puiss*	—	—
682. viel	—	*tos lap*	—	—
683. halb	—	*she top*	—	—

[1] Truk: alle *inisin.*

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
685. alles	—	*mal e kŏmŏlai*	—	—
686. einiges s. 680	—	—	—	—
687. der erste	—	*meta mou*	—	—
688. der zweite	—	*kar ruo uall*	—	—
689. der dritte	—	*kar thellu uall*	—	—
690. allein	—	*mĕliĕli*	*lok*	—	—
691. zusammen	—	*fongang li*	—	—
		beim Verb		
694. ich	—	*ngan*	i	—	*ngang*
695. du	—	*chell*	ko	—	*gel*
696. er	—	i	i	—	*ĕramatalál*[1]
697. sie	—	i	—	—
699. es	—	*mimi meta*	—	—
		Was ist es?		
701. wir beide: ich und du	—	*chiss ma therŏu e mal*	—	—
702. wir beide: ich und er	—	*gamam*	—	—
711. wir	—	*chiss*	—	—
712. ihr beide	—	*chami ma ruŏ e mal*	—	—
717. ihr	—	*chami*	—	—
718. sie beide	—	*ir ma ruo e mal*	—	—
722. sie alle	—	*ir ilegir* s. Nr. 678	—	—
724. mein	—	*iai*	—	—
725. dein	—	*eam*	—	—
726. sein	—	*eál*	—	—
731. unser beider (inkl.)	—	*ears*	—	—
747. euer	—	*eami*	—	—
752. ihr (aller)	—	*earr, earilh*	—	—
754. (Mann) dieser	—	*ga e lai*	—	*rémat alĕ*
755. (Frau) diese	—	*rawut el*	—	—
756. jener	—	*mene*	—	*rémat alái*
757. groß	*temáka*	*eŏlăp*	—	*pal'ling*[2], *lab*
758. groß (Umfang)	—	*farĭgitt*	(Ko: *eolep*)	(Ko.*mallidji*)
759. klein	—	*gitĕgit, malekit*	—	*wadjidj* (*ĕuĕljidj*)

[1] *ĕramat* Leute.

[2] Ko.: Feis feist *epalling*.

406 FEIS

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
760. klein (Umfang)	—	*gitčgit*	(Ko: *edikit*)	(Ko: *taraman*)
761. hoch	—	*tageatt*	(Ko: *etageet*	*tagiet*
762. tief (kurz)	—	*e loll*	niedrig *oltatal*	*modjódj*
voll	*dūt*	—	—	—
leer	*pā*	—	—	—
763. lang	—	*lallai*	—	*lol'lai*
764. breit	—	*roalap*	—	—
765. fett	—	*budéi*	—	*eóui*
766. mager	—	*gulčr*	—	*tâieu*
	—	—	—	*edjau, edjou*
767. schwer zu tragen	—	*e tjau*	(Ko: *ettau*)	*épal*
768. leicht zu tragen	—	*e pal*	(Ko: *eppel*	—
769. schwer zu tun	—	*ueiriss*	—	—
770. leicht zu tun	—	*metčrat*	—	—
771. alt	—	—	(Ko: *esaolog* weit)	*mesúei*
772. jung	—	—	—	*čluidj* (s. Nr.618)
773. gerade	—	*eóuel*	(Ko: eckig *emetavan*	*eúell*, krumm *čvorr*
774. rund	—	*baliel*	(Ko: *eulul*)	*tavaliel*
775. kalt	—	*voi i*	(Ko: *isaleu*	*fói*
776. warm	—	*burš*	(Ko: *lâss* Schweiß)	*isčkar*
777. heiß	—	—	—	*isávedj*
778. trocken	—	*epot, epal*	(Ko: *epelle-pell*)	*sápal*
779. naß	—	*e tjug*	(Ko: *ollō*)	*el'loi*
780. verfault	—	—	—	—
781. gesund	—	—	(Ko: *sahtii*)	*tait, sadjuit*
782. krank	—	*tomai*	(Ko: *emmedack*)	*tâmái*
783. tot	*mas*	*math*	—	*sámes*
784. blind	—	—	—	*matáves*
785. taub	—	—	—	*tálengapul*
786. stumm	—	—	—	*taimalieli*[1]

[1] = »nicht sprechen«.

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
787. lahm	—	—	—	*mogót ogul*[1]
788. schwanger	—	*djiant*	*ēsial* (Ko: *sasiei*)	*sasial*
789. gut	*mam(u)ai*	*mamai*	(Ko: *ilamoút*)	*mom'mai*
790. klug	—	*ropougóu*	—	*irēpi*
791. dumm	*malebus*	*e burš*	—	*emaliegeli*
792. schlecht	*ingau* (Tr. *mingau*)	*engau*	—	*taikoff*
793. tapfer	—	*bórak, mēlat*	—	—
794. feig	—	*tamátak*	—	—
schnell	*volei, gaitog*	—	—	—
795. weiß	—	*bodjebodj*	(Ko: *ewuet*)	*uédj* („Kalk")
796. schwarz	—	*eróll*	(Ko: *wol*)	*redjobung*
797. dunkel	—	—	—	*sárodj*
798. hell	—	—	—	*sāuer*
799. rein	—	*(epoll)*	—	*taifoi* (Haus) *iefágei*
800. schmutzig	—	*epoll*	—	*sangadjengedj*
faul	*gágu*	—	—	arm *gafágoi*
fleißig	*malūangeta*	—	—	reich *mēiriss*
808. gestern	—	*lallóu*		*lōlou, lallo*
809. morgen	—	*loii*	—	*váleséu, ūalsā*
810. übermorgen	—	*thillangin, ranóu*	—	*uatelángil, vatelangéi*
811. vorgestern	—	*thi langillalou, ranašaua*	—	*talang i lállo*
812. heute	*rālei*	*rallei*	—	*rálei*
814. jetzt	—	*igēla*	(Ko: *igala*)	*igéla*
815. sogleich	—	*igēla igēla*	—	—
816. dereinst	—	*fātheou*	—	*iguē*, (später *uēthiei*
817. neulich	—	*ranóu*	—	—
fertig	*sakol*	—	—	—
819. rechts	—	*peimal*	(Ko: *gilimera*)	*gilémará*

[1] *magai*... Palau »schwach«.

408 FEIS

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
820. links	—	*rawut* (619)	(Ko: *gilt-schägil*)	*gilidjéigil*
821. hier	—	*igéi*	(Ko: *iga*)	*igá*
822. dort	—	*egou mull*	—	*igelá*
823. nahe	—	*egărăp*	(Ko: *egarep*)	*iagárep*
824. fern	—	*e taou*	*mella* Sache	*iethâl*
827. vorwärts	—	*uo limoulou*	*melel* dies da	*therâlog*
828. rückwärts	—	*lăgul e rum* (40), (838)	*melĕmun*	*thértafal*
829. seitwärts	—	*păgik*	*mĕlĕvĕ* dies dort	—
830. vor	—	Zeit *i gaua*	*peigil* hier, da	—
832. nach	—	*morill*	*rĕi* / *rom* / *rel* nach meiner, deiner, seiner Seite	—
833. oben	—	*eidjett*	(Ko: *theusach*)	*lálilang*
836. unter	—	*eitoll*	(Ko: *theusi*)	—
837. unten	—	*lall*	—	*tótol*
838. außen	*auei*	*lugul*	—	*liketam*
839. innen	—	*lŏm*	—	*lim* (im Haus)
840. ja	—	*nga*	(Ko: *illa*)	*ngŏ, ei*
841. nein	—	*eáb*	—	*dăr, tŏr*
842. vielleicht	—	—	—	vielleicht *ságarep*
843. nicht	—	*dor*	—	nicht *tai*
845. mit	—	*fongangli, mam*	—	—
	—	*muena*		
846. durch	—	*tagaš*	—	—
847. durch (hilfs)	—	*oroll*	—	—
848. gegen	*metág e sagál*	*paluall*	—	—
849. in	—	*lon*	—	—
851. um herum	—	*oroll* (847)	—	—
853. arbeiten	*tarebuágo*	*engan*	(Ko: *engang*)	*ĕngang*
854. atmen	—	*ngas*	—	—
aufhängen	*djang*	—	—	—
855. aufstehen	—	*thogorelloch*	—	*thülthag*
bedecken	*rap*	—	—	—

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
856. begatten	—	*fe*	—	*fei*
857. berühren	—	*gotop* . *goláp* fühlen	—	—
858. binden	—	*goagóu*	—	*gogoi*
859. blasen	—	*ógugu*	—	—
860. bleiben	—	*gaseoséu*	(brechen Ko: *kopi*)	*uethiei*
861. brennen	—	*fithefith, fithigi*[1]	(Ko: *fissigi*)	—
862. bringen	—	*kasítou*	—	*gasithog*
863. denken	—	*mangemang*[2]	—	—
864. drehen	—	—	—	—
865. ertrinken	*mop*	—	—	—
866. essen	—	—	(Ko: *mogai*)	*móngai*
867. fallen	—	—	(Ko: *eponloch*, im Gehen *täparack*)	*sabungethi*
fangen	*tukur*	—	—	—
868. flechten	—	—	—	*fáseſes*
869. fliegen	*aliali*	—	(Ko: *elsoch*)	—
870. fließen	—	—	—	—
871. flöten	—	—	—	—
872. sich freuen	—	—	—	—
873. fühlen	—	—	—	—
874. fürchten	—	—	(Ko: *resumith*)	*samelag*
875. gähnen	—	—	(Ko: *maulog*)	*máiolog*
876. geben	—	—	(Ko: *kalamuje*)	—
878. gebären	—	—	—	—
881. gehen	—	—	(Ko: *gallog*)	*sálog* (s. S. 306)
882. glätten	—	—	(Ko: Nasengruß *feissong*)	*fáfou*
884. hauen	—	—	—	*sapegiri*
885. hören	—	—	—	*saróngorong*
888. husten	—	—	(Ko: *tagefach*)	*fágafag*
889. kacken	—	—	—	*galóiloi*
890. kauen	—	—	—	*kuk*
892. ankommen	—	—	(Ko: *maiga* kommen)	*modjebúthog*

[1] Wohl demonstrativ (s. Palau S. 342).
[2] *mangilok* denk nach!

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
894. krähen	—	—	—	*gaſál*
895. kriechen	—	—	—	*sakekárag*
896. lachen	—	—	(Ko: *malikowot*)	*mam'mal*
lügen	—	—	(Ko: klettern *theusagk*)	*salabéoāl*
900. liegen	—	—	(Ko: *ūlloch*)	*gakeſ*
902. malen	—	—	—	*djāl*
903. mahlen	—	—	(Ko: laufen *therr*)	*sus*
904. machen	—	—	(Ko: springen *ludt*)	*ſar*
906. nähen	—	—	(Ko: *thigi*)	*thith*, schnell *thíthith*
nehmen	—	—	(Ko: *bulū*)	(Ko: *choli*)
907. nießen	—	—	(Ko: *mussi*)	*mussi*.
908. pissen	—	—	—	*gololei*
910. pfeifen	—	—	—	*amōl*
912. reden	—	—	—	*gapátāpat*[1]
913. riechen	*nguribol*	—	—	*sangúrobol*
914. rudern	—	—	—	*ſáthel*
915. rufen	—	—	(Ko: *vosangahsog*)	*ſōſas*
916. sehen	—	—	(sitzen Ko: *mathothi*)	*sāueri*
917. setzen	—	—	—	*mwroro*
919. sich legen	—	—	—	*dl'log*
920. singen	—	—	—	*eoāo, mángol*
221. schlafen	—	—	(Ko: *mādur*)	*masōrr*
922. schlagen	—	—	(Ko: *kauli*)	*mat*
923. schleifen	—	—	—	*i gēg*
924. schnarchen	—	—	—	*ngasálong*
925. stehen	—	—	(Ko: *sūsach*)	*sûethag*
927. stoßen	—	—	—	*thingi*
928. tatauieren	—	—	—	*ſáleſel*
929. töten	—	—	(Ko: *kauliwoimes*) (sterben *imūleh*)	*ſálaſal*
932. trinken	—	—	(Ko: *por*)	*ūl*
934. umkehren	—	—	—	*taválethog*
935. umkehren etwas	—	—	—	*sédjap*
936. wachsen	—	—	—	*ſathol'log*

[1] Lam. *gapāl, mālleli.*

	Lamotrek	Elato	Oleai	Feis
937. weben	—	—	—	*thether*
938. weinen	—	—	(Ko: *kawasing*)	*(sá)tang* er
939. werfen	—	—	—	*hēkēt*
943. zeigen mir	—	—	—	*gourangaliei*
944. ziehen	—	—	—	*bēfetang*

Zahlen (zählen *udtavat*)

Lamotrek	Feis	Lamotrek	Feis
1 *dot*	*sēu*[1]	1000 *sangaras*	*séngaras*
2 *ru*	*ruau* 12	2000 *ruangaras*	*ringaras*
3 *ell*	*solú* 13	usw.	
4 *fāng*	*fáu* 14		
5 *lim*	*limou* 15	10000 *sel*	
6 *uōl*	*uólou* 16	20000 *rual*	
7 *fis*	*fisú* 17	30000 *sellil*	
8 *val*	*valu* 18	40000 *fāl*	
9 *tiv*	*thuou* 19	50000 *limal*	
10 *seg*	*ség* 20	60000 *uólol*	
20 *rueg*	*rieg*	70000 *fisil*	
30 *sellīg*	*selig*	80000 *valil*	
40 *fāig*	*fáig*	90000 *tival*	
50 *limeg*	*limég*	100000 *sollop*	
60 *uōleg*	*uolég*	200000 *ruallop*	
70 *fisig*	*fisig*	300000 *sellilop*	
80 *vālig*	*valig*	400000 *fāllop*	
90 *tiveg*	*thueg*	500000 *limallop*	
100 *sēbugul*	*sōbugui*	600000 *uólollop*	
200 *ruabugul*	*riebugui*	700000 *fisilop*	
300 *sellibugul*	*selebugui*	800000 *valilop*	
400 *fabugul*	*fa bugui*	900000 *tivalop*	
500 *limabugul*	*limebugui*	1 Million *sengit*	
600 *uolobugul*	*uolobugui*	2 Millionen *ruengil*	
700 *fisibugul*	*fisibugui*	3 „ *selengit*	
800 *valibugul*	*válibugui*	4 „ *fangit*	
900 *tivēbugul*	*thuebugui*	5 „ *limangit*	

[1] s. Spiele S. 366

Feis

6	Millionen	*uolongit*	30	Millionen	*selangarai*
7	„	*fisingit*	100	„	*sémet*
8	„	*valingit*	200	„	*ruemet*
9	„	*tivangit*	300	„	*selimet*
10	„	*sangarai*	∞		*haimus*
20	„	*ruangarai*			

Die hohen Zahlen von Lámotrek und Feis werden durch die Menge von *til*-Fischen erklärt, die als Beute bei der Verteilung gezählt zu werden pflegt.

4. Literatur.

(s. Bd. 6 I S. 288)

Cantova s. E. d. S. Palau II S. 312, Lettres... S. 282.
Chamisso in Kotzebue Bd. III, s. Truk S. 451, hier S. 192.
(Kotzebue = Ko.).
Lütke s. Truk S. 431.
Wilson James s. Palau II S. 363, hier S. 6ff.
Tromelin in Bibliothèque universelle des voyages Tome XVIII S. 381.
D. Kolbl. = Deutsches Kolonialblatt s. Bd. 6 S. 288.
E. d. S. = Ergebnisse der Südseeexpedition, 1908—10.
Band 2 I u. II, Wilhelm Müller, Yap.
Band 3 I—V, Augustin Krämer, Palau.
Band 5, Augustin Krämer, Truk.
Band 6, Augustin Krämer, Inseln um Truk. I östlicher Teil.
F. W. Christian, The Caroline Islands, London 1899.
Born, Einige Beobachtungen ethnographischer Natur über die Oleai-Inseln Mitt. aus den D. Schutzgebieten, Bd. 19 S. 175ff. Taifun S. 196.
Friederic, Natuna, S. 304, Bataten S. 330[1].
Fritz Georg. Die Zentralkarolinische Sprache, Grammatik, Übungen und Wörterbuch der Mundart der westlich von Truk liegenden Atolle, insbesondere der Saipan-Karoliner. Lehrbücher des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin Bd. 29. Berlin 1911.
A. Kr. Krämer Augustin, 1908, s. E. d. S. Bd. 5 S. 431.
Senfft s. Handel S. 9, Besuch S. 347.
S.-H. = Südseehandbuch, Bd. 6 I S. 288.
P. J. P. = Pacific Islands Pilot, Bd. 6 I S. 288.
Stöcklein s. Palau II S. 362.
Juan Antoni Tornos Retrato Geográfico-historico-apologético de los Islos Filipinas, con un appendice de las islas Palaos, ó Carolinas, y de las islas Marianas Manuscript 1789 von 140 Seiten auf der Akademie der Geschichte zu Madrid, s. H. Trimborn in Forschungen und Fortschritte 1936 S. 439 (Nr. 34).

Bei Abschluß des Bandes wurden mir noch 5 Arbeiten von Teiso Esaki bekannt, Professor der Entomologie an der Kaiserl. Universität Kyushu, der 1936 die Karolinen besuchte und einen Monat lang auf Palau war.

I. Die Cicadiden-Fauna der Karolinen Tenthredo Acta Entomol. Vol. I, 1, 1936.
1. Hamma ochiyamae Matsumura, 1927, Palau endemisch.
2. Arrytaeda godeffroyi Distant 1882, Ponape.
3. Melampsalta roseca Distant 1892 Truck.
4. Purana carolinae nov. spec.

4: Krämer OR21 Woleai

II. Das Vorkommen der charoutiden Amblypygi auf Palau. Lansania Tokyo Vol. 8 Nr. 75. 1936.
Eine Geisselspinne Charon grayi papuanus Thorell.

III. Zwei Federmotten von Palau (Bearbeiter Hiroshi Hori). Mushi Vol. 9, 1, p. 14—16. 1936.
Pterophoriden: Trichoptilus defectalis Walker 1864.
Deuterocopus socotranus Rebel 1907.

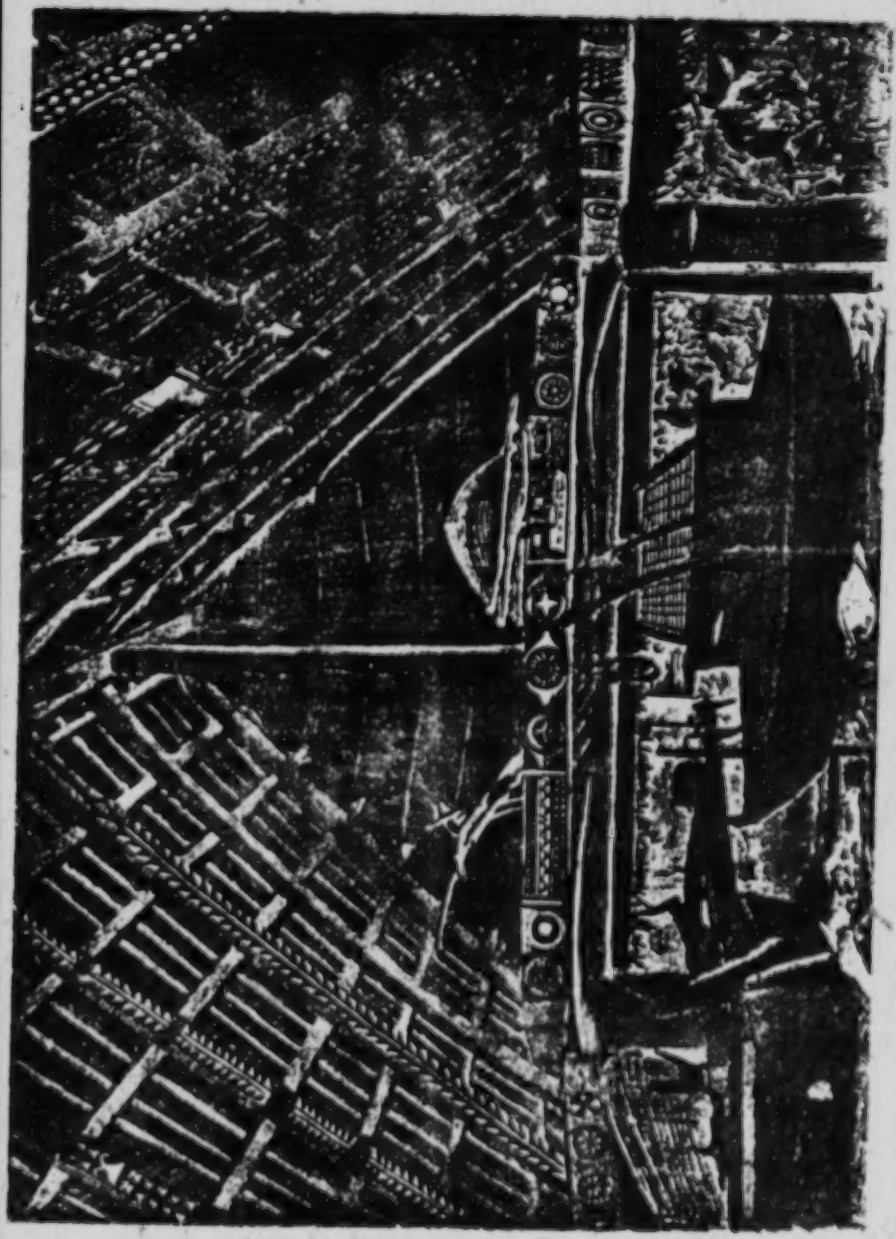
IV. Einige biologische Beobachtungen über die Bienen und Wespen. Mushi Vol. 9, 1, p. 44—47. 1936.
kleine Biene Melipona (Trigona) atomella Cockerell, Wespe Polistes sp. und Ropalidia Marianen s. *galadugibi* Palau IV. S. 337.

V. A new Biting Midge from Palau (Bearb. Masaaki Tokunaga). Mushi Vol. 9, 1, p. 53—58, 1936
Stechmücke Culicoides pelilionensis sp. nov.

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, I. Halbband, Farb. Tafel I

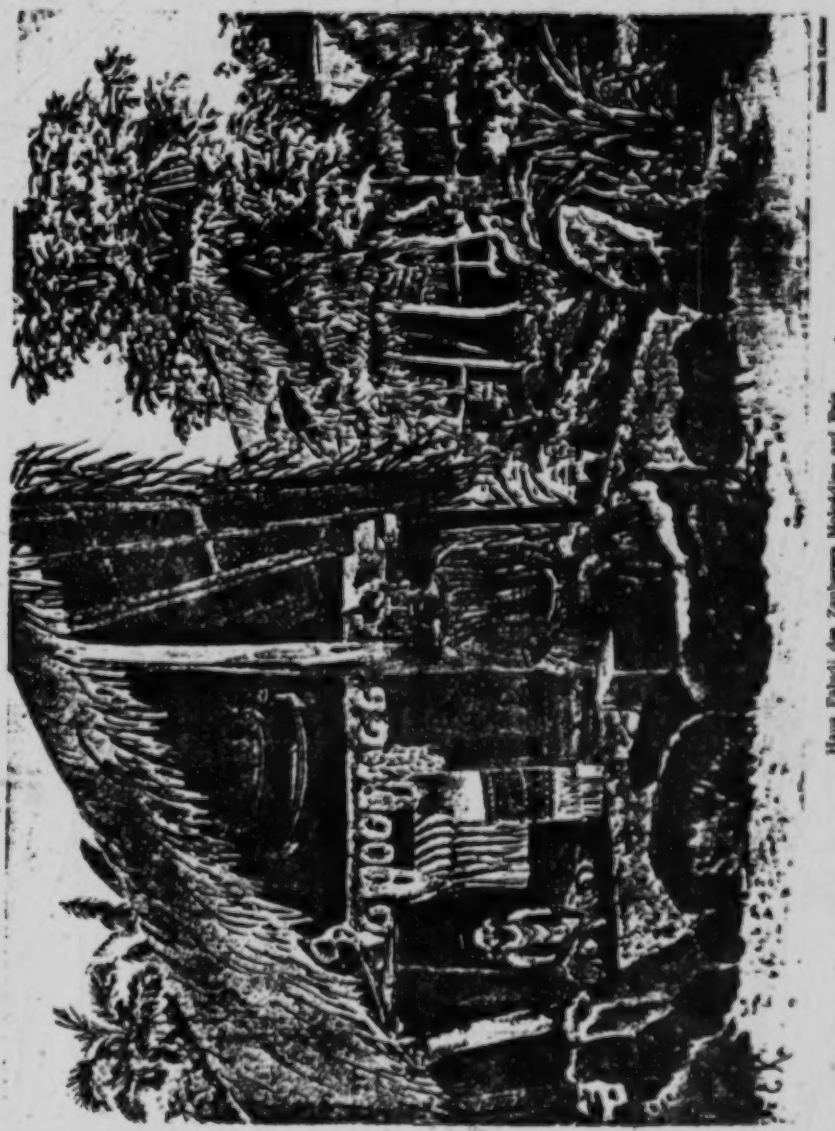
Frau von Lámotrek

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, I. Halbband, Farb. Tafel 2



Inselhaus Alboi auf Lámotrek

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, I. Halbband, Farb. Tafel 3



Haus Fabelj des Zauberers Mahdilyg auf Feis

ORZI Woleai

a Kr. 380

b Kr. 380

c Kr. 371

Lämotrek

a) Häuptlinge Boteu, Sükuang und Utüpo

b) Blick auf Beethaus (b) Abei und (c) Lugal

c) Blick von Lugal südwärts nach Ngalangyet

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 2

a Kr. 374

b Kr. 391

c Kr. 378

d Kr. 393

Lámotrek

a) Volimar (Haus 2)
b) Ikisera (Haus 25)
c) Tilibou (Haus 10)
d) Ikelur den Ikisera besprechend

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 3

a Kr. 383

b Kr. 379

c Kr. 372

d Kr. 373

Lámotrek

a) Meropomar und Ngasegoul
b) Eaumal und Ligaur
c) Frau mit Kind. Knotenmatte
d) Bessie Lewis, Halbblut

a Kr. 388

b Kr. 384

c Kr. 377

d Kr. 1004

Lámotrek

a) Boothaus Faletaipu mit Weberinnen
c) Urupo mit Seezauber; Fischkorb

b) Cordia-Gebüsch, Lámeteg
d) ...ee- und Taifunzauber

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg.

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 5

Netze und Korbe, Lámotrek

a) He. 2223 Fischnetz.
b) Kr. 489 Seelenfänger.
c) He. 2158 Futteral.
d) He. 2314 Aufhängegitter.
e) Kr. 481 für Hochzeitessen.
f) Kr. 461 Pandanuskorb.
g) Kr. 456 *volau*.
h) Kr. 457 *ul* mit Haarstrang.
i) He. 2267 *volau*.
k) Kr. 480 Korb für Essen.
l) He. 2261 Pandanustasche.
m) He. 2265 Pandanustasche.
n) Kr. 454 Korb *bāro*.

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg.

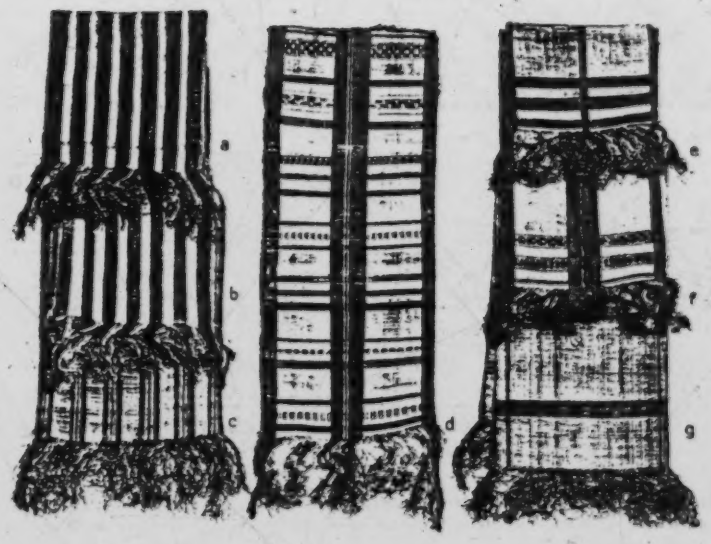
A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 6

Webmatten, Lámotrek (Hamburg).

a) Kr. 515. b) Kr. 511. c) He. 2268.
d) Kr. 512. e) Kr. 510. f) Kr. 463.
g) He. 4620. h) He. 2313. i) Kr. 508.

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg.

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 7

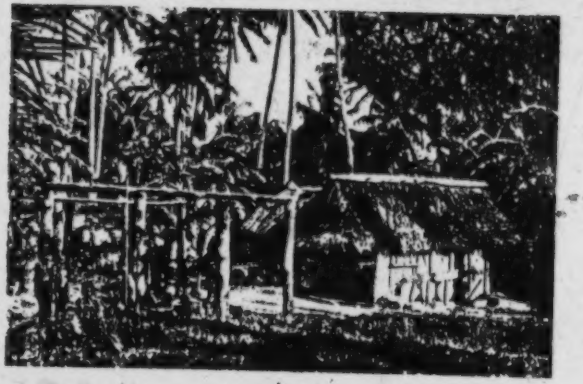


Lámotrek

oben: Slg. Tübingen: a) Kr. 400. b) Oleai. c) Kr. 410a Setoval. d) Mustermatte. e. Kr. 405. f) Kr. 404a Aurepik? g) Kr. 401.

unten: Linden Museum (Stgrt): Holzschüssel (45454), Holzteller (41247), Wiege (41250), Sturmzauber (77830), Steinstößel (41258) Oleai, Holzstößel (41243), Spatel (41269), Holzteller (41263), Cassisschnecke (41248).

a Kr. 382



b Kr. 45

c Kr. 1023

d Kr. 1025

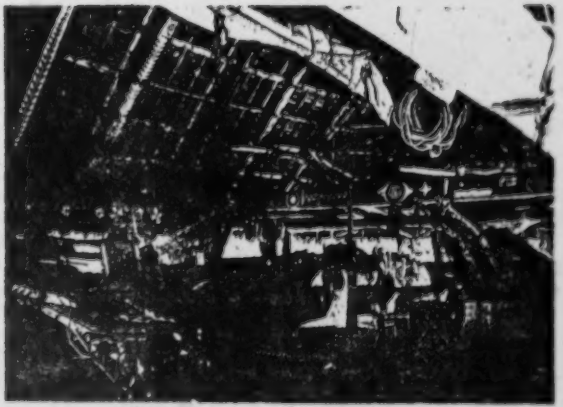
Lämotrek

a) Haus 12 Eanpil
b) Haus 25 Olibaba
c) Haus 25 des Ikesera
d) Haus des Ikesera.

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg.

a Nr. 370

b Nr. 409



c Nr. 390

d Nr. 397

Lämutrek

a) Haus 6 Volledj
c) Unsere Wohnung im Boothaus (b) Aboi

b) Haus 16 Lémar
d) Grab[illegible] d Gemeinhaus Rolmet

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen. Tafel 9

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 10

a

b

c

d

Lämotrek

a

b

c

d

Eilao

a) Am Binnenstrand
c) Bootshaus Lotos unten

b) Bootshaus Lotos Dach
d) Bootshaus Lotos, Traufe innen

4: Krämer 0021 Wolesai

a

b

c

d

Eläto

a) Wohnhaus
b) Bauthaus
c) Dacht und Sturmanker
d) Haus des Gottes Pilu

a

b

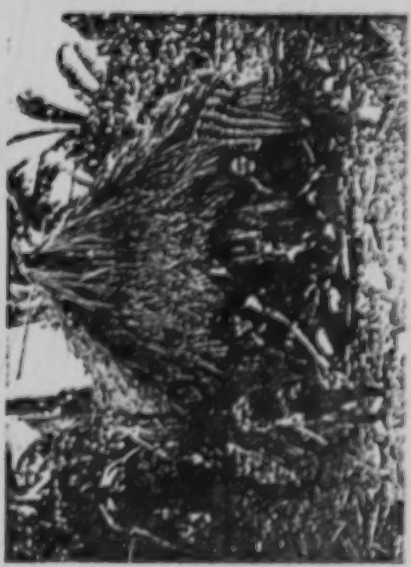
c

d

Oleai

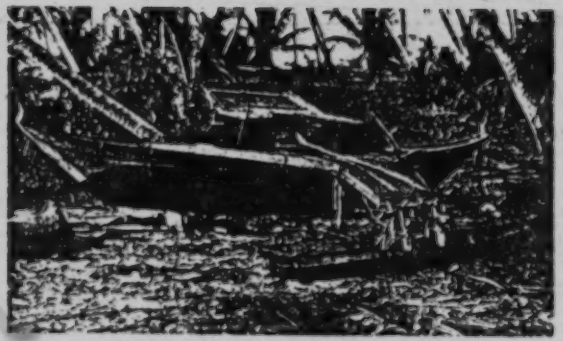
a) Ibothaus A Ungaiel vorn
b) Ibothaus Ungaiel von der Seite
c) Tanzhütt. W. von A.
d) Haus zu Agugelsir mit Fassade

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 14

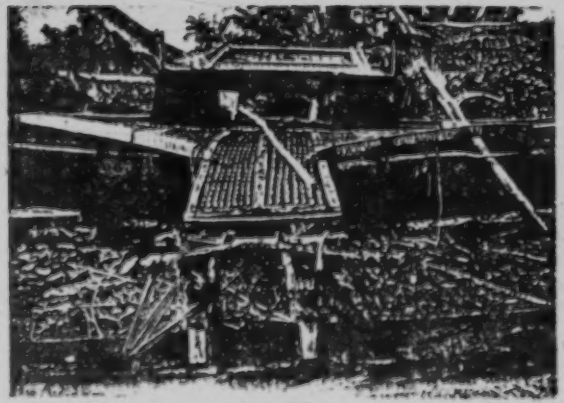


Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg

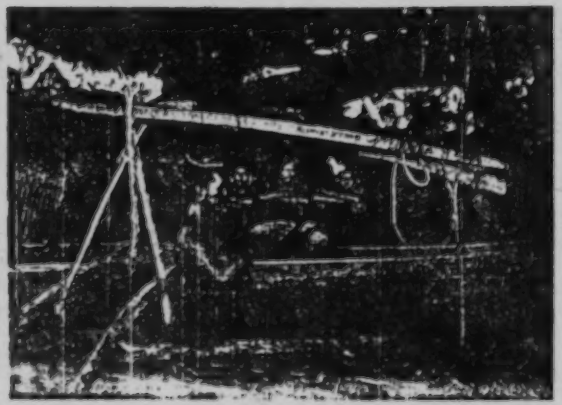
a Kr. 267



b Kr. 269



c Kr. 250



d Kr. 271

Ollosi

a) Haus 3 Matalik
c) Ausleger

b) Segelboote
d) Ruder (Taf. 16d) im Boot mit Schrift

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 16

a Kr. 140

b Kr. 138

c Kr. 137

d Kr. 143

a Kr. 348

b Kr. 899

c Kr. 369

d Kr. 401

Woleai

a) Auf Tagoulap
c) Webstuhl vor Haus 15 Limarauran

b) Auf Falalis
d) Segelnähen

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 18

a Kr. 310

b Kr. 317

c) Kr. 341

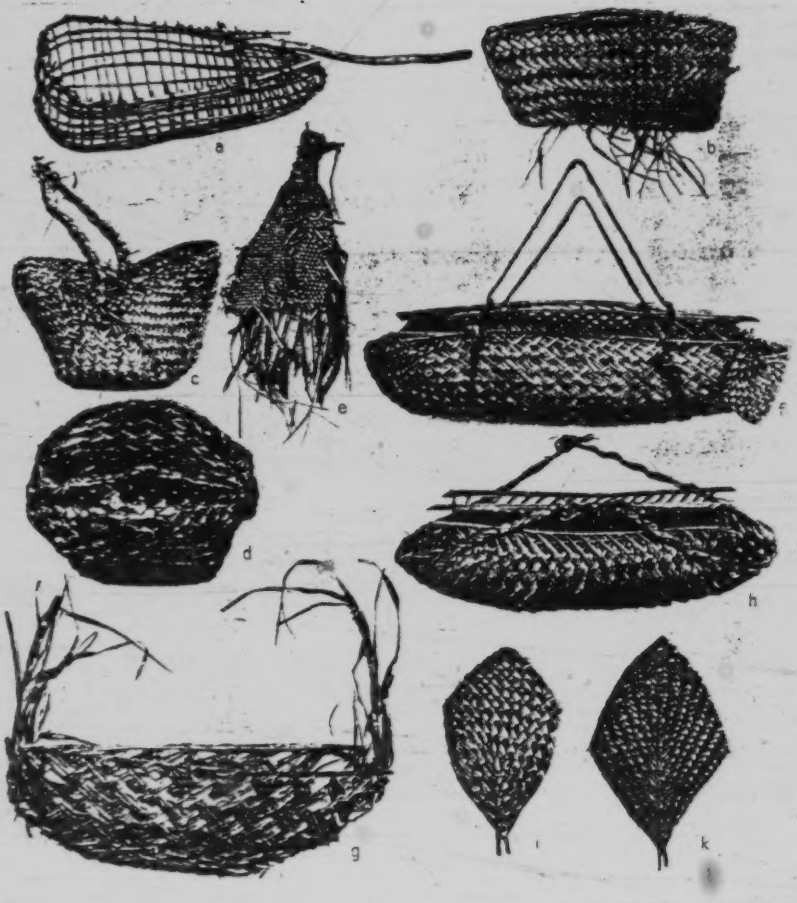
d) Kr. 313

Oleai

a. Ualuer und Guruam
c. Leopi Hallilut (H. 20)

b) Lacajoten und Sarafalimal
d) Knabe mit Crifum

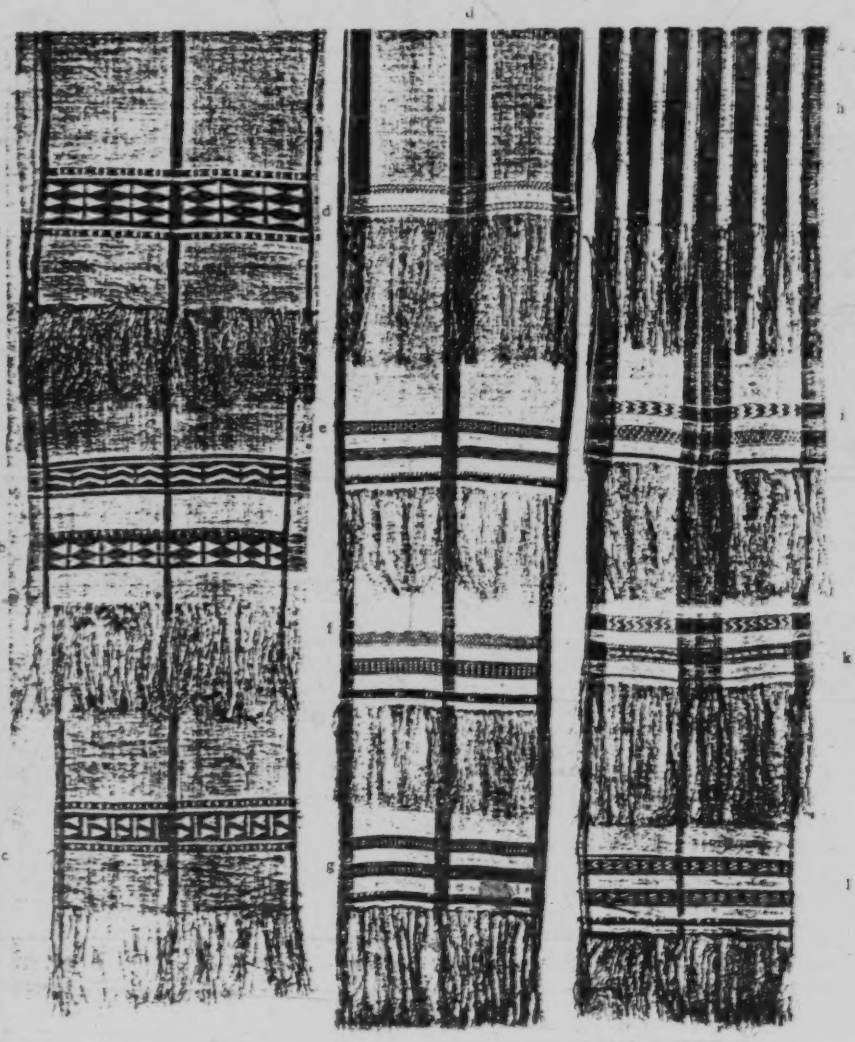
A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen. Tafel 19



Oleai

a) Kr. 266 Fischhamen.
b) Kr. 307 Speisenkorb *gat*.
c) He. 1755 Cocosblattkorb.
d) Kr. 306 Henkel innen *gápare*.
e) Kr. 285 Bootwimpel *gánéang*.
f) He. 1642 Kinderwiege.
g) Kr. 308 Fruchtkorb.
h) Kr. 305 Kinderkorb.
i) Kr. 309 Feuerfächer Flechtart über *i*.
k) Kr. 310 Feuerfächer Flechtart über *z*.

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 20



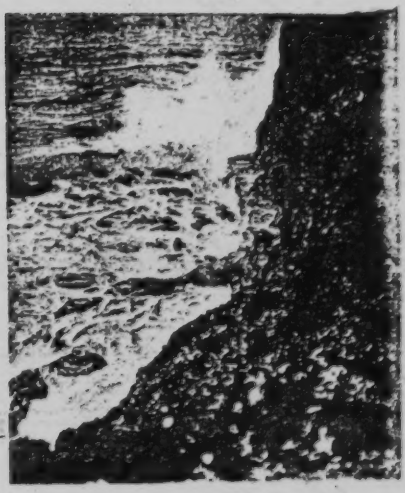
Oleai

a) Kr. 1778, lang 260 cm, breit 62 cm. d) Kr. 953 lang 193 cm, breit 50 cm. h) Kr. 357 lang 197 cm, breit 49 cm.
b) Kr. 1331. e) Kr. 957 i) Kr. 940
c) Kr. 1778. f) He. 1640. k) K. 374
g) He. 1584 l) He. 4631.

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H. Hamburg

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 21

a Kr. 237



b Kr. 238

c Kr. 243

d Kr. 240

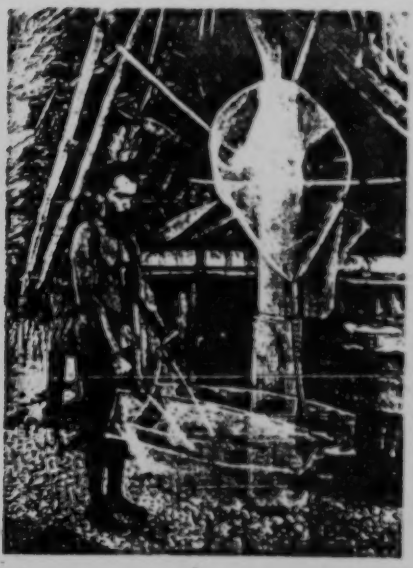
Feis

a) Hohlkehlenspitze SO, überschäumter Fuß
b) Zerstörte Hohlkehle, Rest Fuß als Gang
c) Oberhäuptling Tulei
d) Zwei Feisuner

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H. Hamburg

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 22

a Kr. 244



b Kr. 236

c Kr. 246

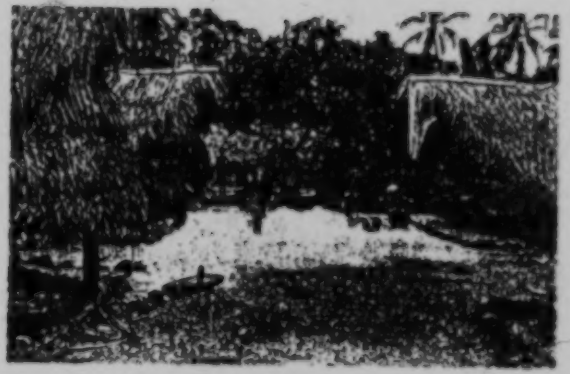
d Kr. 240

Feis

a) Ehepaar
b) Mann, Fischnetze, Giebel
c) Frau
d) Mädchen

Verlag Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co. m. b. H., Hamburg

a Kr. 210



b Kr. 86

c Kr. 269

d Kr. 10

Fetis

a) Batatenpflanzung Hochfläche
c) Gehöft 19 Falelai aus W.

b) Gehöft 8 Valeleai
d) Gehöft 32 Faipar aus O.

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen. Tafel 23

OR21 Wolea1

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 24

a

b

c

a) Bring von Hosa ab Mailur
b) Tatauierung der Kan-ianer nach Lütke
c) Beetthaus D Falaulog

a

b

c

d

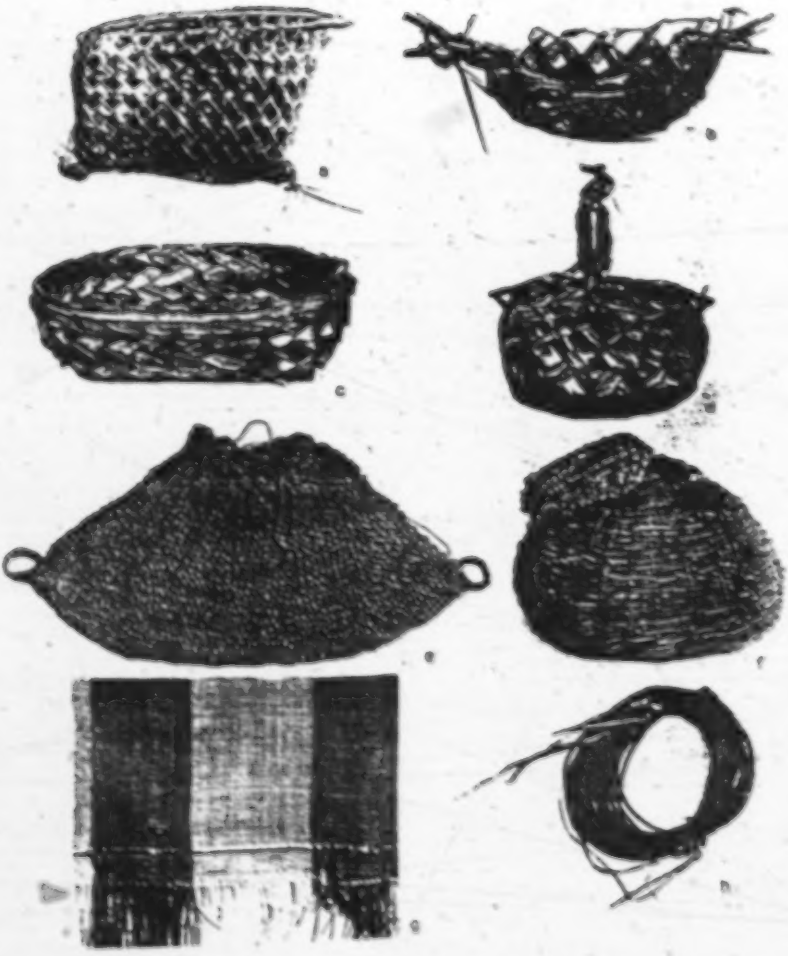
Begräbnis des Rag von Hans Larcrop. Ureinwohner

a) Grabbuch
c) Grabbaum und Canois bei Hans 19

b) Verwesen der Leiche
d) Verteilung der Erbmasse

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen. Tafel 25

A. Krämer, Centralkarolinen, Tafel 26



Fem

a) Nr. 133 Essenskorb *soáe*.
b) Nr. 141 Fischkorb *dyig*.
c) Nr. 140 Webkorb *gubás*.
d) Nr. 177 Fruchtkorb Yams *lowie*.
e) Nr. 136 Zwirnkorb *dyío*.
f) Nr. 183 Fischkorb *oldm*.
g) Nr. 125 Mattenmatte *gubudy*.
h) Nr. 123 Bootmeßschnur *soáe*.

5: Kittlitz--124
116, 161, 137

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
West Fayu

We hunted in vain for the Mannaïjö sandbank, which Don Luis de Torres had mentioned, and then we steered west again, and on the 22nd of February we sighted the little islands Pyghellá and Fajähú. Neither one is inhabited; on Pyghellá we saw some coconut palms rising above the succulent bushes, on Fajähú there were tall trees, but no palms.

5: Kittlitz--148
116, 131, 171

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Lamotrek

...we sighted the so-called Swedish Islands, which consist of three coral groups: Namurrek, Elato and Namolia-ur. Early the next morning several canoes came from the most eastern one, Namurrek; they were built exactly like the boats, which we had already seen.

5: Kittlitz--148
116, 304,

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The natives were beautifully tattooed, and the designs covered the whole body, except for their heads.

5: Kittlitz--148-49
116, 262, 251

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians-1-2
Lamotrek

Unlike the inhabitants of Lugunor and Anoun, however, they did not bring us any fish or other foods. On the contrary, they asked us for something to eat, and they devoured what we gave them. It was evident that there was a real famine on these islands, and apparently this situation occurs at least once during the year. According to the information, which Dr. Mertens obtained from W. Floyd, this hunger period comes in the fall; but here there was no doubt but that it is in March for we found the same thing on all the coral islands, which we visited during the latter part of this month. It is possible that there are several seasons during the year, when there is more or less hunger, depending on the circumstances; the greatest shortage is in the supply of fish, and they constitute the [p. 149] major part of the diet of the islanders. It may be too that W. Floyd was mistaken when he said that this famine lasts over two months. Unless it varies on the different islands, which seems highly improbable considering the fact that they are so similar, at the utmost it can last during the month of March; and this is assuming that what we saw was the regular yearly starvation period. For all during February we had seen an abundance of fish everywhere, and soon after the beginning of April we found quantities of them again on the Uleai group. If there is a short famine in March and a longer one in October and November, then W. Floyd is mistaken for he said that there is only one period in the year and that during that time there is a scarcity of edible fruits as well as of fish. The islanders have to fall back on their supplies of prepared breadfruit, and it seems that they get more of this from the high islands, than they can raise

themselves. During our stay the preservation of fish was utterly unknown on any of the islands.

5: Kittlitz--149
116, 484, 177

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato

Several inhabitants of Namurrek, the farthest east of the three neighboring groups, took advantage of our ship to sail with us to the most western one, Elato; a tamol happened to be there with his sailing canoe so he took them to shore.

5: Kittlitz--149-50
116, 177, 438

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato

Elato is more closely connected with Guaham than the other Caroline Islands; the Spanish ships which come from there generally stop at the harbor when they visit the Carolines to get holothurians, especially trepangs, which are used for their commerce with China. Then you usually find some of the Elato natives on Guaham; [150] they frequently spend years there and enter their canoes into the government service. They keep up a kind of regular communication between Guaham and the other islands of the Marianas and transport the local products to the main island. During our stay we got acquainted with a tamol from Elato, whose name was Orolitau; he and a considerable number of his countrymen took charge of this Spanish trade between Guaham and the neighboring islands, Seypan and Rota. They gave Captain Lütke a lot of valuable information about the situation of the various coral islands near Elato.

5: Kittlitz--150 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 595, 551 Elato

We asked about their [MR: a tamol from Elato and others who were occupied in trade in the Marianas] families too, and learned that [MR: tamol] Orolitau has no less than three wives (although they might be sisters or other near relatives). Their names were: Letaurŭru, Lagŭol and Lamŏarup. One of his assistants, Sepa, named two: Mairuk and Mesa-uro; the third, Orotak, only had one; Namŏarimet.

5: Kittlitz--150-51
116, 133

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato
Lamotrek

The Elato group is composed of a chain of small islands, which are bound together by a common reef; there is no approach on the western side, and this may be the reason why nobody came to see us during the short time that we were there. There is supposed to be a good anchorage inside the lagoon, but the entrance is on the eastern side, consequently against the prevailing wind; usually the reverse is true on the coral groups, and the reef projects farthest against the wind so the deeper channels are found under the wind on the western and southern sides. Accordingly these three island groups [MR: Namurrek, Elato, and Namolia-ur], which lie so close together, are doubtless the highest portions of the same shallows whose real entrance is on the southern side; so that the Elato lagoon [151] is really only a part of the common lagoon of the whole group.

These coral islands all look about alike from the sea; narrow low strips of sand lie between the breakers on more or less exposed stony reefs.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 131, 175

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

According to the information we secured from Don Luis de Torres and the Caroline Islanders, the Faroïlap group was located northwest of the Swedish Islands. On the morning of the 28th of March we sighted three islets in this area, and soon some canoes came to greet us; they answered our first question by crying Faroïlap.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 262

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

This little island group was just as short of food as the others [MR: in March].

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 177

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

Among our callers was a tamol, who spoke Spanish fluently, and who had charming manners. His name was Alberto, but he had probably adopted this during his two year sojourn on the Marianas.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175 Olimarao

Here [MR: Faraulep] we were forced to retrace our steps for several days, and this involved tacking against the wind. This was because the information that the captain had received, and according to which the island group Olimirao lay near Farolap, was absolutely false. Not until the first of April did we glimpse the two little islands, composing this group....

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

5: Kittlitz--152
116, 103, 131

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Ifalik

Until the third of April we hunted for two coral islands, which were shown on the maps, and which the Captian thought might be the same one which the natives of some other islands called Ifaluk. In reality there were four islands, the largest of which was Ifaluk; it had apparently given its name to the rest, just as Lugunor and some others did.

5: Kittlitz--152-53 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175 Woleai

...we sighted the extensive coral group Uleai. It was of particular interest to us as the home land of Kadú, the man whose remarkable adventures... were described by Chamisso. The Russian Captian Kotzebue of the Rurik found him stranded on one of the Marschall Islands and [153] took him back north. Apparently he adopted the name Kadú while he was living there in Radak for this name was utterly unknown on Uleai, and we were unable to obtain any information about him whatsoever although it was barely fifteen years since he had left the island.

5: Kittlitz--153-55 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians-1-2
116, 131, 137, 136 Woleai

Toward noon, we tacked to the anchorage inside the lagoon [MR: on the southern side]; this spot was remarkably like the one at Lugunor. In both places the strip of land, which lay just a short distance from us, was the eastern part of the island group, but here it was composed of three separate islands, which were separated by very narrow canals, while the other was formed by the long island Lugunor, the principal one of the group. The southern one of these islands is Ra-ur, the central one Palliau, and the northern one Ulea or Uleai; it is also the entrance to the north side of the whole group. Uleai, which is the largest island of the group, is shaped like a triangle with flattened sides. Farther north on the edge of the shallows is Marion Island, which is to Uleai what Funoar is to Lugunor, except that the partially submerged reef between it and the main island is not so long as the one between the other two islands. All of these places that I have mentioned are like the Lugunor group in that they are partially covered with very tall trees, in whose shade the houses are [154] scattered, with little lawns around them. At low tide it is very easy to wade through the canals between the islands of this eastern shore, especially the one between Ra-ur and Palliau. We noticed that the large forest trees included more varieties than on Lugunor; there are fine specimens of Callophyllum ...and the Hernandia ovigera.... We saw the sea-swallow (Gygis candida) around the crowns of these trees.... Among the beach birds we saw the Strepsilas collaris...and the Numenius tenuirostris... In the bushes I found the Sylvia Sryinx and the black variety

of Lamprothornis....

On this island group there are neither hens nor doves, and we also missed the Pteropus. On the other hand I once saw [155]...the cuckoo...

The vegetation of these islands is naturally very similar to that of the Mortloks Islands... The Tacca pinnatifida, whose root should produce a fine arrowroot...is much more common than on Lugunor....

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 342

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

The houses were similar in construction and arrangement, but some of them were better built and cleaner. We were often surprised at the size of the planks and boards which are used for partitions and most of which are made out of the suckers of the breadfruit trunks, which are used in ingenious fashions. When these are hewn you obtain large three-cornered planks, and then you can divide them into smaller pieces of the desired shape.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

5: Kittlitz--155-56
116, 562, 609, 834

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

5: Kittlitz--156 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

The Uleai Island group consists of two horse-shoe chains, which belong to the same shallows and are only separated by a narrow canal on the northern side. Our anchorage lay in the lagoon of the eastern part; I have already mentioned the principal islands here; those of the western group are Ulemarai and Seliap; a row of very small but inhabited islets adjoins the latter on both sides.

5: Kittlitz--156
116, 291

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

We took this opportunity to observe the difference between the clothing of the married women and girls; the latter do not have the narrow woven skirt and instead they wear a circular apron of fresh leaves, which apparently has to be made fresh every day.

5: Kittlitz--157 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 609, 643 Woleai

Ulemarai was the home of Kadú [MR: mentioned by Chamisso]; when he left the island, Rouá was considered the chief of the whole group, and he was still living although he had become a very feeble old man. When Lieutenant Sawalischin took the launch to survey the western part of the island, the Captain gave him some presents for the aged chief, and shortly before our departure he came to thank us for them. . . .

5: Kittlitz--158-61 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai

We obtained a very large variety of fish here... among them, several that we had already observed in Lugunor, for example, the two fire-red kinds of Serranus (Serr. punctulatus and Serr. urodelus)... We also saw the new Myripristis....

One fish of the Labridae... was named Axodon by Cuvier in 1829... later Valenciennes called it Odax.... [159]

We saw the Iulis Gaymardi.... and a small yellow-gold kind of Iulis... which was new then; there was also a very fine Halichoeres... [160] a new Labrus... several kinds similar to the Cheilinus, among them the Sparus zonephorus, a... rather small Scarus... the remarkable Grammistes punctatus... and a particularly interesting Acanthurus which we later named Acanthurus pyroferus. Among the smaller fish we observed A. glaucopareius ... A. Rhombus nob... and Naseus incornis, Cuv...

We got two new species of Chaetodons... Ch. reticulatus and Ch. punctatofasciatus, Cuv. Then we found the remarkable Spritzfisch (Chelmon rostratus)... [161] Pomacentrus chrysurus, Broussonet.... Glyphysodon Curassao, or a fish very similar to it... a pretty black Balistes.... and another species, Balistes conspicillum Sh...

5: Kittlitz--161 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 439 Woleai

To our great surprise Captain Lütke purchased a large sailing canoe, with all its appurtenances from the tamol Tapeligar, the chief of Ulea Island, for the very modest price of three clubs. We were the more amazed at the cheapness of this article, which plays such an important role in the life of the islanders because we were accustomed to paying high prices for everything here. But the quantity of canoes on hand, which was a proof of the industry and skill of the islanders, provided an explanation for this. Then too the natives here and on the neighboring islands must often trade these canoes to the Spaniards on Guaham in exchange for iron utensils; the latter bring high prices, so three clubs is probably the usual amount paid for this kind of boat.

5: Kittlitz--161 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

We noticed fish baskets, similar to the ones at Lugunor, but no instruments to pull them out of the water; divers always brought up the ones which were sunk here inside the lagoon.

5: Kittlitz--161-62 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 481, 151 Woleai

The natives of Uleai excelled even the other Caroline islanders in their diving ability; we saw some remarkable proofs of this during our short visit. One half-grown boy, who seemed about fifteen years old, [162] often amazed us by the skill with which he could catch anything that we threw over board. We were anchored at a depth of nineteen fathoms, and he always managed to reach the object before it touched the bottom. He even succeeded in finding very small articles like pocket knives and other iron things, which we always showed him before tossing them into the water. Like a flash he jumped out of his canoe, which was on the other side of the launch; he swam under the keel of this boat and reappeared a few minutes later with the booty.

5: Kittlitz--162-63 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Early on the morning of the 9th of April we sailed, and our first task was to make a geographical survey of the southern side of the island group. As usual in the coral islands, there is a much smaller amount of land visible here; even the reef is mostly submerged, and during the day you can only recognize it by the bright green color of the shallows; at night [163] these places are very dangerous for ships when the Captains are not well acquainted with the waters.

5: Kittlitz--163
116, 175, 609, 784

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

6: Senfft--53 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 134, 136, 137 Woleai

The soil seems to be altogether coralline. There are no mountainous regions, and the vegetation is abundant. In spite of the thin layer of humus, the usual plant products of atolls are found here, chiefly coconut palms, which are strong and healthy, large breadfruit trees, pandanus, bananas, Calophyllum, marshmallow, arrowroot, some sugar cane, taro, Cystosperma edulis, and curcuma. There are few mangroves, and no bamboo or areca.

The fauna consists of pigs, chickens, dogs, cats, rats, and sea and land birds; there are few beetles and butterflies.

6: Senfft--53
116, 131

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Lamutrik or Swede Island is also an atoll. Its shape is that of an isosceles triangle. At the corners of the triangle Lamutrik, Puch (not Pugun), and Fleit (not Faleite) Islands are situated. The Lamutrik group also includes the Elato Atoll about five nautical miles to the west, which consists of the islands of Elato, Oletel, Kari (not Karigun), Tauas, and Falipi, as well as the atoll one nautical mile south of Elato, with the two islands of Lamrior and Ulor. The names Namaliauon and Tauas given on chart 772 of theBritish admiralty are not familiar to the natives. Puch and Fleit are the only uninhabited islands. According to the chart of the British admiralty, the geographical position of Elato is 7° 29' 30" North and 146° 19' 0" East. The chart based on a sketch by the explorer Lutke is not correct. The errors may be seen by a comparison with a sketch I made together with the pilot Davenport during my stay on Lamutrik in September 1903. According to this there are several openings in the reef. There are two passages into the lagoon which lead to a safe harbor by Lamutrik Island.

6: Senfft--53
116, 312

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

There are no natural springs since the islands are so small. On those islands which are inhabited there are wells in which the water is slightly brackish but quite good. The water from the wells on other islands is said to be so bad that it even harmed the pigs which were formerly kept there.

6: Senfft--53 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 136, 137 Lamotrek

The vegetation is the same as on Oleai. In the central section of Lamutrik Island there is an extensive swampland in which there are copious taro and sugar cane plantations. The fauna is also the same, but there are far more sea birds and rats on this atoll, while there are no cats at all. The rats do a great deal of harm to the coconuts. The natives wrap pandanus leaves around the trunks to protect the palms from the rats; the sharp thorns of these leaves prevent the rats from running up the tree.

6: Senfft--53
116, 131

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Oleai, which is sometimes--incorrectly--called Wolea or Ulie, is a typical atoll in the shape of a figure eight. The reef has an opening in the southeast. There are 21 islands on the reef, of which the following eight are inhabited: Raur, Paliau, Flalap (mistakenly called Oleai), Mariom, Tagaulap, Seliap, Usagel (which, on chart 772 published by the English admiralty, is called Olemari through a confusion with a village located on this island), and Falalis. The northern tip of Raur is situated at 7° 21' 39" South and 143° 57' 30" East.

6: Senfft--53
116, 132

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

There are abundant rainfalls during the season when the southern winds are predominant, that is, from June to December. This also explains the fertility of the islands.

6: Senfft--53
116, 133, 504

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The harbor in the southeast of the atoll is very good; the passage is large enough to admit even the largest boats. Flalap and Mariom Islands are now connected by a dune on which some plants are already growing. The channels which admit of passage by boats between Flalap and Paliau and between Paliau and Raur are now very narrow.

6: Senfft--53-54
116, 132

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

There have been no typhoons on the island for decades. May to December is a period of calm or of constantly changing winds; for the most part, the winds [54] from the southeast, the south, and the southwest predominate at that time. From December to June there is a strong northeast monsoon. The average rainfall on Lamutrik is approximately 3,000 millimeters per year.

6; Senfft--54
116, 162

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The total population of the Oleai Atoll is 661; the number of women is by far the larger.

6: Senfft--54 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 132, 165 Woleai

Oleai had been swept by this same typhoon, but the results were less unfortunate. There I learned, however, that the population had decreased by one-third during the last few years.

6: Senfft--54
116, 152

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The level of intelligence is not very high. The natives are petty and narrow-minded as well as lazy. They lack the fairness and generosity of the people of Yap. It is only natural, then, that they are not held in very high esteem by the Yap natives.

6: Senfft--54
116, 595

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Polygamy has been gradually replaced by monogamy, not because the ethics of the natives underwent any changes, but because of the decrease in the female population.

6: Senfft--54
116, 302

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The children wear their hair short; the men wear theirs either short, in artistic disarrangement (Kunstlerkopf)--in most cases--they wear it long and roll it up loosely on the back of their head and fasten it with a long, narrow comb. This is made from the wood of a tree called rauwai which does not grow on these islands and is imported from Yap. When they visit Yap they are not allowed to wear this comb. They have hardly any beards. Formerly they tore out the hair on the upper lips and on the chin;...this practice has been discontinued in recent times. Young women wear their hair down to their shoulders; older women wear it longer and turn it under. All of them part their hair in the middle and wear a wreath.

6: Senfft--54
116, 674

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Physical maltreatment and theft, however, are very rare.

6: Senfft--54
116, 839

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Their level of morality is low, and cases of perversion are not infrequent with both sexes; they even seduce children.

6: Senfft--54
116, 142

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The hair of the natives is either straight or slightly curly. Few of them have small curls, and I saw no cases of frizzly hair of the negroid type.

6: Senfft--54
116, 162, 731

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The total population of Lamutrik is almost exactly 200, and the number of men and women is approximately the same. A very old man from Lamutrik told me that the island was uninhabited until about 60 years ago. A typhoon and a strong tidal wave had destroyed almost all the inhabitants as well as the plantations. A few of the survivors went to Oleai to get canoes, and the others used these to emigrate to Yap, Saipan, Truk, and other islands with which they were familiar. Some of them later returned, after the vegetation had been renewed.

6: Senfft--54
116, 515

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

They are a very clean people and bathe every day.

6: Senfft--54
115, 164, 744, 273

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The state of health at the time of my stay there was still so bad that I sent the governmental physician to that island for a longer period. Dysentery seems to be one of the chief causes of death, and the prevalence of this disease can probably be explained by the use of sour toddy; this beverage is made from the axis of the inflorescence of coconut trees. It is very intoxicating and usually produces a desire to quarrel; it is also said to have the effect of an aphrodisiac. I was told that its effect is increased by placing the bottles on the beach in the hot sun and then mixing the juice with salt water.

The number of other diseases is also very high. There are many cases of elephantiasis, eye disease, and paralysis. The report of the governmental physician will treat of matters of health in more detail. Two military policemen have been stationed on the island, and they have been ordered to use all possible means to suppress the use of toddy.

6: Senfft--54
116, 304, 177

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Men and women have different patterns of tattooing. The same method of tattooing is used here as on other islands; only adults are tattooed, and a small hammer together with some soot are the instruments used. In most cases only the arms and legs are tattooed. Those natives who have had the upper part of their body tattooed use the same designs found on Yap and Ululsi (Ugoi) and they go to one of these islands for this process.

6: Senfft--55
116, 261

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

All the natives are very hearty eaters, and they consume as much food at one time as they possibly can. They do not cook every day. One family cooks one day, and friends and relatives come to partake of the food. The following day this family goes in search of food somewhere else...

6: Senfft--55
116, 251, 262

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The flesh diet of the natives consists of pork, chicken, fish, crabs, and sometimes turtles. The chief foods are coconuts and sweet toddy, the juice used for sour toddy before it is fermented; this seems to be a wholesome food because of its high sugar content. Few people eat eggs, and it is said that formerly no one ate them. Breadfruit is also an important food. The natives make breadfruit jam by kneading the fruit and then burying it in grooves which they seal hermetically with stones and leaves. They consume these during the time when the trees do not bear fruit. They also eat bananas, taro, Cystosperma, and sugar cane.

6: Senfft--55
116, 585

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Marriages are made after the parents have given their consent. There is no special ceremony at weddings; they consist simply of a banquet and a dance.

6: Senfft--55
116, 276

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The only stimulant used is tobacco which, before the natives had much contact with whites, was a great luxury since it had to be imported from the Marianas on canoes, an undertaking which took several months. Today even the children smoke. The cigarettes consist of twisted banana leaves.

6: Senfft--55
116, 484

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

They have regular expeditions to the west as far as Yap, to the north as far as Saipan, and, in former times, they sailed east as far as Truk.

6: Senfft--55
116, 396, 501

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Their canoes are made of the wood of the species of breadfruit tree which bears seed. The canoes may be as long as 10 meters from bow to stern; the keel curves downwards and the end pieces are forked. On one side of the hull there is an outrigger and a sturdy bar running parallel to it, on the other side there is a broad platform where members of the crew may rest and where the supplies are kept. This platform is provided with a roof as a protection against the rain and the sun. The sail is made of plaited pandanus leaves; it has the shape of a triangle two sides of which are framed. The corner of the sail formed by these two sides is inserted into a groove in the end piece. The fore and aft end pieces are constructed in the same way. All parts of the boat are sewn together with coconut strings and the cracks are calked with fibers and the resinous sap of a plant. They do not groove the planks used for the canoe; for that reason, and because of the fact that there is no cover for the hull of the canoe, it is always necessary to bail water. A sturdy paddle with a broad leaf is used for steering. The canoes used for shorter trips, within the lagoon or for fishing expeditions, are built according to the same pattern.

6: Senfft--55
116, 841

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips.

6: Senfft--55
116, 823

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The natives have a thorough knowledge of the stars and configuration and use it to determine the geographical position of other islands; their knowledge of geography thus covers an extensive area.

6: Senfft--55
116, 502, 778

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Like many European sailors, these native seafarers are superstitious. Thus it was the custom formerly that a talisman for the wind ("Windmann") was taken along for every expedition. This lioss was a figure made of baked coral limestone which represented the upper part of a man's body; four spines from the tail of ray formed the legs, and a coconut leaf was wound around the neck.

6: Senfft--55
116, 291

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Small children are naked. Young girls wear a short apron made of leaves or grasses which covers the abdomen and the seat and leaves the thighs bare. During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips. Although the clothing mats are too stiff to fit the figure properly, the women move so well that the mats are sufficient clothing, whether they are sitting or lying down. The men use the same type of mats, but somewhat narrower. They wear it between their legs and tie it around their hips so that the seat is not covered.

6: Senfft--55
116, 301

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

On the whole, the natives wear few ornaments. The women wear the earrings and [MR: hair] wreaths, as well as bracelets, ankle bracelets and neck ornaments, all made of braided hairs and of the same material as the earrings. Ornaments made of braided hairs are sometimes worn around the hips for festive occasions. The combs are often decorated with the soft skin or the long tail feathers of a sea bird. The most highly valued ornament is a neckband made of red polished shells of the Chama pacifica shell which for the most part is introduced from the east, from Fair or Jorepik. Finally, another ornament of great importance is the pulverized, reddish orange curcuma which they rub on their bodies. This is imported from Yap and Truk.

6: Senfft--55
116, 304

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The ears of both boys and girls are pierced when they are still very young and the lobes of the ears are gradually distended until it can be drawn across the outer ear like a ribbon. They wear a short string of earrings made of the wood of coconut trees, of tortoise shells, or of sea shells. The women often wear several of these. According to our standards, these ornaments are not at all attractive.

6: Senfft--55
116, 764, 826

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

When there is a death in the family the nearest relatives cut off their hair.

6: Senfft--55
116, 591.

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Most young couples live in the house of the parents.

6: Senfft--56
116, 764

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The dead are buried, after they have been washed thoroughly, in finely woven mats a short time after death. They may be buried at sea, according to the desire of the dying man. In Oleai it is the custom to drink the water in which dead children have been washed and to keep the body in the house for a few days. The natives explain this by saying that they feel great grief at the death of the child and that "they have to part from it and want to retain something that belonged to the child."

6: Senfft--56
116, 342

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The natives do not take great pains with the construction of houses. The foundations consist of two planks at right angles to each other; short, upright planks are placed on these, and two more planks at right angles to each other are placed on these props. On the beams which join the framework there are buttresses which support the roof tree. Between this and the middle layer of planks there are lattices which form the frame of the roof. The roof is pointed; it is covered with coconut fronds. The walls of the house consist of boards. No distinction is made between doors and windows; most of them cannot be closed. Pictures of fish are carved in the upper beams, which are painted with limestone dye. The roof juts out on all sides so that neither sun nor air can penetrate the houses; the interior is therefore dark but seldom cool. On one of the narrow sides the roof juts out further and is supported by props; coconut mats are stretched between these so that another, more airy room is formed. The natives strew small pebbles chipped off coral rocks on the yard around the house. The average dwelling house is about 3 meters high, 2 meters wide, and 5 or 6 meters long.

6: Senfft--56
116, 643, 651

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

In the Oleai atoll, each island has its own chieftain. The head chief of Lamutrik also has jurisdiction over the two neighboring atolls, Elato and Lamrior, and claims possession of the uninhabited islands of Olimarau, Pikela, Pikelot, Toas, and West Faju. The office of the chieftain is passed on, not to the chieftain's son, but to the oldest son of the brother nearest the chieftain in age, or, if there is no brother, to the oldest son of the sister. It is said that the chieftains formerly exercised great authority; today their power is rapidly disappearing. They are nothing more than village mayors and have no means of enforcing their authority other than that of tying the accused to a tree for a short time or of destroying his house or his canoe. A native of Yap is the head chief and has the supreme authority; this is always the man who is the head chief of the district of Gatschbar. He, too, has no actual means of enforcing his authority; but the natives believe that all who do not obey his orders must die. On what basis this power rests is not clear; neither the present head chief nor his aged father were able to give me any information about it. Their authority extends even further than this atoll and includes those Carolinians who live in the Marianas.

The only outer symbol of this dependence is that the subjects of this head chief come to Yap at least once every two years to give proof of their devotion. They bring tributary payments which consist of mats, Chama shells, or necklaces made of these shells. They remain on the island for several months and are received hospitably. When they depart they are given the valuable pulverized curcuma (reng).

6: Senfft--56
116, 535, 527

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The festivities of the natives consist of banquets and dances. The dances are very beautiful; there is a great deal of variation in the patterns and both the composition and the presentation are perfect. Most of the dances are held in cool nights. The motions of the dance are accompanied by singing and by clapping the hands. There are no musical instruments.

6: Senfft--56
116, 163

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

On the whole the natives are very fertile; a woman with five children is not an unusual sight.

6: Senfft--56 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 462 Woleai
Lamotrek

It is the women's task to take care of the children and to perform all the household tasks.

6: Senfft--56
116, 855

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Children are treated with great kindness and their only punishment consists of an occasional scolding.

6: Senfft--56
116, 586

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

A married couple can separate without much difficulty; this happens frequently in the case of young couples. No special formalities are connected with this.

6: Senfft--56
116, 197

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The sphere of their language lies between the 140th and 150th degree. It includes the islands to the south of Palau, Sonsol, Pul, Morir, and Tobi Islands. The language does not have a pleasing sound. The intonation is rough and the accent is broad, and is therefore somewhat reminiscent of that of the Chinese. According to my observation, all our letters are represented in the language, including the diphthongs a, o, u, as well as ch and the English th.

6: Senfft--56
116, 304

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The custom of circumcision is not known here.

6: Senfft--56
116, 836, 585

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The man does not care whether his bride is a virgin or not. The natives have sexual intercourse as soon as they are physically mature; this occurs at an early age.

6: Senfft--56-57
116, 343

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There is a cookhouse by the dwelling. This consists of a simple hut, open on two or three sides, without gables.

The canoe sheds are used as assembly halls. Since the canoes are large, these are from 15 to 20 meters long and equally high. The gable is pointed and rests on large buttresses in the center. The roof is made of leaves and is supported by short, strong posts along the sides; it almost touches the ground. The narrow walls are left open. The boards and beams of the houses also are not grooved or nailed together; they are simply lashed with rope. The men often sleep in these sheds, since they are nearer the beach and therefore more airy than the dwellings in the bushes.

The so-called "bloodhouses" are the fourth type of houses. Here the women stay during their menstrual period. These are erected at some distance from the main dwellings; they are still lower and [57] are built with even less care than the others. There is no adjoining room such as may be seen in the regular houses.

6: Senfft--57
116, 226

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

For fishing they use weir baskets, nets, spears, and fishhooks. There is one very practical method which I have not seen anywhere else. It is used to catch a type of fish which has a long mouth almost like a beak and strong teeth; it leaps out of the water with great force and is therefore quite dangerous. To catch this fish, the natives make a kite out of the ribs of coconut leaves. The kite has a rounded shape. Instead of cloth or paper, they wrap a leaf of the breadfruit tree around the framework. They take the kite into the canoe and fly it above the water. One line is attached to the kite which is held by the fisherman; the other is suspended into the water and the bait is attached to it. If the kite remains stationary, the fisherman can leave as much room between the boat and the bait as he likes so that he is safe from danger and only reaches the line on which the fish is caught when the fish has bitten into the bait.

6: Senfft--57
116, 415

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The domestic utensils are the following: 1. A spoon made of the ribs of a turtle (gadip), and a round basket made of plaited coconut leaves (kopass). 2. Chairs (longeburol) are made of a piece of wood about 30 centimeters wide. Seen from the side, this looks like a chaise lounge without legs, a piece of furniture which by European standards is anything but comfortable. This is used only on Lamutrik. 3. A spoon to scoop water (kom'met), in the shape of a trough, with a handle attached to the hollow part. The halves of coconut shells are also used to scoop water. 4. Baking dishes or cooking pots (moi jal) made of a shell the opening of which is enlarged. 5. Baskets (bod'dan or sanaseu) made of split coconut fronds which are plaited. These are a substitute for pockets. Both men and women carry articles of necessity in these. There are also baskets with a handle (chaperau) which are also made of plaited coconut leaves and have the shape of a pouch. 6. Small cups made of pandanus (guot' tal) in which banana leaves for cigarettes are kept.

There are also shallow wooden dishes or plates (tabbi), wooden mortars (faii) and pestles made of tridacna shells, which old people use to squash hard foods; it may also be used to pulverize burnt coral lime from which dye is to be made.

6: Senfft--57
116, 227

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Besides weir baskets and nets (jateng), as well as the kite (sellegatschoik) mentioned above, the natives use spears for fishing (owai). These are made of coconut wood and have a barb. There are also fishbaskets (ulpam) which are very skilfully made, and fishhooks (go), which are kept in a small wooden box (saup) together with the fishing lines.

6: Senfft--57
116, 285

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

1. A loom (wisul); this is used by the women for weaving clothing mats made of banana fiber. The mats (tor) are 20 to 40 centimeters wide and have borders and fringes at the ends. The mats for work, which they also weave, are coarse and plain (chap). They wind the warp on four pegs (malier) which are stuck into the ground.

6: Senfft--57
116, 412

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

2. An ax (tale). The blade forms an acute angle with the shaft, like that of an adze. Formerly this instrument was cut out of tridacna shells; today it is made of metal. The natives use this tool very skilfully; it serves them as a hammer, a plane, knife, and file. 3. A small sea shell with a sharp edge (Kilgil), used to cut banana shells into stripes to be used for plaiting. 4. A scraper (waigung) placed on a tripod with a toothed point consisting of a shell or coconut shell, used to scrape coconuts and hard fruits. 5. An auger (wurewur) with a wooden drill bow; the point was formerly made of shell or stone and is now made of metal. The tool for rope-making consisting of three pins in the shape of crosses, which is used everywhere on the western and southern islands, is not used here according to my information.

6: Senfft--57
116, 439

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The trade of the natives consists chiefly in exchanging copra for European products such as tobacco, cotton, matches, hardware, etc. On Oleai there are two factories of these articles of trade, on Lamutrik there is one.

6: Senfft--57
116, 854

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are cradles for children (uiluil), made of a frame in the shape of a parallelogram; a loose net of coconut strings is drawn across the framework and the children may be placed on the net. This is suspended by four strings which are tied together on top. A young coconut leaf is attached to the cradle to guard the child against misfortune.

6: Senfft--57 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no unusual ornaments, except for attractive red neck bands made of Chama shells. The other ornaments are: necklaces (tagach) made of coconut shells; the separate rings of which they are made may be as large as a nickel 20 Pfenning piece. They are polished with coconut oil and have a dull finish. There are neck bands consisting of several rows of small disks, which are attached in such a way that the fastening cannot be seen. Rings (ma'dsch) are made of shells, tortoise shell, or wood. Ear pendants in the form of chains (tagau, dschudschu) are made of the same materials. Other ear ornaments may be made of the red sections of Chama shells (jorepik: the name is derived from the island from which this shell is imported). The combs for men (makai) are decorated either with the skin of a white bird (snoir) or with long feathers (dschat).

6: Senfft--57
116, 202, 321

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

As a horn for signalling they use a (Triton?) shell (tani) and punch a hole in it.

6: Senfft--57 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 411, 524 Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no weapons besides the spear for fishing and the adze. Slings (chaoil) were used formerly, but are no longer found today. There are miniature bows (baok) and arrows (gafisch) which are used as toys and have no other purpose.

7: Senfft--193
116, 312

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

The brackish drinking water is said to be very bad.

7: Senfft--193
116, 131, 137

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

I met several canoes which had been on their way out but returned to show me the passage into the reef of Faraulip Island. The three islands of this atoll are low islands. The coralline soil is overgrown with healthy specimens of coconut palms, breadfruit trees, bananas, Cystoeperma edule, some tobacco, and some pandanus and betel trees.

7: Senfft--193
116, 164

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

Ringworm seems to be widespread on this island; I noticed three cases of elephantiasis.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

A small passage leads into the [MR: Ifalik] lagoon, which was formerly used by a Spanish man-of-war.... There are three very attractive islands on the reef.

7: Senfft--194
116, 342

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Aurupik

The style of the houses [MR: on Eauripik] is very striking. The basic lines are those of the tabinau and bäwai of Jap. The foundations are of coral rocks; at one assembly house they were over two meters high. The gables jut out over the framework. Since there is very little bamboo wood on these low coral islands, the walls of the houses are made of coconut fronds or of planks.

7: Senfft--194 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 245 Ifalik

A few of the palm trees had been attacked by coconut scales, and I ordered that the fronds of those trees be cut down and burned. There is a large number of rats on the island, which do considerable damage to the palms.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131, 161

(No date) 1904

Weleaians
Aurupik

Aurepik is an atoll comprising four islands, Aurepik, Uau, Pikefaj, and Elangkitegit, of which the first two are inhabited. The vegetation is the same as that on the other atolls. Coconuts trees are predominant here also.

7: Senfft--194 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

There are 52 men, 51 women, and 40 children on Flarik Island, 28 men, 27 women, and 22 children on Flalap Island, and 24 men, 19 women, and 18 children on Imoei, that is, a total population of 281. There were a few cases of skin diseases and some of elephantiasis.

7: Senfft--194
116, 162

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

Of the three islands, Faraulip, Pig, and Eat, only the first two are inhabited. There are 21 men, 23 women, and 19 children on Faraulip, and 17 men, 22 women, and 19 children on Pig, that is, a total population of 121.

7: Senfft--194
116, 433

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

The entire atoll [MR: of Ifalik] has a production of 30 tons of copra per year.

7: Senfft--194-195
116, 162, 174

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Aurupik

The total population consists of a single family, 48 people in all. They are all attractive, healthy people. [195] There are 17 men, 18 women, and 13 children. The head of the family, a native of Jap by the name of Malai, told me the story of their origin. About 45 years ago, he and two other men from his island had gone to Palau; they lost their course and were stranded on Aurepik, a distance of five hundred nautical miles. Aurepik at that time had a large population. One of the two men with him died and the other made an attempt to sail back to Jap but was never heard from again. He himself remained on the island and married there. Once the entire population went on the customary expedition to Oleaĭ; his wife had just given birth to a child so that he and his mother-in-law remained behind to stay with her. The expedition never arrived in Oleaĭ and was never heard from again. About a year later a tidal wave swept over the entire island of Aurepik and destroyed all the vegetation so that for a long time he lived only on crabs and shells. His wife had born him nine more children who, when they were older, married natives from Ileaĭ and brought them back to the island.

7: Senfft --195
116, 131

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Aurupik

There is no passage into the lagoon, but the boats may pass over the reef at high tide. The reef is covered with trepang, but it is of a poor quality.

8: Senfft--283 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 273, 625, 681 Woleai

The coconut stocks on Oleei were normal. Two years ago extermination measures were taken against the rat plague and by now the trouble has decreased considerably. Since the recall of the police post who was in charge of enforcing these measures nothing had been done and the natives had started once more to drink sour toddy. In a condition of complete drunkenness a native had first threatened a dealer with a long knife and then with a spear. The man was taken to Jap and later sentenced on that island. A rumor circulated that three years ago an Australian dealer, who was old and feeble and who had been working on Oleei for a Jap firm, had died an unnatural death. I started extensive investigations on the spot which really produced incriminating material. It seems that a Sonsol native attacked the dealer in his bed, made him unconscious by blows of a hammer and then strangled him. It is said that the housekeeper of the dealer --a fellow islander of the murderer--had been an accomplice to the crime. Other witnesses are said to exist on the islands of Lamutrik and Satuwal. The main witnesses needed for the trial had to be called and set out on the voyage. At the present time the two accused are on Palau.

In a general meeting I discussed everything of importance and informed the population that once more I would leave behind a policeman with far-reaching powers. Fines in the form of naturalia were imposed for neglect of the tree protection law directed against destruction by rats and for the consumption of sour toddy.

.8: Senfft--283 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 245, 273 Lamotrek

Here [MR: Lamotrek] again I had occasion to observe that previously given orders for the protection of the palm trees and the prohibition of consumption of sour toddy had in several instances gone unheeded; it is indeed a sad fact that as far as drinking is concerned the white dealer serves as a very poor model to the natives. A walk through the island revealed the occurrence of cochineal insects on four palm trees; the trees were cleaned and in future the chief will be responsible for the burning of the leaves attacked by the insects.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 101, 175, 133, 136 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it. We reached the island on December 5 after dark and could not find any anchor ground. The captain sent some of his men on land who during the night were to maintain a fire in order that the ship could stay close to the land. At dawn I rowed ashore. The map of the Admiralty characterizes Grimes as an elevated island, but in reality it is a flat sandbank which in some places rises up to an elevation of 2 meters. The only type of vegetation is a species of mangrove. Apparently a strong storm hit the island a few months ago for most of the trees had lost their branches and many---including the strongest---had been completely uprooted. The fauna consists of innumerable sea birds, which had their loose nests either in the trees or on the level ground; furthermore there were coconut crabs and--to judge from the traces--large turtles, which do not visit the island but at night. The birds were so tame that they could be seized by hand. Gaferut, including the reef, has a length of about 1300 meters; exclusive of the reef it is 600 paces long and 300 paces wide. We could not find anchor ground during the day either.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 164, 162 Lamotrek

The census showed 68 men, 64 women and 68 children, altogether 200 persons; there had been about six deaths in the course of the year, and as far as can be judged from the description, three died from consumption and two from dysentery. What I saw of diseases there were two people suffering from elephantiasis, one blind man, two persons with eye-diseases (one of which could see only at night), one woman with a saddle-nose and two children with abnormally swollen abdomens; lues and gonorrhea are said not to be existent.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Lamotrek

This group of islands had formerly had a denser population; a typhoon together with a flood had destroyed almost everything about 60 years ago. A few men who had gone on the six remaining canoes to the Oleai Group at a distance of 150 nautical miles had brought a number of vessels on which the whole population emigrated to the Marianas, Truk, Yap, and other islands. Only after many years part of the population returned.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 137 Lamotrek

Lamutrik is a typical atoll in the form of an isosceles triangle with the islands Falaite, Puch, and Lamutrik, of which only the latter is inhabited, situated on its three points. It offers a pleasant view with its white sandy shore and a small bay where the German flag can be seen in the background. Coconut palms, breadfruits, pandanus, hibiscus, some curcuma and arrowroot, some Calophyllum, Crataeva speciosa, and Averrhoa carambola trees and taro thriving on marshland, sugar cane and Cyrstosperma edule can be seen growing densely on the island; yams and bamboo are entirely lacking. Fowl and pigs are not very numerous, and the amount of fish in the lagoon has decreased; on the other hand there are many land- and seabirds living in the trees. The cultivation on the other two islands of the atoll is supposed to be the same. Accordingly a plantation of coconut palms on these islands is not possible or at any rate only to a very small extent.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

Since the last heavy typhoon the island had been only troubled by some more or less violent winds. About the rainfall since 1901 an account had been made and sent to the Foreign Office.

9: Senfft--13
116, 245, 433

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The yearly production [MR: of copra] including that of Flato and Satuval amounts to approximately 45 tons. In spite of the assertion of the merchant, who is stationed with the firm of D. D. O'Keefe, that the scale insect disease does not exist on Lamutrik, I noticed a few young palm trees bearing the sign of this sickness. Another enemy of the palm tree are the numerous rats which eat the nuts from the trees. The leaves of the pandanus which have sharp thorns and wind around the palm trees serve as protection. Among the banana trees a disease could also be noticed that probably has its origin in a colorless worm of 1.5 to 2 cm. in length and which is to be found in the roots and the top of the tree. I, therefore, ordered one of my best policemen to take immediate measures for the protection of the plants.

The population is peace-loving and good-natured but indolent.

9: Senfft--13-14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

Oleai is also an atoll; [14] it consists of 23 islands of which Raur, Palián, Oleai, Máriom, Tagánlap, Séliap, Olemari (Ot'thogan), and Falális are inhabited.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 165 Woleai

Unfortunately we learned that the population had been lately to a great extent diminished by diseases. According to the chiefs a third of the inhabitants had died in the last few years. The great mortality is in the first place caused by dysentery which is probably due to the excessive consuming of sour toddy (the fermenting juice of the blossoms of the coconut palm); the natives are passionate drinkers of this toddy which they mix with salt water and cook in the hot sun at the beach in order to have it stronger. Sudden deaths occur often; the dying man feels a burning pain which starts in his feet and spreads over the entire body until it reaches the heart. Another malady which is also fatal starts with swellings on the neck and breast. Eye-disease and elephantiasis also occur and I saw a man inflicted with severe paralysis.

9: Senfft--14
116, 433, 477

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

Economically the island is taken care of by the firms of D. D. O'Keefe and S. Murayama in Yokohama, who both are in the possession of trade settlements. The yearly production of copra in Oleai together with that of the neighbor island Ifaluk is approximately 90 to 100 tons. In order to prevent unhealthy competition the two firms introduced at my suggestion the same prices for the limited time of three years for the most marketable articles--tobacco and cotton.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 157, 463 Woleai

The population is peace-loving but is greatly inferior to that of Yap in intelligence, industry and character; they are efficient, though, as canoe constructors, seamen and fishers.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162, 145 Woleai

Looking at the statistics of these islands we notice the disproportionately great number of the female population as compared with the male, on the other hand the proportion of children to grown-ups is not unfavorable if we take into consideration that only children up to eight years have been counted. The very low percentage of young girls, though, is conspicuous; girls, who according to their build and expression could not have been more than sixteen years old, already showed traces of age.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 761, 152 Woleai

As depressing as it is to see a gay people surrounded by graves it impressed me as even worse that they do not seem to realize what death is. They speak with laughter about their dead, with laughter did they show me the hopelessly sick and the efforts of the paralyzed man who was painfully trying to get up with the help of two sticks in order to demonstrate the violent trembling of his sturdy body was accompained by the laughter of the people around him. There is no doubt that this blunt attitude towards death is due to the accumulation of misfortune which these people experience.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162 Woleai

A census taken on the islands of the atoll brought the following results:

Island	Men	Women	Children	Total
Olemari	41	40	50	131
Raur	12	10	7	29
Palian	15	20	13	48
Oleai	45	88	50	183
Mariom	5	15	12	32
Taganlap	17	21	14	52
Seliap	26	38	46	110
Falabis	25	40	11	76
Total	186	272	203	661

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 625, 643 Woleai

In the first place I stationed two reliable policemen at the island who can in case of emergency ask three former soldiers living now on the island, for help and who received the order to prevent the drinking of toddy [MR: which he considered a cause of dysentery] and to use force if necessary. The chiefs cannot be relied upon in this respect. Their authority is limited by many considerations and is not greater than that of our village magistrates. There is no chief over the whole group of islands and the above mentioned Follebu in Yap is also the ruler over Oleai.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 245, 262 Woleai

The cultivation is the same as on Lamutrik, partly more abundant, but here, too, yams and bamboo are lacking. Fowl, pigs and fish are numerous. The islands are planted to the highest density with coconut palms in luscious green. I noticed the disease caused by the presence of the scale insect on only two young palm trees each on the islands of Mariom and Taganlap, but here, too, the greatest damage to the palm trees was wrought by rats.

10: Miklucho-Maklai --295 (1876-1877) 1877 Woleaians
116, 144 Aurupik

Their [MR: the Eauripik natives] appearance reminded me of the natives of the islands southeast of Ceram and the Kei Archipelago. In both instances I am doubtful whether we are dealing with natives who have some Papua blood.

10: Miklucho-Maklai--295 (1876-1877) 1877 Woleaians
116, 175 Aurupik

The group of Auropik consists of three low islands. I did not go ashore...The people who approached us were not very dark (No. 37 of Broca's chart) and had wavy or frizzly hair arranged in high hairdresses. The bridge of their noses was pierced. Large numbers of tortoise shell rings and other ornaments of various types of white and red shells pulled the pierced earlobes down to considerable length. Tattoos could be seen above and below their elbows; they looked almost like bracelets and arm rings. In their thick hair they wore large combs with flying feathers and through the bridge of their noses they had put flowers and leaves. Their costume consisted of a tight cloth slung around the waist and pulled up between their legs.

11: Born--175-176 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

The Oleaï Islands belong to the West Carolinian and Palauan district politically. They are situated about 380 nautical miles to the east of Jap, and form part of the island group which extends from Palau to the Marshall Islands over an area of more than 40 degrees of longitude. They comprise 21 islands of varying size. Only eight of them, the largest in size, are inhabited, although all of them have abundant growths of coconut trees and tall breadfruit trees. Raur, Paliau, Oleaï, Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal, and Falalis are the islands which are inhabited.

The islands form two semi-circles which meet at Tagaulap Island, in such a way that they form the arabic numeral 3. The opening of the 3 forms the passage to the inner lagoon.

Through this large opening in the reef, the lagoon is exposed to the southwest monsoon, so that this wind causes a rough sea within the harbor. There are also many reef banks scattered throughout the harbor. One of the most dangerous of these is situated to the northeast of Motogosu (Motagu) Island. During stormy weather, which is frequent during the time of the northeast monsoon, the sea here is very rough; it swells and there are breakers and strong currents from all sides.

There are two narrow passages which are navigable for canoes and small craft, one between Fareiles and Jalangigereil, the other between Tagaulap and Marijong; the latter has more depth. Near this, towards Tagaulap, there are breakers [176] even during calm weather. During the northeast monsoon the surf is strongest at the apex of each of the two semi-circles.

11: Born--176
116, 437, 651

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

In former times the people of Oleaï went on frequent expeditions to Gatschbar to make their tributary payments, consisting of woven mats, Gau, the gold of Jap, and ornaments, as the people of Ululssi still do today. In our time, however, world trade has modernized communication among the Micronesians. A few months ago, the head chief, Follebu, went to Oleaï on a trade schooner to survey his territory. He also levied a tax of 17,000 coconuts on his subjects; this tax is collected by an American company which gives the chieftain its equivalent in European articles of trade, which are worth about 150 Mark.

11: Born--176
116, 621, 173

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

All the natives have their houses along the coast, on that side of the islands which faces the inner lagoon. There are no visible boundaries, although there are separate communities. There are about three or four villages, each with its own chieftain, on each island. There is no head chief within the atoll, not even a "first among equals". The actual head chief is the chieftain Follebu, or rather his father Bugolrau, in Gatschbar on Jap.

There are several legends concerning the origin of this political dependence on Jap. One of the most common variants is the following: Once a woman from Oleaï lost her course and was stranded at Gatschbar. She was received hospitably, and, when the winds changed, some people from Jap provided her with the necessary supplies and took her safely to her native island. The peaceful people of Oleaï recognized their superiors in these armed, warlike men who had saved the woman, and accepted them as their masters. The consciousness of their dependence is deeply ingrained in the natives of Oleaï. They believe that if they should secede from Jap and break faith with their head chief, a huge tidal wave would wash away their island.

11: Born--176
116, 132

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

About 15 or 20 years ago, at the time of the southwest monsoon, a tidal wave swept away the entire southern tip of Tagaulap, together with all the houses, coconut and breadfruit trees on that section, although no lives were lost; this island is most exposed to the rough sea of the southwest winds. Today the tip of the island consists only of sand, and nothing is left but the bare branches...

Even today, however, the peoples of Oleaï still go on sailing expeditions which take them as far as Ruck to get Reng, the [177] pulverized roots of the curcuma plant which is the money of the Oleaï, in exchange for woven mats, ornaments, and canoes.

During my stay there, a fleet of 10 canoes was expected every day; they had departed for Puluad a year ago. Unfortunately I was not able to wait for their arrival. I did see, however, the arrival and departure of canoes almost every week. They went back and forth between the island and Faraulip, Ifaluk, and Aurepik. The people of Oleaï have close economic and family ties with these three island groups. There is a constant exchange of articles of trade and even of persons among them. Because of the many intermarriages they are all closely related. Aurepik is a distance of 80 nautical miles from Oleaï, Ifaluk is 40 and Faraulip 100 nautical miles distant.

11: Born--177 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 142, 101 Woleai

In physical structure, dress, language, and customs, the Oleaï natives belong to the Central Carolinians. They are closely related to the natives of Truk, Ululasi, Lamutrik, Satuwal, Sorol, Sonsol, Atogui, and Merir.

For the most part, they are of medium size and slender build; their skin is lighter than that of the people of Jap, and their features are regular and attractive. Their iris is dark brown, the conjunctiva bulbi has a yellow tinge and pigmentary spots. The shades of hair vary from dark brown to almost black, but the children are often dark blond; many of them have curly hair. Many of the women are as tall as the men. Frequently they have beautiful, well-proportioned bodies. The men have only a very slight beard.

11: Born--177 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 502 Woleai

It frequently happens during stormy weather that a canoe is overturned...In that case, some of the men hold on to the food supplies, coconuts, breadfruit pudding, dried fish, etc., while the others turn the canoe over and swing it from side to side to bail out the water. Then they sail on, although the same thing may happen again within a few hours. Fortunately, few lives are lost on these daring trips. If a canoe loses its course, it usually drifts to another island, to Ululasi, Jap or Sorol.

The men wear a narrow loincloth, tor, which is worn like that on Jap. Formerly this consisted of a narrow mat, but today most of the younger men use blue and red cloth; red cloth especially is very popular. When they wade in water that reaches above the hips [178] they remove the loincloth. Children of both sexes wear no clothes until they are about five years old.

Although the dress of the men is very simple, their ornaments are even more colorful and varied than those of the Jap natives. They often wear a wreath of fragrant white and red flowers, which they wind around an elaborately carved comb, makal. The white blossoms are taken from the Ut trees (on Jap they come from the papaya trees), the red blossoms from the Sorr trees. They wear two or three necklaces made of coconut shells cut in the shape of rings, tagag, or of small disks of Gau (chamotsch, feipar, lamoluk). There are also bracelets, worn around the wrist made of the green fronds of coconut trees, lag, or ankle bracelets made in the same way. With these, they also wear bracelets made of tortoise shell, botschall, or small disks of sea shells, chamelat. The latter come from Aurepik and Sorol; they are never made on Oleai. One very rare ornament, imported from Puluat, is a belt, worn either around the stomach or around the neck, which is made of large rings cut from coconut shells, tagag.

Besides these ornaments, the natives also use the valuable Reng (Rang) which they rub into the entire body several times, and coconut oil, loi, which they rub into their hair until it shines.

The lobes of their ears are distended so that they often reach halfway down to the shoulders. On these they wear ornaments of all kinds, from the ordinary rings of coconut shells, tschi, to the valuable Gau disks, fol Aurepik, as well as the strange pendants made of the vertebrae of sharks. Most of the natives wear their hair short, I saw only a few men who had tied their hair in a knot behind the head, following the custom of Jap.

Most of the older women also wear their hair short, but the young girls prefer curls. The wreath as a hair ornament is also very popular among the women, and they wear it almost constantly. Sometimes they wear a fillet made of yellow fiber, marmar, instead. Their necklaces are small, and consist either of Gau disks or of rings made of coconut shells or tortoise shells. They wear numerous earrings made of rings cut of coconut or tortoise shells in all sizes. They wear bracelets made of grooved tortoise shell bent to the proper shape; sometimes, less frequently, they are made of coconut shells or disks made of sea shells strung up together. There is also the bracelet which is the favorite of the girls on Jap; this is made of the hinge of jagoiok shells. The natives of Oleaï copied this ornament and the method of making it from the Jap natives, so that the term jagoick has been taken over into the language of Oleaï.

The women's dress consists of a woven mat, [179] gapalepal, which they wind around their hips. When they sit down they push the front part of the mat between the upper legs. This garment encloses the hips and legs so tightly that the women all have a strange, stiff and mincing walk. The garment of the young girls is more comfortable. This siwesiw does not require as much labor as the mats of the women which have to be woven. A short apron, attached to a belt worn around the region of the navel, hangs down in front and back; this is made of fresh green leaves. They also wear a narrow strip of leafy material, chatiletach, between the legs. Today some of the young girls wear grass skirts, jungejung, similar to those worn by the Jap women, except that there they are wider and are made of several kinds of leaves and grass, while the skirts here are made of coconut fronds which have been cut into strips.

All the women wear a belt around the hips; this may consist of any kind of material. Often it is made of hairs which are plaited, tschiim, but usually it consists of three or four strands on which black beads made of coconut shells have been strung up, tartar. The strands are held together by small white disks made of shells, maijal shell. These disks are called pak and are made on Oleaï. Several holes are drilled into them; they are inserted into the belt at regular intervals. There are usually nine disks in one belt. The belt is tied into a knot at the stomach; the strands, which consist of coconut yarn, are twisted together. I saw one beautiful belt of this type, more valuable than the type commonly worn. Rings made of polished tortoise shells had been substituted for the

coconut beads, and Gau disks which had been polished a dark red were inserted in place of the white shell disks. The jil is worn only at special occasions. This is not the property of one woman; it is a family heirloom, and may not pass out of the family without the permission of all its members. This ornament is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food, The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

11: Born--178-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians-3
116, 291 Woleai

Both men and women wear the hat made of pandanus leaves which is worn on Jap. Here it is called tscholifatsch.

Among the buildings of the Oleaï Islands, there are first of all the large houses, fal. Here the men spend the larger part of the day and night, a custom which is also found on Jap. However, the women and girls are also permitted to stay in the large houses, and the custom of keeping mongol, hetaerae, is not known here; in these two respects the houses here differ from those on Jap. There are two kinds of community houses. One, called falepai, is erected on large, rectangular wharfs, which jut out into the water several meters from the beach. The style of these falepai is reminiscent of the bâwai on Jap. The former, however, are small, and the timber used is not as good; they are made of wood from coconut and pandanus trees. The houses are used to store sails, nets, weir baskets, and mats. At night the natives light large fires within and in front of these houses, so that they provide a cool shelter, with fewer mosquitos than the houses on the beach. The inhabited islands each have one house of this type, Utagal and Falalis each have two.

The other type of community house, faloa, is used during the daytime, and serves as a place for work. There are three or four of these on each island, except for Tagaulap and Marijong, which have only one. These houses are nothing more than large, open halls without front or side walls. A sloping roof which nearly touches the ground takes the place of the side walls. The front and back are open. Here most of the canoes owned by the people of the surrounding villages are kept, both the large canoes used for deep sea sailing and the smaller craft which is not used very much today, as well as sails, nets, and weir-baskets. During the day the men build or repair canoes in this house, or they plait weir baskets or make nets. This is also the place where the fish caught on a common fishing expedition are distributed among the individuals....

The house for menstruating women, im-mel-jagobung are not isolated and far removed from the dwellings as are those on Jap. They are situated within the village. The houses for women in labor and for women lately confined, im-mellipel, are built anew for each individual case; these are situated as far as possible from the village, mostly on the beach.

There are also a few storage houses for coconuts, im-motscho, made of wood from breadfruit trees. These have a very solid build and have a more attractive appearance than most of the dwelling houses. They are scattered among the bushes. Recently the natives have erected small sheds for the canoes, (thapal, a term which in the language of Jap means house for menstruating women), but these consist of plain rectangular huts,

covered with leaves; they do not resemble the complex structure used for the same purpose on Jap.

11: Born--181 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Woleai

The dwelling house, im-molut, of the Oleaf natives stands in about the same relation to that of Jap as a hut does to a mansion. It has the appearance of a temporary shelter which even a slight gust of wind might blow away. The walls and the roof are made of coconut leaves. There are no foundations, no floor, and no partitions dividing the inside into separate rooms as there are on Jap.

Recently, however, the natives have built more substantial houses, probably under the influence of the Jap natives. These have regular planks and walls made of the wood from breadfruit trees, im-pap.

Some houses have a small veranda, im-mal-paloi, which is separated from the interior of the house and surrounded by partitions made of leaves.

The yard around the house is kept very clean. Usually it is covered with coral pebbles. The adjoining buildings are cookhouses, malam. There are no separate houses for women and girls as there are on Jap; the entire family ...which usually includes a number of unmarried female relatives, most of them older, live together in one small room.

There are two basic types of canoes, which again have two subdivisions each, those used for sailing and those used for rowing. The generic term for canoe is w(u)a. The canoes for rowing are privately owned; of these, some are built for one or two persons, tschosmal, and some are larger, accomodating 11 or 12, wafetul. They are made of wood from breadfruit trees, and the separate pieces are lashed together with coconut yarn and glue. This glue is made of burned pulverized coral lime, ashes of coconut shells and the juice of fatsch roots. The two outrigger, tamur, poles are placed in the center of these canoes [182]; these are forked and are set into the outrigger and made fast with coconut ropes, golgol, tied in elaborate knots. In the small canoes, a board made of wood from the breadfruit tree is placed over the outrigger poles to be used for sitting. The large canoes have eight or nine narrow benches for the men who are rowing, and a rectangular wooden platform with a reenforced edge, faref, which is used to store equipment and supplies; it takes up half the length and the entire width of the canoes and is placed on the outrigger poles, toward the outrigger and outside of the canoe proper. The canoes are equipped with short paddles which are easy to handle, fatel; there are made of safang (Calophyllum) wood and are slightly curved at the points.

All of these canoes have an attractive, slender shape. They have forked end pieces like those of Jap, rassim. On Jap there are no canoes for rowing; they are very handy for the people of Oleai, however, who use them for short trips among the neighboring islands.

11: Born--181-182 (1903) 1904 Woleaians -2
116, 396, 501 Woleai

The natives here are experts in the construction of canoes for sailing. There are two types of these: wamar, small canoes used within the lagoon, and waluwe, the large canoes used for deep water fishing and for the large expeditions to Ruck. By European standards, these large canoes are also quite useful for shorter trips. There are wide benches with back rests, falak, in the center of the canoe; for protection from wind and rain on longer journeys, there are huts, geimeru, on the outrigger.

The natives use carefully finished blocks of wood for the tackle. They learned this device from merchant ships; on Jap it is still unknown.

11: Born--182 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

The diet of the natives is chiefly vegetarian. Coconuts, nu, are a staple food; during the long periods of cold at the time of the northeast monsoon when the winds are too strong for fishing expeditions, coconuts are often the only available food for two weeks or more. Next to the coconut in importance is Lack, here called bulak, which is not as abundant on these islands as on Jap. Only women may dig the hard, small root of this plant; they must do this before sunrise, and they must abstain from sexual intercourse and from smoking the night before. All the Lack fields of all the islands together (Tagaulap is the only island which does not have a Lack field)are not enough to yield a supply of this food for the entire population.

A favorite recipe of the Oleaï women consists of slices of Lack cooked together with coconut scrapings; this jarong keeps for one or two days.

Another staple food is breadfruit, mei. This is used for the marr recipe. The fruit is pared before it is quite ripe, sliced, and put into a basket made of coconut fronds together with the seeds. The basket is then placed in a shallow groove lined with the leaves of breadfruit trees and covered with large pieces of coral rock. They are left there for several months, and the leaves are changed several times. When they are taken out, the breadfruit pudding has a yellow color, a strong, unpleasant odor and is full of worms and larvae. The pudding may be left in the groove for as much as a year. The method of washing this marr is the criterion of a good cook. It is then placed in clean, woven mats and made into a paste with sweet toddy (the juice of the florescence of coconut blossoms) and coconut oil, and is then ready to be eaten.

There are also bananas, wuitsch, pandanus fruits, wele-fatsch, papayas, gatoruk, and jabatsch (abiutsch on Jap) fruits, which have a very unpleasant odor: these are not consumed as much as the foods mentioned above as they are not found in such abundance. There is, however, a reddish fruit, somewhat like an apple, called arefas on Jap and faliap on Oleai; the season for this is December and January, and it is a favorite food, especially among children. These are stacked up on wooden poles by the dozen. They are said to cause digestive disturbances in older people, but they are believed to be very healthy for young people. I myself found that one of these fruits may cause a slight feeling of nausea when eaten on an empty stomach, but that after a meal a dozen may be consumed without any harmful effects. Judging from their taste, I should say that they have a high content of tannic acid. It should also be remembered that arefas plays an important part in Jap medicine.

In the consumption of animals, fish (ik here, nik on Jap) are, of course, one of the chief foods. If a large number is caught on a fishing expedition, there is a great rejoicing among all the natives and they hold large banquets. They dry those fish which they cannot eat. On calm nights, fires may be seen all along the beach; the fishermen and their families roast their fish and eat them immediately, whether they are hungry or not.

There are very few pigs, silo, and chicken, maluch, today; the former especially

are very scarce. Formerly they existed in [184] abundance. One reason for this is that more boats visited the island formerly and payed high prices for pigs and chicken, another that the pigs caused great damage to the Lack plantations and the marr grooves, and, finally, that a large number of chickens were consumed by patients during the epidemics. Today there are probably less than a dozen pigs in the entire atoll. Pork is sometimes cooked in large pots, as is customary on Jap, but more often large pieces are roasted over a fire.

Several varieties of clams and turtles, uong, are also popular.

11: Born--184 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 273 Woleai

Besides water, the natives drink the juices of young coconuts, tschalelu, especially toddy, which may be sweet, gatschimem, or sour, faloba. The sweet kind is not intoxicating, the sour kind is very intoxicating and has an immediate effect. The men climb the toddy trees every morning and evening and take down the full bottles. After the first cut into the core of the tree, it takes about two weeks to accumulate a sufficient amount. There are many trees which never yield good juice; this is ascribed to the kind of cut used and to the sharpness of the knife. A coconut shell is suspended below the place where the tree has been cut. The shell has a hole in the bottom, and the juice runs through this into a bottle attached directly under the shell. Sour toddy is made of fermented sweet toddy. The juice drips into a coconut shell and is left thus for several days; from time to time the sediment is poured off. After three days the toddy has intoxicating properties, which are increased if the shell is not cleaned. Sour toddy causes intestinal disturbances and is one of the factors causing dysentery, a disease which is especially violent in Oleai. Although the preparation of this drink is now against the law, there are still many natives who drink it. One chieftain told me, "You white people have beer, wine, and rum to get intoxicated, we have toddy for that purpose."

Besides the construction of houses and canoes, the main task of the men is fishing, seloch. They go fishing both within and outside of the lagoon, and they use spears, koboi, fishhooks, bau, fish-traps, buiau, nets, jedeng, and weirs, kassutsch.

When they use fishhooks, the fishermen, most of them boys and young men, stand up to their chests in the water. The bait consists of pieces of coconut or marr. The hook, cho, is attached to a line which is tied to [185] sticks 1 or 1 1/2 meters long. Formerly the fishhooks were made of shells or tortoise shell. Today all the natives get both the hooks and the lines from traders.

The fish-traps vary considerably both in size and in shape. Divers place the baskets in the water and then take them up after two or three days.

Often, if nets are used for fishing, all the inhabitants of the island help. The net is spread out into a semi-circle, and men and boys swim along the periphery and hold it taut; I noticed that the oldest natives, including the local chieftain, were stationed at each end to pull it toward the land. All the rowing canoes which are available are posted around the net. The net is dragged slowly toward the shore with much noise and shouting. The result, however, usually does not correspond to the amount of time, labor, and noise that went into this work. I observed several occasions at which not more than 20 fish were caught. At other times there may be a large number of fish. I was told that one of the natives of Paliau Island had caught several thousand skibijaks (jaringab) at one time, this fish apparently is similar to the salmon and is large and tasty.

Weirs are seldom used. I saw only one, constructed like those used on Jap, which was made of large pieces of coral rock and had been placed in the outer lagoon by Tagaulap Island.

Flying fish, tülimingar, are caught at the same time and by the same method as on Jap. During the period from February to May, the men go out at night with their torches to catch large numbers of flying fish in circular nets. At this time, the same rules apply to the fishermen as on Jap; they may not have sexual intercourse or sleep in their own houses.

It is said that the custom of catching flying fish was introduced on Jap by Ululssi and Oleaï.

There is one kind of fish, the bright red bolé, which the natives of Oleaï never eat; it is taboo for them. The people of Jap eat this kind, although they do not consider it a delicacy.

When a canoe returns from a fishing expedition, everyone on the beach runs away and hides, [186] from the fishermen. After the men have landed by the large house, they go to the fireplace in the hall of the house, hold their finger into the flame, and touch their tongue. As soon as the people in the bushes see this, they emerge from their hiding place and the fish are then distributed.

11: Born--186 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 285, 142 Woleai

The women also plait all kinds of mats, handbags, and small pouches in which tobacco, tinderboxes, kindling implements, and all the other small articles which the natives carry about with them may be kept. Betel, however, and the articles that go with it are missing; the Oleaï natives do not chew betel and therefore have beautiful white teeth.

11: Born--186 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Today, no one except the older people is tattooed over the entire body; the younger people only tattoo their arms and legs. Latin letters, crosses, and fish are popular patterns; the fish designs are tattooed in a long row from the hips to the ankles. The technique of tattooing is the same as that on Jap. The patterns used for tattooing the entire body closely resemble Kubary's drawings of the patterns used on Sonserol.

11: Born--186 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 462 Woleai

The main task of the women is the preparation of food and the weaving of mats. The people of Jap consider the women of Oleai very lazy, but that is doing them an injustice. Most women and girls are busy from morning till night.

Formerly the women used pots which were made of large sea shells; today most of them use iron pots for cooking. They keep food in wooden plates and oval-shaped dishes; these have no supports or ornaments of any kind.

The women and girls are also expert at handling the canoes for rowing; they have as much endurance, and they paddle as quickly as the men. I have seen many of them row out beyond the lagoon without men.

The most difficult task of the women is weaving, which they do with great skill and taste. This is very slow work and requires a great deal of patience. It may take months to weave a single mat. Even the preparation of [187] banana and hibiscus fibers, cleaning and dyeing them, takes a great deal of time and care. The loom, paap, is attached to a belt, talletói, worn by the weaver. The sword, which beats down the weft, is made of black jengi wood which has a high natural polish; the term for sword is gopóp (opóp on Ruck). The term for shuttle is gasáp (asáp on Ruck).

They make narrow belts for men, wide mats for women, and large plain mats which are made of hibiscus fiber; the mats used for clothing are made of banana fiber. These large mats are used as a protection against mosquitoes and as a cover for the marr paste after it has been washed.

The pattern most frequently used is black and white longitudinal stripes; there are seven black and six white stripes. There are more attractive mats, which have three narrow black vertical stripes in the center and horizontal stripes at the ends. There is a large variety of horizontal patterns; I have never seen two that were identical.

Recently, a few women have been using red aniline to dye the fiber.

The average price of a mat is approximately equivalent to one Mark.

11: Born--187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 515 Woleai

The women of Oleai are very particular about cleanliness. They go into the sea to bathe about three times a day, and wash their entire bodies as well as their clothing with coconut scrapings. They wash the children at the same time, beginning with the youngest infants. They wash out the ears, mouth, nose, and eyes with leaves, a process which is, of course, accompanied by cries and shrieks on the part of the children.

11: Born--187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 304, 832 Woleai

Many, but not all of the women and girls are tattooed on the mons Veneris. The pattern represents a bird or a kalong with outstretched wings, the tips of the wings touching the groins, the point of the beak pointing toward the vulva.

When a woman gives birth to a child, she utters several strange, piercing cries. This is a signal which can be heard by everyone. Each house used for a confinement is newly built especially for that occasion. These im-mellepel are situated at some distance from the dwelling houses, on the beach, and a woman remains there for ten days after the confinement. [188] The members of her family, even the men, visit her constantly, except for those men who are skilled in the art of navigation and who are in charge of deep sea sailing expeditions. Her food during this time is the same as that of the other women.

After the ten days have passed, the hut and all the mats used by the woman during her stay are burned down, and she returns to her home. During the pregnancy and for a long period after the confinement the woman may not have sexual intercourse. I was told that this rule covered a period of several years. There are ways, however, to circumvent this prohibition.

The woman gives birth either in a kneeling position, leaning slightly forward and pressing her hands on her thighs, or she rests in the lap of another woman in a half sitting, half lying position. A shell with a sharp edge, gilgil, is used to cut off the navel cord. The cord is not tied; one of the women present chews a herb and spits it on the bleeding wound; this is said to stop the bleeding immediately. They bury the afterbirth, pei.

11: Born--188 [2] (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 845 Woleai

I was told that many women have twins; some time ago, a woman from Falalis had even given birth to quadruplets, but they did not live. The natives believe that white women, "like cats and dogs", always give birth to several children at a time.

During their menstrual period, pungelog, the women and girls stay in a small house for menstruating women. The girls wear a bunch of light green leaves inserted in their grass skirts at that time. They have strict dietary rules; they may not eat anything prepared or even touched by a man.

It is against the custom to have sexual intercourse with a girl who has not yet begun to menstruate. This, however, is frequently disregarded, especially by older people, in spite of the belief that it may hurt the girl's health.

The Jap custom of isolating a girl for three months after her first menstrual period and blackening her teeth does not prevail here. Public opinion disapproves of sexual intercourse before marriage, while this is allowed on Jap. A girl is always accompanied by a group of children of both sexes, who are, as it were, the guardians of her chastity. It is considered very [189] improper for a girl to go into the bushes by herself. In spite of that, many girls follow their own inclinations at night. There are, however, a large number of 15 and 16 year old girls who remain virgins until their marriage.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 533, 535 Woleai

The development of art among the Oleaï natives is on a very low level. I saw no musical instruments of any kind. There is said to be a kind of jew's harp for children, consisting of a single string which is plucked to produce different notes.

The dancing songs of the natives here are, if possible, even more monotonous and lacking in melody than those of the Jap natives. The dances, baruk, are more rapid and lively. Here, too, clapping the hands and beating the thighs and armpits are the chief movements of the dance. In some dances the performers produce a peculiar sound by puffing out their cheeks and snapping their index fingers against them.

11: Born--189
116, 595, 584

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

There is no law against polygamy, because of economic reasons monogamy is almost universal. If a young man wishes to marry, he must make large payments to his future father-in-law, and he must have some possessions, such as breadfruit and coconut trees and canoes. Poor men are badly off; it is extremely difficult for them to find a wife. Even a wealthy suitor may be rejected by the girl with the expression, "itoai (I do not want to)", if his appearance does not please her.

11: Born--189
116, 837, 684

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

Adultery among the inhabitants of the same island is not unusual and is not regarded as anything important since in that case the inhabitants consider themselves almost one family. If the offender comes from another island of the atoll, however, adultery is considered a serious crime and is revenged. As soon as a crime of this sort has been discovered, the word spreads to all the islands, and almost all the men sail to the island of the guilty man to punish him. They burn his house, cut down his breadfruit and coconut trees, and break his canoe, in short, he loses his fortune. There is never any corporal punishment.

Few of the houses have ornaments on the gables or the equipment. The only attempt worth mentioning is a pattern on the front and back of the houses, consisting of a row of fish painted on a white background. I found no carved human and animal figures such as those made on Jap. I saw one carved canoe, [190] but the workmanship was crude and careless, and could not be compared with that of Jap. The reverse is true of the actual canoes used. The crude, unattractive canoes of the Jap natives cannot compare with those of the natives of Oleai.

11: Born--190 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 764 Woleai

When a man dies, his friends and relatives from the entire atoll come to the funeral. They take part in the lamentations and bring presents to the family of the deceased. There are no dances. The body is wrapped in a mat. Two or three days after death it is placed in a casket made of the parts of a canoe. It may be buried at the outskirts of the group of dwelling houses; otherwise, the casket is taken outside of the reef, weighted with stones, and buried at sea. No mounds are erected above the graves. A rectangular stone wall encloses the grave, on which coral pebbles have been strewn. The natives give as a reason for burials at sea the fact that a stranger might walk across the grave and so disturb the peace of the departed, or that children might laugh and play on the graves and thus "play with the dead"! A body may be buried in the grave of a deceased relative.

11: Born--190
116, 789

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

The natives use all sorts of magic and enchantments for animate and inanimate objects. They twist their bodies into grotesque shapes and clap their hands as they utter their formulas. The formulas are applied to all the accidents of human existence. They are used to prevent illness and death, to help canoes which have lost their course, or at least to guide them to a neighboring island. If a rainstorm is approaching, a formula prevents it from hitting a canoe out on the open sea. Once when I was on my way to visit a woman who was very ill with dysentery, I met a canoe in which a woman adorned with flowers was sitting. She sang magical formulas and made strange movements with her paddles as she rowed out toward the sea. The purpose of this was to induce the devil, aissis, to leave the sick woman and to follow her voice. Later, when the woman recovered, her relatives probably explained it by this magic, and not by the Ipecacuanha which I had administered.

11: Born--190-191 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Oleai natives are by nature a very friendly and peaceful people. They have never had any wars, and they have no weapons for warfare. It is all the more striking, then, that, after a longer stay with them, one becomes aware of behavior which can only be described as forward, if not impudent. [191] In their relationships with white people they make no attempt to conceal the fact that their only object is to make as great a profit as possible. This is in marked contrast to the charming and sincere behavior of the Jap natives which make all transactions with them pleasant and friendly.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaï natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaï immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

12: Lutke--107-108
116, 131, 175, 161

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
West Fayu

Following our way west on the next day (February 22) we saw Pyghella and Faïeou islands which Don Louis Torrès had also seen, and which he called Pigouelao [AN: Pikelot] and Faliao [AN: Fayu]. The former [108] had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. Both of them are very small, not being more than a hundred and fifty meters long; they are almost at water level, surrounded by a reef forming a cove on Faliao, and both of them are uninhabited.

12: Lutke--127 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 142 Lamotrek

These men seemed better built to us than their eastern neighbors. There is no particular difference in their features.

12: Lutke--127
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek
Elato

I steered first for the islands which Wilson called Islands of the Swede (Swede's Islands), because a sailor on his boat, who was born in Sweden, remained there. We did not meet anything worthy of notice until the 25th, when we passed seven miles from the shore of Taïeou Island (western) [AN: West Fayu] which we had already surveyed. On the evening of that same day we saw the Swede's Islands at the west. At dawn on the 26th we had drawn near to them; then we were joined by several canoes and the natives informed us that the easternmost of the three separate groups which form these islands is called Namourrek (or Namouttek) [AN: Lamotrek]; the westernmost is Elato and the most southern, Namoliaour.

12: Lutke--127
116, 304

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Their tattooing is more regular, more attractive [AN: than that of their eastern neighbors], and traced with a great deal of symmetry.

12: Lutke--127-128 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 262 Lamotrek

Above all and before [128] anything else they asked for food: they all cried comi, comi (the Spanish come), and kept pointing to their empty stomachs. They ate everything that we gave them not only with gusto but with almost ravenous eagerness, and they even devoured our worm-eaten biscuit. It was evident that they had not had enough for a long time.

12: Lutke--128-129 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Elato

After observing the latitude between the Elato and Namourrek groups, which are situated almost on the same parallel, we went to the western side of the former. This side consists of an open reef with several islets one of which is called Falipi. On Cantova's map, in almost this very spot you see Banc de Falipi. Could what was formerly a shoal have become an island in a hundred years time? There is a harbor in the Elato group the boats sent from the Marianas to get the trepang always stop there. However, we were not able fo find [129] the entrance to the lagoon which according to what we had been told is on the eastern side. This is contrary to the law generally observed in the coral atolls, where the openings of the reef are to be found on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaï and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

12: Lutke--130 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Faraulep

We steered north, to go in quest of the Farroïlap group (or Fattoïlap) which was seen by Mr. Torrès. By following his indications and the statements of the Carolinians, we reached this small group on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March. It is only four miles in circumference, and is composed of three islets with a lagoon in the center. After sailing around them we hove to on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--130-131 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 609 Faraulep

The natives came to us at once. One of them who had nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the rest, surprised us by his European manners, and we were even more astonished when he came on board and began to speak a very pure Spanish. He was the chief Alaberto*, he had spent two years in the Marianas islands where he had learned Spanish so perfectly that if [131] we could not carry on a fluent conversation with him, it was our fault, and not his. His polite and charming manners made him a very interesting guest.

---

* This name does not resemble a Carolinian name in the slightest; it may be that he received it in Guahan.

12: Lutke--131
116, 177

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

Alaberto [AN: chief] had dinner with me in the cabin; he had no difficulty in eating in our manner. . .

12: Lutke--131
116, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

He [AN: the chief Alaberto] depicted his native country as the most wretched place in the world as it provided no food whatsoever save fish and coconuts, and you even had to drink the latter if no rain fell. We had already learned how to treat our callers, and before proceeding to any other gifts, we offered them a luncheon of biscuit and Guahan fruits; this certainly pleased them as much as did the knives and scissors.

12: Lutke--131-132 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 175, 593 Faraulep

I would have given a good deal to have had a man like him [AN: chief Alaberto] at my side at the beginning of the exploration of the Caroline Islands. Even now he could be very useful, and I suggested that he accompany us to [132] Ouleaï. He replied that his wife would be very upset. When I offered to take her too, he shrugged his shoulders and said that they had better stay in Farrŏllap in spite of the dreadful conditions.

12: Lutke--132 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 431 Faraulep

I gave him [AN: chief Alaberto] everything that I thought he could use; among other items a cask to conserve water, and a pocket compass; he understood the use of this in a second, and he held it in his hands as if it were really a treasure.

12: Lutke--133
116, 161

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

Proportionally, there is a larger population here than on the other groups. While we were lying under the wind of the island, waiting to make the noon observations, we were surrounded by twenty-five canoes with at least a hundred natives.

12: Lutke--133-134
116, 152

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

They [AN: the natives] were distinguished from all the other Carolinians we had met heretofore, if not by their outer appearance, then by their noisy behavior. They all wanted to get on the ship; [134] and we had to use force to prevent it.

12: Lutke--134
116, 262, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

They all wanted something to eat; they all offered shell-fish, materials and even canoes for sale and they knew how to drive a keen bargain.

12: Lutke--134-135 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Ifalik

One impudent fellow seized a belaying-pin, and plunged with it into the sea. At that time the big chief of the group was on the boat; I told him that I should detain him on board until the stolen object had been returned. The old man was very frightened; but all the others remained calm, and promised me that the belaying-pin would be brought back instantly. And in fact, one of the chiefs found it on the canoes and brought it back, demanding an ax for the service he had just rendered. While all this was taking place, and while I was trying to reassure the old tamol by giving him some presents, another man repeated the same performance, and jumped in the water from the top of the stern. But after a few minutes the same chiefs forced him to restore the stolen object himself. For the sake of example, I was strongly tempted to give this rascal several lashes, but the poor devil was so frightened [135] that I let him go, and he fled in his canoe lest we change our minds.

12: Lutke --135
116, 226

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

All night long we could see fires in various places; the natives use them to help in their fishing.

12: Lutke--135-136 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 574 Woleai

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torrès, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--136-137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Mr. Zavalichine came back when he had found a good anchorage, and then we entered the lagoon. After tacking a few times we threw anchor about noon [137] across from the northern point of Raour Island.

12: Lutke--137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116. 574 Woleai

We did not find the same hospitality here as at Lougounor; on that island every host invited us to sit down and treated us to coconuts; here we had to ask for them, and often more than once.

12: Lutke--137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 562 Woleai

We went to the eastern side of the island and round its northern tip. We were accompanied by a very joyous little troupe; but when we came to the places where there were women imprisoned, we heard again the annoying farak! farak! as we did on Lougounor.

12: Lutke--137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116. 857 Woleai

On the wind side we noticed with pleasure how the boys ran bravely and skillfully into the breakers and captured some enormous sea-urchins.

12: Lutke--137-138 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 245 Woleai

—

It seemed to us that coconuts are not as abundant here as on Lougounor and yet the wood is [138] bordered with coconut trees.

12: Lutke--138 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 437 Woleai

The inhabitants of Ouleai had no more hesitancy about begging than the natives of Lukunor; the little boys were the worst, and when they saw that Doctor Mertens was collecting sea-shells they brought him all sorts of atrocities which they tried to sell. They tossed them on the ground if he refused to pay the price that they demanded.

12: Lutke--138 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 504 Woleai

On the western side of Raour [AN: Raur] Island there are four or five artificial harbors which were something new to us in the Caroline islands. A jetty of large stones extends from the shore into the water for a distance of about fifteen meters; and then rows of stones extend both right and left from the end at an angle of about 60°, so that the whole thing looks something like an anchor. There are no harbors of this type in the other islands of the group; the reason seems to be that the west winds bring most of the waves on to Raour island.

12: Lutke--138-139 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 177 Woleai

Far from hindering, the natives tried to help us. The only thing to which they [AN: the natives] objected was the firing of our hunters. At the beginning [139] they trembled and screamed at each shot, even in the distance, and begged us not to make so much noise; they soon became accustomed to it, however; and they finally cried ouai! each time they heard a gun.

12: Lutke--139 140
116, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

We were surrounded all day long by a crowd of natives in their canoes; they bartered gaily fish, shell fish, materials, but very little fruit, and then only coconuts. They were perfectly honest but they made a great deal of noise. The chiefs brought us coconuts as a gift, not in canoes full as on Lougounor, but in clusters of six, and they did not fail to demand knives and axes in exchange for them. They had a great deal of fish and of different kinds. They asked high prices for the ropes, which I would have liked to buy; but, strange as it may seem, the canoes, which are the most trouble to build and which form the basis of their wealth, were sold for a song. I purchased a small canoe for an ax, and one of the largest, with [140] all its equipment, for three; and they will surely wear out two of them while they are building a new canoe. It is perhaps because of their abundance that they are so cheap. We saw several canoes in front of nearly every house, and there were a great many in process of construction. A large number of these canoes go to Guahan in exchange for iron.

12: Lutke--140 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The chief Tapeligar was one of our most frequent visitors. I found him seated on his canoe under a tent. It appears that on land as well as on the water their canoes serve constantly as thrones. We scarcely ever saw the chiefs doing anything except sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar acted on the boat as if he were at home; but he did not seem disposed to repay me in the same way; after sending for some coconuts he suggested that we return to my launch, and he did not seem too pleased when I said that I wished that he would accompany me around his island instead.

12: Lutke--141
116, 562, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

As usual we were surrounded by most of the male population of the group, and this time there were women too. Several canoes full of them kept circling around the schooner, and they made more noise than all the other boats put together. They did not ask if they might come on board; perhaps they were waiting for the invitation which we did not extend. That may be because they were all dreadfully ugly. It is not likely that there are not some pretty ones on the island; possibly the jealous men do not permit them to leave the house.

12: Lutke--141-142 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 643 Woleai

Towards evening we received a call from the big chief of the whole group, Rooua, who is described in the Memoires of Mr. Chamisso. I had told Lieutenant Zavalichine that when he was surveying the eastern part of the group he should call at Rooua's residence, Oulemarai, and should present gifts and pay him homage. They had had a good deal of trouble in making the old man understand who was responsible for all these fine things, and by what fortunate chance they should descend upon him in this way; but as soon as he understood the situation, he insisted on coming to see us himself; [142] and he quite forgot that paralysis had deprived him of the use both of his arms and legs. I should have liked to receive this feeble old man, who could scarcely breathe; but he almost fell in the water and it took him a long time to recover. So the conference had to take place on his canoe. I gave him and his wife, who was slightly younger than he, everything that I could think of. The tamols on the sloop said that I could have him lifted and brought on board on a chair, but I thought that it would be dangerous to expose the old man to this ordeal, and we separated after paying him all due honor on his territory.

12: Lutke--142-143 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

The Ouleai group is fifteen miles in circumference; on the old maps it appeared twenty or thirty times larger. It is composed of twenty-two islands, whose names are given with a fair degree of exactitude both by Mr. Chamisso, and on Captain Freycinet's map. According to our observations the [143] southern tip of Raour island, the most eastern one of the group, lies latitude 7°20' 7" north, and at longitude 216°3' west.

12: Lutke--143-144 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai 1.2

The wearisome uniformity of the coral islands has this advantage at least, it dispenses the traveler from the obligation of describing in detail the form of each group. After seeing one, he has seen them all. We have already noted their appearance on the sea side. From the lagoon they all look like a round sandy streak, covered with thick woods, and broken by certain gaps which are framed by the breakers; these do not break the horizon line, however.

But the Ouleaï group differs from the others in this connection. Its form is highly irregular; there are two angles which project toward the north, and a deep recess lies between them. According to the hypothesis of the coral island formation, you can not explain this shape except by assuming that two entirely independent groups were formed here at this place, and simultaneously. The six-meter canal between the Angaligaraïl and the Faraïle islands seems to mark their separation. The reef which extends SE from there joins on the other side of Motogozeu Island the reef which starts from Raour Island, and this completes the eastern group; while a [144] depth of five fathoms, and the reef which extends E and NE from Felalis [AN: Falalis] Island indicate the direction in which the reef will have to go from Felalis, if it is ever to reach Feraïlles and to separate the western group.

The island Ouleaï stands out not only from the ones in this group, but from most of the ones which we had seen up until now. Its southern side does not have the shallow, which makes the other islands so inaccessible; instead the ground slopes down rather

rapidly to a bottom, which is level and sandy; through several fathoms of clear transparent water you can see each grain of sand on the floor. The interior of the island is charming; it is a grove, intersected with paths leading in every direction, and dotted with clearings where there are houses. The coral islands generally have the shape of a horse-shoe, and the sea always looks ready to occupy it. Scarcely have you left one beach when you reach another. Ouleaf on the contrary, is fairly large and there is a kind of park with some beautiful breadfruit trees.

12: Lutke--145 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 764, 643 Woleai

The tombs of the chiefs are exactly like those of the Lukunor people; but some of them are much larger. On one of them I saw a canoe lying diagonally with its keel on top.

12; Lutke--145 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 171 Woleai

The natives of this group, both by their appearance and their character, resemble the Lukunor natives although the latter have been influenced by their frequent contacts with Guahan.

12: Lutke--145 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 352 Woleai

We did not find any difference between their furniture and what we had seen in Lougo-unor.

12: Lutke--145
116, 342

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The chief's houses are better and cleaner here than those of the Lukunor people. The walls are wide planks of breadfruit tree which take on a nice polish and a pretty red color; these give the houses an air of neatness which could not be duplicated in the Caroline Archipelago, or even in the whole South Sea. They are really jewels. It seems that they only use for this purpose the parts of the trunk which are near the root, and which are of no value for the canoes. Because of this all the planks on the walls are in the form of large squares and all these pieces are well roped together.

12: Lutke--146 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 302 Woleai

These men do not use any yellow powder, but their wives besmear themselves with even more of it.

12: Lutke--146 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 192 Woleai

The language is not just the same as at Lougounor, either because of a real difference of idiom and pronunciation, or perhaps on account of the mixture of Chamorro and Spanish words, which they use in some cases, in preference to their own. For example maoulik, instead of mamal, good; pighillili, children, from the Spanish pequenini. Lios (Dios) is apparently used to designate Divinity, or heaven in the religious meaning. When they speak of the dead, they always use the word Lios and point to the sky. They do not seem to recognize any positive difference between Spanish and the Chamorro language because the latter is the language of the common people at Gauhan, and it is spoken by all the Spanish, even those of the upper classes.

12: Lutke--146 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 572 Woleai

Chief Aman, in choosing Mr. Mertens for his friend justified what Mr. Chamisso said about the reciprocal obligation of friends on this group.

12: Lutke--148-149 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Aurupik

After surveying the southern side of the Ouleaï group, we steered south to hunt for the Eourypyg group about whose location I had obtained some information at Ouleaï. Acting on these advices on the twelfth we found this little group which is made up of only two islands. While sailing along its northern side we saw some men on the beach but to our great regret they did not launch their canoes which were on the bank. We did not see any in the lagoon either; so we never learned [149] the names of the islands which form this group.

12: Lutke--299 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 175 Woleai

When we left Farrŏilap we headed S one quarter SW at full sail during the whole night; this is not dangerous in the larger part of this archipelago, and in the morning we saw Ouleaï. After sailing around this group to the east, we hove to in front of the harbor.

Tapeligar, Aman and most of our former friends came to meet us. Aman, from his canoe cried at the top of his lungs: Maoulik Ouleaï.* They all seemed happy [300] to see us again, a joy which may have been real or feigned. They tried to make us understand that we had done well to return to their island after having been in Russia: Fragata Farak Roussia, Farak Ouleaï, Maoulik etc. Of course each one expected that these manifestations would be followed by a prompt reward, and this despite the fact that they had all come empty-handed themselves.

---

* Just as at Lougounor they cried Mamal Lougounor; this confirms the supposition that mamal and maoulik, like aidara at Radak, are used in the sense of friend.

12: Lutke--300
116, 152, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

Among other natives, we met a tamol whom we had seen in the spring at Elato and he told us that the tamol Oralitaou, whom we had met at Guahan, had returned from there to his own country. During our absence the old Rooua had died; his brother Rooua-meun, who was now in Namourrek, had succeeded him. Tapeligar had gone to Fais and to Mogmog, and Aman to Farroflap.

Tapeligar assured us that after our departure he was so bored that he had started to travel, and that he had done so in the hope of finding me somewhere. He declared that when our ship had appeared, his wife had begged him with tears in her eyes to take her to capital Litské, for he would surely give her some lujeuche (pieces of glass, trinkets, etc.). Among the other Caroline natives we did not see such trickery which was clearly designed to make us give him presents. In general you see more envy and spite here than in the other places; if you give a gift to one you may be sure that all the others will ask for the same thing.

12: Lutke--300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 276, 177 Woleai

Several of them asked for cigars, something that we had not noticed here before.

12: Lutke--301 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177 Woleai

Without being in favor of obscurantism, I can say that in general the more contact the savages have with civilized people, the more corrupted they become. These relations make them acquainted with luxury; then new needs, and the desire to satisfy them bring more vices. In this sense the natives of Ouleaï will soon attain the same degree of civilization as their compatriots of the Pelly islands (Palaos) * unless they are preserved from it by their small population.

---

* How far they are, the natives of these islands, from the simplicity and purity of customs in which Captain Wilson found them! Doctor Chamisso speaks of this change. Today they plunder and steal boats, just like the natives of New Zealand and the Marquise islands, and the only difference is that these men do not eat their prisoners.

12; Lutke--301
116, 674

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

Theft is unknown save in Ouleai and the nearby groups. One of our friends attempted to steal an ax, but we got it back from him in time.

12: Lutke--318 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

On the old maps the Ouleaf group occupied a space of two or three degrees in longitude. Captain Freycinet reduced it to seventy miles; while in reality it is only six Italian miles long in this direction.

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 100 male adults on Namourrek and Elato.]

12: Lutke--326 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 162 Woleai

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 350 male adults on Ouleai.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Aurupik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 30 male adults on Eourypyk.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Olimarao

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 20 male adults on Olimarao.]

12: Lutke- -326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 150 male adults on Ifalouk.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 60 male adults on Farroilap.]

12: Lutke--327-328 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

In the Namourrek group Louïto [AN: one of the chiefs of the Caroline Islands] says that there are a thousand and four hundred inhabitants, and Freycinet gives two thousand; but the three adjoining groups, [328] taken together contain less than a square verst, and certainly can not nourish more than thirty families.

12: Lutke--344 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 175, 643 Woleai

The most important chief [AN: of the Caroline Islands], the one of the Ouleaf group is not nearly as significant a personage as Doctor Chamisso depicted him in his Memoires.

13; Lutké--147
116, 562, 609

(1827-1828) 1836

Woleaians
Woleai

The inhabitants of the Ouléaf group, as well as those of the isolated island of Feiss, were less severe towards us, as far as their women were concerned, than the inhabitants of the Lougounor group; they allowed them to be found in our company, and it needed only a short time for an intimate connection to become established between us; in spite of this sort of intimacy and the boundless confidence accorded us, there is not a single individual on the "Séniavine" who can boast of having obtained any favors from a beauty of the low islands of the Carolines.

13: Lutké--149-150 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians
116, 562, 437 Woleai

At Ouléaf the women came quite close to our vessel, but they never arrived in the men's canoes. They took pleasure in crying and calling us by our names, which they sometimes pronounced in the most comical manner. Though they reiterated their demands [AN: for ornaments] unceasingly, in order to obtain more than we had given them, they appeared to receive our gifts with a kind of disdain, and this greatly amused us. Some of them wore pretty belts, of the width of about two fingers, made of the wood of cocoanuts and of white shells put together in a way that recalled mosaics...as I wanted to [p. 150] own one of these belts very greatly, I offered them a considerable price, in their eyes, for this single article; but these women multiplied their demands to such an extent on every occasion I yielded to their instances, that I could not succeed in obtaining one for myself. It seems, besides, that the women set great store by them; I sometimes saw men adorn themselves with them, but they were no more inclined to give them up, alleging, to justify their refusal, that this ornament belonged to their wives.

13: Lutké--159
116, 837

(1827-1828) 1836

Woleaians
Woleai

The bizarre custom that rules in the Ouléai group and which consists in the husband allowing his friend, if he is under his roof, to replace him for a night beside his wife, is absolutely unknown in the islands [AN: Murilo]...

13: Lutké--307-309 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians -1 -2
116, 136 Woleai

Three days spent in the lagoons of Ouléaf provided us with a great quantity of new fish of the most interesting kinds. A new genus of the family of the Labridae (Axodon. Cuv.) was established from a single specimen I obtained; this fish appeared to us to be rare wherever we were. It is remarkable above all for the width of its front teeth; in the general shape of its body and coloring it resembles somewhat the genus Julis. We also caught [308] some specimens of the magnificent Julis Gaymardi of Quoy, as well as some new species of Chaetodon and Balistes, the Holocanthus dux and trimaculatus, the celebrated Chelmon (Chaetodon rostratus, Linn.), a couple of new species of Acanthurus and several others.

This coral group seemed to us poorer than that of Lougounor in animals of the higher orders. No Pteropus presented itself to us; and even the rat which, it would appear, is found on all these islands, is rare here. We were shown two domestic cats that were very carefully shut in, of a breed with long legs and of a reddish yellow color; we were told that they had been brought from Manilla. [sic]

We noticed here the same birds as on Lougounor, except for the hens and pigeons; on the other hand, I saw the same long-tailed cuckoo I had seen twice on Ualan and had been unable to see on Lougounor. The Sterna alba is very common here and likes to rest on the trees; the Sterna stolida and tenuirostris, on the contrary, just as on Ualan, are seen more on the water; the Sterna melanauchen...was noticed singly and seemed to

nest on the sandbanks; there we took some young specimens which we thought [309] belonged to this species; the other sea swallows, mentioned above, nest in common on the trees. We were able to obtain the nests and eggs of the Sterna stolida.

14: Born et al--567
116, 175

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

On March 27 the government schooner "Ponape" returned to Oleaifrom a trip to Ifaluk, where it had gone on Sunday, March 24, because I [MR: Dr. Born] wished to investigate alleged excesses of foreign sailors against the natives of this atoll. The weather, which until then had been fine for weeks, was already beginning to change when we departed; contrary winds and squalls made the journey to the group, 35 miles from Oleai, take forty-two hours...After I had fulfilled my official obligations on the island, which I was visiting for the first time, the "Ponape,"...returned on the morning of Wednesday, March 27, to Oleai, arriving there in the afternoon, with a favorable wind, after a five and a half hour trip.

14: Born et al--567
116, 656

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

I [MR: Dr. Born] went ashore [MR: March 27, 1907], intending on Thursday to give the last language lesson for the natives, distribute medicines, and to give directions concerning the maintenance of the station for military police built by me. Departure for Yap was set for the 28th.

14: Born et al--567 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

...we succeeded in negotiating the difficult entrance into the lagoon of the atoll, which winds between large coral blocks. On the chart only an entrance for small boats is shown, and ships usually anchor outside the reef at a depth of 9 to 16 fathoms.

Wednesday evening [MR: March 27, 1907] passed quietly with almost complete calm and beautiful moonlight. Early the next day several sharp thunderstorms passed over the islands from north and east, and a strong wind with rain squalls set in by fits and starts. The wind let up again and again after a short time, and then there was almost complete calm. From morning on a striking phenomenon was the ever stronger surf from the east and south, which had no relationship to the strength of the wind. Likewise, there appeared early in the morning numerous huge frigate birds, which hovered aimlessly back and forth over the island. I had not noticed these birds in Oleai before. In the usually quiet lagoon there was already a heavy sea at noon, rolling up on the sandy shore in mighty breakers. The first officer of the "Ponape" explained this phenomenon to me as the beginning of a spring-tide, which might be expected the next night (full moon). Towards one o'clock P.M. I went aboard the "Ponape" to consult with the captain about the weather. He told me that under the circumstances a departure that day was not to be considered, the barometer was falling sharply; there was the possibility of an approaching typhoon. He further declared that in such an event he would try to hold fast as long as possible in the lagoon. Finally, he asked me to stay on board because I would be safer than on land. However, considering the impossibility of bringing my bulky baggage on board now with the constantly heavier sea, I preferred to go ashore again.

In spite of the fact that astonishingly there was almost no wind, there was, [568] when I left the ship at about 2:30 P.M., a fearful sea, both on the outer reef and in the lagoon so that the "Ponape" had to change her anchoring place. Shortly after I left the ship a strong rain squall suddenly came blustering from the north-northeast, which struck the canoe I was in violently so that we almost sank. Summoning all their strength, the natives succeeded in holding the canoe and bringing it to land. Here I found my house already evacuated for during my absence powerful waves had come up over the 80 to 100 meter long dunes as far as the house. In the course of the next two and a half hours this whole dune, the eastern point of the island of Oleai, was washed away; there was now a wide passage between the islands of Oleai and Talian, and through this the waves coming over the outer reef from the northeast crashed wildly into the lagoon, where they met the equally heavy surf from the southwest so that the waves towered very high. At 5 o'clock, while I sat writing on the veranda, a heavy sea with slight wind again broke over the reef and, striking towards my house, it threw me several meters away through the splintered veranda railing. My left thigh was severely bruised by falling beams, which made walking very difficult for me and on the next day would have been almost disastrous. At 5:15 I sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape," in which I transmitted to him the advice of a Spaniard who was with me to move the anchorage of the "Ponape" near the village of Isang, under the protection of the northwestern point of Oleai. I thereupon received a note saying that the barometer was standing still and abating of the

wind was to be expected, but that on the other hand the surf would still increase. Shortly before 6 o'clock I had to abandon the already half demolished station; I moved back into the adjacent village of Leuleperik, where I took quarters in a recently finished finely built native house. Late in the evening the wind from the north-northeast began to grow still stronger so that branches of trees were already being broken off. From 1 A.M. on one heard through the whistling of the wind the constant snapping of branches like musketry fire and the crashing of huge falling trees like the thunder of cannon, above it all rose the thundering noise of the surf, but the houses stood firm through the whole night. Towards 5 o'clock we (the Spanish trader Villaçon and I) were awakened by the watch we had posted with the news that the waves were already striking in the village of Leuleperik and that there was already water around our lodging. Leuleperik is about 800 to 1,000 meters away from the northeast shore. The water rose so fast that we scarcely had time to give the most necessary instructions for saving the luggage. We hurried to the Japanese station, which is in the village of Jaur, at the widest part of the island, and in the middle of it. The way was already blocked by fallen coconut palms and other trees lying in all directions, in some places forming real barricades. In spite of the coconuts, branches and trees whistling down to the right and left of us, we reached the Japanese station without accident, and had there an open view of the lagoon to the south. The schooner "Ponape" was not to be seen. Glaring lightning flashed on the horizon in the west. The surf in the lagoon was already beating against the houses of the village. We

soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong [570] ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been wrenched from the ground with all its

roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast. It is impossible to describe the strength of this wind. It was as if a thousand express trains were racing close by our tree. The air was so full of rain and sea spray, mixed with sand, that is was impossible to see to a distance of even a few meters. Thus the storm raged uninterrupted until towards 3 in the afternoon, coming from east-southeast to southeast.

At this time it calmed a little. The sun even broke through, though veiled, for a few minutes, and it was now possible to orient ourselves. It turned out that we were quite close to the shore of the lagoon in the northwestern corner of the island. The water had fallen. Around us there stretched a wide desolate waste, the ground was covered meters high with fallen trees. Only now and then, where a blooming, delightful garden had been, did the bare stump of a breadfruit tree and some withered palms project. Far and wide there was no trace of human habitation. Only a few disordered heaps of ruins marked the places where the great canoe houses, filled with the pride of the natives, the artful high-sea canoes, fishing wier baskets and nets, had stood. There was no human being to be seen. When we approached the village of Jaur, we found the water there meter-high. Suddenly we saw two fantastic figures, youths, rubbed bright red all over their bodies, carrying a pig. We followed them and wading in water up to our hips we reached,

after difficult climbing stretches, the place in about the center of the island where the natives had already partly gathered again. It turned out that by good fortune none of the inhabitants of the island of Oleai had perished. A bivouac was quickly put up, huts constructed of bush work, and a fire lit. In this bivouac we spent the first night of pouring rain.

On Saturday, March 30, in the morning, the wind had let up considerably. We went to the shore and looked around. The sea was still wildly whirling and seething in the lagoon; there was no trace of the schooner "Ponape." A walk along the shore of the island showed us everywhere the same ghastly devastation. The islands of Paliau and Raur seemed to have suffered especially badly. At the place where the lovely island of Raur had been opposite Oleai, only a long, white sandbank with a few palms and tree stumps was to be seen. On the beach at Leuleperik we found the first victim of the catastrophe, the body of a boy about 5 years old....

14: Born et al--570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 173 Woleai

As to the question of the cause of this horrible catastrophe [MR: typhoon, March 1907] I should like to impart some observations which I made after the typhoon, but without the intention of drawing conclusions from them. It seems to me that it is not out of the question that volcanic, undersea eruptions had something to do with it. During the typhoon at 10 in the morning earthquakes could be felt; many pumice stones were washed ashore, which competent people said were lava. The whole atoll seemed even to the natives to have lifted since the high water mark had receded considerably. A new island emerged between Falalis and Motogosu, where, to be sure, there had already been a reef. This island is called Met and is supposed to have been inhabited long ago in the dim past. The native legend relates that a tidal wave washed it away in those days. Between the islands of Paliau and Oleai there used to be only a small passage, which was almost dry at low tide. Now, after the typhoon, this passage is very considerably widened and deepened. The reef bank between these two islands was cracked like a marble slab thrown on the floor; great pieces were split out of it. The ground on the islands of Paliau and Raur also looked as if shattered. On the outer reef of Raur, where the tidal wave had broken over it, there were three longish piles of coral rubble like little lonely islands. The outer reef side of the same two islands, formerly grown with thick bush, was a flat surface strewn with coral gravel, smooth and even as a table, where it had been exposed to the tidal wave. The direction of the tidal wave was presumably from east-northeast to west-southwest; its height cannot be given with certainty.

14: Born et al--570
116, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

When we approached the village of Jaur [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907 had passed], we found the water there meter-high. Suddenly we saw two fantastic figures, youths, rubbed bright red all over their bodies, carrying a pig. We followed them and wading in water up to our hips we reached, after difficult climbing stretches, the place in about the center of the island where the natives had already partly gathered again. It turned out that by good fortune none of the inhabitants of the island of Oleai had perished. A bivouac was quickly put up, huts constructed of bush work, and a fire lit. In this bivouac we spent the first night of pouring rain.

14: Born et al--571
116, 132, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

The accounts of those saved from Raur and Paliau unanimously gave the following picture of the events on those islands: As early as the evening of March 28, experienced people concluded from the peculiar roar of the surf that a tidal wave was approaching. So all precautions were taken to save the women and children, and they were fastened with ropes in the branches of breadfruit trees. On March 29, towards 8 in the morning, after the water had risen a meter and a half high on the island during the night, a dark cloud appeared with a terrifying whistling noise over the tops of the highest breadfruit trees, thus over 40 meters high: the tidal wave. It broke like a gigantic jet of water in the middle of the islands and poured with a terrific flood into the lagoon. However, this first tidal wave did not tear away the tightly bound people; but directly after the first came a second and still higher wave, which swept away all trees, houses and people. The lagoon at this moment was a great whirling eddy, into which the trees full of men were torn. Those who did not drown were crushed by the trees in the surf on the reef ledges.

14: Born et al--570-571 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 731 Woleai

When we returned to the camp [MR: after surveying the damage caused by the typhoon, March, 1907] the sound of loud crying and lamenting met our ears, not to cease all day. The first reports of tragedy had come in, and more and more were added. Only two inhabitants of the island of Raur had survived, a man and a woman. The loss of human life here came to a hundred and thirty. Nine inhabitants of the island had been on other islands during the typhoon, and had thus been saved. On Paliau fifty out of ninety inhabitants had perished, among them the able military policeman Jeuloch, who had drowned with his whole family in the attempt to save his wife and child. On Tageulap a woman had been killed by a falling house. Four women from the island of Saliap, who had been on Raur during the typhoon, had perished, 10 inhabitants of Utagal, five of Falalis, so that the total loss of human life came to two hundred. The number of injured was very great; but fortunately most of the wounds were not serious. I could give no assistance even to the slightly wounded since all my equipment of medicines and bandages as well as instruments, had been [571] lost. Throughout Saturday and on Easter Sunday the sea washed ashore many corpses, often horribly disfigured. Only with difficulty could the natives be persuaded to bury them. I should like to mention a few strange rescues; for instance, two children, a boy of five and a girl of eight, swam across the lagoon in the typhoon sea a knot and a half to Marijong. Several natives from Paliau were driven to Saliap, four from Raur to Utagal 4-1/2 knots away, two women and two men. The number thus saved was twelve.

14: Born et al--571-572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 731 Woleai

The first concern after the typhoon [MR: March, 1907] was to collect the survivors of the completely destroyed islands of Raur and Paliau on Oleai in a joint bivouac. Here there prevailed admirable order and discipline among the natives so that in this respect no measures had to be taken. I want here to call attention to the fact that the natives most willingly complied with all my directions and that in the fourteen difficult days after the typhoon there was no case of disobedience or other disturbance.

The worry about a famine hung over us like a threatening spectre; it was so much the worse since, because of our uncertainty about the fate of the "Ponape," we had to expect to be without help until May 25 or 26 (that is, three to four days after the arrival in Jap of the Reich mail steamer "Germania" from Hongkong. So we immediately began collecting the masses of coconuts which were lying about; the taro which was still usable was brought from the fields, in which process the women had to dive to fish out the roots. Even days after the typhoon the water was two and a half to three meters deep in the large taro field on Oleai. All usable provisions were brought to special [572] huts and put in charge of the chiefs; they distributed the necessary rations several times daily to every individual, men, women and children.

14: Born et al--572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 131 Ifalik

On March 26 we [MR: Capt. Martens] arrived at Ifaluk in the morning...According to astronomical observations Ifaluk is situated correctly on the chart as to latitude, but the longitude is 14 minutes too far to the east.

14: Born et al--572
116, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

An additional hard affliction was the dryness which set in after the typhoon. No rain fell up until the arrival of the "Germania" on April 11. The sun burned down pitilessly day after day on the ravaged islands. So we greeted the Reich mail steamer "Germania" which arrived unexpectedly on April 11 from Saipan, with large stores of provisions, as a true rescuer in distress. It also brought us the very cheering news that the "Ponape" had arrived safely in Saipan on April 4, after a very dangerous trip.

14: Born et al--572
116, 131

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

On March 19 we [MR: Capt. Martens] sighted Oleai...and anchored...by the island of Raur....According to our observations the lagoon is placed 12 to 14 minutes too far to the east on the chart.

14: Born et al--572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 731 Woleai

While the people were all so busy gathering together the food, I set about to salvage the extensive stocks of the O'Keefe firm, which maintained a trading station on the island of Marijong. The station itself was completely levelled to the ground...By good fortune we succeeded in saving a large part of the stock, above all most of the provisions, so that we had enough food for six to eight weeks. The rice damaged by sea water was washed, then dried in the sun, and had to be eaten, in spite of the danger of beri-beri.

We made the ruins of the trading station into a raft on which we went over to Oleai, where we quickly put together a house in Isang. I took possession of a large part of the stock of goods and all the provisions, on account, for the district office, and distributed them as needed to the inhabitants of the worst damaged islands of Falalis, Raur, and Paliau, things such as covers, loin cloths, hatchets, knives, cooking pots. I also gave as much as possible of the indispensable tobacco to the unfortunate people.

14: Born et al--572-573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-1-3
116, 502, 731 Woleai

We [MR: Captain Martens] reached Oleai again on the afternoon of March 27, 1907 and returned to the same anchorage....From...[MR: about 3 o'clock] sea watch was kept because the weather did not look good. At 5:15 we dropped the second anchor. A strong swell and sea without wind came up in the lagoon; trees and parts of houses were driven by the ship from the corners of the island, torn down by the breakers; it seemed to be a tidal wave, for there was not much wind. Rapid sinking of the barometer, however, warned me to expect trouble, and also the wind and sea were gradually rising considerably.

A full fledged typhoon blew on Friday, March 29 from 7:30 P.M. on. It is impossible for any of us to describe the strength of the wind. We took [573] on deck all the anchor chains we could find on board and made moorings as necessary with the increasing wind. We saw no more of the land then, though the moon was full. One squall followed another.

It must have been about 8:30 when we began to drift; even before that, at about 8 o'clock, all the boats, the gasoline in the galvanized tanks, and all the deck ladders, the chicken house and the joiner's bench were washed from the deck by heavy waves. How and by what route we went out of the lagoon no one can say, the ship was wheeling frightfully; no one could stay on his feet. We sat in life-jackets in the saloon and awaited the worst. On deck heavy waves were hurtling across from both sides; one would have been thrown overboard immediately. Around us trees, coconuts and plants of all kinds were swirling about, some of them thrown up onto the ship. From 10 in the morning on (the 29th) the

barometer began to rise; but the typhoon continued to rage. The sails were blown out into shreds between the rudders. Only the schooner sail stayed whole. Judging from the appearance of the water we must have been already outside the lagoon at 10 o'clock; it was not possible to confirm this by sounding.

Our little ship did very well, and thanks to her exceptional seaworthiness we survived the storm. Many times the ship was thrown over 40 to 45 degrees and completely enveloped in water, but she always righted herself in a few seconds, only to be thrown over again. We used quantities of oil to calm the sea. Towards noon we realized that a great deal of water must be in the ship. The bulkhead was broken down from the saloon, and now we saw that the water was up over the machine platform. Now I ordered volunteers to the pump, for to command anyone directly would have been an outrage; the heavy waves continued to break over the deck without cease. The machine pumps could not be used, because the batteries were completely destroyed. The water had come in chiefly through the ventilators on deck to starboard. At 4 o'clock the barometer had climbed to 29. 10, the sea continued high and rough, the typhoon continued to blow in full strength. I think it can be assumed that nothing is left of Oleai, for the trees which floated by us were all very large and came from the interior of the islands.

On Saturday March 30 it was squally, but somewhat brighter. I was not able to determine the ship's position, for the sun did not come through. In the afternoon we cleared out the hold, of necessity, and found there some dry rice. At 2:30 the corpse of

a native floated close by our ship on its back. The wind now declined steadily; the barometer rose slowly. There was still a heavy sea. On Sunday at noon I held a conference with my officers, in the course of which we decided to go to Saipan or possibly to Guam. For it was not possible to get to Jap, because the current was too strong towards the northwest and we did not have enough sail surface. The engines were not damaged and possibly usable.

From April 1 to 4 we had moderate weather. At daybreak on the morning of the 4th we sighted Tenian and Agiguan. We sailed and steamed towards Garapan. Shortly we sighted Saipan. At noon we anchored with our kedge-anchor in Tanapag harbor.

14: Born et al--573
116, 132, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

On April 11 in the evening the steamer [MR: "Germania"] anchored in the lagoon of Oleai. Dr. Born came aboard immediately.

Some of the islands which I [MR: district official Fritz] saw three months ago in the full splendor of their luxurious coconut groves, are wholly destroyed; only a few trees project from the heaps of fallen ones, standing, but without their tops; not a green leaf is to be seen.

14: Born et al--573
116, 165, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

In all 225 people lost their lives on Ifaluk and Oleai [MR: in the typhoon of March 1907]. No Europeans perished.

14: Born et al--576
116, 167, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

I [MR: district official Fritz] intend to move as many as possible of the population [MR: affected by typhoon of March 1907] to the Palau and Marianas Islands, and in fact, on the present trip of the "Germania," 200 to 300 from Ifaluk (in all over 400 inhabitants, 25 typhoon victims) to Palau, on the trip back 200 to 300 from Oleai (formerly a total of 1,000 inhabitants) to Saipan. The "Seestern" expected in July is then to visit the other islands in the east, which presumably were also struck by the typhoon, and bring as many people as possible to the Marianas.

14: Born et al--576 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 157, 731 Ifalik

On April 12 we [MR: district official Fritz] arrived at Ifalik and brought the people the share of the provisions allotted to them [MR: after the typhoon of March, 1907]. But none wanted to leave their destroyed home; much more, the ruling chief turned down my proposal. All depictions of the coming distress were useless; the chief frankly and rightly feared a lessening of power with the emigration of large numbers of his subjects. But I am convinced that when after a few months bitter want strikes, the obstinacy of this gentleman will yield of its own accord.

14: Born et al--576-577 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 656, 731 Woleai

On Oleai, on the recommendation of Dr. Born, I [MR: district official Fritz] appointed a Spaniard from Jap, known to me as dependable, Julio Villaçon, as deputy of the administration, and gave him the task of putting through the following measures [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907]:

The distribution of the food brought with us and requisitioned by Dr. Born from the traders.

The preparation of planting land for the seed to be brought in on the returning "Germania" (sweet potatoes, taro, and others).

Looking out for the 200 to 300 emigrants to be taken to Saipan until the return of the "Germania."

Forbidding traders and natives to buy, sell, or export copra or coconuts since all fruit on hand is necessary for food. [577]

Forbidding traders and natives from crediting goods or objects in order to prevent the people from falling into debt servitude to foreign traders exploiting their plight.

14: Born et al--577
116, 441, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

The destruction of the copra trade [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907] for the duration of several years will probably result in the suspension again of the Japanese settlements on these islands. It is a matter of the branch establishments of the Jap firm Marutani and the Saipan firm Muragama. O'Keefe also has a trading station on Oleai.

14: Born et al--576
116, 241, 262, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

According to my [MR: Fritz's] unfortunately extensive experience of typhoons, only a small number of the palms will recover [MR: following typhoon of March 1907], and will not bear fruit again for two or three years. On high islands (Saipan, Ponape, Jap) the natives are not so exclusively dependent on the coconut palm for food; large stretches are planted with tuberous plants and maize; in protected places breadfruit survives the storm, usually animal nourishment is available (Saipan). But on the low coral islands the life of the inhabitants depends almost entirely on the coconut palm, the breadfruit trees break down in the storm, the taro plants are washed away. For the next few months the fallen ripe and unripe nuts, the marrow of the fallen trees, can be used, but then threatens a state of emergency.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--540-541 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"West Fayu (Faiu) Island (8°05'N., 146°44'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 54 miles west of Pikelot Island is a small, thickly wooded islet [541] near the middle of a reef which forms a lagoon westward of it. This lagoon has depths of 16 to 22 fathoms, except for a 2 1/4 fathom patch in the middle. The entrance to the lagoon, on the southeastern side, is 1/2 mile wide, but the channel is considerably limited due to shoal depths of 1 to 2 1/4 fathoms. Boats can easily reach the landing place at the southern end of the island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930 there were 165 inhabitants, all of whom lived on Lamotrek, the southeastern islet."

15: U. S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"There are no permanent inhabitants on the island, but natives from Satawal Island often visit it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek Islands (southeast end, 7°27'N., 146°24'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 39 miles westward of Satawal Island, consist of three islets lying on a triangular atoll enclosing a lagoon. Coconut palms and breadfruit trees grow on the islets. . . .

'Entrances. -- The northern side of the reef is continuous, but the other sides are broken, leaving several entrances to the lagoon. The entrance on the northeastern side and south of Pugue is wide and clear of detached dangers, but during strong northeasterly winds high seas set through it into the lagoon. Though the entrance at the middle of the southern side is difficult to find, it is 400 yards wide and a good channel when the northeasterly winds are strong. Westward of the latter is another entrance about 320 yards wide. All the other entrances are narrow.

Anchorage. -- Off the western side of Lamotrek Island there is anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but when westerly winds are blowing hard the sea is rather high. The sandy beach on the western side of Lamotrek Island can easily be reached by small boats."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541-542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 221 Elato

"Elato Islands, 5 miles westward of Lamotrek Islands, consist of two atolls, the southern enclosing one lagoon and the northern two lagoons. Elato Island is the largest of four islets on the northern atoll, and Toas Island is the larger of the two on the [542] southern atoll. Elato Island is flat, sandy, and covered with trees; natives from neighboring islands come here to obtain material for canoes. Trees also grew on the islet of the southern atoll. . . .

Anchorage has been found in a depth of 11 fathoms in the northern lagoon and about 1/2 mile south of the western extremity of Elato Island. The sandy beach on the southwest side of this island is easily reached by small boats.

A narrow entrance, available only to small boats, leads into the lagoon of the southern atoll."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161, 225 Olimarao

"There are no permanent inhabitants but natives from Elato Islands come here occasionally to gather tortoise shell."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Wolesians
116, 131 Olimarao

"Olimaroa Islands (northeast end, 7°42'N., 145°53'E., H. O. Chart 5426), about 21 miles west-northwest of Elato Island, consist of two flat islets on an atoll reef; they are covered with coconut palms and other trees. The reef on the northwest side is marked by breakers at all times. On the southern side are two passages, of which the eastern is 1,000 yards wide and the western 600 yards wide. The depths in the lagoon appear to be regular, with no dangers.

. . . . The reef surrounding Olimarao Island makes landing difficult.

In 1934 a shoal, with a depth of 14 fathoms over it and marked by discolored water, was found 3 1/2 miles north-northeast of Olimarao Island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930 there were 72 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 223 Gaferut

"Gaferut (Grimes) Island (9°14'N., 145°23'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 97 miles north-northwest of Olimarao Islands, is low, thickly covered with trees, and encircled by a reef. There are no coconut palms and no inhabitants, but natives from Faraulep Islands visit it to catch birds, which are numerous on it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542-543 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Faraulep

"Faraulep Islands, 62 miles southwest of Gaferut Island, consist of three low wooded islets on an atoll. On the southern side of the atoll are three narrow channels leading into the lagoon; they are [543] not suitable for large vessels. Small boats can reach the lagoon sides of the islets at half tide."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930 there were 539 inhabitants on the islands."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Faraulep

"In 1930 there were 155 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik Islands (7°15'N., 144°27'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 9 miles southwest of Gamen Reef and 81 miles southward of Faraulep Islands, lie on a small atoll reef. The three largest are wooded and have coconut palms on them. Between the two southernmost of the three largest islands is a shoal passage available to small boats; it is also very narrow due to a reef immediately inside. There are two jetties on the southern part of the western shore of Ifalik Island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543-544 1938 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 131, 504 Woleai

"Woleai (Anangai) Islands (east end, 7°21'N., 143°55'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 32 miles westward of Ifalik Islands, consist of several islands covered with coconut palms and other trees. The reef on which they lie forms two lagoons, open to the southward. A number of reefs and shoals are scattered throughout the lagoons. Motegosu, on the western side of the entrance to East Lagoon, is composed entirely of sand and pebbles, and cannot be made out from a distance. . . .Raur, the southeastern island, was formerly the trade center, but was devastated by a storm that took place over 15 years ago. . . [544]. . . .

Entrances. -- Raur Channel, at the southern end of East Lagoon, is about 1/4 mile wide and has depths of 6 to 12 fathoms in it.

West Channel, on the southwestern side of West Lagoon, has a 3 1/2 fathom patch in midchannel.

North Channel, on the northeastern side of West Lagoon, is about 200 yards wide and has depths of 3 to 7 fathoms.

A shoal and narrow channel, suitable only for small craft, leads into the western part of East Lagoon from northward of the atoll. The tidal currents in it are strong.

Tidal currents. -- In the southern entrance to East Lagoon the flood current sets eastward at a maximum drift of 0.5 knot, and the ebb west-northwestward at 0.3 knot. The currents turn at about high and low tide.

Anchorage. -- East Lagoon is too limited to afford anchorage for many vessels;

West Lagoon, however, is extensive and deep, but its shoal entrance is a hindrance to large vessels. Since both lagoons are open to the southward, a swell sets in during the season of south-west winds. At such times small vessels will find suitable anchorage in the northwestern part of East Lagoon. Northward of Tagaulap, about 1 mile southwest of Woleai, is a comparatively shoal area which affords good anchorage during southwest winds.

Of two wooden piers in front of the South Sea Trading Co.'s office, the southern is safe for small boats to come alongside. The northern pier and another at southern end of the island are not secure. Row boats can land inside the coral reef on the south-western part of Utagal, where there is a sandy beach."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543-544 1938 Woleaians
116, 361 Woleai

"The white houses of the police station and [544] the branch office of the South Sea Trading Co. are located on the southwestern side of Woleai, the northeastern island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Aurupik

"In 1930 there were 113 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Aurupik

"Eauripik (Kama) Islands (east end 6°41'N., 143°05'E., H. O. Chart 5426), about 58 miles southwest of Woleai Islands, consist of six small islets, all except the westernmost of which have coconut palms on them. They lie on an atoll reef which is 5 1/2 miles long east and west, and which is steep-to with over 100 fathoms at a distance of 400 yards off. The reef on the southern side is generally low. The sea breaks on the northern side during southwesterly winds of force 1 to 2, but not on the southern side. At high tide small boats can land at a jetty on the southern side of Eauripik, the easternmost island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133 Aurupik

"In 1921, the Japanese vessel Matsuye, when 3 1/2 miles south-south-eastward of Eauripik, experienced a current setting north-north-west at a rate of about one knot, which appeared to be caused by the direction of the wind.

In September, 1926, the Japanese warship Manshū found no current in a position about 6 miles southward of the same island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133 Aurupik

"Eauripik or Kama islands, about 180 miles south-eastward of the Sorol islands, lie on the reef of an atoll which is generally low and steep-to. With light south-westerly winds there are usually breakers on the northern side of the atoll, but not on the southern side.

All the islets, with the exception of Edarepe, at the western end of the atoll, which is awash at high water, are covered with coconut palms. There is a jetty on the southern side of Eauripik which a boat can reach at high water.

There is no passage into the lagoon, but boats can cross the reef at high water."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O.--501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

"Woleai or Anangai islands lie about 60 miles north-eastward of the Eauripik islands. The atoll, the southern side of which is mostly submerged, is divided into two lagoons by a ridge of reefs extending south-eastward from Tagaulap island (Lat. 7° 22' N., Long. 143° 53' E.). West lagoon is wide and generally deep, but with scattered shoals; as the entrance to it is shallow, large vessels cannot enter it. Both lagoons are open to the south, and during the south-west monsoon a swell sets in. A sand cay lies on the reef, on the southern side of the atoll, nearly 1 1/2 miles southward of Tagaulap island.

All the islands are covered with coconut palms and other trees. Motogozu islet, on the south-western side of East lagoon and nearly one mile westward of the southern point of Raur island, the south-easternmost island of the group, is low and formed of sand and gravel.

There are two white houses on the south-western side of Woleai island, the north-easternmost island of the group, but they are not conspicuous. There are two wooden piers in the middle of the southern side of Mariaon island, situated about 4 cables westward of Woleai island; the northern pier is weak. There is also a pier at the southern extremity of the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933
116, 161

Woleaians
Aurupik

"In 1930, there were 113 inhabitants."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930, there were 539 inhabitants in the group."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501-502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians-1
116, 131, 504 Woleai

"Entrance Channels. --Raur channel, leading into the southern end of East lagoon, is about 2 1/4 cables wide between the reef extending south-westward from the southern end of Raur island and the reef surrounding Motogozu islet, and has depths of from 10 to 25 fathoms (18^m3 to 45^m7) in the fairway, but the depths may be less in the approach.

[502]West channel, on the south-western side of West lagoon, close south-eastward of Falulap islet, has a 3 1/2-fathom (6^m4) patch in the fairway.

North channel, on the north-eastern side of West lagoon, between Farailes island and Jalangigereil is land, south-eastward of it, is about a cable wide between the reefs on either side, and has depths of from about 3 to 7 fathoms (5^m5 to 12^m8).

There is a passage between the reefs extending from the eastern end of Tagaulap and the southern end of Mariaon island, but it is narrow, and as the tidal streams in it are strong it is unsuitable except for small craft.

Shoals. --There are numerous shoals in West lagoon, which can best be seen on the chart. In east lagoon there is a shoal ridge, with depths of from one to 6 fathoms (1^m8 to 11^m0), situated about 8 cables south-eastward of Mariaon island. There is a 2-fathom (3^m7) patch about 2 3/4 cables south-westward of the south-western extremity of the ridge, and another 2-fathom (3^m7) patch situated 3 1/4 cables northward of the southern extremity of Raur island.

Anchorages. --Large vessels may obtain anchorage in East lagoon, in depths of from 15 to 20 fathoms (27^m4 to 36^m6), fine sand, with good shelter about 4 1/2 cables

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501-502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians-2
116, 131, 504 Woleai

westward of the northern part of Raur island.

Small vessels may obtain anchorage during the south-west monsoon off the south-eastern side of Mariaon island, and also off the northern side of Tagaulap island (Lat. 7° 22' N., Long. 143° 53' E.)."

16; Gt. Britain, H.O. --502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik islands, about 30 miles eastward of Woleai island, lie on the eastern and southern part of the reef forming the atoll. Flarik and Flalap islands, on the eastern side of the atoll, are covered with coconut palms; Ella island has a few coconut palms showing above the other trees.

There is a narrow and shallow boat-passage between the reefs extending from Flalap and Ella islands. There are two piers on the western side of Flarik island, at the southern end, which can easily be reached."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik

"In 1930, there were 305 inhabitants of the group who are peaceful on the whole, and some of them understand English."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--502-503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Ifalik

"Ulloa reef, over which there is a depth of 9 3/4 fathoms (17^m8), was discovered in 1894 by the Spanish man-of-war Don Antonio de Ulloa; it lies about 20 miles south-westward of the Ifalik islands, and about a mile westward of the reef is another, with a depth of about 12 fathoms (21^m9) over it.

Gamen reef, over the south-western end of which there is a depth of about 2 3/4 fathoms (5^m0), was discovered in 1885, by the Swedish barque Gamen; it lies from 9 to 21 miles north-eastward of Ifalik islands. The reef, is from 2 to 4 miles wide, and has depths of from 2 3/4 to 13 1/2 fathoms (5^m0 to 24^m1) over it, with over 100 fathoms (182^m9) close-to.

Ianthe shoal, over which there is a depth of 3 3/4 fathoms (6^m9), was discovered in 1845 by the American ship Ianthe; it lies about 100 miles south-eastward of Ifalik islands, and is about 1 3/4 miles [503] long east and west, and three-quarters of a mile wide. About 5 1/2 miles westward of Ianthe shoal is a shoal with a depth of 3 fathoms (5^m5) over it, which is much discolored and plainly visible. Between these two shoals there are two 7-fathom (12^m8) patches."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --503
116, 161

(no date) 1933

Woleaians
Faraulep

"In 1930, Faraulep and Pigue islets had a total population of 155 including 10 Japanese. Eate islet, the southermost islet, was uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 136, 161 Gaferut

"Gaferut island, about 60 miles north-eastward of Faraulep islet (Lat. 8° 36' N., Long. 144° 33' E.), is low, wooded, and surrounded by a fringing reef, which extends about 3 cables north-westward from its northern extremity, and about 2 1/2 cables south-south-westward from its southern extremity. The island, which is 65 feet (19m8) high to the tops of the trees, is uninhabited. Numerous booby gannets, which are similar to seagulls, inhabit the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Faraulep

"Faraulep islands, about 80 miles northward of Ifalik islands, consist of three islets on a circular reef forming an atoll, the largest of which is Faraulep islet, 78 feet (23^m8) high; they lie on the northern and eastern sides of the reef of an atoll and are covered with coconut palms and other trees.

There are three passages into the lagoon on the southern side of the atoll, all narrow and unsuitable for large vessels to pass through but boats may enter the lagoon and obtain a landing on any of the islets.

....There are many turtles in the vicinity of this group.

Earl Dalhousie bank, with depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7) over it, lies about 56 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Tarang bank, over which there are depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7), was discovered by the schooner Tarang in 1910; it lies with its shoalest part, which is near the middle of the bank, about 83 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Between Earl Dalhousie bank and Tarang bank is Akashi shō, a bank with a depth of 14 fathoms (25^m6) over it."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Olimarao

"Olimarao island lies on the northern side of the reef forming an atoll, about 95 miles south-south-eastward of Gaferut island; it is covered with coconut palms and other trees; all round the island the bottom shelves and it is unsuitable for landing.

On Falifi, at the western extremity of the atoll, trees grow luxuriantly, but there are no coconut palms.

The atoll has no permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by natives from Elato.

There are shallow depths on the north-western side of the atoll, where there are always breakers on the reef, and there is no passage into the lagoon. On the southern side there are two shoal passages, the eastern of which is half a mile wide and the western about 3 cables. It is reported that the depths in the lagoon are even, and there appear to be no dangers."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Olimarao

"The atoll has no permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by natives from Elato."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

"Elato islands, about 20 miles south-eastward of Olimarao island, consist of two atolls. On the northern are four islets, the largest of which is Elato, at the northern end; it is 101 feet (30^m8) high to the tops of the trees, and sandy.

On the eastern side of the atoll, about a mile south-westward of Elato islet there is an entrance into the lagoon about half a cable wide, with depths of from 5 to 6 fathoms (9^m1 to 11^m0).

In February, 1862, H.M.S. Sphinx entered the lagoon and anchored in a depth of 11 fathoms (20^m1) about half a mile southward of the western point of Elato islet.

Landing can be made on a sandy beach on the south-western side of Elato islet...

The southern atoll, on the south-eastern side of which are Toas and Ulor islets, is separated from the northern atoll by a passage about 1 1/4 miles wide. Both islets are wooded.

There is a narrow passage through the reef about 2 cables northward of Toas islet, which, except for small craft, is difficult to navigate."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930, there were 72 inhabitants [MR: on Elato]."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Lamotrek

"Orairuguron bank, over which there is a depth of 21 fathoms (38^{m}4), lies about 10 miles southward of Toas islet."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek islands, about 5 miles eastward of Elato islands, consist of three wooded islets on a triangular atoll. Lamotrek islet, 107 feet ($32^{m}6$) high to the tops of the trees, lies at the eastern extremity of the atoll.

The passage about three-quarters of a mile southward of Pugue islet, the northernmost islet, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon, but during the north-east trade a heavy sea sets into the lagoon and caution is necessary. There is a passage about 2 cables wide, nearly in the middle of the southern side of the atoll; its position is difficult to detect, but it is a good passage when the north-east wind is strong. The next passage westward is about 1 1/2 cables wide; all the other passages are narrow.

Anchorage may be obtained on the western side of Lamotrek islet (Lat. 7°28'N., Long. 146° 24'E.), sheltered from north-easterly winds, but it is reported that during westerly winds the sea becomes rather rough. Landing can be made on a sandy beach on the western side of Lamotrek islet."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930, there were 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek islet, including one Japanese. Pugue and Falaite islets were uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"West Fayu island is densely wooded, and lies about 46 miles north-north-westward of Satawal islands. Reefs extend eastward, westward, and southward from it; that extending westward curves round and running eastward forms a lagoon with the reef which extends southward. There is a passage half a mile wide between the extremities of these two reefs, but the navigable channel is much reduced by a shoal, with depths of from one to 2 1/4 fathoms (1^m8 to 4^m1) over it.

There are general depths of from 16 to 21 fathoms (29^m3 to 38^m4) in the lagoon, but there is a reef, with a depth of 2 fathoms (3^m7) over it, nearly in the middle of it.

Landing can be made near the southern extremity of the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"The island is uninhabited, but natives from Satawal visit it occasionally."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"Oraitilipu bank, over which there is a depth of 8 3/4 fathoms ($16^{m}0$) at its south-eastern extremity, lies about 32 miles eastward of West Fayu island. It extends for about 4 1/2 miles north-west and south-east. The depth immediately round the bank is over 100 fathoms ($182^{m}9$)."

17: Meinicke--357
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

Westfayeu, 803' N., 146° 50' E., is a small flat uninhabited island covered with bushes which with its large reef surrounding it is over a mile long. Five miles to the east of it lies the dangerous sandbank Oraitilipu.

17: Meinicke--357
116, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

West fayeu (West faiu) was discovered by Boll in 1804.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 175, 101

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep (Faroilap) was discovered by the Spaniard Rodriguez in 1696 (a more modern mariner called it Gardner Island).

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Olimarao

Olimarao (Cheyne's Five islands, 7°45' N., 145°47' E.) is 2¼ miles WNW of Olato and is a small lagoon island scarcely ¼ a mile long with two small inhabited islands on its reef.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep, 8° 35' N., 144° 36' E., lies NW of Olimarao and is a small uninhabited lagoon island of 1 mile in circumference on whose reef there are 3 small islands of which the most southerly is called Eate.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 175, 101 Ifalik

Ifalik (Ifaluk) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 and called by him Wilson Island (others called it Two Sisters Island).

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Ifalik

Ifalik, 7°15' N., 144°31' E., is a small flat wooded lagoon island 5 miles east of Ulie and more than a mile in circumference. There are 4 little islands on the reef, the two larger and the only ones inhabited being on the east side and the two smaller ones between which a narrow canoe channel leads into the lagoon on the south side.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Lamotrek is the common name for a group of 3 small lagoon islands West of Satawal. The easterly one, Lamotrek, is 1 miles long in a northwesterly direction; on the reef which surrounds the approachable lagoon are 3 larger and 7 small islands. The southern one, Lamoliork (Lamoliaur) is the smallest; the westerly one, Elato (7°30' N., 146°19' E.) is the same size as Lamotrek and has numerous reefs on the east sode of the reef; the west side is almost completely bare; on both sides a channel leads to a good harbor in the lagoon. SW from this island lies the dangerous sandbank Janthe (5°32' N., 145°40' E.); it was given this name after the ship which discovered it in 1845 and is perhaps the same sandbank that the people of the Carolines call Falipi.

17: Meincke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 101, 115 Woleai

Ulie, (Ulea, Uleai, according to Gulick properly Wolea) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 who named it Thirteen Islands is one of the most important and best known of all the Carolines.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Lamotrek (Lamurek, Namurek) were discovered in 1797 by Wilson and named Swede, Haweis and Low;

17: Meinicke--358-359 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Ulea is barely a mile and a half long from east to west. The lagoon is an elongated oval but it is divided into 2 portions by a reef going out south from the island Tagoilap on whose south end is a small island Motogozen; of these two portions the east lagoon makes a fine [359] protected harbor into which wide and safe channel goes from the east of Motogozen and another narrower one north of this island; the west part of the lagoon is far larger but on account of the numerous coral banks half of it is scarcely usable as a harbor; 3 passages which all ships can go through make it approachable from the sea; the widest is on the S. side W. of Motogozen; the second on the W. side north of Felalis, the 3rd on the north side by the little island Angaliagarail. There are 22 small well wooded islands on the reef of which the most important are Raur (7°21' N., 143°57' E.) Paliau and Ulie, the biggest of all, on the east of the small lagoon; Tagoilap (Thagoilip), Seliap, Ulimirai on the north and Felalis on the south side of the larger lagoon.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Euripik, 6°40' N., 143°11' E., NW of Ulie is a small lagoon island scarcely ½ a mile long on the N side of whose reef there are 2 little islands of which only the easterly one is inhabited.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Eauripik was discovered early and called Low islands (Horsburgh's Kama).

17: Meinicke--371
116, 342

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie the walls [LEM: of the houses] are made out of well worked planks of bread-fruit tree wood;

17: Meinicke--372 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116. 504 Woleai

. . . in Ulie and Palau they have made artificial harbors with large stone dams.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie [LEM: mourning includes women] covering the body with ashes.

17: Meinicke--384
116, 837, 572

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie alone... [LEM: a formal friendship] is carried so far that when one friend visits another he is loaned his wife.

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 164, 744 Woleai

The governmental physician was stationed for two and a half months on the Oleai atoll. He found that the state of health on the whole is better there than on Jap. The natives there suffer chiefly from dysentery, as well as gastric and intestinal diseases in general; there are skin diseases, chiefly ringworm, fewer ulcers, and there is filariasis (elephantiasis).

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 435 Woleai

On the suggestion of the district office, the traders of Jap, the Palau Islands, and Oleai entered into an aggreement regulating prices of goods and wages of native employees. This has given a secure basis to all business enterprises.

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 499 Woleai

The natives on the Oleai atoll have built roads without compensation....

18: German Government--3313 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 164 Woleai

From November 18th until January 20th I was on the Oleai atoll; I found the state of health there much better than that on Jap. There fewer ulcerous skin diseases occur. The most frequent diseases are ringworm, which affects a large percentage of the natives, dysentery, and various types of intestinal ailments which I believe are due to excessive indulgence in sour toddy and fermented breadfruit pudding; there are also the various diseases caused by the filaria worm.

19: German Government--5302 (1901-1902) 1903 Woleaians
116, 197 Woleai

The language of Truk, which is spoken on all the island groups of the East [AN: Central] Carolines not previously mentioned, and extends as far as Woleai; hence, it is the means of intercourse between about 19,000 people in the East [AN: Central] Carolines.

20: German Government--4123 (1906-1907) 1908 Woleaians
116, 164, 744 Woleai

All in all the health of the whites and natives was good. On Oleai an epidemic broke out which in the beginning looked suspiciously like smallpox and which seized almost all the natives. Extensive precautionary measures were taken; the government physician vaccinated all the natives, but determined finally that this was not an epidemic of real smallpox.

21: German Government--84 (1905-06) 1907 Woleaians
116, 682 Woleai

Although public safety was not endangered investigations were necessary in two cases of murder, one of which dated from 1903. In the latter conviction was possible for the murder of a white trader on Oleai; in both instances the death sentence was pronounced.

Until June rainfall left much to be desired; besides the strong northeastern trade wind completely dried out the thin-layered soil and was very disadvantageous to the flora. In spite of the lack of rain and the prevailing strong winds a mosquito plague again proved most disagreeable during May and June.

The amounts of precipitation recorded at the three weather stations were as follows:

	Jap	Palau	Lamutrik
1904	2986.0 mm	--	--
1905	2917.3 mm	3218.6 mm	1961.10 mm.

22: German Government--184 (1909-10) 1911 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Woleai

[AN: In the Western Carolines, West Central Carolines, and Marianas] ... the peace was not disturbed in the year covered by the report [ER: 1909-10]; relations with the natives remained untroubled.

The typhoons of the last years [AN: 1905 and 1907] had necessitated resettlement of supernumerary persons from the most devastated islands of the Oleai and Mortlock groups [UMR: Nomoi], and from Pingelap and the atolls south of Palau, on the thinly populated islands of Ponape, Palau, and the Marianas; on the latter there was more than sufficient food available for them, and they were to be settled there permanently as an economically valuable addition. Disturbances on Ponape and the danger that they might become enslaved, about the end of 1908 required removal of the Mortlock natives to Saipan. Unfortunately, this transplantation did not prove successful. In contrast to the people of Oleai who are closely related to the Saipan Carolinians, the people of Mortlock could not feel at home on Saipan. In April 1910, together with their companions in misfortune on Truk, they were sent back to their own islands, which in the meantime had recovered from the damage wrought by the typhoon. Earlier the inhabitants of the southern atolls, that had been destroyed in 1905, had been resettled on Saipan; they, too, returned to Sonserol. 129 of them remain on Palau; on the Marianas there are 200 people from Oleai, 60 from Pingelap, and 64 from Samoa, who, in 1909, had to be removed from their home lands for political reasons.

22: German Government--185
116, 245, 731

(1909-10) 1911

Woleaians
Woleai

Repeated trips of the district official and the Imperial Government physician. . . to the Central Carolines and the southern islands were undertaken to investigate the present condition of those atolls and their inhabitants after the typhoons of 1905 and 1907. It was ascertained that all islands had recovered almost completely. The coconut palms bore abundant fruit; on Oleai 20,000 new trees had been planted under the direction of a minor police officer. Only the breadfruit trees do not yet bear fruit again, and the washed-out and salt-soaked taro fields on the islands that had been hit by the tidal wave do not yield any crops.

23: Pereiro--13-14 (No date) 1895 Woleaians
116, 131, 437 Woleai

According to Coello, Don Luis Torres made a map of the islands that constitute this group in 1804, which number 23 and are located on a barrier reef 10 kilometers long and 5 wide. The location at the extreme north of the island of Raur, which is the most south west, if 150° 9' 54" long. N. This island is the point at which the boats trading in copra stop. The reef on which these [14] islands are situated has a 15 mile circumference and is open at the south.

24: Christian--238
116, 264, 776

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"It was not long before Lewis started with reminiscences of the ways of the Lamotrek islanders. 'These people,' said he, 'have a regular grace before meat like Christians. When the fish is taken cooked out of the oven, before they taste a solitary fragment, one of them takes a bit from the head and solemnly mutters, "Ka Toutop arai" -- "Do thou bless me, oh Toutop." This Toutop is a Deity greatly honoured in the Lamotrek Pantheon. Then he throws away the bit, and the people immediately begin their meal. But if anyone were to partake of the food before the blessing was asked, the fishermen would have no luck any more, but storms and heavy gales. For Toutop, like the rest of the Caroline gods, is very jealous of any slight put upon him.'"

24: Christian--239 (No date) 1899 Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Lamotrek

"'For four days before a fishing expedition the Lamotrek natives sleep apart from their wives. They go out fasting in order to ensure success. When they make their first haul they drink one green coco-nut apiece, and put in shore for the ceremony of Yaf-ilok--The Coming in of the Fire. A fire is made, each takes a fish, broils it, and eats it. Each fisherman then goes down to the sea, washes mouth and hands in the salt water, and invokes the blessing of Aliu-set and Sau-lal, gods of the sea. This ceremony over, the distribution of the heap of fish commences. If any women or children come near and break the taboo by helping themselves, the same will receive swelled ankles or elephantiasis as a punishment and visible token of the anger of the spirits.'"

"LAMOTREK STAR-NAMES

1 Uiliuil-al-evang. The Pole-star.
2 Uiliuil-al-eaur. The Southern Cross; also called Pup, or the Leather-Jacket Fish.
3 Tumur, Antares.
4 Meal. Vega and a Lyrae.
5 Ualego. Ursa Major. Literally, 'The Broom.'
6 Ul. Aldebaran. Literally, 'The Virile Momber.' [389]
7 Evang-el-ul. Capella; its appearance denotes heavy gales and bad weather.
8 Magarigar. Pleiades.
9 Oliel. Orion and Rigel.
10 Kolong-al-mal. Sirius; i. e., literally, 'The Body of the Animal.'
11 Ping-en-lakh. Arietes; i. e., literally, 'The Centre of the House.'
12 Met-a-ryo. Scorpio; i. e., 'The Two Eyes.'
13 Sor-a-bol. Corvi; literally, 'The Viewer of the Taro-patches.' Shines during Taro season. (Sor, to look; bol, a Taro-patch.)
14 Tchrou. Corona; i. e., 'The Fowling-net.'
15 Mai-lap. Althoea and (a) Aquiloe.
16 Aramoi. Arcturus. (Ara, to conclude; moi, to come.)
So called because the rising of Arcturus marks the end of the north-east winds which bring visiting parties to the island.

17 Yuk-ol-ik. Cassiopoea; literally, 'The Tail of the Fish.'
18 Mongoi-sap. Gemini.
19 Ik. Pisces.
20 Mal; man. Canis Major.
21 Ililigak. Regulus.
22 Gapi-sarabol. Speaker
23 Ngi-tau. Piscis Australis.
24 Gapi-lah. Pegasi."

"MONTHS OF LAMOTREK YEAR

1 Sarabol.
2 Aramaus.
3 Tumur.
4 Mai-rik.
5 Mai-lap.
6 Seuta.
7 Lakh.
8 Kū.
9 Ul.
10 Alliel.
11 Mán
12 Ich. "

"LAMOTREK MEASURES

Gat; Si-gat. A finger's length, i.e., 3 inches.
Rua-gat. Two " 6 inches.
Sili-gat. Three " 9 inches.
Fā-gat. Four " 12 inches, and so on.
Si-ang; Ang. One span.
Ru-ang. Two spans.
Sili-ang. Three spans, and so on.
Rolibos. A half-cubit.
Gopa. A cubit.
Si-pap. Distance from tip of finger to centre of chest.
Si-ngaf. One fathom.
Si-gip. One foot; literally, footprint."

24: Christian--392
116, 805

(No date) 1899

Woleaians-2
Lamotrek

16 Lotiu.
17 Kili.
18 Kalawalo.
19 Saopas.

27 Arafoi.
28 Eoi.
29 Effeng.
30 Eraf."

[Chart continued from preceeding master.]

"DAYS OF THE MOON'S AGE

Crescent Moon

1 Sigauru.
2 Elling. (Root, Ling, to shine.)
3 Mes-elling.
4 Mis-al.
5 Mesa-fois.
6 Meso-ual.
7 Messe-tiu.
8 Emital.
9 Epei. (When at sundown the moon is canted over a little to westward.)
10 Rua-bong. (The joining together (Rua) of the nights.)

Full Moon

11 Yarabuki.
12 Olo-boa.
13 Olo-mai
14 Mares (=Ripe; developed.)
15 Ur. (Sun and moon together on sea in the evening.)
20 Evelak.
21 Kochalak.
22 Karotali-evelak.
23 Saopas-maimor
24 Kili.
25 Omolo.
26 Romuli-fan.

[Chart continues on the next master.]

LAMOTREK (West Carolines); Observer: Evan Lewis

1902	Rainfall in mm				Days with rain						
	6 am	6 pm	total	max.in 24 hrs.	in gen.	above 0.2 mm	above 1.0 mm	above 25.0 mm	storm	only sheet lightning	earth quake
January	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
February	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
April	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
May	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
June	281.7	185.8	467.5	75.9	18	18	18	6	0	3	0
July	228.4	205.9	434.3	63.9	21	21	21	5	1	1	0
August	293.7	101.4	395.1	90.6	18	18	18	5	1	0	0
September	55.9	66.0	121.9	32.0	10	10	10	1	0	0	1*)
October	55.3	67.5	122.8	30.8	6	6	6	3	0	0	0
November	**)	-	116.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
December	35.9	23.3	59.2	17.5	8	8	8	0	0	0	0
YEAR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Sept. 22, 11:47 am, earthquake

**Observer absent from Nov. 1 to 17. During that period 85.0mm rainfall collected in the rain gauge.

26: Anonymous--206
116, 132

(1903) 1904

Woleaians-1 2
Lamotrek

LAMUTREK, WEST CAROLINES
Observer: Evan Lewis

1903	Rainfall in mm			Max in	No. of Days with Rain				storms
	6 AM	6 PM	Total	24 hrs.	in Gen'l	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm	
January	61.7	45.5	107.2	34.3	8	8	8	1	--
February	13.5	6.5	20.0	10.0	3	3	3	0	--
March	6.0	0.0	6.0	3.5	2	2	2	0	--
April	88.0	56.0	144.0	46.3	9	9	9	2	--
May(19-31 missing)	--	--	283.0	--	--	--	--	--	(2)
June	75.0	162.2	237.2	38.5	18	18	18	2	1
July(1-9 missing)	--	--	391.4	--	--	--	--	--	(1)
August	81.0	194.5	275.5	78.2	10	10	10	5	3
September(26-30 missing)	(85.2)	(112.3)	(197.5)	(80.0)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(3)	--
October(1-15 missing)	--	--	209.8	--	--	--	--	--	1
November	218.7	141.6	360.3	104.0	13	13	13	4	3
December(12-20 missing)	--	--	461.6	--	--	--	--	--	(2)
YEAR	--	--	2693.5	--	--	--	--	--	--

26: Anonymous--206
116, 132

(1903) 1904

Woleaians-2
Lamotrek

[JJH: The observer found it necessary to be absent several times. On his return he always measured the amount of rainfall that had collected in the gauge during his absence. Thus the yearly total can be relied upon, with the exception of the slight amount lost by evaporation.]

The north-east trade wind blew steadily from Jan. to the middle of April. The winds were irregular from then until the beginning of November. Although during this latter period winds were observed coming from the eastern quadrant, southwest winds were also frequent. During November the southeast to northeast winds again won supremacy.

Storms almost without exception came from N, NE to SE.

27: Anonymous--232 (1906) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

[JJH: Following is additional information for 1905]:

LAMUTREK, West Carolines

	Rainfall in mm				No. of Days with Rain.			
	6am	6pm	total	Max. in 24 hours	in Genl	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm
Nov. 1905	150	52	202	71	9	9	9	3
December	54	38	92	30	6	6	6	1
Year	---	---	1963	---	---	---	---	---

28: Spiro--1 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-4
116, 131 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk atoll is part of the larger culture area known as Micronesia. Micronesia lies north of Melanesia, occupying the region between, approximately, 20'N. and 5'S. latitude, and 130' and 180'E. longitude. It includes five major island groups: the Palaus, Carolines, Marianas, Gilberts, and Marshalls.

The Caroline Islands, of which Ifaluk is a part, lie south of Guam, west of the Marshalls, north of New Guinea, and east of the Phillipines. They form a broad belt extending from 131'E. longitude to 163'E. longitude, and from 1' to 10'N. latitude."

Geologically, these islands are of three forms: the coral islands, or atolls, represented by Ifaluk; those of sedimentary rock formation, such as Yap; and those of volcanic origin, like the northern Palaus."

28: Spiro--1 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 131 Ifalik

"Ifaluk, a low coral atoll, is located at 7'15'' N., 144'27'' E. The atoll is two miles in length, and 1.6 miles in breadth. It has three fairly large islands: Felarik, in the north-east, Falalap in the south-east, and Ella on the south side of the atoll. There is also a small islet in the south-west. The oval lagoon is about 5 miles in circumference, and is nearly one square mile in area. It is entered by a shallow passage between ella and Falalap. (1)"

"1. The native canoes have no difficulty at all, of course, in making the passage. But only the smallest of navy ships can do so. The LSM that brought us to Ifaluk got in without too much difficulty, but it required three attempts to get out. As a result no attempt was made by the succeeding ships to enter the lagoon."

28: Spiro--1 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik

"Data on climate in Ifaluk are hard to obtain. The few instruments we had with us became casualities of the humidity. But the figures on temperature we did obtain seem to corroborate the official temperature recorded for the entire area by the Germans and Japanese. These give a mean temperature of 80' F. with variation of no more than four degrees. (2)

The average relative humidity for the Western Carolines is about 81 per cent. Despite this relatively high humidity, the climate is not uncomfortable; on the contrary, I found it quite pleasant. This is probably due to the prevailing winds and the trees which shade the islands and protect them from the glaring sun.

Rainfall is relatively heavy. The figures vary, but an average of 100 inches is a safe figure."

"2. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944."

28: Spiro--1-2
116, 132, 805, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--2
116, 174

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Very little is known of the origin of the Carolinians, (1) The evidence seems to indicate that the islands were originally inhabited by a wave of migration from Indonesia at an unknown date. It is believed that the Polynesians moved into the Pacific about 1200 A.D. via Micronesia, but it is still a moot point as to whether the Micronesians preceeded or succeeded them. Diego da Rocha, a Portuguese captain, seems to have been the discoverer of the Western Carolines. He sighted Yap and Ulithi in 1526, five years after Magellan's discovery of the Marianas. Except for a voyage by Sir Francis Drake in 1588, the only visitors to the area for the next century and a half were Spaniards. Nevertheless, Spain made no attempt to establish trade, colonies, or missions in the area during either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries traders and explorers of various nationalities added information to the growing stock of knowledge concerning the islands."

"1. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944. Davidson, Sutherland D., Oceania, 1947. Krieger, Herbert W. Island Peoples of the Western Pacific, 1943."

"Ifaluk was discovered by the Englishman, John Wilson, in 1797, and was visited by the Russian scientist, Lutke, in 1828.

The contacts of the natives with the early Spanish and Portuguese explorers were very slight. Discouraged by early abortive attempts to establish missions in Sonsorol and Ulithi, the Spanish withdrew from all activity in the Western Carolines until the end of the nineteenth century. The British raised a flag on the Palaus in 1790, but did not pursue their interest any further.

The Western Carolines were first brought to the attention of the United States by the published reports of an American crew that was shipwrecked on the Palaus in 1832.

After 1840, western traders became interested in the Western Carolines. The natives at first welcomed them with cordial hospitality, despite some sporadic attacks. The westerners introduced livestock, firarms, small-pox, and syphillis into the area.

With the development of trade in the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany came into conflict over the sovereignty of the islands. The Spanish rule lasted from 1886 to 1899. Except for some missionary work, Spanish activity in the islands was slight. They established missons [sic] on Yap and Palau, and built military fortifications on Yap, but did not interfere with native life. [3]

At the close of the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Germany bought the Marianas

(except for Guam) and the Carolines from Spain. The Germans began their administration auspiciously. They established administrative headquarters for the Western Carolines on Yap, where they built a new administration building; constructed a hospital, with a resident physician, who trained native assistants, and made tours of the other islands; and established a police force composed of trained natives. The district officers visited the outlying islands and explained to the chiefs that Germany has assumed hegemony over the islands. But aside from depriving the chiefs of the power of inflicting the death penalty, they made little, if any, attempt to interfere with native culture. Only in the promotion of trade did the Germans use dictorial methods. They required an increase in coconut planting, and greater care in the maintenance of the groves. But on the while [sic], 'the German administration was moderate, enlightened, and efficient.' (4)

"4. Civil Affairs Handbook, p. 25"

In October, 1914, Japan acquired hegemony over the Carolines, when a Japanese naval squadron took possession of the islands. They were later ceded the islands as a mandate territory by the League of Nations. The primary aims of Japanese imperialism in the islands were political and military. Native rulers were deprived of much of their power, but, again, no concerted attempt was made to change native culture to any appreciable degree. However, the Japanese did establish schools on Yap, to which young boys from the outlying islands, including Ifaluk, were brought for instruction. Here they were taught to read, write, and speak Japanese; arithmetic, drawing, Japanese history, athletics, and political indoctrination. The Japanese also inducted young men from the outlying islands to mine phosphate on the Palaus and on Fais."

"Despite this long period of contact with the west (and the east) the Western Carolines show little acculturation. This is particularly true of the smaller islands, such as Ifaluk, for the obvious reason that contact was very slight. Trade never became extensive, and what there was was confined pretty well to the larger islands. Missionary activity was restricted to the larger islands, with no attempt to enter the smaller ones. Nor did the islands attract colonists, except for Yap and the Palaus.

Ifaluk, being one of the smaller islands, is, therefore, relatively unacculturated. However, there are some indications of acculturations, particularly in material culture. Although most of the clothes worn by the natives is woven by the women on their looms, many loin cloths are made of cloth introduced by the Japanese. Furthermore, almost every household has some articles of western apparel, such as military coats, jackets, and pants, some shoes or sandals, and many rain coats are in evidence. In preparation of food, almost all the utensils in use are of foreign origin. The wooden bowls, formerly used, have almost completely disappeared. Iron pots and hettles [sic], and tin pans have taken their place. Coconut graters, made of shell, have all been replaced by iron graters. Rain water is collected in rain barrels; the palm wine is collected and kept

in Japanese beer bottles. Fire is made with flint and steel, rather than by means of the aboriginal fire plow. (5)"

"5. Note: As so often happens, a practical art when if [sic] falls into disuse, becomes a toy, game, or sport. Boys and young men attempt to light a fire by means of the fire plow in the same spirit that characterizes the attempt of boy scouts to do the same."

1-4

28: Spiro--4 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 412 Ifalik

"In technology, this erstwhile neolithic culture has lost all its stone implements. Steel knives, steel adzes, saws, and planes have replaced the native tools."

28: Spiro--4 [2]
116, 177, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Food supply has also been effected by contact. Chickens and pigs, both in the smallest of quantities, have been introduced into the islands, as well as dogs. The latter are eaten under certain conditions. But more important than what has been introduced are those food products that the natives have tasted, and which have not been introduced, such as rice, milk, and beef, or 'carabou', as the natives call it. These, they tasted while on the larger islands, or when brought in occasionally by the Japanese, and they are very eager to obtain them again. The mothers, particularly, would like canned milk for their babies. One old man said that if he went to American he would do nothing but eat 'carabou'."

28: Spiro--4 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Ifalik

"One of the earliest of borrowed traits was tobacco, which the Spanish introduced into Guam, and which thereafter spread throughout the entire area. Ifaluk grows some tobacco, but not nearly enough for its needs, and, consequently, obtains its tobacco by trade with some of the other islands in the area, such as Faraulep and Lamotrek. The tobacco is smoked as a cigarette, being rolled in banana leaves."

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

28: Spiro--4-5
116, 142

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Since neither Dr. Burrows nor I did any physical measuring, the following descriptions are entirely impressionistic. One of the most impressive facts about physical type on Ifaluk is the degree of variation that obtains, in what is genetically as homogeneous a population as one could possibly find. As far as we know, the natives have never mated outside the little group of islands comprising the Yap district, and within that area, the population is considerably under 1000. And yet there is variation in skin color from light brown to dark (6); in stature from fairly tall to short; in hair form, from frizzly to straight; [5] in nose form, from wide, 'negroid', nostrils to narrow, 'caucasoid' ones; in lip form, from thin to thick, inverted lips. Yet, despite this variation, one would have little difficulty in identifying an Ifaluk as a Carolinian, and as quite different from the 'average' negroid, Caucasoid, or Mongoloid."

"6. There is one albino on Ifaluk--a woman."

28: Spiro--5
116, 144, 174

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Ifaluk are members of the so-called Micronesian race, which is closely related to the Polynesian. Their features definitely bespeak a racial admixture, but whether this contact was in historic or prehistoric times is still a moot point."

28: Spiro--5 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 161, 621 Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

28: Spiro--5-6
116, 361, 342

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Within the district there is no indication of a city planning board, which might have allocated homesteads with an eye to symmetry. The homesteads are scattered throughout the district, some touching the main path, some being much further inland, some being isolated from others, some being contiguous, so that the boundaries of the two touch. But within the court yard of each homestead there is almost monotonous regularity, each having at least one 'sleeping house' (im), a cooking shed (malum), and almost all having a menstrual hut, the architiecture [sic] of each structure being similar, if not identical, to that in the other households. The average house is a one room building about 12 feet at its apex. [6] The frame of the house consists of four upright pillars, stuck into the ground. These are connected by light, supply branches, arranged in wicker-work fashion, to form the walls, which are about four feet in height. The gabled roof is constructed in the same fashion, the entire structure being held together by native rope. The walls are enclosed with coconut branch mats, and the roof with plaited coconut branches, tied to the frame, and superimposed one on the other in tile fashion, so as to repel the rains. The roof overhangs the walls, and reaches within three feet of the ground, protecting the house from the sun, and the dripping water. The house has a number of entrances, usually one at each of the four corners, and two on each side of the house. The entrance which is quite low--one must stoop in order to enter--is a

passageway, not a door. In the case of rain or cold it is covered with a mat, but ordinarily it is open, there being little need for privacy, nor any fear of burglary."

28: Spiro--6 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 352 Ifalik 16

"The inside of the house is distinguished for its simplicity. The low-slung gable prohibits standing, except at the center of the house, so that after crawling through the passage way, one remains seated on the floor, the latter being comprised of a number of juxtaposed coconut mats. There is no furniture of any kind in the house, the pepple sitting and sleeping on the floors, and since all eating is done in the open air, there is no need for tables. But though furniture is lacking in the house, it is not bare. The loom is ubiquitous, and stands in a corner of the house, though, being small it occupies little space. Also in a corner is found the sleeping mat, made of pandanus, as well as the Japanese-introduced blankets. In the rafters a congeries of objects can be found--Japanese--introduced mosquito nets, bottles, clothers, rope, tobacco, and other assorted odds and ends. If there is an infant in the house, its cradle hangs from the rafters, a foot above the floor."

28: Spiro--6 [2]
116, 596

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The house is an extended-family dwelling (7) and is occupied therefore by a number of people, though everyone has free range of the house, each biological family occupies a certain section of it, by usage, so that its effects are separate from those of the others, it sleeps in a certain part of the house, and it has a hearth of its own. The hearth is not used for cooking, since all cooking is done in the malum, but it is used to warm cooked food, and to give heat on a cool day."

"7. See below, section on social organization."

28: Spiro--6 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifalik

"The malum is constructed like an im except that it has no walls, the absence of which permits the smoke to escape.

The menstrual hut is similar to the im, except in size. It is occupied by the women only for the duration of their menstrual period, and though her children may sleep in the hut with her, it is not required to be as large as the im."

28: Spiro--6 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 351 Ifalik

"There is no rule dictating the relative positions of the various structures within the courtyard, so that each presents its own pattern. Nevertheless, the malum is usually at the farthest extremity of the courtyard, near the bush, so as to facilitate the obtaining of brush for the fire."

28: Spiro--6 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 552 Ifalik

"Each homestead is named and the natives, down to the small children, when informing you of their movements, say that they are going to Rapevelu, or Alingliu, not to see Maroligar or Taroman."

(1947-48) 1949

"Each district also contains at least one canoe-house, whose structure similar to that of the malum, in that it has no walls, but it is much larger, the average canoe-house being about four times the size of the average house, [sic] The canoe-house not only serves as a protection for the canoes, but it also acts as the men's club-house, a phenomenon, we shall discuss later. Formerly each district had a club-house as well as a canoe-house, but most of them were distroyed by a typhoon in the 1920's and have not been rebuilt. One remains, however, on Falalap, and in structure is that of a house, only larger.

In the district of Rauau stands the fanap, the 'town hall' (literally, the big house), which again is architecturally, a large house."

28: Spiro--7 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 361 Ifalik

"Aside from the cluster of settlements which is cleared of all vegetation, (8) the interior of islands are uncleared bush, though there is a net-work of footpaths traversing the two islands."

"8. Trees are cleared because of the danger of falling coconuts. This fact reveals the naivete of the urbanite in the tropics. I often commented to Dr. Burrows when we first arrived on the stupidity of clearing the courtyards of coconut trees, which could protect the houses from the hot rays of the sun. It was not until we had lived on the island for some time that I realized the dangers of the falling coconuts, particularly in a blow."

28: Spiro--7 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Vegetation is dense in the bush, the luxuriant flora compensating for the paucity of fauna."

28: Spiro--7 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 136, 825 Ifalik

"The only indigenous mammals are rats, whose activities are by no means restricted to the bush, however. Aside from the rats, lizards are the only other indigenous animals. There are a number of species of lizards, ranging in size from the very tiny to the giant lizards, of which there are two, both of whom were imported from Yap for the purpose of exterminating the rats. (9) Neither rats nor lizards are eaten, and the natives were repelled by the suggestion."

"9. An interesting sidelight on 'primitive logic' confronts us at this point. The natives distinguish each species of lizards by a separate name, and do not classify them under a generic title. To them they are different kinds of organisms, so that one kind is the object of a genuine phobia, but the others are looked upon with indifference."

28: Spiro--8
116, 231, 262

(1947-48) 1949

1-3
Woleaians
Ifalik

"At present there are only two dogs on Ifaluk, though there were five when we first arrived. The high mortality is a result of a succession of deliberate killings. Children would tease the dogs incessantly, pulling their tails, hitting them, etc.; nor were the adults innocent of such behavior. After exhibiting remarkable patience two of the dogs attacked their tormentors, and were consequently killed. One dog attacked me, for no apparent reason, and the chiefs immediately ordered him killed. In all three cases some of the natives cooked and ate the corpses. Since the two remaining dogs are of opposite sex, it is improbable that the canine population will become extinct."

28: Spiro--8 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 252 Ifalik

"The largest single source of protein food, quite obviously is fish, though the supply is not as abundant as one would expect. Fish are prepared by either men or women, and are invariably cooked by taking them, uncleaned over burning embers. There are no taboos on non-noxious fish, with the exception of sharks, and grown octopus. (10) There is, however, a discriminatory taboo on turtle flesh. Only the males of the lineage of Uluas, from whose line descend the paramount chiefs, are permitted to eat of the flesh. Visiting anthropologists, of course, are exempt from this taboo."

"10. Here again, a note on 'primitive logic' might be injected. One afternoon, Taroman, one of the chiefs, brought us a baby octopus, which he had caught in the lagoon, offering it to us as a rare delicacy. We decided to prepare it for dinner, but in the interim Dr. Burrows told Tom, our interpreter, that Taroman had given us a tayo, the native name for octopus. Tom replied angrily that we should not eat it, and said he would reprimand Taroman for offering us food, that the natives considered unfit. We followed his advice and discarded it. But that evening Tom came to visit us, and ribbed us good-naturedly for our ignorance. Taroman had not given us a tayo, he had given us an xyz, the latter being a rare delicacy. The point of this being that an adult octopus is considered a different species from a baby, so that tayo is one thing, but xyz is something entirely different."

28: Spiro--8 [3]
116, 241, 262, 271

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All other foods are starch in content--coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. Mention should be made of sugar cane, papaya, pineapple, and lime, all of which were introduced since contact, but which are so scarce as to be non-existent for all practical purposes.

The coconut tree yields three different kinds of food. The ripe coconut is eaten as is, or is grated and mixed into the various puddings that the women prepare. But the green coconut is much more important than the ripe, for it constitutes almost the entire liquid supply of the island. Coral atolls, obviously, have no natural water supply, and the rain water that is stored in pits or in tin garbage cans is usually unfit to drink, with the result that the green coconut water provides the one substitute for drinking water on the atoll."

28: Spiro--8-9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 273 Ifalik

"The coconut tree is also the source of what is one of the most important foods, from the native point of view, gari. Gari is the sweet sap-like liquid [9] that is obtained by tapping the coconut frond, and permitting it to run into a container, the natives using an empty coconut shell for the purpose. The men collect their gari twice a day, morning and afternoon, in rain or shine. Indeed the collection of the gari is the first activity performed in the morning by the men, and its collection in the afternoon signals the end of the economic day. It is consumed in three forms: when freshly collected, it is a pleasant soft-drink, and is drunk copiously by all the natives, and is fed even to the babies. If allowed to ferment, it has a beer-like taste, and is drunk, at least to my observation, only by the adult men. It is called lis. This fermented form has a definite 'kick', and though I have seen men become quite 'high' by overindulgence, I have never seen a man become intoxicated. Finally, the fresh liquid is used by the women in the preparation of the various puddings they make."

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

1.2

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--9 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 622 Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--9-10
116, 631, 651, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwin, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

28: Spiro--11
116, 631, 173, 618

(1947-48) 1949

1-3
Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

28: Spiro--11 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--11 [3]
116, 721

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As indicated above the inter-island relationships are marked by continous peace, the only wars of which the natives have knowledge, being the wars described in the legends referred to above, and they occurred 'musuwe, musuwe', ('before, before.')."

28: Spiro--11-13 [WPM: Manuscript 116, 484, 574 omits p. 12] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians Ifalik

"The natives are excellent seamen, so that inter-island travel is frequent. These voyages, though undertaken primarily for recreation pure and simple, serve important social and economic functions. All these islands are small, geographically and demographically, and the opportunity to travel, to see different landscapes and different faces, is eminently desired. [13] At the same time, most people have friends and/or relatives on other islands, and they are most desirous of visiting with them. Furthermore, visiting travelors bring back reports of their travels to their fellows, informing them of all major as well as minor events--deaths, marriages, petty gossip, etc."

28: Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 431 Ifalik

"But these trips [WPM: see pp. 12-13] also further international trade, which is important, though not vital for the native economy. Ifaluk, as we shall see, has no division of labor, each household being a self-sufficient economic unit. Yet, the island as a whole practices a certain division of labor vis a vis the other islands, and their surpluses are exchanged. The two commodities which it obtains from other islands are tobacco and women's shell belts, the former being obtained from Faraulep and the latter from Eauripik, while it exports lavalavas and rope. This trade does not involve any financial transactions, since none of the islands have money economies; nor even barter, in the strict sense of the word, since there is no bargaining nor any concept of fixed value, either intrinsically in the exchanged commodities or in terms of some third object. Hence the only rubric under which this trade falls is gift exchange, though this concept is really an ethnographic classification, rather than a native conceptualizaion. That is, a native traveling to another island, will return with tobacco or belts, obtained usually from friends or relatives, given freely as a gift. When his donor visits Ifaluk, he will give him rope or lavalavs, presumably as a gift, without any formal consideration of the value of the relative exchange. Apparently both parties to the exchange are usually satisfied, because no one could tell me of any case of discord arising from an unsatisfactory exchange.

Gifts are not only given to the individual traveler, but they are given to the chiefs, as well, both by individuals, and by chiefs."

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens" roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--14
116, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The domestic political life on Ifaluk is characterized by hereditary chieftanship, of which there are five. Since Ifaluk is a matrillineal society, a chief inherits his office from his mother's brother, and transmits it to his sister's son. The five chiefs are formally ranged in a descending hierarchy, being designated as 'chief number one, number two, etc.' but in actual practice it is next to impossible to discover any functional differences between them, either in terms of responsibility or of privilege. The number of chiefs (tamon), and the lineages from which chiefs are chosen was already ordained by Autran, when she created the people of Ifaluk. (1)"

"1. The clans and lineages from which the chiefs are chosen, with the names of the current chiefs, in descending order of rank, are:

Wolptau: Kovalu--Ulepi
Maroligar: Sauvelarik--Somat
Wolpaitik: Sauvelarik--Falitre
Paluelimar: Mangaulevar--Linoa (Palueimar died shortly before our departure from Ifaluk. His household was abandoned because of much illness, the lineage split up, and I do not know who his ultimate successor will be.)"
Taroman: Rapevelu--Valevelu

"Though informality characterizes Ifaluk culture, some attempt is made to give some formal training to the future chief. A chief will select his most likely successor, when he is in his early teens, at the latest, and will instruct him in the duties and responsibilities of chieftanship. Maroligar's successor, for example, was Uvelimun, and every afternoon I would see him taking him into the bush where they would remain for about an hour or two.

The nature of his instruction is a secret, and I obtained no information concerning it. One of the things he learns is the body of myth and legend, because the chiefs are the custodians of the cultural traditions. Aside from the formal instruction, the boy receives informal instruction from the women of his lineage, his maternal grandmother, aunts, as well as his mother. This instruction consists of general admonitions regarding his most important roles. 'Suppose I die, you savvy talk. You like my talk, you talk good that people, (then) find that place. Some man come, you look out good. That man go back, he say: "Very fine that Chief." If a place bad, he say: "Very bad that chief." You all same papa and mamma for people who come here. You give them chow. You no enough that chow, you tell people they bring to you, you give to that people from another place.'

The young boy has impressed upon him, then, his responsibilities, both with respect to his own people, and to visitors. The chief is the patriarch of his people, responsible for their behavior, so that their character and behavior reflects on him. Notice, too, the stress on the opinions of the stranger. Be a good chief, so that the visitor will tell his people of your ability and competence. Also to be emphasized is the stress laid on gift giving, particularly of food.

This lesson is learned well. The chiefs constantly offered their services to us, supplied us with a regular supply of food and coconuts. It was quite apparent from the day we arrived that we were to be the special wards of the chiefs.

Though the chiefs' authority extends over the entire island, each chief has official charge over a particular district, and is responsible for its welfare. Unlike the feeling of friendly rivalry and consciousness of prestige that characterized inter-island interraction, inter-district interraction reveals little, if any, such characteristic.

The responsibilities of the chiefs are much more than political, in our understanding of that term. They are the leaders of Ifaluk, par excellence, in all aspects of culture, not only the narrowly political. This follows from the fact that Ifaluk, like other primitive societies does not conceptualize its culture into different categories, each serving its own end. There is no term, for example, for religion, or politics, or economics, etc., all of these categories being western concepts that we shall use for convenience of

analysis, but which do not exist in the minds of the natives themselves. The very title of this chapter, [16] political organization, is a travesty on native thought. The tamon are the leaders of their people, which means that all social activities are performed under their leadership, and/or with their sanction. All activity is performed becasue the chiefs endorse it, either explicitly or implicitly. But their leadership, or direction, is unobtrusive, and neither their individual personalities, nor their institutionalized behavior corresponds to that of the western politician or statesman. The chiefs, if I may be permitted an analogy are not only the starters that get the motor of the car running, but they are lubrication, that keeps the motor running without undue friction, the accelerator, the brakes. The chiefs serve, albeit unconsciously, as the guarantors of this culture, as a going concern, without whom it would collapse. And what makes their influence so remarkable is their lack of any mark of office that we are so accustomed to in the west. They possess no external symbol of power nor any punitive power to enforce their 'demands.' I deliberately enclose the term, demands, in quotes because this too, would be a term alien to native mentality. The chiefs do not legislate for the people, nor do they give commands to the people, but rather, they express the will of the people; they articulate the demands of the people. This culture exhibits a real benevolent paternalism. It is the chiefs who know what is best for the people, and their orders are

conceived as the objective articulation of the subjectively felt needs of the society. This is sophisticated, but I think, accurate description of the native view of the chiefs derived from many conversations with many natives. And this, I am sure, is the conception the chiefs have of themselves. Never did I see any indication of self-seeking, of quest for power or prestige. If anything, just the opposite is the case. The chiefs are retiring and selfless, seeking neither honor nor glory. Though, theoretically, their power is absolute, I saw not a single instance of abuse of this power, in the form of demanding of property or gifts or women or privileges. Their leadership is viewed as a vocation, in the Protestant sense of the term, that is, as a service to the society, a moral duty that must be fulfilled. And defection from this ideal would result in great shame. That this conception of themselves is felt by them quite consciously is born out objectively by the Bavelais Moral Ideology Test and by the Stewart Emotional Response Test. The responses to these tests by the five chiefs were almost unanimously alike, and quite different from the responses of the people. All showed a profound personal identification with their people, so that their feelings of happiness or sadness, shame or anger, were determined by the conditions or feelings of their people. If their people were wellfed or were healthy, then they were happy. But if their people were hungry or ill, or if they quarreled or were not industrious, then they were sad. Their consciousness of leadership responsibilities emerged quite clearly from these tests, as well. The activities that were praisworthy or blameworthy were not personal activities, but rather communal ones. If

they performed their duties, saw to it that the people cleaned their yards, planted taro, made rope, etc., they would be praised, but any derelictions in this regard would evoke blame. This observation, in conjunction with their response to those things that cause them shame, namely, to be found wanting in communal responsibilities, not ordering the people to go fishing, or to prepare food, etc., substantiates two further points: they conceive of their office as the fulfillment of responsibilities, and their responsibilities involve the expression of the will of the poeple, not the giving of orders that may or may not coincide with the latter's desires. It serves to emphasize the fact that the people recognize the necessity of engaging in certain social or economic activities, but wait for the chiefs to take the initiative in instigating them, so that if the latter do not do so, they are not done, with the result that the chiefs are to be blamed. These observations are of far reaching significance for Ifaluk personality development, and cultural psychology, points which we shall [17] examine later. Here, I only wish to point out that despite the absence of any of the accoutrement that we associate with democracy, with, on the contrary, all the external signs of despotism, we have as complete a democracy as is possible. The great responsibilities of the chiefs, combined with a concommitant lack of privilege, leaves little room for surprise over the fact that not one young man expressed a desire to be chief. They all informed me, in great earnest, that they would not like to be chiefs, and their reasons, to a man, were that the responsibilities were too great."

28: Spiro--17 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1.2
116, 622, 226 Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17-18 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 574, 622, 157 Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

28: Spiro--20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-2
116, 623, 123 Ifalik

"The chiefs assemble the people for public meetings whenever they wish to announce a new policy or some new event. Before the people are assembled, however, the chiefs meet alone to decide among themselves what actions or decisions are to be taken. And though the chiefs are ranked in a descending heirarchy, the decision is always arrived at by a concensus rather than by any one prevailing over the others. From the nature of their discussions, which we were always permitted to attend, it seems that a majority decision is not sufficient, so that they continue to discuss the matter until they can all agree on the course to be taken. At times this requires a long time. For example, Dr. Burrows and I asked Tom if we might rent a canoe for the duration of our stay. He said that he would speak to the chiefs, since a matter of that kind would require their consideration. The chiefs had a special meeting, requiring three hours to decide what objectively looked like a very simple matter. The decision, incidentally, was to give us a canoe for the duration of our stay, but with the stipulation that we confine our canoeing to the lagoon, lest we go into the ocean, and capsize, in which case the chiefs would feel 'very bad.' It is also of interest parenthetically, in terms of the Ifaluk emphasis on status, that after informing us of the chiefs' decision, Tom told us that when we return to America we should inform the people and the chief that the Ifalukians were very good to us, and had given us a canoe, and 'then, Ifaluk more high.'"

28: Spiro--20 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 421 Ifalik

"After making their decisions and deciding on an agenda the chiefs let it be known that a public meeting will be held the next day, or in two days. On the morning of the designated day, the chiefs assemble in the canoe-house next to the Fanap, the public meeting house. (1)"

"1. The entire plot of land, holding the canoe-house and the fanap, is called Atelu, and quasi-sacred property, which belongs to the chiefs, and which people seldom frequent: The chiefs had us pitch our tent on this land."

28: Spiro--20-23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-8
116, 623 Ifalik

"Taroman, the fifth ranking chief then announces the meeting by blowing on a conk shell, which hangs in the fanap, and is used only for that purpose. Time is relatively unimportant on Ifaluk, and the people show no great alacrity in assembling. A delay of one to two hours between the sounding of the conk and the assembling of the people is by no means unusual. When the people begin to assemble the chiefs enter the fanap, where they sit near the front pillar. (1) There are no [21] special seating places at these meetings, any one sitting where he chooses, some in the fanap, some along the sides or

---

"1. To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

in front of it. The one invariable practice in seating arrangement, however, is the complete separation of the sexes, under no circumstances do men and women sit together.

Since there is little formality in Ifaluk, the meetings are conducted in a fairly haphazard manner, any one of the five chiefs making the opening speech. The chiefs, as we shall note later, are always informal and their behavior at the meetings is no exception some reclining or actually lying flat while the meeting is in progress.

Before noting the general features of these meetings, it might be well to describe some of the individual meetings in terms of subjects discussed as this will give not only the form of the meetings, but also the values with which the culture is concerned.

There were four meetings held during our seven month stay. The first was called on the occasion of our arrival, and we did not attend as we were in the midst of setting up camp. This was on July 29, and its purpose was to discuss our arrival, the manner in which people were to respond to us, and to appoint a boy to assist us in our camp, the latter being done on their own initiative, without a request from us.

The second meeting, on August 14, was occasioned by my mentioning to the men that other anthropologists were making studies of other islands. The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military

Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1). Furthermore, they must cooperate with us, and do whatever we might request. There was little discussion by the people, but their response to the recommendations was immediate, for at the close of the meeting the men began to erect over-water heads, and the women were already cleaning their courtyards as I walked through the village. The admonition to cooperate with us had already been

---

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

practiced before the meeting had been called.

The next meeting was called on September 4, and it seems that I was indirectly responsible for its occasion. On September 2 our first (and last) station ship arrived, and after it left I informed the chiefs that the officers had commented on the cleanliness of the island (1), and had said that except for a few spots, Ifaluk was the neatest island they had seen. The chiefs were very pleased by this compliment, [22] and decided to call a meeting to instruct the people to better their efforts in cleanliness.

At this meeting, which lasted about one hour, Wolptau and Taroman, the first and fifth ranking chiefs, respectively, bore the lion's share of the talking, with Paluelimar, third in rank, making a minor contribution, and Maroligar and Wolpatitik not uttering a word. Both chiefs and people were very serious, the former speaking long, loudly and

---

"1. This was later born out by my own observations, for on our way home we visited most islands in the Yap district, and most of them revealed rubbish and litter strewn about, whereas Ifaluk was always tidy and neat."

impassionately. The people listened in silence, and the impression was that of a father admonishing his children. The chiefs began by telling the people that I had informed the officers that the village was always clean and neat, and that they would have to confirm this report in deed, by beginning a general cleanup. They then reported to the favorite theme of all meetings--the admonition not to engage in 'bad talk', and conversely, to speak only 'good talk.' This simple message was repeated by all three speakers numerous times, and in many variations.

Quite significant was the attention devoted to the women, for despite the fact that women shoulder most of the work, it was they who were told that they were not to be indolent, but must work, must prepare food and make lavalavs. The men, too, were warned to exercise greater diligence, but not to the same degree as the women.

The people remained silent throughout, neither questioning their chiefs nor addressing remarks to them. At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also, that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This

distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight into the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described.

It may be remarked here that the response of the people to the clean-up order was immediate. The following day, the entire population had retired to the bush to carry out their instructions.

The fourth and last public meeting we witnessed was held on October 23. The chiefs had been asking us when we expected the next ship, and we had told them that one should arrive any day, so they called this meeting to inform the people that a ship was due, and that they should prepare for its arrival by another clean-up. Again, as at the previous meeting, Maroligar and Wolpaitik, did no talking at all, Taroman doing most of the speaking, but joined by Wolptau and Paluelimar. Taroman began by warning the people to do no wrong, special emphasis being placed on stealing and lying. He warned the women in particular not to abscond with taro from another woman's taro patch. To be noted in this connection is the paradox of warning people [23] against a transgression of which they are never guilty, for, as we shall see, robbery or thievery never occurs in this culture.

When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity.

He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits.

He then turned to the real reason for calling the meeting--he announced the pending arrival of the ship, and ordered the people to begin another general clean-up.

Paluelimar spoke at the conclusion of Wolptau's address. He announced that a dance was to be held in the near future, and that the young men should begin to prepare for it. (this was at our request, for we hadinformed the chiefs of our desire to witness a dance.). He repeated Wolptau's order about the clean-up, and then said that Dr. Burrows and I were to be treated as chiefs, that the people were to do whatever we asked of them, as we were concerned with their welfare.

At the completion of his speech, the chiefs again distributed tobacco, and the meeting broke up informally.

It is discernable from these sketches that the pattern of the meetings is the same in all. But aside from the similarities in the content of the meetings, there are also similarities in the formal aspects, that should be noted."

28: Spiro--23
116, 623, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Both men and women come to the meetings supplied with work-materials, which keeps them busy during the entire meeting. The men bring their coconut sennet, to be twisted into rope; and the women bring flowers, out of which they make leis, or banana bark fibres, which they make into thread. Throughout the meeting, men and women are busily engaged in their work. The chiefs, too, bring their sennet, and continue to make their rope, even when addressing the people. Though this occured at all the meetings, it was not until the last one that this procedure presented itself to me as a problem. If the people were very diligent and frugal with their time, one could understand this practice without difficulty. But the fact is, as we shall see, the people can, and do, sit around for an entire day, without engaging in a single productive activity. Why, then, this burst of industry at the meetings? When I queried him on this point, Tom answered that a man would be ashamed if he were to be seen just sitting at the meeting without doing anything, for it was not right to be seen doing nothing. In other words, the fact thay they loaf at other times is not important, but at a public meeting no one wishes to be accused of indolence. And yet, plausible, as this interpretation might be on the surface, it is far from satisfying. Why is a man ashamed to be seen without work at a meeting, but not at any other time? Surely, just the opposite should be true. The meetings are very important, and as such, should they not hold the people's undivided attention? At this point we can only indicate the problem, but we shall take it up again when we consider the psychological correlates of Ifaluk culture."

28: Spiro--24
116, 623, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another fairly constant factor at the meetings is the contrast between the attitudes of the older and younger people. Whereas the former take the meetings very seriously, with one exception--that of the priest--doctor--the younger men seemed little interested in the proceedings. For example, at one of the meetings, the young men were very slow in arriving, and did not sit in or around the fanap, but sat in the canoe house quite a distance from the fanap. Taroman rebuked them for this, and ordered them into the fanap, and they were quite slow in obeying his directions."

28: Spiro--24 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623 Ifalik

"Like everything else in Ifaluk, the meetings have little, if any, plan. The chiefs may decide to call a meeting a week in advance of its actual occurence, but they make no attempt to plan a definite agenda, or decide who is to speak. It seems that they speak whatever comes to mind, are prodded by the other chiefs, while speaking, frequently turn to the other chiefs for suggestions, and often debate among themselves as to whom is to do the talking, each one passing the buck to the others."

28: Spiro--24 [3]
116, 623, 537, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

(1947-48) 1949

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--25
116, 622, 651

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him en masse bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

"Ifaluk social organization is simple, compared to other Pacific peoples. The two islands of Felarik and Falalap have eight matrilineal and strictly exogamous clans, (ailang). The clans are not localized, and vary considerably in numerical strength, as is shown in the following table.

District	Kovalu	Sauvelarik	Mangau Ievar	Rape velu	Sauwel	Kailan gailuk	Bwol	Kailangai luelea	Total
Felarik	4	8	21	0	8	10	0	0	51
Rauau	29	17	11	13	16	13	0	0	99
Falalap	19	23	24	6	4	2	13	3	94
Totals	52	48	56	19	28	25	13	3	224

The origin of the clans is accounted for by the same two traditions mentioned in connection with the origin of chieftanship. One tradition has it that these clans constituted the original colonizers from Yap. The other maintains that the clans were instituted by Autran when she created the people on Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
~~116~~, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"To say that the airo serves no function, is not strictly accurate. It serves no institutionaled [sic] function, but there are patterns of interaction of a purely informal nature that characterize the relationships of airo members. For example, though the natives are very generous with food, to the extent that any person in the vicinity of another house will be asked to partake of available food, an airo member will be treated even more generously, and often will be offered food to take home with him. Furthermore, a man constructing a canoe can anticipate the assistance of his airo member, not because this assistance is mandatory, but again, because of the closer degree of intimacy existing between them."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -3
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. . .This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."

28: Spiro--27-28 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"More important than either the clan or the airo is the matrilineal lineage, known alternatively as Lebwutae ('my place'), or as Bwotae or Aramatae ('my people'), according to whether the reference is to the homestead or to the people. The lineage, by definition, includes a matrilineal descent group that is related by descent from one woman. Now, since marriage is matrilocal, with some exceptions, and since every homestead is named, this group is well defined. It includes all persons born of the women of a particular homestead, say that of Uelepi. When a man says that he is going to his 'Lebwutae', or that he does not commit some act because he would be shamed by his 'Aramatae', he refers, not to the house in which he lives, but to his maternal home, his matrilineal lineage. [28]

The clan, as we have seen, is not localized, persons from any clan living in all districts. Given the existence of matrilocality, the lineage is not localised either, but it does enjoy a certain localization, in that all the women of the lineage, as well as the unmarried males, inhabit the homestead, and the men, though scattered, do have a focal, geographic, point of reference, in that the homestead in which they were born, remains in the lineage in perpetuity, and thus serves as an integrating factor, in spacial terms. Thus, though my aramatae are scattered, my lebwutae remains fixed."

(1947-48) 1949

1-3

Wolcaians
Ifalik

"Reflection, as well as empirical evidence, reveals the relative instability of the lineage, as compared to the clan. The eight clans are fixed, and cannot be increased in number, though they can be decreased by the extinction of one or more clans. This seems to be the future fate of Kailangailuela, of which there are but three members, two of whom are women past their menopause. Normally, however, clan extinction is rare.

The number of lineages, on the other hand, may increase or decrease. Decrease, a priori, is more frequent in lineages than in clans, because of the small number of persons within any lineage. It seems, however, that the greater proportion of change in the number of lineages is by increase, which results from the setting up of new households. For a number of reasons, a person may break off from a household and construct a new house. At first this house is viewed as an extension of the parental homestead. After a time, however, this house assumes a special name, though it still looks to the original home as its source. But after the elapse of a few generations, this 'splinter group' becomes a homestead in its own right, and thereby becomes a new lineage group as well.

For example, Nesangogara married Taroman, and did not remain in her lineage house, but set up a new household, known as Warigin. Now, Warigin is actually in the lineage property of Taroman's lineage, Valevelu, but this new house now has its own name, the married daughters and their children live with their parents, and a new lineage has unquestionably been created."

28: Spiro--28 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"The lineage is the most important group in Ifaluk. It regulates property, its members cooperate in economic functions, and it is a recognized religious grouping. These functions of the lineage will be dealt with under these separate categories.

The attachment of the person to his lineage and its house and district is revealed not only in terms of personal feelings, but in certain important activities. The men do most of their work and gossiping in the canoe-houses. Should a man marry a woman from another district, he usually returns daily to the canoe-house of his own district, not the one in whose district he is now living. In fishing expeditions, which are undertaken by districts, a man often fishes with the men of his lineage district rather than with those with whom he is at present living. Finally, in the dances, the men dance with men of their lineage district. This constant return to their own district indicates that the men feel a greater sense of affinity with the people with whom they were raised, but it also indicates the attachment to the lineage house in which he spent his formative years."

28: Spiro--28 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"Smaller than the lineage, though in part comprising it, is the household, for which there seems to be no native name. The household lives in the lineage house, and is an extended family, which includes the elder woman or women of the lineage (sisters), their husbands, unmarried sons and daughters, married daughters, the latters' husbands and children. Thus, all but the men who have married in, are members of the lineage. The household is the basic economic unit in the Ifaluk social structure, for despite other economic functions or obligations that the members of the household may have elsewhere, the household is the basic production and consumption unit, as we shall see when we discuss the economic organization."

28: Spiro--29 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-3
116, 601 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk kinship system is classificatory, though as noted above its terms are not as inclusive as are those in other types of classificatory systems. It should also be remembered that the kinship terms are terms of reference, rather than of address. Every individual is addressed by his proper name, including parents. The following kinship terms are given in the first person possessive singular. Ego's generation: Bwiz-iwis, refers to my biological siblings, of the same sex, and Mongyal to my biological siblings of opposite sex, as well as my mother's sister's children, mother's brothers' children, and father's sisters' and brothers' children. Again it may be pointed out here that only the mother's sisters children are ego's lineage and clan members, yet the same term applies to the other categories mentioned here; showing the impprtance of the airo. First ascending generation: Silei, refers to my mother, my mother's sisters, and my father's sisters. The same comment made for Bwizinis applies equally here."

"Tamae, refers to my father my father's brothers, and my mother's sisters' husbands. Malelapae, refers to my mother's brothers, and is the only non-classificatory term. Second ascending generation: Sinisin, refers to any one my mother calls, mother. This technique of reduplication extends to any ascending generation, for example, Sinisinisin, Sinisinisinisin, referring to the third and forth ascending generations, respectively. Literally, of course, these terms translate, my mother's mother, my mother's mother's mother, etc. The same principle applies for the other grandparents, and I shall not repeat this example in the other cases, having mentioned it here.

Sinitamae, refers to any one whom my father calls, mother.

Temaesin, refers to any one whom my mother calls father.

Temaetemae, refers to any one whom my father calls, father.

First descending generation: Lau, refers to my children, my brothers' children, and my wife's sisters' children.

Fatuei, refers to my sisters' children. It is the complement of Malelapae, and like it, obviously, is not classificatory. Second descending generation: Launau, refers to all the children of the people whom I call son or daughter. As in the reduplication noted above, this can be expanded indefinitely to cover as many generations as necessary."

28: Spiro--29 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Wolcaians
116, 601 Ifalik

"This grouping together of a number of relatives under the same nomenclature does not imply at all, that the natives do not distinguish between them. This distinction is most emphatically made, between the biological mother, say, or sister, and the classificatory mother or sister. When a person refers to his father or mother in conversation, he invariably means biological father or mother, unless he specifically designates the classificatory relative. Even the very young children are accustomed to make this distinction. For example, when I administered the children's drawings I would ask the names of their parents and of their siblings. They invariably gave the names of their biological parents and siblings, except in the case of adopted children, in which there was no consistency, some naming them as siblings, and some not."

28: Spiro--29-30
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though parents and children distinguish between biological and classificatory children and parents, it is true that the relationship between these relatives is closer than the relationship between 'strangers.' This is to be expected given the [30] existence of multiple family dwellings, where all adults function as parents to all the children. A woman treats her sisters' children with as much care and love as she will her own, though there is little question that the degree of love and intimacy that obtains [sic] between biological parent and child is greater than that between persons so classified culturally. As in our own culture, I think it fair to say that if a complete stranger were to enter an Ifaluk house, and observe the interpersonal relationships, it would take him little time to distinguish the individual family units within the extended family household."

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

12

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--31 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 597 Ifalik

"An obtrusive, but integral part of the entire fabric of kinship, one that is well-nigh universal in the Pacific, is the institution of adoption. (aevan) The incidence of adoption is fairly high, there being 32 aevams in Ifaluk, out of 81 children. There are basically two reasons for adoption. If the couple is childless, they wish to have a baby, because 'only they chow.' That is, being without children, they eat their meals alone, which is to say, they are lonesome. Secondly, a couple with only one child may desire a child of another sex, a girl to work the taro patch, a boy to do the men's work. If they decide to adopt a child they go to a pregnant woman of either the husband's or wife's clan, never to a non-clan member, and inform her that they would like to adopt her baby. If the woman has no other children, she may refuse the request, but if she has children, she does not, because 'all people and chief very angry at her,' though she may not be compelled to part from her child. However, the natives know of no cases of refusal, for the woman always cooperates, as she says, 'I give to you, bout (because) I am very very sorry to you.' The adopting parents give no gift or any symbolic offering to the parents of the child.

The mother of the infant, of course, feeds it. When she leaves the birth-hut, she is accompanied by the foster-mother, who spends much time in the home of her adopted

son. At the end of the three month period, during which time the mother and infant are confined to the house, the baby is taken to the home of its foster parents by its mother, both returning home in the evening. When the infant can walk it remains permanently in the home of its foster parents."

"The aevam is treated as one's own child and the patterns of interaction, both formal and informal are identical for him as for a biological child. The child, however, is by no means abandoned by its real parents, the relationship being a close one in both cases. Since the atoll is small, it is possible for an adopted child to see its real parents daily. Actually, then, adoption means that the child has four parents, instead of two, and two houses instead of one. Talimedja, for example, joked about his having two families, so that if he were hungry he could eat in either house, if he were dissatisfied with the fare in one. The same is true of other activities. The aevam may sleep in either house, may expect to receive shelter, protection, security from either one. [32]

This dual interactional pattern applies to his entire life. He belongs to two kinship groups, his 'natural' one and his foster one. This means that he has not only the incest taboos of his biological siblings, but also those of his foster siblings. Despite his belonging to two kin groups, he inherits only from his natural group, not his foster group."

28: Spiro--32 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 1-2
116, 597 Ifalik

"Though the cultural or institutionalised pattern of interaction between aevam and foster duplicates that of biological child-parent, the quality of the relationship displays variations. Some foster children are much more intimate with their foster parents than with their biological parents. But, on the other hand, there are instances in which the converse is true. Talimedja, a boy in his middle teens, almost always referred to his biological mother when he spoke of his mother. When I asked him to take me to his home, he took me to the home of his biological mother. On the other hand, Morolivok, a boy in his late teens, always referred to his foster parents as his parents, and he and his foster brother were inseparable. But Tom, who is his foster-father, definitely makes a distinction between him and his biological son, Alemwal. When Tom speaks of 'my son', he invariably means Alemwal. This distinction comes out in behavior as well. When I administered a battery of tests to Morolivok, Tom asked him to sit on the ground besides us. When Alemwal came to take the tests, Tom insisted that he sit with us on the mat. These subtle manifestations, I am sure, are unintentional, and unconscious, and if he were asked, Tom would say that he loved both sons equally."

28: Spiro--32 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 575, 561 Ifalik

"There are no sodalities in Ifaluk, no groupings of a voluntary nature, that is. Professional, secret, or religious societies do not exist. Neither are there age grades. It is true that there are five categories into which all ages are classified, but they are highly nebulous and fluid, and are, by no means, organized into groups with definite social responsibilities and privileges."

28: Spiro--33 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 462 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk economy does not fit into any of the classical 'stages,' at least not in a pure form, for this is a fishing-agricultural society, both aspects being of equal importance. However, as one might expect in a population of 250 people, there is no division of labor, though there is specialization. This statement, however must be qualified for there is a sexual division of labor, though the division is not a sharp one, except in one or two matters. Nor is the labor of one sex taboo to the other, or provoke a shame-reaction on the part of one performing the economic function of the opposite sex. For example, women do engage in reef fishing at low tide, though this is normally men's work, and men will assist their wives in the taro patches, though this is women's work. Furthermore, in heavy construction work the men do not scruple to call upon the assistance of the women at certain stages in the work. By and large, however, sexual division of labor is defined, each sex making its own unique contribution to the productive aspect of the economy. This dual division is indispensable to the maintenance of any household, for each household is a self-sufficient economic unit, so that the dereliction of either sex with respect to his productive role, would result in economic collapse. It is little wonder that economic proficiency is one of the first criteria demanded of a prospective spouse.

The men are responsible for all construction work-canoes, houses, canoe-houses--

the manufacture of rope, seines, fish-traps; the tending of the breadfruit and coconut trees, as well as the planting of coconut sprouts, collection of toddy, and the picking of coconuts, and fishing. The women are responsible for the cooking; the weaving of skirts and loin cloths; the manufacture of thatch, mats, baskets, and canoe-sails; the preparation of sennet for the making of rope and the planting and care of the taro patches.

Both men and women are responsible for private and public cleaning. Since Dr. Burrows has made a special study of Ifaluk technology, my discussion of the productive process will neglect this aspect, except where necessary for clarity, and will be concerned primarily with the cultural or institutional character of these activites."

28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians 2-3
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--33 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 283, 556 Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--33-34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592, 345, 283 Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the malum, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--34 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 283 Ifalik

"The manufacture of rope is simple, (1) and readily lends itself to conversation and conviviality. Rope is made from the coconut sennet. The coconut husk is allowed to seep in stagnant ponds--this is the women's task--until the fibres are loose, after which the women take it from the pond, separate the fibres, beat them soft with a wooden board, remove dirt and other grime, and then let them dry in the sun. The men store the sennet in baskets, until such time as they wish to use it. They manufacture the rope, by twisting the individual fibres, which they draw with great agility from a bunch held in the crook of their thigh and leg, while sitting, into cord, twisting it on the thigh. This is the basic process from which ropes of any size can be made, from thin cord, to very thick rope that could well be used as mooring rope, on a ship. The completed rope is either taken home, where it hangs from the rafters of the house, or is allowed to remain in the canoe-house, each man having his own peg, with the assurance that no one will abscond with it."

"1. Simple, if you know how. I tried a number of times, but with little success, for the twisting of the fibres requires an agility, and a motor set, that only comes from practice."

28: Spiro--34-35
116, 222, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Like the making of rope, the collection of toddy is, intrinsically, an individual process--only one man can climb a tree at one time. Yet this, too is done in a semi-communal fashion. The toddy is collected twice a day, and is collected at fairly regular times, so that a number of young men within a district collect their toddy [35] simultaneously, proceeding together to their individual groves, and returning together. This practice is even more marked in the afternoon than in the morning, so that we facetiously referred to this spectacle as the 'toddy parade', because the sight of eight or ten men walking single or double file through the village, was reminiscent of an American parade."

105

28: Spiro--35
116, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The tending of the trees is the only individual phenomenon in the economy. The men gather the coconut sprouts in rows in their groves, and at certain seasons of the year, plant them. The trimming of the coconut trees is performed when they climb a tree to collect toddy or coconuts, and the picking of the breadfruit is determined by the desire for it.

The other forms of work except for canoes and houses are genuinely cooperative, in that the commencement of the work is decided by the chiefs, is performed by the men, each with a special task directed towards the common end, and the products of their labor are shared equally."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4]
116, 462, 476, 358

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--35-36 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 527 Ifalik

"There are a number of institutional, as well as non-institutional characteristics of these communal undertakings. All are completed with a feast, prepared by the women, at which the men sit about in small groups by the structure on which they had been working. Furthermore, when the men assemble for their work, they bring coconuts which are deposited in a common store, it becoming the sole function of certain [36] of the men to husk them. At the completion of the work, the chiefs distribute the coconuts among the men who receive them with great pleasure. This distribution of food, at other times of tobacco at communal gatherings raises a perplexing problem: Why should coconuts or tobacco, which all people possess in abundance, be distributed by the chiefs at the completion of these affairs, and why should a handful of tobacco or 4 coconuts be received with such obvious pleasure by the people, particularly when as in this case, they bring the coconuts themselves, and they are now merely being redistributed? We shall have occasion to discuss this point in some detail in our chapter on psychology."

28: Spiro--36
116, 358, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When doing major construction work, there are a number of taboos and rites which are practiced. Food is taboo until the completion of the job, so that the meal is very welcome when it comes. If the job requires more than a day for its completion food may be eaten only at the end of the day's work, and then the men must resume their fast until the completion of the next day's work. (2) Women and children are not permitted near the canoe-house during these major operations, and those living adjacent to it must

---

"2. This fasting illustrates, I believe the psychology of all sacrifice--fasting of course being a sacrifice, the sacrifice of food. You sacrifice a lesser good in order to obtain a greater good. Conversely, you accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil. In this case you sacrifice food in order to retain life and/or limb, and there is little question but that abstinence from food is a great sacrifice in this culture. Lest the reader ask how the native might lose life or limb, I should point out that the beams and pillars of the canoe-houses are huge, and if a person were to be struck by one he might very well be injured or killed."

remain in their houses. This is sharply contrasted with the other repair jobs in which children are very much in evidence, shouting, playing, laughing, and getting in the way. Furthermore, on these major jobs, the men wear young, white coconut branch strips about their arms and their ankles, which serves as talismen, and protect them from falling beams and other forms of potential injury."

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--37-38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 286 Ifalik

"This concern for the people of another district, which is expressed in this kind of cooperative labor, is in some cases enjoined by the chiefs. For example the island of Falalap required additional seins. Now a sein is usually about sixty feet long and about nine feet wide, and its construction, is a long and arduous job, requiring a huge quantity of rope. The Falalap chiefs ordered their men to make seins, and the [38] Felerik men, at the order of their chiefs, also made seins for Falalap, with their own rope though they would receive no direct benefit from this work."

28: Spiro--38
116, 476, 764, 505, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--38 [2]
116, 396, 476, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

28: Spiro--38 [3]
116, 476, 396, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

---

"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

28: Spiro--38 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 784, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--39
116, 396, 226, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

28: Spiro--39 [2]
116, 226, 476, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrowhead, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large co-operative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone

dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable mad-house. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--40 [2]
116, 843, 225, 373

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If turtle eggs are discovered the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from another person for four days. A pregnant woman and her husband may not eat turtle eggs at all during her pregnancy."

28: Spiro--40 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 252 Ifalik

"Some fish may not be prepared in a frying pan. Dr. Burrows was about to fry some fish, when Maroligar told him that he would prepare them, for if they were cooked in a pan, the same species of fish would not enter the lagoon again."

28: Spiro--40-41
116, 261, 251

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The distribution of fish is usually the task of Taroman, the fifth ranking chief. Every person who participated, as well as those unable to participate because of debility or illness, shares in the catch. The remaining fish are divided equally among the clans, and any surplus is then divided among the chiefs. If the men catch more than can be consumed within twenty-four hours, the fish is preserved by being smoked on a wooden rack, and is smoked every day until it is consumed. In the drive referred to above, 301 large bonito were caught, which was much more than could be consumed, and the [41] smoked-fish lasted for about two weeks without spoiling, by which time it had all been consumed."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--41 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Though there is no division of labor on Ifaluk, in the sense of certain men performing certain fixed tasks, there is specialization, in that certain tasks require special training, and are performed only by certain men who have received special training. There are three such specialists, the navigators (palu) and the carpenters and construction engineers (zenap), and the priest-shaman. There are also men who are known as superior fishermen, but they do not derive their knowledge by special training, nor are they recognised institutionally by special names. The priest-shaman will be treated in the chapter on religion."

28: Spiro--41-42
116, 463, 502, 341

(1947-48)1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

28: Spiro--42
116, 462, 252, 527

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the um, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

28: Spiro--42 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifalik

"The Taro is the only plant that needs expensive care-planting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, and this is the women's responsibility. It is hard, hot, labor, and usually all the women of a household, and sometimes two or three, work together on their own plots of land. As a result of this sexual specialization, the women are the botanical experts. When asked the names of different varieties of taro, Tom admitted his ignorance and referred us to his wife, saying that the women knew the names, but the men were ignorant of them, since horticulture was not their work. Despite the heat, a woman may not drink from a coconut while in the taro patch. Should she violate the taboo, the taro will not grow."

28: Spiro--42 [3]
116, 462, 291, 286

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--42 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women's tasks are more numerous and time-consuming than the men's, so that it is not unusual to see the men sitting in the canoe-houses with nothing to do, but quite unusual for the women."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

28: Spiro--42 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 437, 423 Ifalik

"The only commercial transaction involves the acquisition of some raw material, and this is rare. I observed only one such transaction during our entire stay on the atoll. I was sitting with Tom and two other men in a canoe house in Felarik, when a canoe paddled by men from Falalap came up. The men beached their canoe, and then sat on the beach, conversing among themselves. Tom asked them what they were doing there. They said that they had come to acquire a certain tree, which they wanted to make a canoe. Tom told them who the owner of the tree was and some of them went to call him. In the meantime the others unloaded a number of blankets and coils of rope, which was the payment for the tree. There was no bargaining or discussion, the Falalap men giving what they thought the tree was worth, and the owner accepting the payment without question. He neither examined nor counted their payment, nor did he attempt to keep the tree. Later, I asked Tom whether the exchange was fair, and he said that the payment was very generous."

28: Spiro--42 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 471, 421 Ifalik

"Property rights and laws of inheritance of property are clearly defined. Theoretically, the Ifaluk economy can be characterized as state socialism, for all property, the natives claim, is owned by the chiefs. The entire atoll, land and water is their property, as is all manufactured goods, since they can confiscate these, if they wish. Functionally, however, in terms of usufruct, we may distinguish five kinds of property. 1. Free-property: 2. Public property 3. Lineage property 4. Patrilineal group property 5. Personal or private property"

28: Spiro--43
116, 423

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Free Property: All the uncultivated land in the bush is free property, and can be used by any one, tresspass not being recognized."

28: Spiro--43 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 226 Ifalik

"Public property: This includes the seins, fighting traps, canoe-houses, and the Fanap. The seins and fishing traps are constructed by the men of a district, and remain in the canoe-houses. They are communal property, and are used by the men in their fishing expeditions. The Fanap is the 'town-hall', and though it is said that is 'belongs to the chiefs', it is actually used for all public meetings, and is repaired, in case of damage, by all the men of the district. The canoe houses, are theoretically owned by one individual, in that one of his ancestors is reputed to have built it. But, actually it is used by all the men, of the district, and is repaired by them. Any attempt on his part to prevent some one from using it would be unthinkable."

28: Spiro--43 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Lineage property: The houses and taro patches are included in this category. Theoretically the house is owned by the eldest woman of the lineage, and at her death is inherited by the next oldest woman. This is just another way of saying, however, that it belongs to the matrilineal lineage, for it descends in that line in perpetuity. This means that the house in non-transferable, that it can not be bought or sold. Theoretically, the taro patches are owned by the men, but again analysis reveals that it is lineage property. The women of the man's household work his patch, the taro belongs to them, and they use it to feed the members of their household, including their husbands who are members of a different lineage. However, a woman gives some of the prepared taro to her brother indicating that it belongs to all the members of the lineage. That the taro patches belong to the lineage is also revealed by the fact that they descend to the man's sister's sons at his death."

28: Spiro--43 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Patrilineal group property: Coconut and breadfruit trees are owned by the males of a patrilineal descent group, so that a man's death, his trees descend to his son's and brother's sons, and like the taro-patches and houses, belong to this line perpetuity, being non-transferable."

28: Spiro--43 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 428 Ifalik

"Strictly speaking, the above two categories of property-matrilineal lineage property, and patrilineal descent group peoperty are not subject to the laws of inheritance, as we commonly understand that term. A house is used by the members of the household, and continues to be so used regardless of any-one's death. The same is true of the taro patches and the trees. A well-recognised group uses the fruit of these plants, has legal right in them, and continues to use them as members of this group regardless of the changes in its membership through birth or death. This is, of course, merely another way of stating that these are group property, owned by the group in perpetuity, and therefore unaffected by changes in the membership of the group. It is not that a man's sons or sister's sons inherit a particular piece of property from him at his death, but rather, it is their descent from him at birth, and not his death that confer upon them the use of the property. The property is not divided into individual plots of ground or trees, each individual in the group receiving an equal share, but remains as a whole in the group, all individuals in the group having equal rights in it."

28: Spiro--43 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 422 Ifalik

"Personal property: This category includes a man's canoes, tools, rope, all clothes, and personal effects-combs, baskets, etc. At his death a man's canoes are divided among his sons and sister's sons. His rope is inherited by his sons, and his clothes and personal effects are disposed of as his family sees fit."

28: Spiro--43-44 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"Even a brief acquaintance with this culture reveals that private property plays a minor role. Only what a person himself creates belongs to him, and only such objects may be transferred. All other objects belong to a group, ranging in size from a unilateral descent group to the entire society and remains in the group in perpetuity. Two polar attitudes characterize the dynamic aspects of property rights--the punctiliousness with which a person refrains from using another's real property, and the culturally expected generosity of use of another's property upon request. That is, when a person wants a coconut he will never climb a tree that does not belong to him to [44] obtain one. Though the islands are dense with coconut trees, and every one has many more trees than he can possibly use, and though the taking of one nut would be of no economic significance, no one would dare take a nut from a tree that is not his. Each man knows his own trees, though they may be scattered and mixed with trees of others, and will pick only his own. This holds true for the taro patches. A woman will not take taro from another's patch, though there is taro enough on the island to feed many more mouths than there are on Ifaluk. But the proprietary rights in these patches is felt very strongly, and people are quite jealous of these rights, as is indicated by the TAT and by the admonitions of the chiefs to refrain from taking another's taro."

28: Spiro--44 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"One is expected to be generous with his movable property. Though the canoes are owned individually, any one may borrow another's canoe, preferably with his knowledge, but even without it. A man wishing to make an overseas journey asks permission from an owner of an ocean-going canoe to use his canoe, with full assurance that permission will be granted, a refusal being unheard of. And the same holds true for tools, traps, and other objects that a person may wish to use."

28: Spiro--44 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Wolcaians
116, 565, 422, 556 Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

"Economic acculturation, in that it provides certain individuals and not others with certain objects, has resulted in a desire for certain kinds of property, and confers upon their owners certain prestige. This merely illustrates the universal economic law of scarcity as a primary contributor to economic value. Western gadgets, and tools, introduced by the Japanese or by the Americans, including the anthropologists--and of necessity distributed to a few--incur the admiration and envy of the others. The knives we distributed among the chiefs were the envy and admiration of all the men. The playing cards we gave to our 'boys' were admired and longed for by the others. The perfume we gave to Tom's wife or to the chiefs' wives was desired by the other women. Thus one can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by any one with the requisite skills that property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Navy should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects, like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time, tensions will inevitably arise as they have in other colonial areas.

There are two factors, then, that have served to almost eliminate economic tensions on Ifaluk: The culturally ordained pattern of cooperation and generosity in the distribution of goods and their use, and the abundance of those things that are desired, so

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

28: Spiro--45 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Ifaluk religion cannot be considered apart from the culture of which it is an integral part without doing violence to both the religion and the culture. The fact that our society is unique in consigning religion to a separate category--one among a number of aspects of culture--has been pointed out by numerous authors, and has become commonplace in our thinking. Yet it is necessary to stress this point in a discussion of Ifaluk religion because the inter-relationship between religion and the entire culture is so inextricable that the natives have no term for religion. Religion is not something apart, a special realm of being to be distinguished from mundane, everyday existence. On the contrary, religion is part of the entire culturally constituted world of the natives, in which dichotomies of natural-supernatural, material-spiritual, etc., which are an intergral feature of western thinking, play no role."

28: Spiro--45 [2]
116, 771, 753, 261

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-5
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter,

who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Wolcaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

The sun, moon, and stars, are fixed to the sky, and move along it, much as a train moves on its tracks, so that the sun, for example, has its ial, its path, which it follows every day. The people assign the same function to the sun as they do to the moon and stars--to provide light. Were there no heavenly bodies, people would die, say the natives, because they would have no light by which to work. [47]

The causes and functions of other cosmic phenomena such as rain, wind, thunder, lightning, are unknown. It is not realised that rain is necessary for the growth of vegetation, nor should this be surprising, since there is no period of growth nor its concommitant destruction of crops which would indicate such a relationship."

28: Spiro--47-48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -4
116, 773, 775 Ifalik

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

---

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a

native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

28: Spiro--48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 773, 618 Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."

"Having created man and instituted his culture, Autran retired to the atmosphere, which was to remain her dwelling. Aluelap, it will be recalled, was assigned to the sky, (iang) which he still inhabits, as the chief of the sky-gods, with his wife, Metha (5) his son Lugeiling, and the latter's wife and sons. The name of their dwelling is Tatuma which is at the zenith of the sky.

In a vague and nebulour sense, Aluelap and his family may be designated as the protector deities. They 'look out for people', providing them with food, and protecting them from harm. But this is true, I repeat, only very vaguely. Arogeligar and the chiefs are the only persons who are at all conversant with theological matters, and they could provide no coherent or detailed descriptions of the activities of these deities.

"5. It will be recalled that Arogeligar related Metha to Aluelap as his brother. But both chiefs and Arogeligar agree that Metha has nofunction other than to be on the tongues of people, asking metha, (what) when they wish to know something.

The chiefs also differ from Arogeligar and Saafert, the latter two agreeing that Aluelaps eyes are closed, (for he is in a constant sleep) so that if someone [49] must speak with him, his son, Lugeiling, opens his eyes with a pole as large as a coconut tree. The chiefs disagree with this version, saying that at one time Aluelap was blind, but he gained his eyesight and now he can see."

Lugeiling makes a daily tour of the islands and reports to Aluelap on the activities of the people. Should the people misbehave--the entire society, that is, not a particular individual--Aluelap orders Lolal to inflict them with a typhoon and/or a tidal wave. (6).

This land in the sky, inhabited by Aluelap and his family, is a duplicate of the terrestial earth, having islands, ocean, trees, and so forth. But the conceptualization of this pantheon of 'high gods' is vague indeed. To such questions as to whether they were corporeal, whether they are, copulated, or manifested other physical and behavioral characteristics, the answer invariably was, 'I don't know--from before, before.' The mythology, on the other hand, definitely portrays them as anthropomorphic in all ways."

"6. According to Arogeligar, Aluelap also implants the soil in the Loetus. The chiefs deny this, though other people affirmed it."

"These sky gods are known as Alusiang. The word, Alus, is the generic term for supernatural, of which, as we shall see, there are two kinds--benevolent and malevolent. The benevolent supernaturals are called Alusemar, of which there are two categories; the alusisalup (literally, the alus of the earth) who, as we shall see, are the benevolent dead, and the Alusiang, (literally, the alus of the sky), who are this royal, family the pantheon of high gods.

Solan, the third child of Legobub, and the brother of Autran and Aluelap was assigned, it will be remembered, to the nether-world, Ilal, where he lives in his house, called Falisat. Ilal is inhabited by mortals, like those living on earth. It is all ocean, and enjoys neither sun, moon, nor stars. The people seem to live in water-proof houses. Solan, in some vague way, controls the fish supply. He is especially angry at men who catch fish immediately following sexual intercourse, for they 'stink', and punishes them with illness. (7)

"7. Solan is a very vague being in the minds of both the chiefs and of Arogeligar, neither of them remembering any details about him. This follows from the negligible role he plays in their lives and thought. Solal, too, does not fit into either of the two categories of alusemar, though in terms of the creation myth, he belongs to the pantheon of high gods."

Solan and Aluelap, according to the chiefs, cause death, the consent of both being necessary. If one of the two wishes a person to die, he informs the other. If the latter agrees, the person dies; if not, he continues to live. (8). [50]

These high gods, the alusiang, are not clearly defined conceptually because they are relatively unimportant functionally. If the chiefs and Arogeligar are vague about these supernaturals, the people are almost entirely ignorant of them. Invariably I would be told by men and women, adults and youths, that though they had heard of the name of

---

"8. Again confusion reigns. The malevolent dead, as we shall soon see are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Solal and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Lolal of his intention, and Solal informs Metha, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death."

Aluelap or Solan, or Autran, they did not know what they did, where they lived, or exactly whom they were, other than the fact that they were alus. The one exception is the alus, Tilitr. But Tilitr, strictly speaking, is not an alusiang, but rather the Ifaluk patron deity, and we shall discuss his role shortly."

28: Spiro--50 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776 Ifalik

"The Alusisalup comprise the second category of alusemar, and these are the functionally important benevolent supernaturals. Every person becomes an alus at death. If a person is evil or malevolent on earth, he becomes an evil or malevolent alus at death; that is, his immortal character is but a continuation of his mortal character. If a person is good or benevolent on earth, he becomes a good or benevolent alus at death, his immortal character being a persistence in time of his mortal character. (9) Now

---

"9. Actually, immortal, is a better rendering of alus than supernatural. Supernatural has been understood in western culture to mean an ontological realm of being, in contrast to and absolutely separated from, the natural realm, or nature. The dichotomy between the natural and supernatural orders is absolute and unqualified, so that only by an act of divine revelation can the two realms ever meet. Now this dichotomy of the universe into the natural and supernatural violates the native conons of thinking in Ifaluk. There is but one ontological order which comprises the 'Great Society.' of aramat inhabitants of the earth, and alus, inhabitants of the sky. There is constant interraction between them, and they are alike in most respects, except that the former are mortal and the latter, immortal."

it should be clearly understood that the western concept of supernatural reward and punishment is completely absent from Ifaluk thought. The Alusengau, the malevolent alus, is not such because he is punished for his immoral behavior on earth. Nor is the moral person rewarded at death by becoming an alusisalup. Both good and evil persons ascend at death to the sky as they were on earth. When a man dies, his soul (ngas) ascends to the sky on a special path. At the end of the path there stands a guard (10), who directs the souls to their respective habitations."

"10. This guard is named, but none of the chiefs could remember it, and inquiry about the village produced only negative results."

"The souls of the good are directed to Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, which is at the zenith, near Fatima, the home of the alusiang. (11) The souls of the bad are directed to Pungulon or Langalgezepelach, the names given by the chiefs and by Arogeligar, respectively.

Though it is the soul that ascends to the sky, and the body is buried in the ocean, the alus are corporeal, though it is not clear at all whether they resume their earthly bodies, or acquire different ones. But it is known that they are corporeal because people have seen the alusengau on their visits to Ifaluk, and those people possessed by the aluisalap have perceived them in human form.

Both alus, the good and the bad alike, lead lives in the sky that parallel their lives on earth, with the one difference that biological families do not remain together (even

---

"11. The alusisalu also have an abode in the nether-world of Solan, called Gelangas, but this need not detain us, since no one, not even the chiefs, knows anything about this abode, except the name."

assuming that all the members of the family become one or other of the two kinds of alus) but each repairs to the special abode of his clan, each clan having its own habitation. Spouses are not rejoined at death, but marry another person. Otherwise, their lives are the same, performing their same functions--they work, eat, copulate, and so forth."

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

28: Spiro--53
116, 787, 276

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Possession is called alusemar bwuter, literally, the benevolent alus has arrived. It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called zagogo or chato alus, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle, other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectuous so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. The become 'happy' and the entire group joins in the singing of a chapeng, a religious song, or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

I do not mean to examine the causes of possession at this time, but merely wish to point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed imeediately upon a major religious ceremony, their occurence at that time being, therefore no 'accident'. In other words, the influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are evoked, acted as a strong stimulant, in which suggestion played a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed

large quantities of toddy. The toddy, particularly the fermented kind, is a strong stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being 'high'. The persons possessed were all 'high', and very obviously under the influence of the toddy, as we shall see in a moment."

28: Spiro--54-55
116, 156, 787, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The alusengau, we have already observed, also live in the sky, at its southern extremity. They are the malevolent alus, and according to all informants, they are much more numerous than the benevolent alus. As far as I could determine there are no alusengau that correspond to the Alusiang, the high gods, who existed before the creation of man. Now since the alusengau are wicked, it follows that had there been no evil people there would be no alusengau. This means that the only alusengau are those who formerly were mortals. All natives agree that there are many more alusengau than alusemar, the implication being that there are more evil people than good, a point to which we shall have occasion to address ourselves later. It is also universally agreed that the incidence of women alusengau is much higher than that of men, and they are not only more numerous, but they are the most viscious.

Not all the alusengau, however, inhabit the sky. Some evil souls are directed to live in the ocean, about the reef, and these are known as alusetat, literally the alus of the ocean. The alusetat are, it is agreed, more evil than those who inhabit the sky. (14)"

"14. According to Freudian symbolism that the ocean, or water in general, is a female symbol, particularly a mother symbol. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the female alus and the ocean alus are universally accepted as the most evil."

"There is a third category of alusengau, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the alus of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these alusliol. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim--to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however,

is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57
116, 775, 825

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The alusengau, it might be added, are also responsible for all dangerous and noxious creatures--they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, etc."

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--58
116, 776, 157, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59
116, 776, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--59 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 164 Ifalik

"We shall examine the diseases, classified under tamai-le-alusengau and give a short description of the therapy employed. It should be remembered that in all these cases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, in the form of a spirit possession, and the therapy consists of exorcising this alus.

(1). Maliel: This is an infrequent, but fatal illness. It is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine (19) after which his face is covered with a taro leaf, a small flame is held over the leaf, and a chapeng is sung. (20)

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It is a very sore back, preventing the person from rising. Medicine of herbs is heated very hot, and is held over his

---

"19. All medicine consists of herbs or leaves of specified plants, which are stirred into water or coconut juice, and consumed by the patient. Unfortunately, I did not collect the names of these plants.

20. The chapengs for all the illnesses will follow the complete catalogue of disease."

back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceeded by a chapeng.

(3). Metageserae: This is relatively frequent and fatal. It consists of pains in the stomach. (21) The patient is given medicine to drink, and a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a cocopalm over the patient.

(4) Imailolo: Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) Metageleperei: This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) Mesatat: This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient."

"21. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities, and unquestionably include ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused."

28: Spiro--60 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 753, 164 Ifalik

"In the category of diseases caused by the alus are three others, but they are classified separately from the six enumerated above, for these six are fatal, and the others are not. That is, my indication of fatality means that despite treatment a high percentage of the patients will die, though some are cured by the therapy. Were the healer not to perform the cure, they would all die. The others caused by the alus are not fatal, even if the cure were not to be applied. These are a broken bone (ebung), which is set, and a cut (kopitok) on which I have no information. While we were on Ifaluk, all bruises and cuts--and there were many--were brought to us."

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics-- one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

"The second category of disease comprises those caused by Meselipik. Now Meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. I don't know whether to refer to Meselipik is 'all same cold', so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by Meselipik. As far as I can determine Meselipik is the personification of chills. His origin or creation is unknown, but he is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. He is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1). Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3). Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. He is cured by the consumption of medicine, and the singing of the chapeng, while the coconut palm is waved over him.

(4). Gilicha: This characterized by red spots covering the body, cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is Luegoba, in which are subsumed all skin diseases, yaws, gangosa, leprosy, which are not fatal, and for which there is no cure. These

are caused by the land, that is, by dirt. (22)

The chapeng for the various diseases follow. These chapeng can best be translated by incantation, as opposed to some others, which are hymns."

"22. A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by these sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

28: Spiro--60-61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 157, 761 Ifalik

"On the other hand death wishes do exist, as the TAT reveals. A great number of people perceived the human figures in the pictures as dead. This of course, is not [61] the only possible interpretation of such perception. Dead people may not only be hostile death wishes, but may be personal identifications of the people with innert, lifeless, people, as projections of their own inner psychic life. This will bear much scrutiny before a final conclusion is drawn. Apriori, I suspect, that both are operative here, depending upon the person.

In either event it would be important to know whether the people harbor death wishes against others. My field work, on this point, was sloppy, indeed. I have one notation in my field notes, dated one month after our arrival, in which Tom had informed me that if a man harbors death wishes against another, a benevolent alus will punish him by retaliating in kind. This note was tucked away in the corpus of field notes, and forgotten. I have no idea, therefore, whether this is a personal or a cultural belief, nor what the incidence of such phantasies are, nor, if this is a cultural belief, how many deaths are attributed to this fact."

28: Spiro--61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756 Ifalik

"Where therapeutic care is indicated, the procedure is as follows. Usually Arogeligar is called to diagnose the illness and its cause and to prescribe the cure. He then performs the healing. If his cure is not efficacious, others will attempt to cure the victim by means of medicine they learned in their family. Arogeligar, though the chief healer is not the only one who can perform the healing ceremonies. If others know the technique, they are permitted to do so, though they are few in number, so that in the case of the illness of Navor, her mother's brother, Mariligar, the second ranking chief, performed the ceremony."

But before continuing the theoretical discussion, it may be well to describe one or two concrete cases. Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, had been ill for about a month, and from the symptoms, it seemed like amoebic dysentary to us. Arogeligar and others brought him medicine, but to no avail, from which it was inferred that this was a serious illness, that required a chapeng and special medicine. (23)

Later that afternoon, as I was walking towards the house of Paluelimar to bring him some medicine, I met Arogeligar. He said he would perform a ceremony that evening for Paluelimar, and invited me to witness it. (24)

"23. A few days before the ceremony Arogeligar had met Dr. Burrows, and asked him if we had any medicine to give to Paluelimar. This, of course, is significant--the chief healer asking the strangers for medicine. It indicates among other things the unsureness, even on the part of the expert, concerning the efficacy of the alusemar, and their curing powers.

24. All medicine ceremonies are held in the evening. The natives explain that it is taboo to do any work immediately after the ceremony, so that if it were held in the day, the participants would have to remain inactive for the rest of the day. But this strikes me as a feeble attempt to offer a rational explanation for an irrational phenomenon, though I cannot suggest a better one."

After the men had collected their toddy, the ceremony began. Paluelimar is a chief, so that the entire courtyard was filled with people, sitting around the house. The entire district of Felarik, with few exceptions, and all his kin from the other districts were in attendance. In the center of the stage were Arogeligar and two male assistants. Arogeligar had a marmar on his head, a women's belt across one shoulder, extending in front of his chest, a cotton ball in his hair, in which were placed two white chicken feathers, and a tria comb in his hair. On his right wrist was a coconut leaf strip, and of course, his face was painted. [62]

A mat was set just outside the doorway, for Paluelimar to sit on, and Arogeligar thrust some coconut branches into this mat prior to the exit of Paluelimar.

When Paluelimar came out, he sat on the mat, and Arogeligar placed four coconuts all clinging to one stem in front of him. There was no talking of any kind, and a hush had fallen over the people. Arogeligar picked up a long coconut palm, and approached Paluelimar, reciting a chapeng in muted tones, while alternately striking the four coconuts, and bringing the palm back over his shoulder. When the chapeng was completed, he swept the palm horizontally from one shoulder blade to the other in rapid succession several times. He then picked one coconut from the stem, and holding it over the head

of Paluelimar, cut an incision in it with a wooden knife (25), and after several strokes of the incision, he plunged the knife into the coconut with a deft movement of the wrist. The coconut water spilled on to Paluelimar's head, and as it was falling Arogeligar sprinkled it over the heads of those sitting in the immediate vicinity. This 'medicine' has not only a therapeutic value, but a prophylactic one as well, so that parents sat with young infants in their arms, close to Paluelimar so that the infants could receive it. When the coconut was dry, he held it in his left hand, and cast it over his right shoulder,

---

"25. The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

leaving it lay where it fell, without watching to see where it landed. The identical proceedure was repeated with a second coconut.

Arogeligar then took a small twig of a palm branch, smoothed back the hair of Paluelimar, which was dripping with the coconut water, after which Paluelimar reentered the house. Tobacco, belonging to Paluelimar, was then passed among the people, while Arogeligar rubbed paint into the incisions in the coconuts, which remained where they had fallen, and were not moved. He then went into the house to sing a chapeng, and the people were informed to return the following morning for the conclusion of the ceremony.

The people assembled the following morning at dawn. Arogeligar repeated the coconut ceremony with the two remaining nuts. He then could make his diagnosis, which follows from the configurations of the paint in the incisions. After reading these configurations he announced his diagnosis. The illness was caused by two alus. An alusengau of Paluelimar's parental home (Vwenau) (26), was the main cause, with [63] the

"26. Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly [sic], in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

assistance of an alusetat.

This ceremony, like all ceremonies, was followed in the late afternoon by a feast, partially provided by Paluelimar, most of it brought by the assembled people, each household eating its own food.

Thus we see that the diagnosis of the illness is simple, merely being an identification of the symptoms. The diagnosis of the cause, however, involves the ceremony just described. But this ceremony is not only of diagnostic value, but is therapeutic as well, the coconut juice becoming medicine after the chapeng recited by Arogeligar.

All those who had participated in the ceremony were under the taboo of not working. The taboo is removed by the partaking of food at the feast.

The members of the lineage, however, may not work for four days."

"In case of a protracted illness, the members of the person's immediate family do not cut their hair. The person, himself, may not have his food cooked from the family fire, but has it cooked on a separate fire. It is taboo, also, for a person who is well, to eat food prepared on the fire of a sick person.

The patient is visited every day by various kin who come to talk, to bring food or to help around the house. The women gather at the house in the day, but in the evening the men and children join them, and they merely sit about, talking in modulated tones, but offering no consolation or commiseration with the victim. If the person is seriously ill, and there is a strong possibility of death, the kind alternate in sleeping in the house of the victim, or in the house adjacent to it. The natives say that they do this to keep abreast of the condition of the one who is sick. Whatever the reason, the practice was followed every night after the medicine ceremony for Paluelimar, and again for the person, whose ceremony is to be described below.

Navor, the daughter of a deceased chief, a married woman, and mother of five children, complained of pains in her stomach, which were diagnosed as metageserai and which, in this case, was probably a ruptured appendix. Various people brought her medicine, Arogeligar recited the proper chapeng, all to no avail. She was then moved from her house to the house of kin on the other island. This is a common proceedure. It is

believed that the alus might depart if the patient is moved from his own house. But her condition did not improve, and a number of ceremonies were conducted for her. She was then moved to another house, and a four day ceremony was held, the same kind that was later performed and which I witnessed. Later, when her condition was thought to be very grave, she was moved to her own house, the custom being that a person should die in his own lineage house. A few days after her return home, the ceremony for metageserai was performed, in which Maroligar officiated. The ceremony was repeated on four successive nights. It is held inside the house, and all the kin of the person and the kin of the spouse are in attendance, at least on one of the four nights. The immediate family participates on all nights. Maroligar wore a strip of green coconut branch about his neck, and a cotton headdress in his hair. In his right hand, he held the medicine, which was comprised of herbs enclosed in coconut bark, attached to a coconut branch. Before beginning the chapeng, he dipped medicine in some water, and had Navor drink from it as he squeezed it into her mouth. He then began the chapeng, assisted by the assembled people, while he waved the medicine bundle over the patient, who lay prostrate before him. The motion is really a throwing motion, as if he were to throw a spear. He clasps the medicine over his shoulder, and then shoots it out over the patient, circling it constantly over for the duration of a line of the chapeng, then he returns it over his shoulder, and shoots it out again for a new line. At the end of each stanza, he

dipped it into the water, sprinkled some on the chest of the patient, and then began the next stanza, repeating the same movements. When the chapeng was finished, there was an intermission of about fifteen minutes, and then it was repeated in its entirety. At the [64] completion Maroligar distributed tobacco to all present, and then they sang some general chapengs.

These ceremonies are very eerie, solemn, and profoundly impressive in a weird sense. The house is illuminated by a single flame of a candle, casting its shadows in fantastic forms about the house, while the atonal music, and the words of the chapeng cast a never-to-be-forgotten spell on the observer. The people were all solemn, no one talking or laughing, and the mood of the adults permeated to the children, for they were quiet throughout the entire proceedings, which is rare indeed for them.

After the ceremony there is talking and laughing, though in subdued tones.

The reaction of the patient to this ceremony is not known, but one could venture the guess that it does not improve her morale, to say the least. The chapeng reminds her of her possible death, the severity of her illness, and of her possession by an alus, the latter being a terrifying thought."

28: Spiro--64
116, 755, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--64 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784 Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

"Though Tilitr dwells in Fatuma, he and his sons have shrines on Ifaluk, to which they often descend. Of the eight shrines, seven are for Tilitr or his sons. (28)"

"28. [See following sheet for footnote 28.]"

28: Spiro--65 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 346, 778 Ifalik

"28. [Footnote p. 65] There is one shrine in Felarik, Bwutaliwenol, in the lineage house of Nuteitei for the son of Tilitr, Wuluaro. In Rauau, there are two shrines: Bwuter Tilitr, the shrine of Tilitr, which is inside the public house, the fanap of Atelu, and Bwuter Tiliwetan, the shrine of Tiliwetan, a son of Tilitr, that is in the courtyard of the lineage of the Uelepi house. There are four shrines in Falalap: Bwuter Talewearo, a son of Solal, and Bwuter Tilitr. Except for two of these, the shrines are merely circular mounds of white, smooth sand, surrounded on its circumference by rocks, with a medicine plant or two in the center. In case of illness, tobacco or even lavalavas may be offered to the alus to help exorice the alusengau. The shrines are made of sand because Tilitr does not like place 'all same wet and stink', which is the earth. He likes only dry and clean places.

The main shrine is Bwuter Tiltitr in Falalap, for here all the major ceremonies are held. It, too, is a shrine of sand, but in addition has four upright sticks, which represent Aluelap; Lugeiligg, his son; Olophat, his grandson; and Tilitr.

Bwuter Tilitr in Rauau is in the fanap, and is a platform, with sides about a foot high, on which are placed tobacco, and from its upright poles always hang offerings of lavalavs.

In Falalap one shrine is a small model house, in which hang offerings of lavalavas."

28: Spiro--65 [2]
116, 796, 805

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Having neither calendars, nor formal reckoning of time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chief at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious."

28: Spiro--65-66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 755 Ifalik

"The first ceremony we witnessed, a medicine making ceremony, is called only at the command of Tilitr himself. (The chiefs say, Lugeiling.) An inhabitant of the dwelling in whose courtyard is the Bwuter Tilitr on Falalap is possessed by Tilitr, who informs him that the ceremony should be held. In this case a very old man, completely disabled, was possessed, and the two day ceremony was called and held on September 19-20.

The ceremony started in mid-morning, and as we approached the Bwuter Tiltr, men and women were seated around the sand shrine, singing a chapeng, and pulling a rope of grass back and forth around the circumference of the sand. From the house, in whose courtyard the ceremony was to take place, the old man who had been possessed was still uttering unintelligible sounds, and at times would burst into song with the people outside.

At the same time other people were assembling, and on one side of the court, [66] a number of young men were husking huge quantities of coconuts. When all the people had arrived, the ceremony began. It is to be understood, of course, that every one attends these ceremonies, so that the entire population was congregated within the courtyard, sitting about the shrine, facing it, men and women sitting apart. The people were 'dressed up' in their lion cloths and skirts. They were all quiet during the ceremony some exhibiting a very profound reverence. Even the children were quiet desisting from the usual horseplay. Arogeligar, the officiating priest, then gave orders to make the medicine and the young men, who had husked the coconuts, opened them, permitting

their juice to run into two large metal vats. When this was completed, the angorik and warung (or maybe other plants, I'm not sure) were mixed into the coconut juice to form the medicine. Arogeligar then sprinkled this medicine on the people, in all four directions. The young men, then passed out coconut shells to the people, filled with the medicine, which they drank. The medicine had a very pleasant ginger taste, given it by the plant.

When the medicine had been consumed, a young man, one of Arogeligar's assistants, stood in the midst of the assembly, and sang a chapeng, while waving two of the medicine plants to and fro. He then sat down, took a branch of the same plant, dipped it in the medicine, and as people gathered about him, he sang the next verse of the chapeng, while circling the branch around his head, continuing this until the verse was completed; whereupon he dipped the branch in the medicine once again, and went on to the next verse.

When the chapeng was completed, the ceremony was over. Now the people all joined in the farewell to the alus, which ends all religious ceremonies. It is shouted in a shrill kind of stocatto, rising to a crescendo at the tayokidis at the end, and ending with a trilled whistle."

28: Spiro--66
116, 533, 755, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--66-69 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -10
116, 539 Ifalik

"The following chapeng is the song sung at the ceremony that we witnessed in September, the two day affair. It is in the nature of an invocation. The text was collected by Dr. Burrows and the translation is his.

I

Nite-it is nite now.
Today when morning comes
the god Tilitc will talk to us all.
Hearken, people of high or low degree!
I was sent to listen to your talk.
I have come and found that all is well.
First I was sent down
to the chief of the nether world
to learn his bidding and ask his help.
He will look after you,
so will my son Tilital.

The coming of the god delights the people,
they gather to see the man he possessed.

First the god speaks from the housetop,
calls to the people to wake. [67]
They all rise from their mats when day is dawning,
when the sky is growing bright
Eager to hear what the god has to say.
All long to hear the words of the god.
When the sun is past the zenith
all the women gather flowers
Bring ritri flowers to the shrine.
If any fail in this they may sicken,
All will suffer unless they come.
Tilitc and Tilital.

Pelele and Laliaro did
not heed the god's words and fell sick;
He cured them by giving them new names.
He wants an end of all evil talk.

II

We are all weary waiting for the god.
'What nite is he going to come?
He has not yet appeared.
As they sing to him, the people grow afraid.

Tilitc and his son are like the wind.
When any of our people are lost at sea,
Rain or shine they go to find them,
Search the seas for the canoe.
If they do not find it in one direction they try another.
At last they find the castaways.

He comes down from Lengilialo
Back from his search comes the god.
The men want to sing for him;
All rejoice at his coming
Down from Lengilialo.

He tells the women to dance for him.
All the people rejoice together.

III

He leaves his home in the sky
To come to us here on earth,
Coming along the road of the gods.
He finds us obedient to his commands.
He sees a fire, hears someone singing to him in the nite.
His son Tilalo comes with him.

Listen all you people!
If you do not heed what the god says
Sauteti and Saurek will come after you!
The god comes to frighten them away.
When he appears they scurry off.
The god's sister, Leurulalo, asks him to help us.

'You have my word,' he told her.

IV

Our chief remembers well what the god said,
When he appeared before all the people. [68]
The chief praises Tilitc,
In words well pleasing to the god.
Praises him and divine family.
The chief thanks the god and bids him farewell.
Now we will experience happy days.

He roams over all the islands,
All the length of the Carolines.
He visits Truk and Yap
To see that people behave as they should.
He watches over our boys working (for the Japanese) at Yap.
And all the length of the Carolines,
He gazes about as through a telescope.

He can see everywhere.
He has not come back from his voyage.

He goes to visit Europe,
Goes all about that continent.
Long he looks about their [sic]
like a curious traveler
To see what they are doing, what the fighting is about.
Then he leaves that land and comes back to us.
'The war will soon be over now.
'The end of the fighting is near.
'Do not be afraid any more
'Soon the Americans will come.
'All you women and children who brought me flowers,
Fear no more.

V

The god is resting in Langiliolu
At his house Ngiligejap.

The people want to invoke him,
how many moons before he comes?
They come to his earthly house
All the people of this island,
Waiting to hear his word.
If he comes, he will summon them.
A woman brings flowers
To bedeck the rod on his shrine.
The long leafy branch of aro
is dipped and twirled in time to the song,
The aro that gives health.

The god came down from Langiliolu
To tell us to make medicine
So that nobody would be sick.
He said, 'Since you heed me, you will thrive this month.
All are healthy and wise while he is here.
They heed well his words.

The flower for the god is the warong
Tilitc give us your benediciton.
He goes to find a blessing for us,
Finds some gift to bring us.
Far and wide he roams in search of a blessing.
Some do not understand,
Do you know what a gift he will bring.
Whatever is good in distant lands he will bring us. [69]
He travels like a wind.
He goes to find all lost mariners.
He has little time to linger here.
He must travel about like a wind,
The wind that blows on lost sailors,
The wind that blows them home.
He watches over sailors far from home.

Like a great sea bird
He flies over the canoemen

(1947-48) 1949

Ramale and Tilvwemeau.

'Do you know where your course lies?
'You are going astray, you will drift off.'
They thank him for coming to save them,
Iletigi and Ilearo. (the women in the canoe with the men above).

The farewell is to Aluelap, Lugeiling, Wolphat, Solal and Tilitr.

Good-by now, good-morning my chief, good-morning my chief.
(addressed to Solal)
Good-by, oh my chief, who dwells in the heavens.
(addressed to Aluelpa)
Good-by, good-by,
I return, and the people depart, good-by, good-by, good-by.
(this spoken by Tilitr, who continues)
I am lonesome for my chief (Aluelpa), for he is my mentor,
my protector.
Depart. Your chief is weary, he has descended to the earth,

But no mortal has come.

(Tilior to Tilitr)

Descend, you descended to Ifaluk, and protect its people
and its chiefs, (Aluelap to Tilitr)
Protect them from the arms of the Americans and of the
Japanese,
Instruct your people to make flower garlands, and to
place them on your alter.

It is finished,
It is finished."

28: Spiro--69-70 (1947-4[illegible] 1949 Woleaians
116, 755 Ifalik

"With the farewell, the morning ceremony was over [WPM: see p. 65] and the people returned to their homes. In the afternoon, they reassembled, the sexes again sitting apart. Arogeligar's assistants each took a plant, soaked it in the coconut juice remaining from the morning, and then squeezed it out into individual coconut shells, to be consumed shortly. They then jerked their arms over their heads in a precipitate movement, so that the juice was sprinkled onto the people sitting around them.

One of the officiators then dipped a branch of the plant into the medicine, and accompanied by two other officiators, he chanted a chapeng while revolving the branch about his head in a clockwise direction. He then dipped the branch into the medicine, and revolved it in a counter-clockwise direction. When he finished, the farewell hymn was sung, ending the ceremony proper. [70]

The medicine was then distributed among the people, first giving some to Dr. Burrows and myself, and then to the natives. The medicine had an oily texture, and tasted like a western laxative.

While this medicine was being distributed, Arogeligar lighted four cigarettes, and placed them in the sand of the shrine, as offerings to the alus. He then sat immersed in meditation, looking up towards the sky at intervals.

When the medicine was consumed, tobacco was distributed among the people, and Arogeligar made a speech exhorting the people to obey the chiefs, and to obey Dr. Burrows and me."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

28: Spiro--71
116, 755, 796

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No ceremony was held for over a month and a half. On November 27, a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, but only the people of the Felarik district were in attendance. It was held, as usual, at bwuter Tilitr. When we arrived, we saw the alter surrounded by red and white colored maramar, which were distributed among the people, each receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the times, which we shall explain below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the times. The times are coconut mats, made of young coconut branches, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the Times, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the alus and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. Times, therefore, may very well be a contraction of itoae mas, 'not die'."

28: Spiro--71-72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 539 Ifalik

"The name of this song is Aluselitimes, and is traditional.

Sickness and devils: Depart, depart
Depart from this island of Ifaluk,
Depart.
Cease! all illness that comes to these shores.
Depart Maselepi and Tria. (Maselepi seems to be the common cold.
Do not enter, Nesuaregeruch, Tria is a slight illness that comes to
Oh you mighty devil. those who do not excuse themselves when
If you come, be you thwarted. they walk above those who are sitting.)
If you bring illness, may it
be turned away. (nesuaregeruch is a devil).
Depart Nesuaregeruch, Mesuanepelap. (Two devils)
May illness visit us not in the future.
If, you come, you will surely die.
Come not, you cough,
for if you come, the tarewa will devour you. (Tarewa is a big fish)
Oh you illness, come not directly, but be deflected from your
course, as a drunken man.
If you come, Times will rise, and you will be thrust aside.

Come not on top of our houses.
If the devil comes, he will surely stumble.
If illness comes, Times will surely protect us.
The mouth of Maselipik shall not open. (to eat people, or give them illness).
If illness comes, I hover over the men, and the illness will depart [72]
I turn to the gods, I sing their song, they will surely remove the illness.
Oh, wave, and remove the illness.
People will not die, they will not be cast into the ocean.

(When a man is ill, Arogeligar drives out the illness by waving a coconut leaf over him. The Times serves this function for the entire population).

The ill will not die. They will remain here as does the ground.
If illness comes, it cannot prevail.
If illness comes, my song will encircle me, and protect me.
(the song is like a magic circle, protecting those inside it)
If I take ill, the god will come to me.

Myriads of illnesses will not enter me.
Many illnesses will not prevail against me, for my song protects me.
If a man should fall sick, he shall not succumb.
The god will protect me.
He will protect me as a barricade against the illness.
Go! (says the god to the illness)
Illness will not see you.
Do not enter that man.
Do not enter. Do not enter.
You are not powerful.
You, you, you (to the devil)
enter not, enter not.
Enter and die. (The song of the times will kill the devil).
These people will not die, nor will they ascend to the heavens."

28: Spiro--72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 539 Ifalik

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!
This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--73
116, 428, 756, 158

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

28: Spiro--73-74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756, 868

"The incumbent in the office [WPM: of Tamon Alusuia. See p. 73, paragraph 1] trains not only his successor, but also a number of others who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies, and at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, for whose exorcism his medicine is not sufficient, he asks them to bring medicine they know, or that they learned from their parents.

When he is called in to heal, it is with the understanding that he is to be payed if his healing is successful, but he received nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava, or rope, but there is no stipulated amount. [74]

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing he also receives payment for teaching his songs to his assistants. This, Dr. Burrows suggested to me, might imply a concept of ownership in the songs. When I questioned him on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and the payment he received was for his time, so that he is payed approximately the amount of rope or fish or lavalava that he might have been expected to manufacture in the time devoted to the instruction."

28: Spiro--74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"Aside from the alusemar already described, there are special alusemar for the different economic specialities, so that the alusezenap, are the alus for the carpenters, and the alusepalu are the alus for the navigators. These alus are members of the same family and dwell in the sky, near the abode of Aluelap. Aluluei is the father of this illustrious family, and is the chief navigator in the sky, as well as the patron saint of the navigators on earth. One son, Paluelap is also a navigator, Selangli is the master canoe carpenter, Alulemas is the repairer of houses and canoes, and Faravai is the weather expert. Each of these sons is proficient only in his own specialty, and is completely dependent upon the others for assistance in theirs.

The specialists on earth turn to these alus for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These alus are the recipients of a token-sacrifice known as io-io. (29)"

"29. Sarfert incorrectly calls these banewan. The banewan is any gift a person gives to another, whereas the io-io is a token gift offering to the alus."

28: Spiro--74 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"There are four alusto whom io-io are offered, three of the four being offered to the specialist alus. Lugeiling is the other alus who receives a io-io. The person who brings medicine to a sick man, whether he be Arogeligar or any other person, offers a io-io of coconuts to Lugeiling, asking him at the same time to ensure the efficacy of the medicine. A short time later he offers a io-io of food, which is placed in a special dish, and later thrown away."

28: Spiro--74 [3]
116, 776, 782, 335

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

28: Spiro--74 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 396 Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--76
116, 821, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, it is controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, then an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators, know the technique. The person sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them collected by Dr. Burrows follows:

Incantation to drive away a storm

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near dark clouds!
Stay far away!
No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather turn aside!
Die away,
Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. I quote this one because it is typical. They are all attempts to control the elements by magic--that is words and gestures. It will be noticed that the bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency but is conceived as an autonomous entity."

28: Spiro--76 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 784 Ifalik

"Part of any people's Belief System is a number of taboos, the violation of which results in some undesirable consequence. As far as I was able to determine, the consequences of taboo violation are automatic. The alus do not punish the people for taboo violation though it was they who instituted the taboos, Aluelap ordaining all taboos except the incest taboos, which were ordained by Autran. It seems rather that some inherent causal relationship inheres between the taboo and its consequences, so that none of the natives I spoke with attempted more than a feeble attempt at a rational explanation.

The native term is etap. I have already referred to a number of taboos in the course of the text, and will have occasion to refer to others. But at this point I should like

here to underscore the observation made above, that ritual multiplies in those areas of culture that are relatively uncontrolled or are held in great value. (32)"

"32. It is obvious, of course, that the listing of these taboos in catalogue fashion does not imply that they were obtained that way. It is of methodological interest that if a native is asked to name as many taboos as he can, he will name two or three at the most, and no probing will aid him in recalling any others. For example, in discussing food habits I asked the four men with whom I was speaking, whether Ifaluk observes fasts, and I received a negative reply. But that very afternoon, I observed that the men were working on the hull of a canoe, and could not eat, as food was taboo. Almost all the taboos recorded in this manuscript were obtained by actually observing them in the course of my stay on the island."

28: Spiro--77 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 784 Ifalik

"In our entire stay I discovered only one taboo that involved the idea of holiness or sanctity per se, rather than being connected with a very pragmatic activity. That is, the plot of ground, known as Atelu, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the fanap is located, is considered sacred ground, and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one is supposed to tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even typhoons. We discovered this purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, and still the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades continued, and both the natives and the anthropologists were very surprised. One afternoon, I observed the natives moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use, that we had been using part of Atelu as our private lavatory, and that perhaps that is why the rain continued, since it is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain. (33)

"33. That afternoon, I walked into our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confrims the validity of the taboo for the natives."

All the other taboos are concerned either with illness, or with construction work; or the food quest, particularly fishing; or with dangerous physiological processes, such as birth and menstruation."

28: Spiro--77 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 538 Ifalik

"The arts: The arts on Ifaluk are sparse.
Oral literature is negligible. The myths and legends are few, (34) and are known only by the chiefs and by Arogeligar. There is no taboo on their public knowledge, but the people seem to show little interest in them. There are no invented folk tales, all narative being real or true, so that there is no category of fiction, of stories invented and told for amusement. Nor are there any riddles, proverbs, or sayings, that we generally classify as part of a people's folklore."

"34. The collection of myths and legends will be published separately."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--78
116, 533, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though composed by women to be sung at specified occasions, the men know the bwarux and sing them often. In the evening when the young men congregate in the canoe houses, one of the favorite activities is the singing of some bwarux, which affords them great amusement, and whose words elicit the same undercurrent of tittering that the corresponding activity evokes in our culture. Women too, sing bwarux when working together in the house or in the malum, that children, both boys and girls, are exposed to them at an early date."

28: Spiro--78 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The aruaru is the second category of songs. This is a miscellaneous category that includes lamentations for the dead, songs of praise for good chiefs or skilled fishermen, shanties, fishing and construction songs, and others. These do not seem to be very popular as they are not sung as freely as the bwarux or the chapengapeng."

28: Spiro--78 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The chapengapeng (usually shorten to chapeng), including all religious songs, whether they be the incantations for the ill, or the hymns sung at the medicine ceremonies. These are popular, for they are not only sung on the appropriate functional occasion, but like the bwarux, are sung by individuals sitting around their homes in the evening or in the canoe-houses.

The music to which these songs are sung is simple. The scale has only two notes, and there is rarely more than a half-note interval between notes. Furthermore, it seems that all songs in any of the three categories are sung quite similarly, that is there is no tune appropriate to any one song, but rather, all songs are improvised within the traditional two note scale, so that no song is ever sung twice identically."

28: Spiro--78-79
116, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described the dancing performed at the medicine-dance in our discussion of religion. There is another dance, the Ur, which is also a religious dance, which is performed standing, and is not performed as part of a ceremony. Its purpose is unknown, as the natives say it was borrowed from Ulithi and Woleae.

We witnessed this dance at the request of Dr. Burrows. At one of the public meetings, the chiefs announced that an Ur was to be held in the not-too-distant future, and that the men should begin rehearsing for it. The rehearsals took place every night for at least two weeks before the dance. Each district held its own rehearsals, and at the formal dance itself, they danced by districts. Each district has at least one man that is recognized as an especially good choreagrapher, or as knowing the dances especially well, and it was he who led the rehearsals.

As in the medicine-dance, the men wore skirts of coconut leaves while dancing, and here, also, the same reason was given for this practice-- 'from before, before.' (musuwe, musuwe). Only the young and middle-aged men took part in the dances, since some of the movements are strenuous, and an older man could not last long in the pace. I shall make no attempt to describe the dance, since Dr. Burrows is making a special study of this, as well as the other arts, except to tell its general nature. The men stand in a row, facing the audience, though there are movements which require them to kneel.

But even the standing dances, involve no mobility, all the foot movement being a kind of intricate pivoting, and a simultaneous movement of body and arms. The men themselves sing a vocal accompaniment to their dancing.

The rehearsals are great fun for the participants as well as for the 'galery.' [79] They are held in front of the main canoe houses in all three districts, and the women and children, as well as the older men, assemble to watch the dances, praising, or criticising a dance or dancer, as the case might be, or making wisecracks. The young girls are kept busy tending the fire, since the coconut branch fuel is consumed rapidly."

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husband's anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--79 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"When the chiefs were satisfied that the dancers were adequately prepared, they announced that the women should prepare food the next day, and on the following day the dance would be held. The dance [WPM: The Ur, see pp. 77-78] was held in Rauau by the central canoe house. The dancers were dressed very elaborately. They wore the coconut leaf skirts, of course, as well as the women's belts. Their faces were painted, ankles and arms were decorated with coconut strips, and around the necks were coconut leaf necklaces. A ball of cotton was attached to their hair combs, and in the cotton were inserted two white chicken feathers. The entire body was smeared with turmeric. The only two colors used were red and white, though there are other colors available. Certain individuals added other decorations of a personal nature, which included anything gaudy or garish they might have possessed.

The Felarik men danced first, followed by the Rauau men. After the dance, the food which was brought by each household was distributed by the chiefs, as was tobacco that the chiefs had contributed. (36)"

"36. As usual, we contributed beef, tobacco, and perfume."

28: Spiro--79-80 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Another dance is the laura dance that is performed with bamboo sticks, though the scarcity of bamboo on Ifaluk dictates the use of sticks of any hard wood. This, too, was performed at the request of Dr. Burrows, but unlike the ur, was performed without rehearsal, and has no religious significance. It is a young-man's dance, and the one we witnessed was performed only by the young men of Rauau and, Falalap, those of Felarik not participating. The la-ura is performed in a standing position, again to the accompaniment of their own singing. The men stand in two rows, each having a partner, and strike their poles against the poles of their partners in complicated gestures, while moving their feet and bodies in the patterned formations. [80]

The la-ura was performed very informally, and without any great interest. Neither the observers nor the dancers seemed to display any real enthousiasm, and the dancing began before the arrival of the chiefs, something which is never done for something important. After the dance, coconuts and tobacco were distributed as usual."

28: Spiro--80
116, 532

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ifaluk has practically no plastic or graphic arts in the strict sense of the term. Since contact the people have been encouraged to carve wooden statuettes, which are traded for western trade goods. They are called lios, and are made by the young men. They are distinguished by their almost monotonous similarity, all the men making the identical figures, with only minor variations. All these figures have disproportionately, large flat heads, and flexed knees. Practically all the figures are male. But those figures have no native use, and the people look upon them as just another Western eccentricity.

The only native carving, of a representative value, is the wooden phallus attached to the front pillar of the fanap.

Native graphic art is lacking, as well. In some of the canoe houses, there are painted figures of men and fish, but these have been made by the young men who had returned from the Japanese school in Yap, where they had received some training."

28: Spiro--80 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 531 Ifalik

"Though there are no 'fine arts' in the atoll, there are, of course, industrial arts, as we have seen, and some of these display very fine decorative art. The canoes are painted with fixed color and design patterns. And it is this fixity that is most impressive. Not only is every canoe made the same, according to the same design, but every canoe is painted identically the same as every other canoe. No one diverges from the cultural pattern. This design, it is of interest to observe, is universal in the Western Carolines, as is the actual structure of the canoe."

28: Spiro--80 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 286 Ifalik

"To be noted finally, are the women's skirts. These are woven on a true loom, though the origin of the loom is unknown, as far as I know. The threads are colored by natural dyes, coral being immersed in water, and the natural color of the coral dissolving in the water to form the dyes. The basic pattern of the skirts is the same, alternating bands of two basic colors."

28: Spiro--81 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Physiological paternity, though vague and ill-defined, is recognized in Ifaluk. Pregnancy is the resultant of two causes--sexual intercourse and the intervention of Aluelap. If the couple are in love ('like too much'), then Aluelap will intervene when the semen enters the womb, and he will 'give baby.' On the other hand, if the couple are not in love, then despite sexual intercourse, and despite the fact the the semen may enter the womb, the woman will not become pregnant because Aluelap will not intervene. Thus we see that sexual intercourse is a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of pregnancy. Sexual intercourse is necessary in native birth theory, however, is indubitable. Every adult with whom I spoke, without exception, maintained that without intercourse, there could be no pregnancy. The additional factor--the intervention of Aluelap--helps explain why some women are barren, or why not every act of intercourse results in pregnancy. It further explains why a casual relationship will not result in conception, for any non-institutionalized sexual relationship--either in marriage or in the institution known as the gamar, will not produce children, because Aluelap will not intervene."

28: Spiro--81 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 855 Ifalik

"With the birth of the first child another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child, had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising children, and will not give them any more."

28: Spiro--81 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 626, 848, 581 Ifalik

"Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried sweethearts (gamar) are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The natives point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, and what difference, therefore, does it make whether they are born to married couples or to sweethearts. Thus the native name for an infant, sauwau for a girl, ligau for a boy, is the same whether its parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his sweetheart should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be scorned and called a 'very bad man' by all the people."

28: Spiro--81 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Assuming that Aluelap is favorably disposed, conception begins when the semen mixes with the mother's vaginal blood. The baby being thought of as a mass of water and blood. By the end of the third month, the head is formed, and soon after, the body begins to assume shape. The natives recognize a nine month pregnancy, and could remember no case of a premature birth. Since a two month cease of the menstrual flow is taken as a sign of pregnancy, it is a simple matter for them to know of the nine month period of gestation."

28: Spiro--81 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Babies are preeminently desired, probably more than any other single thing, so that a couple that does not have children is greatly pitied. But it is not only pity, but sadness which the people feel towards a barren woman (ulut) -- 'all people very sad, for no have baby, by'mby no more people.'"

28: Spiro--81-82
116, 843, 854

(1947-48) 1949 *

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Babies are desired both for themselves, and as a form of old age insurance. That is, babies are constantly being handled, kissed, hugged, played with, etc. The people have an inordinate desire to fondle babies, and babies are always the center of attention and of attraction in every home, and in every gathering. Babies are wanted, therefore, because of the pleasure they afford. Caring for the baby is never considered a bother or a chore. I have never seen a mother or any other person express resentment over, or anger towards, a baby because of the care and attention she must give it. It is no exaggeration to say that the adult's care [82] of the infant is a labor of love, and we might even question the very use of the term, 'labor.' I have never heard a mother complain of the restrictions on her behavior caused by the infant. A baby knows only smiling and laughing faces, soft arms and soft words. No baby is ever handled roughly, no baby is scowled at or spoken to with bitterness. To repeat, I have never heard an adult utter one word of complaint about the additional burdens caused by a new infant."

28: Spiro--82
116, 842, 843

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This great love of infants and the ardent desire to have babies may account for the relative absence of psychosomatic disturbances on the part of the pregnant mother. Neither my informants nor my direct questioning of pregnant women revealed any minor physical inconvenience, nor feelings of nausea."

28: Spiro--82 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 593 Ifalik

"Adults not only want children because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason, as providers for them in their old age. 'Suppose baby he grew up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and pappa.'"

28: Spiro--82 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. If these taboos are violated the parents would become ill.

Sexual intercourse is taboo for the first three months of pregnancy, after which it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would kill the infant. After the third month, the baby begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm the baby, but it can expand the walls of the vagina, and thus expedite the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the baby is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery."

28: Spiro--82 [4]
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Contraceptives are unknown, and if they were known they would probably not be used, since babies are desired, not avoided."

28: Spiro--82-83
116, 843, 774, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul. (ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas in the eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown.

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

---

"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

28: Spiro--83 (1947-48) 1949 Wóleaians
116, 843 Ifalik

"The natives claim to be able to determine the sex of the embryo. If the mother has a craving for coconut water, and if she feels the embryo moving in the womb, it is a boy. If, on the other hand, she has no craving for coconut water, and if the embryo's movement is slight, it is a girl."

"As between boys and girls, the latter are preferable. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but then qualified this equality by saying that 'boy more down,' expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that 'boy more down' because the girls can have babies (when they become mature, of course) but the boys cannot, and this was the decisive factor. When discussing the relative status of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasized, again, the great importance and value of children. (3)"

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]"

"3. [Footnote p. 83] One can also question the native's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement. For though it is true that only the women bear the children, the men play an equally important role in conception, which they seem to completely overlook in this regard. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occured to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, 'You talk true', and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this stiuation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology, it will be recalled that Legobub, the primordial goddess, gave birth to three children, without having a male consort. This 'virgin birth' is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but rather accepted without question.

It is possible that their knowledge of physiological paternity has been borrowed since contact, and has not become integrated into the indigenous belief. But this theory is entirely speculative, there being no way to establish it."

28: Spiro--83-84 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 844 Ifalik

"When the mother first begins to feel labor pains she retires to the house in Falalap, called Weluar, which is close to the birth-hut, Emelipen. When the pains become acute she goes to Emdipen, itself, accompanied by her mother and mother's sister. Emedipen is the only birth hut in Ifaluk. It is strictly tabooed to any male, who may not walk within 50 feet of it. Should he violate this taboo, all food would rot, and a famine would ensue.

If she is still in labor at night her relatives and the relatives of her husband hold a sial for her. That is, they assemble in Weluar, where they remain awake all night, keeping watch over her, and offering her herbs to drink should the birth be difficult. (4)

"4. The necessity of actual observation, as opposed to the exclusive use of informant was brought out very clearly in obtaining this information. I did not know whether I would have the opportunity to observe a childbirth, so I organized a committee of informants, consisting of two men and two women, from whom I hoped to obtain the information. After a great number of exhaustive sessions I was sure my information was completed. Some time after these sessions, I observed a group of young men leaving in the evening for Falalap. I asked them what they were up to, and all I could make out was the word Sial, which I had never heard of. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to explain its meaning to me, they suggested that I ask Tom. Later in the evening, I saw Tom, who explained what the sial is. I immediately departed for Falalap, but I was too late. The birth had already taken place."

[84] While in labor, the mother kneels on a mat, catching the baby in her arms when it emerges. The length of labor varies considerably, but it was impossible to receive any estimate, other than the general statement that, 'some very quick, some very slow.' Though the mother is accompanied by her mother and her mother's sister, they do not serve as midwifes, except in the event of a difficult delivery, in which case they will extract the baby from the womb. Ordinarily, however, the mother delivers her own baby. She is, moreover, not to indicate her pain by any overt manifestations. Should she cry out, she would shame both her mother and herself.

After the baby is born, the mother's mother takes it, holding it in her arms until the afterbirth (bei) is discharged. She then severs the umbilical cord (buch) with a small ocean shell, wraps it in a new lavalava cloth, and buries it at the side of Emelipen. The afterbirth is disposed of in the same fashion. Should either not be buried, and should the

mother see them, she would become ill. (5)

Should the baby be born prematurely, before the mother could get to Emilipen, the mother proceeds there immediately following the birth. Should she remain in her own home with the baby, all vegetation would die."

"5. The small shell used to cut the umbilicus is called a giligin. It is very tiny and white, and is sought by the mother in her ninth month, who then keeps it in her basket containing lavalava thread until she retires to the birth-hut. Again, this is interesting in terms of the selective nature of the acculturative process. The natives have plenty of knives, of many sizes, which they esteem very highly, and use exclusively for all purposes. But in the matter of the birth, which is an act of danger, one of the rites du passage, the older shell is retained. One apparently doesn't tempt the fates, even at the gain of greater efficiency."

28: Spiro--84 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 845,764 Ifalik

"Still births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. The mother's mother will massage its head, arms, and legs, and often this will vivify the infant. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after a brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the new-born is 'no people, only something,' that is it is still not looked upon as human."

28: Spiro--84 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 845 Ifalik

"Twins (nipwe) occur, though infrequently. At present there is one pair of twins--two middle aged women. Triplets have never occured, and the natives were amazed to learn that they do occur in other societies. There is no magical idea associated with twins, though if one should die the other is killed."

28: Spiro--85 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 844 Ifalik

"After the burial of the afterbirth, women of her own and of her husband's family bring the mother food--coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. While she is eating her mother takes the baby to the ocean to wash it, whether the weather and the ocean be hot or cold. When she returns she feeds the baby some water, followed by some ripe coconut oil. This is the infant's first feeding. The baby is then handed to it's mother who gives it the breast, more as a gesture than as nourishment, for as yet she has no milk, and usually has none until the fourth day."

28: Spiro--85 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"The baby is then [WPM: after first nursing], for the first time, allowed to rest. It is placed in its 'bed' (giagi), a pandanus mat placed on the floor, over which is placed some cloth, either the cotton cloth introduced by the Japanese, or the native cloth. The baby itself is wrapped in cloth, as a kind of diaper, and is then covered completely with another cloth. This last 'blanket' is used invariably no matter how hot it may be, so as to facilitate perspiration, for if the infant does not perspire freely, its growth will be retarded. Of course, when the baby soils itself, the diaper is replaced with a clean one, the excrements are carried to the ocean, and the soiled diaper is washed.

The infant and mother remain in Emelipen [WPM: see pp. 83-84] for ten days after the birth. During that time her behavior and treatment of the baby are strictly institutionalized. The mother and her attendant (her mother, mother's sister, or husband's mother) take the baby to the channel between the two islands to be washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is not washed in the evening lest an ălusengau make it sick."

28: Spiro--85 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Ifalik

"For its first four days the infant is fed water and coconut oil, and whatever milk the mother may have. The infant is fed whenever it cries and when the mother and her attendant think it proper. That is, if the infant should sleep for an extended period, the mother will wake it in order to feed it.

On the fifth day, the mother's milk is usually sufficient, and the breast replaces the coconut oil. But the feeding follows the same pattern--in which first water is given the infant, and then the breast. Again, it is fed whenever it cries, and whenever its mother sees that its stomach is flat or not swollen. If the stomach is swollen, it is assumed that it is not hungry."

28: Spiro--85 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"What must be stressed is the constant attention the infant receives. The mother and her attendant are at the constant service of the baby. One of them is always awake while the other sleeps to ensure that the infant's wants are immediately satisfied.

While the mother and infant are confined to the birth-hut, her family and that of her husband are busy. The men of both families go fishing every day, and their women-folk bring the fish to the mother, since fish will make her milk flow abundantly."

28: Spiro--85 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846 Ifalik

"No male, of course, can go near the birth-hut, neither her husband, son, brother, or stranger. When the mother takes the infant to the channel to wash it, the male relatives may stand on the other side of the channel and thus catch a glimpse of the baby. Any woman, however is allowed free access to the birth-hut. They bring the fish to the mother, as well as the other vegetable foods. However, even they cannot handle the baby, this privilege being restricted to the mother and her attendant. Nor can they remain in Emelipen overnight. They must return to their own homes to sleep."

28: Spiro--86 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 352 Ifalik

"The infant's father has one additional responsibility. He must build a cradle (ulol) for the infant. The Ulol has four sides, made of wood, which are fastened together as the bottom with plaited rope, to form the bottom, on which the baby is to lie. Rope is then attached to the four corners, and to the rafters of the roof, so that the cradle is suspended from the rafters, and can be rocked or swung. Eventually, when the baby is brought home, a pandanus mat is placed in the cradle, and the baby is placed on the mat, and then covered with cloth."

"At the end of the ten-day confinement, the baby is brought home, at which time there is a minor celebration. The baby and mother leave for home at dawn, accompanied by the female relatives. The latter also bring food they had previously prepared, and they gather in the house of the mother, where they eat. Men are not allowed in the house at this time, though the taboo is not too severe, because I was permitted to enter. The women merely sit quietly, conversing in subdued tones, offering a suggestion at intervals to the mother, but otherwise remaining inactive and contained, which is very unusual behavior for them. The mother and infant are the centers of attraction, and all eyes are on them.

The mother sits on a pandanus sleep mat, and does not leave the mat, except when she retires to the lagoon for ablutions. The baby lies on a small pandanus mat, which in turn, is placed on a large pandanus mat, which in turn is placed on a large coconut mat. The baby wears cloth swaddling clothes, and when he sleeps he is covered with a very stiff cloth, which acts as a head rest when the mother nurses him, so that his head does not fall back. Covering the cloth is a small pandanus mat, and this is then covered with a blanket, which completely covers the infant. Breathing under these conditions is probably difficult, but, as pointed out above, this facilitates the infant's perspiring, which is deemed so important by the natives.

At the baby's head is the same kind of fire that burns in the birth hut. A small pit is

dug in the house prior to the mother's return, in which is buried the bonito head, and on top of which burns the fire for the duration of the mother's confinement. As already explained, this fire prevents the infant from becoming ill. The fire is sacred in that it may not be used for any secular or profane purpose, except by the mother and her attendant. My attempt to light a cigarette from one of its embers elicited a chorus of sharp etaps. The women remain with the mother till the end of the day, after which they return home, and the mother and child are left to themselves, except for the usual degree of daily visiting.

The father has not as yet entered the house, and it is only after the first day has elapsed that he may do so. However, neither he nor any other person, male or female may touch the baby, or even approach it beyond the mat on which it lies, with the exception of the mother and her attendant. To do so is strictly taboo as I, again, learned from my own behavior. On the fifth day, he is allowed to hold the infant, but he may not yet pick it up by itself, since he cannot approach its mat until the end of the mother's confinement, so that the mother must hand him the infant, if she grants him permission to hold it. If he should take the infant himself, the baby would take sick. At the end of the

mother's three month confinement, she prepares a new mat, the old one is discarded, and the baby can then be directly approached. (6)"

"6. This avoidance taboo is very interesting in light of the theories of paternal sibling hostility towards the new-born. Both paternal and sibling hatred are shorn of the possibility of over expression by this taboo. One can also interpret the exclusion of the father from the birth-hut in the same manner."

28: Spiro--87 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 846, 784, 854 Ifalik

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed

cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--87 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 776 Ifalik

"After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the Ulol or on its bed-mat, the giagi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat, between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to make it sick, it is protected by its parents on either side of it, so that one of them will become ill, and not the infant.

The baby, of course sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the babies sleep through it all. And even if he should wake and be fed, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and playing of the children."

28: Spiro--87-88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 826 Ifalik

"Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut, the nourishment consisting of the breast-milk and water, the latter always preceeding the former. But the water is more than water; it is 'medicine' as well. That is the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorik, and is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother feeds water to the infant she squeezes the walewa which has absorbed the water, so that the water streams into the infant's mouth. This practice often is disturbing to the baby, because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Besides, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as its streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow. [88]

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed whenever it cries, or whenever it turns.

The breast, then, serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That the breast assumes the function of pacifier is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at the breast, or else place it in their mouths."

28: Spiro--88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-Q
116, 853, 157, 862 Ifalik

"It has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration, in which the breast is always available, that children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of children on Ifaluk are thumb suckers, not only those who have been weaned, but those who are still being suckled. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking, while others are unconcerned about it. Those opposed to the practice say that it weakens the thumb and kills the child's appetite.

Thumb sucking, then, is not only a function of oral frustration. It may be a simple satisfaction of the sucking reflex. Or, in older children, it may be a regression to the oral level of mastery. This would be particularly true on Ifaluk, in which the older child is, relatively speaking, neglected, so that the thumb sucking is a return to the security and emotional gratification of the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she lifts it from its bed or cradle, returning it to its place, when she is finished. Always care is taken to support the infant's head, so that it does not fall back. At first the stiff cloth is used which prevents the head from falling. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl. Again, I learned this the hard way, by violation of the practice, and being taught the correct way by the father of the infant I had 'maltreated'.

Only the mother may feed the baby during its first three months. If she should die, a wet nurse will be found, but not if her milk is scarce. In the latter case, coconut juice will be added to the diet."

28: Spiro--88 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 824 Ifalik

"Besides water and milk, the infant is fed some special medicine twice a day--morning and night--for the first three months. This medicine is a concoction of water in which are mixed the leaves of the ragnz, galua, and karavwan trees. This medicine is given to make the baby's 'stomach very fine.'"

28: Spiro--88 [3]
116, 853, 183

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"My informants said that unlike the ten days in the birth-hut, the baby is not wakened to be fed. My own observations, however, did not confirm this statement, which was probably a statement of a cultural norm, rather than an empirical description. For at least the first month, the mother will feed the infant often, and will wake it in order to do so. The baby is wakened by the stream of water in its mouth. Often, however, this does not wake the baby, and the mother will ease her nipple into its mouth, which automatically induces the sucking reflex, though to all appearances, the baby is still sleeping."

28: Spiro--88-89 (1947-48; 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 827, 865 Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

"This crying, however, is mild, and usually lasts but a few seconds, until the infant feels the nipple in its mouth. It is the early morning washing that produces intense crying and screaming. As we have seen, the infant is first washed in the channel, at birth, by its mother's attendant. After that both the mother and her attendant together wash the infant until the end of its second month. It is washed three times a day--morning, noon and afternoon. It is the morning bath in particular that elicits the crying response, and understandably so. In the early dawn, when the infant is washed, the lagoon is extremely cold, as I can testify from personal experience. The infant is usually wakened from its sleep, taken from its overly-warm 'bed' in which it is covered with many cloths and a blanket, and is immersed completely in the water, with only its head above water. The result is always bitter crying on the infant's part, and understandably so, for this is, indeed, a traumatic experience. Either the mother or her attendant washed the infant, after which, while still standing in the water, the mother nurses it. His screaming has been dissipated by this time, and the breast seems to be very welcome. (7)"

"7. The natives are not unaware of the pain this bathing ritual inflicts on the infant. But the mothers explain it by the refrain of musuwe, musuwe."

28: Spiro--89 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 262 Ifalik

"In its third month, the infant's diet is increased, and in a sense, this is the beginning of its weaning, though the natives do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces it into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only the fresh toddy that had just been collected is given to the infant, and even it is first diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like the solid food, it is not forced to take it, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals, until it gets to like them."

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

28: Spiro--90
116, 854, 151

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A universal feature in picking up a baby is to smell it. Whether the mother picks the baby from its cradle, or a 'stranger' takes the baby from the arms of another, she will first place her face in its belly, and its genital region, nuzzling it, and smell it with deep and long draughts. The same behavior can be no more articulated than the reasons for our kissing babies. It is a sign of affection, both the form (smelling) and the region (genital) being culturally determined. It should be remarked here, though we shall have occasion to return to this point, that the olfactory sense is very important in this culture, the natives loving highly scented odors, such as cheap perfume, and abominating any offensive odor. ('it stink too much'.) (8)"

"8. Olfactory values of course, are in part universal, and in part culturally conditioned. As a whole the natives and I agreed on those odors we considered offensive. There were two exceptions. Their preserved breadfruit emitted a rancid odor that I found very repugnant, whereas our mild American cheese repelled the natives."

28: Spiro--90 [2]
116, 854, 863, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

(1947-48) 1949

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 551, 851, 183 Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--92
116, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the completion of the weaning, the child eats the same food as the adults. Eating problems do occur, however, and the parents are indulgent with the child. If he does not care for the food already prepared, they will attempt to give him other food. If nothing appeals to him, he is 'sick', and medicine is prepared for him."

28: Spiro--92 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"As pointed out above the mother does not leave her home for the first three months after the birth. At the end of the three month period, she may go about her work, but the infant is not taken with her. It is left in the care of another adult (or adults), and is never left alone, even when it sleeps. It is never left in the care of a child, but may be cared for by an older boy or girl, sibling or non-relative. Though she is permitted to leave her home, the mother does not remain away for a long period, while the infant is still nursing. If she remains away from her baby too long, her nipples feel sore, from which she understands that the baby wants to fed. It should be remembered, moreover, that the mother is never more than twenty minutes from her baby at any point of the island."

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

28: Spiro--92 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 513 Ifalik

"The infant sleeps between its parents. It continues to sleep with them until about the age of three, or until the birth of another baby. With the birth of the baby, the older infant is not only deprived of its mother's breast, but is also compelled to relinquish its sleeping position."

28: Spiro--93
116, 842, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Infants are not only greatly desired, as we have already seen, but they are given the greatest care and indulgence possible. The infant is idealized to the point that its over-indulgence and pampering become phantasties from the standpoint of Western standards. We have seen that no infant is ever left alone, day or night, asleep or awake, until it can walk. To isolate a baby would be to commit a major atrocity, for if a baby is left alone, 'by and by dies, no more people.'

Should an infant cry, it is immediately picked up in an adult's arms, coddled, consoled or fed. Thus the baby is in a state of almost complete dependence on the adults about it. This oversolicitude extends to the two and three year olds as well, assuming that another baby has not entered the household. Should the baby fall, and begin to cry, he is immediately picked up."

28: Spiro--93-94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 858, 159 Ifalik

"To claim that the infant is king in Ifaluk is not to exaggerate the situation at all. The infant is always in control of a social situation, and easily dominates the adults, bending them to his will. Two examples from my field notes will serve to illustrate this point. Talimera, the young man who became my interpreter, and I were interviewing Nautrimar, the mother of a baby about eighteen months old. Now Nautrimar and I were very close friends, and she was always eager to be of help to me, so that the obstreperous conduct of her baby daughter was not to her liking. The baby was running about the yard constantly, shouting, and generally creating a disturbance that made it all but impossible to continue with our interview. She would catch the baby, holding it in her arms, but it would soon leave her arms to run about. Talimera would pursue her, and hold her for a while, but she would soon leave him, so that her mother would have to chase her again, and pick her up. When the infant wanted to leave her mother's lap, however, she was not restrained, and would again run away, this time, being caught by her mother's sister. This little comedy act continued for the better part of an hour. All were mildly irritated by the child's behavior, but none made the slightest attempt to restrain her, verbally or physically. The baby was in complete control of the situation.

Another example is even more telling. Tiovis, a 15 month old boy, was brought to the canoe house by his maternal grandfather Auelimar.

During the half hour I remained in the canoe house, he perpetrated the following deeds, without the slightest display of anger on the part of the adults, or the smallest attempt to restrain him. Tiovis began by pushing his hands into the face of Auelimar, pulling his beard, and then shoving his hands under Auelimar's chin, so that the latter had to strain his neck upward. He then grabbed a pole and began to strike Mawaulimar, an olderly man, who saved himself by removing himself from the scene, sitting behind a canoe. Tiovis then began to play with the rope fibre that Auelimar had in his basket. It requires much time and patience to sort out the fibres, which are to be twisted into rope. Yet when Tiovis began to mess them up so that they became gnarled, Auelimar merely resorted them, and replaced them in the basket. Ramen, a youpg married man came into [94] the canoe house, and took Tiovis in his arms, whereupon the latter did to him what he had done to his grandfather--push his hands in his face, etc.

All this while, Tiovis is the center of attention, the men laughing at his antics, and having a merry time observing them. The theory behind this almost fantastic indulgence is that the baby is completely innocent, and is not responsible for its behavior. ('no savvy nothing.'). This theory is consistent with the lack of punishment of the child, but surely it need not prevent the adults from restraining some of the infant's behavior

which is both irritating and destructive. (11)"

"11. The same theory is employed to explain the indulgence of the whims and aggressions of the abnormal children. The latter often throw stones at others, which may seriously bruise someone, yet no attempt is made to restrain them, since they 'no savvy nothing.'"

28: Spiro--94 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 865 Ifalik

"The generally accepted adult view of infants, therefore, has it that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk."

28: Spiro--94
116, 123, 858, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--94 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 863 Ifalik

"We have already described the tiolet training. The infant is not expected to control his sphincters until he can walk. It is then that his parents train him to retire to the lagoon to defecate, and apparently there is no problem involved in this training, since neither my observations, nor the reports of my informants indicated any."

28: Spiro--94-95 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864 Ifalik

"When the infant passes the 'no savvy nothing stage' its parents are concerned about his sexual behavior. Adults insist that infants engage in no sexual activity. However, I have often observed infants masturbating, or at least manipulating their genitals. (13) [95] Apparently, however, the adult's view of children does not permit them to accept the fact of infantile sexuality. Once the infant reaches the age of understanding, sexual activity is strictly interdicted. Heterosexual behavior does not occur, at least I observed none. But masturbation does occur, and is strongly disapproved of. Masturbation, it is believed, stunts the child's growth, and/or to cause illness, and a child persisting in it is beaten."

"13. Adults, do not masturbate children, and are both shocked and amused at the suggestion of the possibility. However, the adult practice of smelling the genitals may provide an erotic stimulation for the infant."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--95 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 866, 515 Ifalik

"Dependency training has its inception at this time as well. The child who can walk is expected to wash himself, for example. Often, if the child is very dirty, it will be washed by an older sibling or adult, even at the age of eight or nine."

28: Spiro--95 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 865 Ifalik

"Inhibition of aggression is demanded of children at an early age. Fighting of any kind, even in jest, is prohibited by adults. Fighting is invariably punished by beating, being thrown into the lagoon, and other forms of punishment. The same holds true for lying or stealing. The training is effective. I have never seen children above the ages of eight or nine fighting."

"Talking is stimulated by the parents. When the baby shows signs of talking, they encourage him to acquire a vocabulary. For reason, which I could not ascertain, they first teach them to count. (14)

Parents take great pleasure in their children's speech, and are praised by others for the progress their child makes."

"14. The children learn not only how to count, but the motor behavior associated with it. That is, the people often count the number of persons in a house by pointing with their lips. The children soon pick up this motor behavior.

It may be pointed out, incidentally, that lip pointing is also a sign of agreement or affirmation. The women, who were quite shy at first, would answer questions in the affirmative by pointing their lips."

28: Spiro--95 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 593 Ifalik

"Parents and other adults encourage children to walk, when they first show signs of walking, but they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may hold his hand, permitting him to walk, rather than be carried. (15) The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and the sides fan out as they extend from the base to the top. The infant is placed in it at certain times, and his standing is supposed to strengthen his legs. (16)"

"15. With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that older siblings have been observed knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

16. This structure presents a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, and illustrates the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds [96] only. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed: why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone. It was not till a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one used, that my question was finally answered."

28: Spiro--96
116, 857, 513, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

28: Spiro--96 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

28: Spiro--96 [3]
116, 869, 761

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If the culture does provide answers in traditional terms, the parents do transmit the information to the children. Causes of death, the informants said, are not asked in the abstract. That is, children do not ask about the cause of death, but do ask the cause of the death of 'X'. If the person had been ill, his death is attributed to illness. If he had died suddenly, they admit candidly that they do not know."

28: Spiro--96 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 869 Ifalik

"Children ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, and are answered in accord with the traditional body of knowledge. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portend of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house.

Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue.

A hiccough (alowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for a long time, without attempting to do anything to stop it."

28: Spiro--96 [5]
116, 828

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Dreams (tal), are inexplicable. [WPM: see p. 96, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7.]"

28: Spiro--97
116, 857, 538

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no children's stories to stimulate the child's imagination, nor any other tales of fancy."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

"We may now examine some of these patterned kin interractions. But the reader should bear in mind that interractions recorded here are empirical observations and/or generalizations. Any attempt to elicit ideal patterns of interraction from informants was futile.

Mother--child: once the mother has weaned her child, her major responsibility has been discharged. She has socialization functions, to be sure, but aside from these there is little that distinguishes her relationship to the child from that of others. The mother seems to have a more intimate relationship with her daughter than with her son. This may be a function of her responsibility to induct the daughter into female economic life. The girl, we shall see, assumes greater economic responsibility than the boy, and it is the mother that is her most important mentor. Generally, the mother's relationship to the young children is a very permissive one, so that here authority is not always readily accepted. She then may either use physical force, or perhaps acquiesce in the child's demands. For example, the mother of little two year old Velaut (male) called for him to come home while he was sitting with a group of children and myself. He refused. She then came over to where we were sitting, and he still refused. Whereupon, she lifted him bodily from the ground and carried him home. On another occasion the mothers of the children with whom I was playing asked the children to come home to eat. They refused, and the mothers could not cope with the situation. I came to their aid by

taking the children home. At times the child's disobedience provokes her into anger and punishment. As I was sitting in one house, two young boys (parallel cousins), about four and five respectively, came in while we were eating some taro. They were urged by their mothers to eat, and after refusing, one was persuaded to eat something. The other refused, and when the women urged him to eat he raised his voice and shouted, no. As his mother [98] continued to encourage him to eat, he began to imitate her behavior. At this she lost her temper, seized a coconut leaf, and was going to beat him, but he jumped up and out of the house, with his mother following. He eluded her, and she returned to the house, her temper gone, all-smiles."

"Father--child: Though the father is kept from intimate contact with the infant for some time, when he can begin to hold and play with it, his interest is as great as the mother's. After the infant is weaned, the children probably spend more time with their fathers than with their mothers. The father takes the young child to the canoe house with him, and keeps him with him for the better part of the day. The father plays with the child and even feeds him if the mother is away in the taro patch. My impression, is that the father or men in general, make a much greater fuss over the young children than do the mothers. If a child needed medication, almost invariably the father, not the mother, would bring him to me, and would ask what could be done. When a young girl would come to draw for me, the father would accompany her. During a stiff blow in the middle of November, I met Taraveliman, a young father of three children. He was very concerned and worried about his children, saying that if the storm were to drive the family out of the house it would create a real problem since one child was a baby, and another had a wounded leg. Furthermore, the third had been adopted by a family in Felarik, and he did not know how he was faring, so that, when I met him on the path, he was on his way to see the latter. Interest of parents in children is by no means confined to their childhood. Parents take great pride in the activities of their older children. Dr. Burrows collected many songs, in which the mother praises her son for some accomplishment. During the dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the

dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances, Wotriliwok, a lad of about twenty was being decorated by his mother. She was making a great fuss over him, but when he saw that I was observing them he told her to stop. Parents become lonesome for their grown sons and daughters who have gone on a trip or moved to another island, and the latter become lonesome for their parents. One of the most important reasons for inter-island travel is to visit with one's departed family. Tom called his dog by a native name, which means 'You have been absent for a long time', in memory of his son who was in Yap and had not returned for a long time."

"Grandmother--grandchild: The grandmother, both maternal and paternal plays an intimate role in the life of the child, being little different from that of the mother. The grandmother feeds, clothes, washes, and trains the child. In the house, either mother or grandmother will attend to the baby's needs. The grandmother (or grandfather) will watch the young child when he plays, to prevent it from getting into mischief. She will carry it about with her. If he is ill, the grandmother is often more concerned than the parents. In the three cases of serious children's illness that occured while we were on the island (17) it was the grandmother who seemed to be in charge of the situation. She held the child, fed it, took care of it, etc. The grandmother also helps to train the child in the group values. Talemelemar, about five, refused to share food he was eating with Taraveligar, a boy of about seven. His grandmother rebuked him, saying that the latter was the elder of the two, and hence entitled to greater respect.

At the same time, the grandmother's relationship to the child is a very permissive one. Iliakong, about four, wished to have some object, which her grandmother [99] refused her. She then became angry and began to hit her grandmother on her legs, and her chest, after which she began to pull her nipple quite hard. The grandmother accepted this in good grace, and did nothing, except to exclaim 'yok', and jokingly called her a 'male-bush.' Another example, taken directly from my field notes, will illustrate this point. I was playing with Iliakong and Talemelemar when Iliakong's grandmother came

"17. Iliakong's epileptic seizure; Arivelibung's attack by a dog; Talavusman's deeply cut knee."

out and said she wanted to wash her. When she refused, her grandmother asked me if I could influence her, but even my prestige was of no avail this time, and she continued her play. Her grandmother began to plead with her, as she had already grated the coconut, which is used for soap, but her pleading was in vain. In the meantime Iliakong had found a button, and came to her grandmother to show it to her. Talemelemar came up behind her and knocked it out of her hand, whereupon she fell to the ground, in a terrific tantrum, screaming, kicking, swinging her arms. She then picked up some sand, and was about to throw it at me, when she saw her grandmother, and threw it at her instead. This proved to be the turning point, for she then got up laughing and singing, and meekly followed her grandmother to the lagoon to be washed. And all of this elicited no scolding or punishment."

28: Spiro--99 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 604 Ifalik

"Mother's sister--child: The mother's sister, again, plays almost the same role as the mother. She feeds the child, plays with it, cares for it, etc. At time, if one did not know the actual genetic tie, it would be difficult to infer from behavior who the actual mother was. If the mother had two young children, it is often her sister who meets the emotional needs of the elder. One day, for example, a number of people were sitting in the home of Talavusman, playing with his baby brother. He was completely ignored, and looked very downcast. His maternal aunt, observing his dejection, called him to her, painted his face, and immediately he was all smiles again."

28: Spiro--99 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 602 Ifalik

"These [WPM: Mother--child, Father-child, Grandmother--grandchild, Mother's sister--child] are the most important relationships between the generations."

28: Spiro--99 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 867, 855 Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talemememar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

(1947-48) 1949

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

28: Spiro--103
116, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the rivalry. One evening, sitting in one of the houses, I saw Iliakong, but she ignored me. I began to play with one of the little girls, and immediately the former came over, laughing at me, sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her to her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she didn't eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason soon became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. The whole point of my giving her the candy and carrying her home, was to show off to the others.

Almost every day, the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two and even three to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelmar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, who fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him).

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When one threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

What they want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share it with the others. If I held one in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can't have the desired object, the other cannot, either. One day, this would not work, and they tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezabung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, and I refused to put on medicine as they were slight scratches. Talememar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it."

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

28: Spiro--104
116, 857, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interractional patterns are more cooperative than antagonistic. But the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many. At times, if I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. At times, if two children are fighting, and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusmhan and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with fear, rage, frustration, and pain all in one. Later in the afternoon, he came to have his leg rebandaged, Talemelemar came with him, and displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, told him how to hold his leg, and was most solicitous and sweet. But these occasions are infrequent."

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

28: Spiro--104-105 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 573 Ifalik

"The play group is comprised of all the boys and girls of a district. The ages may range from two or three to eight or nine. Always, however, when a large number of children play together, they are supervised by one or two girls in the latter ages. That is, two or three children may play themselves, but if a number of children [105] play, they are accompanied by two or three of the nine or ten year old girls, who act as supervisors. This is part of the girls' social responsibilities that the older boys do not share. The latter by this time have formed groups of their own."

"A few general notes on children's play may be in order. Generally, one is impressed (after long and constant observation) with the egocentricity of the children's play. (21) Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies, in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integrated or meaningful interraction, in the sense of role taking, but each child is trying to serve his own ends, which may be served by playing with others. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that the child, if he is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, will drop out of the group, and play by himself. Another characteristic is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play over a sustained period of time. They precipitately change from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Another characteristic of the older children is the randomness and/or lack of goal directed activities. When I was still new to the culture, I would ask a group of boys what they were doing, and they would answer, 'tar', nothing. When I got to know them intimately, I began to understand the truth of the remark. At the same time, their behavior may be completely random--throwing of stones, not at any target, or goal, just throwing of stones.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, but one would expect it in them, since they are still in an exploratory state, and at the same

---

"21. Susan Isaacs states this as a general characteristic of the play of children."

time their behavior is more egocentric. Theirs is isolated play, in which the contact is geographical, not interractional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which the women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on a blade of grass, laughing to himself, as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger, then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around and around the twig to which it was attached. The other boy began to play with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one."

28: Spiro--105 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 526 Ifalik

Another characteristic on all levels of child play is the absence of competitive sports, or any other competitive activity involving physical skill or prowess. One might expect to find fighting or wrestling matches, tree climbing contest, canoe races, etc., but they are completely absent."

28: Spiro--105-106
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

"On windy days, the boys make human-like figures from coconut leafs (karigeli), with long legs', and when they are placed in the wind, they 'walk' for some distance.

The older boys make kites from coconut leafs, which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, and sail them in the lagoon on windy days.

Some of the boys made a wagon, which I saw used only once. They used four wooden disks, as wheels, used long poles as the body proper, and pulled each other around, having great fun.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. A coconut stem is inserted into a coconut bud, which when twirled in the hand and released on the ground, will spin very well.

The younger children, both boys and girls, play with these tops, but do not spin them too well. Usually they merely throw them into the air, retrieving them when they fall, repeating this pattern incessantly. This retrieving pattern is a favorite one. They roll plates on the ground, balls and other objects, running after them to retrieve them. Or else they play 'catch' with some object, throwing it, or batting it, back and forth."

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--106-107 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"Another game was a semi-wheelbarrow game, in which one child would hold the leg of another, the latter thus attempting to walk on one leg. [107]

The children also had a game of 'it.' Two children would stand opposite each other at about a distance of thirty feet, and another child would be 'it' in the center. The two on the outside would attempt to hit him with a coconut leaf 'ball', and the one who succeeeded would then take his place in the center.

Playing 'house', I observed only once. Two pre-pubertal girls had erected a house of coconut leaves, and had spread mats on the floor inside. They sat outside the house, like two Ifaluk matrons, making wreaths, while a number of younger children were playing in the house, and were treated as the children of the two girls."

"Much of the play and games occurs on the beach or in the water. One favorite was jumping head first into the lagoon from the run-way that led from the shore to the over-water-head. Another was just swimming or splashing in the water, or playing tag in the water. On the beach, many kinds of activities were indulged in. A few examples might be of interest. One afternoon some children dug holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys became weary and lay down, and the girls covered them completely with sand, and then ran off leaving them. The younger children would often build and destroy one sand pile after another. The following description is a complete account of the sand play of an entire afternoon. Talemelemar (boy) and Iliakong (girl) were kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until the laps were covered. After tiring of this, they each filled a basket with sand, filled it with water, and threw the mixture into the air. Iliakong threw a basket of sand at Talemelmar who became angry, and retaliated by throwing some at her. They, both seem to enjoy this, so they continued throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire proceedure immensely. They suddenly tired of this and returned to the task of filling their baskets. When hers was filled, Iliakong threatened to throw it at Talemelmar. He screamed and ran into the ocean. He then returned and played in the sand about fifty feet from Iliakong. She knelt by me, playing in the sand, then came over and tried to

look up my shorts. Failing in this, she returned to her play in the sand, this time making a ball from the sand, and kept patting it, and shifting it from hand to hand--singing at the same time, oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumped up, threw the ball of sand into the air, then tried to walk on her hands, failed, and returned to her play in the sand, Talemelemar saw her trying to walk on her hands, and attempted to imitate her. They both decided to do it together, and insisted that I watch them. They soon tired of this play, and Talemelemar ran off by himself, while Iliakong reverted to the making of balls. Soon Talemelemar came running back insisting that I watch him as he jumped up and down in the shallow water. When Iliakong finished making her balls she ran to the ocean and threw them into the air. She then returned to pile sand on her legs, as Talemelemar began to make balls. Iliakong too returned to the ball-making, and both of them continued, almost monotonously, to shift the ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they did so. Iliakong accompanied this activity with song, coordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She made three sand balls and put them beside her basket. I touched one and accidentally broke it, at which she shouted at me, threatened to throw sand at me, and ended by burying the other two in the sand. In the meantime, Telemelemar had built a little hillock out of sand, scraping sand away from it, so that it was separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picked it up and placed it beside the ball he had made. He then made another ball and buried it too in the

sand. Then, taking the other two balls on shore, he began to pack them with great care with mud. At that point, Iliakong ran to him and deliberately broke one of the balls, but he said nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulled it away. The ball she was carrying fell accidentally to the ground, and broke, at which they both laughed uproariously. She then threw sand at him, which he dodged. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house."

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--108 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The Germans, as we have pointed out elsewhere, induced the people to make dolls for export. But no one thought of using them as dolls to be played with. Apparently the play of the children with actual babies takes the place of play dolls. However, I did observe play with dolls once during our stay. Two little girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked them what it was, they said it was a cat. Later they said it was a baby. They held it in their arms, and sung to it, as a mother would to a child. They then put it in a 'cradle' (a basket leaf), and swung it from the roof pillars. They played with this cradle interminably, constantly taking it down, and putting it back again, tying and untying the string. But this is the only doll play I had seen in our entire stay."

28: Spiro--108-109
116, 857, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Children are seldom alone, or out of the sight or ears of the adults. Usually the locale of their play is a courtyard, in view of the women, or in front of a canoe house, in view of the men. Often sit around the canoe houses with the men, doing nothing in particular merely engaging in random movement or rest. The children are not separated from the adults by age differences, and are permitted access to adult groups and activities, so that in the canoe houses they are accepted without protest by the men, and no attempt is made to create bars, or barriers. Though children and adults have differenential [sic] interests, and though there is little question as to which group is dominant and which submissive, there is no marked dichotomy between the children's and the adults' worlds. They both live and interract in the same world, though they play differential roles. It is natural, therefore, that they should play in the canoe houses, or enter them as equals of the men. The little girls may do so as well, something which the adult women may not do, for once a woman has reached puberty she may not enter a canoe house, except with the permission of the men.

A brief quotation from my field notes may illustrate this point. The behavior here described is typical of the daily routine in the canoe houses. As I entered the canoe house, three young men were making rope, as was one of the older boys. A man in his middle twenties was just sitting, while an older man was holding his baby granddaughter

on his lap, and another young married man was lying with his baby son on his stomach. Three young children were lying about. I lay down on a mat, and one of the little girls came over to lie down beside me, putting her arms about me. The baby girl began to mess up the rope of one of the young men, who only laughed, picked her up, and began to play with her. She was then taken by another of the young men, who passed her on to another, until she made the round.

One of the young boys began to make rope, the other watching him. In a little while the latter attempted to wrest the rope from the former, whereupon he became [109] angry, threw the rope at him, and ran out of the canoe house. The baby boy left his father's lap to sit on a board, and began to chew on sugar cane, part of which he offered me. One of the young men called him over, and had him puff on his cigarette. He enjoyed this tremendously, jumping up and down, and clapping his hands with glee. Another man came in, and shortly after his step-daughter came in, and sat on his lap. One of the boys now tried to pull the penis of one of the young men, but the latter rebuffed him. He attempted the same on some of the others but met the same reaction. He lay down, chewing on a twig. The little girl was singing to herself. Suddenly one of the children left the canoe house, and called to another and together they began to throw their tops in to the air. Soon the third child joined them, and they were at their games again."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1949-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifaluk too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possible on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and not sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not be lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible dereliction for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

Misdeed	No. of subjects	% of subjects	Male %	Female %
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out

practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother, rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life [sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of commiting them."

"Social scientists have recently stressed the fact that imitation alone does not explain social and cultural learning, that such learning involves a system of rewards and punishments, the former serving to reinforce positive responses, and the latter serving to extinguish the wrong responses. On Ifaluk the punishments are quite definite and tangible, whereas the rewards are diffuse and mostly psychological in nature. In other words, rewards are seldom in the nature of 'Presents.' The simple cultural fact is that there is little possibility for the concept of 'present.' In a culture in which each family is an economic unit, almost entirely self-sufficient, each such family manufactures what every other family has so that there is no division of labor which results in exchange of goods. The child, therefore, cannot be offered something which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess are his for use anyway. Presents in the form of material goods would merely be an addition of something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough so as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors operating--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is an unimportant factor, for again, given the cultural and geographical facts--the reality situation--there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any cultural goods the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being able to listen to the

radio, to see the movie, to go for an automobile ride, etc. do not exist. Others, such as being able to stay up late at night, to go with his parents to a party or to the home of a relative are not special privileges. They are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward and/or privilege following a meritorious deed is therefore, absent from this culture.

The only category remaining under reward is praise, and this is employed. The child who conforms to the social expectations, or who does something particularly meritorious, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents, but by all adults. The positive dynamics in learning, therefore, is the desire to be praised, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But this, apparently is not enough. There are negative sanctions that are even more important than the positive, though, to be sure, they may be viewed as the obverse side of the motivational coin. If one desires praise and security, one avoids blame, rejection, and ridicule. Ridicule and its resultant feeling of shame is probably the strongest factor operative in the Ifaluk learning pattern. There are, as we shall soon see, six specific punishments with which children are inflicted--almost all of which elicit shame and rejection responses rather than physical pain. Positively, then, it is the knowledge of being loved for doing the right thing--emotional security--that motivated good

behavior. Negatively, it is the feeling of being rejected, of not being loved--emotional insecurity--that soon eliminates bad behavior. 'If you do that', or 'if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig' is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicity rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six negative sanctions that are employed to punish the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful, and should be avoided. These are being beaten,[112] spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an alus, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut-leaf, never with the naked hand. The actual physical pain involved, as I can testify, is slight. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain at all. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear--fear of octopus or shark or an alus of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since he is thrown in shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an alus, though the latter does elicit fear, for the alus, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but is extremely frustrating. The children have complete mobility within their district, and being shut-in works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. It is the psychological experiencing of the punishment, as rejection, shame, frustration,

that is the dynamic force behind the punishments.

The following table is a statistical tabulation of the punishments reported by the children, giving the number of children who named any one punishment. Some named many, some none.

Table II

Number of subjects: 42
Male : 25
Female : 17

Punishment	No. of subj.	% of subj.	% of M.	% of F.
Beating	35	83	88	76
Spitting	22	52	56	47
Thrown in ocean	18	43	56	23
Confinement	18	43	44	41
Threatened with Alus	17	40	56	18
Scolding	14	33	24	47"

"The next table expresses statistically, the severity of the punishment, as experienced by the child. That is, I asked each child which punishment he disliked the most. The number of children included in this table is not the entire child population, as are the first two. Some children said that none were experienced as severe. Others said that all were equally severe. And some I neglected to ask.

Table III

Number of subjects: 24
Male : 17
Female : 7

Punishment	No. of subjects	% of subjects	M%	F%
Beating	10	41	41	43
Confinement	5	20	23	14
Spitting	4	17	6	41
Ocean	3	12	17	0
Alus	2	8	11	0
Scolding	0	0	0	0

[113] The small number of female subjects permits no interpretive results to be drawn from the differential sexual responses."

28: Spiro--113
116, 858, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Socialization involves not only the introjection of the values of the culture, it means also learning to participate in the institutionalized activities of the culture. From the moment the child is taken from the confines of his home, there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, indeed, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, an economic activity, the child, from infancy on, is a witness to the proceedings, for he is carried by his parents, when an infant, and walks himself, when he can do so. In short, there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child. He begins to observe adults behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means, that in many instances, all that is lacking for his participation is the skill or strength, not the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a strange mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities that, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture, it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from child to adult, an abandonment of one and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological growth, is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concommittently with his biological maturation."

28: Spiro--113 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 535, 868 Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--113-114
116, 462, 858, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen

going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

28: Spiro--114 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 866, 858 Ifalik

"This assumption of adult values and behaviors carries over into the freedom granted the child, the patterns of dependency in which he is trained. Children are not forced to go to sleep at an early time, but can stay up as long as the adults. They may even sleep away from home, if they have their parent's permission. But even the young men and women may not do so without permission. If a young man or woman is not home by nightfall, the parents are very concerned. This is understandable, since in a small island, someone is bound to see them at some time, and if they do not return and no one can tell of their whereabouts, chances are something has happened to them. But with permission, young and old children, alike, may sleep away from home."

28: Spiro--114 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 866 Ifalik

"Children, as we have seen, play alone in the water without adult supervision, and no alarm is felt."

28: Spiro--114 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 573 Ifalik

"As the children grow older, the sexes begin to separate. The boys form all-boy gangs, ranging in age from boys ten or eleven years old, through the very young married men. These gangs, completely informal and uninstitutionalized, are definitely local groups. On the island of Felarik, for example, there are two such gangs, one in Rauau, and one in Felarik. The younger members are part of the group, but occupy an inferior status, obeying the older ones. Each gang has a canoe-house in which it spends its time, doing nothing in particular, but sitting around, talking, playing checkers or cards and making rope. At night they assemble in the canoe houses or along the beach, where they remain until it gets dark, returning home or going to meet their lovers. In the past the boys and the young men of the district used to sleep together in the men's club-houses, but no longer do so, because of the fear of the alus, as we have already indicated. However, the young men in the Rauau gang do sleep together, at least during the trade wind season in one of the canoe houses. These young men are together constantly."

28: Spiro--114-115
116, 883, 462, 226, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--116 [2]
116, 291, 864, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--116 [3]
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2]
116, 857, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--117 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 864, 522 Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--117 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, and the men none in the presence of boys. Often, the men will engage in sexual 'horseplay' with the boys. For example, a young man or grown one, for that matter, may grab at the exposed penis of the boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with a mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was bit different from that of the natives. One other person, Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped-penis, a person might tease him by saying 'just like Talemelemar', that is, his penis is like Talemelemar's."

The adults do not explicitely threaten their children with castration, but they do so symbolically, by grabbing their penis'. (1)"

"1. I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. That the idea is anxiety laden is shown by their reverting to it much later at certain time intervals, and asking me about it."

28: Spiro--118
116, 864, 291

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--118 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 864 Ifalik

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Adult siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may and do. They sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--118 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Whether children observe adult intercourse or not is a moot point, but they do observe and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave everything when they are informed of dogs copulating. The girls, if they watch, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually stand behind a tree or a house, and watch them, laughing all the time. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty some of the dogs have in removing their penis from the bitch's vagina. The dogs would whine and yelp, and the boys would howl with glee."

"The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either private phantasies, or they are ignorant of them completely. Children and young people both, seem to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked their parents or other adults the answers to the two questions that I asked them. Some of them were embarassed by the questions, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance, and admitted to a lack of curiosity concerning the matters.

A poll of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen reveals the following results.

Table 4
Theories of Conception

Theory	No. of children
Intercourse	3
Food	3
Man	3
Chiefs	2
Good alus	2
Woman	2
Child	1
Ignorance	24

Their phantasies are most interesting, and we shall indicate them briefly. Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby. [119]

Of the three that said that the baby is created from food, one said that the husband gives his wife food to eat, from which the baby is created, whilst the others said that it is created from her own food, not mentioning the husband.

Of the two answering, man, one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, woman, one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but they become alive only when they marry.

Most of the children, however, simply did not know how babies were made, nor were they curious to know. They had never asked anyone. The same is true of the baby's birth. Most were ignorant of the birth of a baby. There were some who had ideas, however, which are shown in table 5.

Table 5
Children's Birth Theories

Theory of Birth	No. of Subjects
Vagina	8
Anus	5
Stomach	3
Mouth	1
Ear	1
Navel	1
Ignorance	23"

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--119-120
116, 841, 881, 821, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--121 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 841 Ifalik

"Again, should the [WPM: menstruating] woman not remain in seclusion, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. In this case too, vegetation would die, and the 'chief am very angry at that lady.' Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Felarik, where the Rangona tree grows, a typhoon would ensue."

28: Spiro--121 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881 Ifalik

"There is no ceremony marking the puberty of the boy. The distinction between a zari-man and a tari-man is not formally designated, and is a gradual, flexible difference, rather than an abrupt one."

28: Spiro--122 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 805, 561 Ifalik

"The people, as we have seen, do not know their ages, since they do not count the passing of time. The exact knowledge of a person's age would be useless information in this culture. There are, however, five categories of age classes, which serve to classify people, but these classes are not age-grades, and the distinctions between them are not marked by abrupt discontinuities. They merge almost imperceptibly into each other, with the exception of the change from the state of zari-rauwut, girl, to that of tari-veivel, young woman, which is abrupt, being brought on by the first menstrual flow, and marked by the menstrual ceremony. These age classifications are:

Male	Female	Translation	
		M	F
ligau	sauwau	infant	infant
zari-man	tari-trauwut	boy	girl
Tari-man	Tari-veivel	young man	young woman
Mann	trauwut	man	woman
Tuvai-man	tuvai-trauwut	old man	old woman"

28: Spiro--122 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 839 Ifalik

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publically, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (gamar). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The gamar relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his gamar presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gamar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gamar, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the gamar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the

parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--123
116, 832, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual behavior of sweethearts and of married couples is the same. Often, both man and woman will bathe and annoint themselves with coconut oil, use perfume, and generally beautify themselves. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux, for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only."

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 75
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly?', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in a typhoon)
Not too close to shore,
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-5
Ifalik

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

28: Spiro--125
116, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual foreplay may include the kiss (tiluoal), the 'French' kiss (enguloa), kissing of the breast and nipple (etut), cunnilinguis (erangitingial, and felatio (erangai).

Lovers may employ culturally patterned words of endearment to express their love for each other. The generic term, Igatrux, (I like you, or love you) is employed to express any feeling of love or fondness existing between any two people, including sweethearts. The same is true of the superlative, Igatruxamesau, (I love you to death). There are at least two terms, however, that only lovers employ--Gamararangi (I love you very much), and Atimazei (You are my liver).

Intercourse is effected in three ways--with the woman lying on the ground, and the man squatting between her legs; the man lying on the ground, and the woman on top of him; or the man entering from the rear. Orgasm (zapash) is recognized in both men and women, though it was impossible to obtain information on the relative intensity of desire in men and women. The male informants did agree that there was a differential quantitative difference in the number of outlets males and females may enjoy. Men tire after two acts of intercourse, they maintained, but women do not tire. (5)"

"5. The men may merely be ignorant of the fact that women can have intercourse without desiring it."

28: Spiro--125 [2]
116, 831, 827, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--125-127 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 838 Ifalik

"My informants knew of no cases of homosexuality or sexual perversions. (5) [127] [WPM: poem on p. 126 omitted here] Nor did I observe any. An interesting practice, however, that related to this problem is the very common practice of young men in their teens walking hand in hand. The young men are very affectionate with each other generally. They lie next to each other in the canoe houses, singing bwarux. They may stand together, their arms encircling the others waist. And almost universal is their practice of walking down the path, hand in hand. The fact that neither adult men or small children practice this habit leads one to assume that the homosexual component in these young men is quite high. Their libidinous drives are high, unlike the young children, but it finds no heterosexual outlet, unlike the men, so that it finds some outlet in these mild homosexual manifestations."

"5. Auelimar, an elderly man, said that there were some people that did not 'like' sex, whereupon the other men laughed at him, and called him 'tuvai.' (old man)."

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing (Ted[Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on
And says stand up; the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

28: Spiro--127 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839 Ifalik

"The only contact with animals I observed, and the natives do not interpret it sexually, is the suckling of infant pigs. The few times I observed this, the woman in question removed the pig from her breast, as if she was ashamed to be seen by me. On Yap, on the other hand, where this is a common practice, there was no shame at all."

28: Spiro--127 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 832 Ifalik

"Standards of sexual beauty, of course, are culturally variable, but it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since they insisted on the great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman in the TAT, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the 'big' (that is, thick) legs of another woman in the TAT. But all questioning this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex says that the women remove their pubic hair because the men consider it unaesthetic. Inquiry did not bear out this contention. It is true that many women do remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Second, the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts. The water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and will thus be noticeable, much to their embarassment."

28: Spiro--127 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 837, 548 Ifalik

"As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution. However, a woman might sell her favors. A man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him."

28: Spiro--127 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 203, 839, 684 Ifalik

"The concept of rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occured on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occured on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. (6) Eight men working on a canoe in the bush fell upon a lone woman and all had intercourse with her.

A variation of rape, ganou, is found on Ifaluk. A man will enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awake and object to his behavior she awakens the household. (7) Again, the incidence is negligible."

"6. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

7. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this situation. The women does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house."

28: Spiro--127-128 (1947-48) 1949 Wolcaians
116, 839, 864, 522 Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

28: Spiro--129
116, 831, 593, 115

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--129 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514, 827 Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--129 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 192 Ifalik

"Unlike our own culture, sexual and excretory words are not employed as obscenities, with one exception. There are only two 'swear words' on Ifaluk: Go copulate with your mother (or father). And ganizin, literally, 'I (give food) to my mother'. This is obscene, say the natives, because you invoke the name of your mother in vain, which is bad. But I am inclined to interpret the phrase in psychoanalytic symbolism. The fact that the only tabooed words are sexual and excretory, and the fact that the other 'swear word' is a commission of incest, I think it not unlikely that the frequently found equation of eating with sexual intercourse applies here, and the seemingly innocuous phrase (unconsciously) means intercourse.

The former, go copulate with your mother (father)' is used by the children when taunting one another. The latter, ganizin, is used often, and is equivalent to our dammit.' That is, if one hits his fingers with a hammer, or a fish escapes, or a flint will not give a spark, the person will often express his anger or frustration, by muttering, ganizin. In other words, it is a means of 'letting off steam.'"

28: Spiro--129-130
116, 192, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All obscene words are called 'kapat engau', literally, 'bad talk.' It is of interest to note that though there are many forms of bad talk, culturally defined, such as lying, gossiping, etc., it is only obscene conversation that is literally designated as 'bad talk.' The young men and boys have devised a special sexual vocabulary which enables them to talk about sex, without betraying that fact to others. They employ one term, chagiach, which, as far as I could determine, was a universal generic term referring to any aspect of sexual anatomy or physiology, the meaning of which depends upon the context. Aside from this generic term, there [130] are two specific terms. The native words for penis and vagina (gai and tingi, respectively) which are completely taboo, are replaced by the terms, tamoneliman, and tamolelitrauwut, in which the root tamon means 'chief,' and the roots man and trauwut mean man and woman, respectively.

Now neither of the above substitutions corresponds to our distinctions between polite and obscene forms of words. The distinction does not exist here, all sexual terms being taboo. On the other hand, there is one term which does have a socially acceptible polite term, as well as one which is taboo. Gamar, the word for lover, is tabooed. However, if the occasion calls for the mention of the concept, a circumlocution is used--tralia-mukakat. (11)"

"11. My knowledge of the language is inadequate to break this down into its component roots. The boys insisted that it was merely a nonsense term. On the other hand, tral means water, and kapat means to speak."

28: Spiro--130
116, 831, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

28: Spiro--130 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

28: Spiro- 131 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 789, 831 Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."

28: Spiro--131 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 584, 848, 837 Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

"In choosing a spouse, both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman or otherwise economically unskilled, a woman who can not cook well or is not adept at making skirts, would be considered a very poor marriage prospect. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a 'fool fellow', that is, domestically unskilled, and there have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The two desirable features that a person looks for, therefore, is economic skill and sexual attractiveness. But it seems that both desiderata are fairly universally found among all the people for an ecological study of the island of Felarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent were consumated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap. And of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent of the total chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the people marry the girl who lives next door. This has two important implications: It means that all the people of one district are close relatives, either through birth or marriage, partly explains the degree of intimacy, and cooperation that exists between them. And it also means that your spouse may have been your childhood playmate, with whom you have grown up, or a young girl whom you had seen grow from

infancy, whose every character and personality trait you know well, so that you enter into marriage with an intimate knowledge of your mate.

I said above that your spouse is a woman whom you observed grow from infancy, for study reveals that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of [132] young men as contrasted to young women.

There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women their age, and when I asked Talimera to bring me some tari-veivel to draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error. I had incorrectly guessed at the ages of the young married women. When I got to know the people, and had obtained information on relative chronological ages, I discovered that the young women, who corresponded in age to the young single men, were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the girls marry older, often men one generation removed from them. (13)"

"13. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

28: Spiro--132
116, 585

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If possible, the men claimed that they prefer to marry a virgin, but virginity is obviously very rare, so that what is preferred is a woman who has not had too many affairs. The reason for this preference is that a man would be shamed by the taunts of her former lovers, who would point out that he had married a woman with whom all of them had had sexual relations."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."

28: Spiro--132-133
116, 583, 437, 591

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

---

"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

"There are two other ways of obtaining a wife, both known as the gavato. One is child betrothal. A young man may fall in love with a young girl, who has not yet reached puberty, and wish to marry her. Being ashamed to speak to her parents of the matter, he commissions his parents to make the overtures. His mother informs the girl's mother of her son's desire, and the latter responds inthe culturally patterned etiquette, that her daughter is 'a fool fellow, no savvy nothing.' The girl's mother replies that this should be no obstacle because she will take the girl into her household and train her in the domestic arts. Should the girl's parents agree, she goes to live in the boy's house, and is treated as an aevam in the house. She may refuse to accept this arrangement, in which case she is not compelled to. Should she agree, the two households become closely knit, and periodically exchange food until she has had her third menstruation, after which she and the boy are considered married. The girl may consent to the arrangement, but after attaining puberty, she may change her mind. Her parents exert tremendous influence on her, however, by claiming that they would be shamed if she did not comply, 'Every day and every year that boy give you and me chow, you no ashamed? I ashamed. Suppose you no take for husband, I go away.' This argument usually suffices to convince her.

The other method of obtaining a spouse, called gavato as well, is infant betrothal.

Should two women give birth to babies in the Birth Hut at the same time, they may agree (if the babies are of opposite sex) that their children, when grown, should marry each other. The children, as soon as they can talk, are informed of their mothers' compact. However, when they reach their seniority they may demur from the parental agreement.

The incidence of either of the gavato marriages is slight."

28: Spiro--133 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 595 Ifalik

"Marriage is monogamous, though the informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygymy. 'We don't do that in this place.'"

28: Spiro--133-134 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 581, 462, 831 Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

28: Spiro--134-135
116, 586, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-17
Ifalik

"Divorce, zamotalax though its incidence is small, there being only eleven cases of 66 marriages studied in the geneologies, is very easy. The dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal proceedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. [1]. The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. [2]. One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. [3]. Either spouse is economically unskilled. The man is a poor provider. The woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband does not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. [4]. One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. 'No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?' An actual analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that four were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic, (malebush). Thus the man almost always divorces the woman. The actual reasons given for the divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse: four cases (2 men, 2 women)
Infidelity: three cases
Mental illness: two cases

Domestic ineptitude: one case (a woman)
Unknown: one case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are old and new mates of the same man and woman. They fish together, work together, care for each other's children, even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife, and who married her after her divorce, are warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every person--man and woman--has a lover. Now they may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of a personal projection.

Now, whether they do or do not have lovers is, of course, important, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of great psychological importance, since it shows that they think it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations

of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, was married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He was much in love with her, praised her highly, and was generally very affectionate towards her. One evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. I asked why he did not wish me to see her, and he finally confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me. (16)

There seems little doubt then that married people do have affairs. Its incidence, however, is in doubt, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that everyone, including one's own spouse, is having an affair with another person. And this knowledge

---

"16. Later that evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus."

creates no apparent jealousy or anxiety. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an illicit aspersion on his sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know. But the theoretical knowledge of infidelity is not disturbing, the philosophy being, apparently, that what you don't know won't hurt you."

28: Spiro--135
116, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Consciously, there seems to be no 'battle of the sexes.' The men told me that women are more important than men ('more high'), because they 'give people', that is, they give birth to children. 'No have woman, no have people. (Therefore), man take talk for woman.' (that is a man will obey the woman.) But this statement seemed to contradict some of the overt practices. For example, a woman who passes a group of men, lowers her head, in the same fashion that all people do when they pass the fanap. When a woman walks from one end of the village to another, she takes the back path, whereas men take the front one. When men gather to eat, women may not join them. Women are not permitted in the canoe-houses."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

(1947-48) 1949

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

28: Spiro--136 a [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 828, 764 Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--137 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 888, 561, 554 Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"

28: Spiro--137 [2]
116, 761, 775

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though old age is experience differentially, there is no dispute about death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology, which assures every one of continued life after death. Any attempt to obtain direct attitudes on death are, of course, a waste of time, since the responses would reveal only superficial, rational attitudes, rather than the deep seated, emotional feelings. The few individuals to whom I put the question, however, responded with: people are afraid to die, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families."

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

28: Spiro--137-138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 763 Ifalik

"This period of wailing continues [WPM: see p. 137, paragraph 4] every evening until the person either recovers or dies. The people go about their normal tasks during the day, showing no indication of sorrow, but return again at night, to participate in the rite. The wailing scene is perhaps the most impressive and weirdest experience I have ever witnessed. Throughout my stay on the island, I was impressed with the natives' lack of 'primitiveness'. These were people like any people I knew 'back home.' The only intimation I had of the stereotype of the 'savage', was this experience of wailing. From a distance, both physical and psychological, from which I now write these lines, it is [138] difficult to rescucitate the wailing scene in my imagination, so that I shall quote directly from my field notes, for August 25.

'We have just come from one of the most depressing sights I have ever seen. The " "sick man" has been mourned regularly, every night, for one week. During the day, however, there has been no indication of sorrow, the family going about its daily routine with no apparent concern. This evening Tom came to inform us that the man was very ill and the people would be wailing tonight, as he was not expected to live. In fact a new loin cloth had been prepared, in which he would be wrapped, should he die. After eating our dinner, we hastened to the scene of the wailing. As we approached the house, there was no one in the courtyard, except for Tom who had been waiting for us, but the sound

of wierd and mournful wailing met our ears. The melody seems to be in a minor key and is very monotonous in its pattern, the same them repeated over and over again. But what it lacks in complexity and variation, it makes up in total effect. It is tragedy itself, penetrating to the very soul. It is almost death personified in all its tragedy and sorrow.

As we entered the courtyard we were met by Tom, who brought us to the doorway, from which we could view the scene. The house, illuminated by a single, flickering candle, was filled with wailers, who were seated about the sick man. He was lying in the center of the room, with a flower garland on his head. The song being sung was a bwaruch, and as they sang, their bodies and arms would weave with the rhythm of the song, as in the love scene for which the song was originally composed. Each phrase would end with a loud, mournful, sob. At regular intervals the women would beat their chests with great force. The mother was particularly violent, tearing at her face with her finger nails.

This behavior is, of course, patterned, and it is difficult to tell whether the grief is genuine psychological grief, or merely stylized wailing. (2)

"2. Babies and infants are brought to these wailing ceremonies. Whether they are stylized or not is immaterial as far as the effect on the children must be. The abrupt change from the ever friendly, smiling and laughing adults, to the wailing, sad, ones must leave a deep impression on the children."

When the people are sure that a sick person is about to die his female relatives assemble to make a pandanus mat, in which he is wrapped at death. In the meantime, a new lavalava is brought, and as soon as the death is announced, the male relatives bring huge quantities of rope, in which the body will be tied."

28: Spiro--138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761 Ifalik

"There are five physical signs, which the natives employ as symptoms of death. The eyes do not blink; when opened, only the whites of the eyes are seen, the pupils having receeded under the eyelids; absence of movement in the belly which indicates lack of breathing; the mouth hangs opened, but the teeth are clenched tight; the body exudes excreta."

28: Spiro--138 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth, and becomes an alus."

28: Spiro--138-139
116, 764, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-7
Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of arueru. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the aro
And the wut, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end..
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die..
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

"If the person dies in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day, in which case the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse is painted red, and it is dressed in a new lavalava. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long rope-net, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and of the others is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is praticularly true of the person's mothers and spouse. In the case of the man's death, mentioned above, the mother and wife beat their breasts and scratched their faces with such ferocity that they had to be restrained by some of the other women, who forcibly held their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little effected by the scene. It is true that the children are not permitted the usual run of the yard, and the young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults will periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all 'culturally patterned'? Since I observed only three funerals, and the pattern in all three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior, and my questioning of the people as well as other evidence seemed to indicate that the hypothesis had some degree of validity. My informants stated that all women, for example, express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts. Furthermore, if a woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But how about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Navor, died, her husband could not perform the culturally patterned wailing. He broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling, rather than becoming channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance, Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother, the day after her funeral, as an expression of his heated feelings. Unfortunately I did not observe his behavior during the funeral itself. But whether it was then culturally or

personally expressive, this extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the practice of burning the house of the deceased is not practiced in this culture."

28: Spiro--140-141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifalik

"Another even more important psychological problem arises from the behavior exhibited in the aftermath of the funeral; but first let us take up our ethnographic story. [WPM: See p. 140, paragraph 2 and 3] When the rope-net is in readiness, the body is wrapped in it, and over it is wrapped the pandanus mat, and it is then tied with thick cord. The corpse is carried to the canoe, which will carry the body out to sea, by male kin of the deceased, while the mourners inside the house follow the procession to the canoe. The body is then wrapped in what seems like endless yards of rope, and is weighted down with stone, prior to burying it in the ocean. The female mourners, in the meantime, have entered the lagoon and continue their wailing, but the men do not continue theirs. While the body is being tied, some members of the family break the utensils used by the deceased during his illness. [141]

When all is in readiness, the sail is raised, and the body is taken out to sea, where it receives an ocean burial. The women continue their wailing in the water until the canoe has disappeared from sight. The canoe used for this purpose may not be put back into the canoe house, but must remain outside for four days, and may not be used."

28: Spiro--141
116, 764, 171, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

28: Spiro--141 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 801 Ifalik

"After the burial, a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The 'pall bearers' may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days. (4) Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give another a light. Talemera, for example, would not share the cigarettes I had given him with Woromai, after it had been lit, because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to be true of members of the family as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of the man who had died, during the mourning period: 'I am afraid dead man,' for he might make him ill."

"4. Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention taboos, as well as any other acts of supernatural import involve the number 4."

28: Spiro--141 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765 Ifalik

"The immediate family of the deceased does not work for ten days, and for four days it prepares no food, but is brought food by friends and relatives. The males may not climb coconut trees to obtain either coconuts or toddy. After the four day taboo in cooking and tree climbing, the male kin of the deceased bring baskets of coconuts to his household. The immediate family shave their heads, as a sign of mourning, and the mother continues to wail for the deceased every morning and evening for four days. The mourning is completely patterned, taking place in the lagoon, and consisting of the wailing recital of an arueru."

28: Spiro--141 [4]
116, 765, 784, 551

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

28: Spiro--141 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Finally, I accidentally discovered a taboo which applies to certain specific people, and which lasts during the four day mourning period. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece. She extended her hand, but Tom, who was with us, would not permit her to give it to me. It seems that should any living person have had the same illness from which the deceased dies, he may not share his food, for the four days of mourning, with others."

28: Spiro--141-142
116, 622, 765, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

28: Spiro--144 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 264 Ifalik

"People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, as they please, when they awaken. And they eat whatever happens to be at hand-- a coconut, or leftover food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about 9:00 by anyone who happens to be present."

28: Spiro--144
116, 512

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the daily routine varies seasonally, and even daily and though it varies from individual to individual, and according to age and sex, certain over-all patterns may be described.

Usually the entire population is up at dawn. The first to get up are the mothers with infants, for they must take their babies to be washed in the lagoon. If a woman has decided to work in the taro patch that day, she rises with the crowing of the cocks. Men and women wash in the lagoon upon waking in the morning, unless the woman is going to the taro patch, in which case she waits until her return. The young men and women do not usually wash until the afternoon. For upon rising the young men usually have the responsibility of getting toddy, and the young women go in the bush for flowers, or may prepare food."

28: Spiro--144 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 272 Ifalik

"Everyone has his toddy in the morning. A person could no more begin his day without toddy than the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the 'national drink.' There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not make toddy, he is accused of violating one of the important marital and familial obligations. Since the toddy is one of the few sources of concentrated sweet or sugary foods the people have, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, I do not believe is a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice for toddy certain conveniences they would sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rainy and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But one activity that continues, however, no matter how bad the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the big blow, which the natives called a minor typhoon, was to collect their toddy."

28: Spiro--144 [4]
116, 264, 512, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--144-145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 264 Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

28: Spiro--145 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 261 Ifalik

"Furthermore, with respect to the sheer physical fact of eating, there is no compulsive ritual about eating in Ifaluk. People eat when hungry, there being no compulsion to eat at certain regular intervals or times. As already mentioned, any person is offered food whenever he enters a courtyard. This is true of children, as well. Ordinarily, therefore, people are not famished when 6:00 comes around. Furthermore, since no one has pressing appointments, it is not necessary that everyone eat at the same time, so as to enable the individual members of the family may get away on time for an evening engagement. There is nothing that cannot wait."

28: Spiro--145 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 343 Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

28: Spiro--145 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 782 Ifalik

"Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent alus of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus were a poor protector, and illness had befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either agai-l'alus or maipi-l'alus."

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Unless there is something special the men are doing in the way of communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special committments. Usually they go to the canoe houses, where they may make rope, or may just sit around talking, (5) gossiping, and smoking (6) or perhaps take a nap. Rope making is [146] probably the activity that consumes most of a man's time. While making rope, of course, the men continue their conversations. Often, however, they just sit in the canoe-houses,

---

"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered the real reason is much more prosaic. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

6. [See following sheet for footnote 6.]"

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461,

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"6. [Footnote p. 146] Smoking is a cooperative enterprise. When a person lights a cigarette, he invariably passes it to the person near him, after he has smoked a short time. That person, in turn, passes it on, so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed. When we first arrived on the island, I not only did not pass on my cigarette, but I would put out my cigarette butt, rather than pass it on. I soon noticed the questioning look on the faces of the people at this anti-social behavior. It was not till a few weeks had passed that I learned the native pattern, and conformed to it."

engaging in no activity at all, not even talking. This is quite strange from a western perspective, where a congregation of people always leads to conversation. The Ifaluk men, however, may sit for long periods of time, just staring into space. In any event, the canoe house is the place where men spend a great deal of their waking hours. It is really, as we have already indicated, the men's club house, as well as the locale for most economic activity. That the canoe-house serves a basic social need is indicated by the fact that men never make rope at home. The twisting of rope involves no great activity nor is it messy, and could very well be done at home, either in the house or alongside it. The reason for going to the canoe-house, therefore, is entirely for the purpose of conviviality."

28: Spiro--146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

28: Spiro--146 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 561, 868 Ifalik

"In both the case of men and of women, age differences imply no social differences. An older woman might be requested by a younger woman to examine the skirt she is making if she has a difficulty. A younger man may ask an older man for help on a fine point in the making of a fish trap. But, in all cases, there seems to be no social differentials based on age."

28: Spiro--146 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854 Ifalik

"Both men and women may take charge of the children. The older children, of course, play by themselves. The infants are cared for by their mothers. But those intermediate may be taken to the canoe-houses by the men, or by the women."

28: Spiro--146 [4]
116, 883, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The adolescent boys may sit around the canoe houses with the men, or may, as in the district of Felarik, have a canoe house of their own in which they congregate. The activity, however, is the same as in the case of the older men. They, too, often sit about, just staring blankly into space. One favorite activity of the young men is the sharpening of knives. Whenever they have nothing to do, or if conversation lags, they will take out their knives and sharpen them on the whetstone, with the result that their knives are razor-sharp and it is no surprise that they shave with them. (7)"

"7. There is little rationality in their almost compulsive knife sharpening. The knives are already sharp. It is likely that this preoccupation has unconscious, symbolic significance. I have no evidence but suspect that is is related to certain sexual anxieties, perhaps a castration anxiety."

28: Spiro--147
116, 517, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Often, the young men will go fishing in the afternoon, and what they catch is eaten by them immediately. The playing of checkers or cards may take up an entire morning or afternoon."

28: Spiro--147 [2]
116, 222, 512, 515

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the late afternoon the young men again collect their toddy. And at the same time, they take their afternoon bath. Everyone bathes in the late afternoon. The women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water, wearing their skirts. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and change loin cloths, which they keep in the canoe houses. Both sexes use grated coconut meat as soap."

28: Spiro--147 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 883, 573 Ifalik

"The young women do not, as we have already pointed out, associate in gangs, as the young men do. Young women, in their late adolescence are already married, and, like the older women, remain near or about the homes. This means that the young women are integrated earlier into the adult female world, than are the young men into the adult male world."

28: Spiro--147 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512 Ifalik

"There is little activity after bathing. [WPM: in late afternoon] The people retire to their own homes, or to the homes of someone else. The canoe-houses and beaches are empty."

28: Spiro--147 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 576 Ifalik

"The generic form of greeting, when meeting someone is mauas, which could be roughly translated as, 'greetings.' On the other hand, it is also a term of gratitude. You thank a person for a gift or a courtesy by mauas. Mauas also has the connotation of reverence or respect. For example, when you take your departure, you say, hosamen, which has the meaning of, remain where you are. He reciprocates with hosaelox, meaning, you are going. But when taking leave of a person whom you respect highly, you add mauas to your farewell--hosamen mauas.

A person sitting in his home or canoe house, who sees another person approaching, greets him with ebwutog meia, literally, from whence are you coming? Now this not only has the figurative force of a greeting, but it retains its original literal meaning, so that the person addressed tells him where he has come from. At times it is almost humorous to hear a man shouting, ebwutog meia at a person who is quite far away. What makes this greeting so interesting to the outsider is the fact of the smallness of the atoll, which leaves little lattitude in answering the question."

28: Spiro--147 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517 Ifalik

"After dinner, activity again breaks down into sex and age categories. The families sit about, talking, drinking toddy, smoking, and exchanging news of the day. Often, a couple visits its in-laws. Some families may sing a chapeng until they retire, others may visit the home of a sick person. During the dark of the moon, the family usually retires to the interior of the house when it gets dark, and go to sleep shortly after. The children usually going to sleep at the same time as the parents.

On moonlit nights, the people do not retire until much later. They remain out-of-doors, with seemingly great spirits, and laughter may be heard ringing out from many courtyards."

28: Spiro--147 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517, 533, 123 Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

28: Spiro--147 [8] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 836 Ifalik

"Sweethearts do not meet until after dark, when the others are already asleep."

28: Spiro--148 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 513 Ifalik

"Formerly all unmarried males slept in the club houses. This no longer obtains. But after the trade winds set in, the young unmarried men of Rauaua slept in one of the canoe houses. They would retire to the canoe-house after dark, and sing and talk for a long time before going to sleep. Before long, everyone is sleeping."

29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-1 - 4

"THE QUESTION of the incidence and kinds of mental illness found among primitive peoples has resulted in a respectable literature and has occasioned heated discussions. (1) It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into these many controversies or to discuss the problem of clinical versus cultural criteria of abnormality. Its nature is much less ambitious, being an account of just one abnormal personality in one primitive culture. It is the writer's hope that this paper will serve to re-emphasize what a number of writers have previously emphasized--the lack of concrete data on the nature of --

---

"1. For an excellent survey of the literature, summary of divergent opinions, and an original interpretation--though one the writer does not entirely subscribe to--see Erwin H. Ackerknecht, 'Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture,' Bull. Hist. Med. (1943) 14:30-67."

psychopathology among primitive peoples. (2) With almost pathetic regularity, anthropological discussions of the nature of abnormality have been characterized by the absence of any intensive study of, or reference to, concrete individuals. (3) This lack of detailed

---

"2. See Ackerknecht, reference footnote 1; A. I. Hallowell, 'Culture and Mental Disorders,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:1-9; J. M. Cooper, 'Mental Disease Situations in Certain Cultures,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:10-18; R. E. L. Faris, 'Some Observations on the Incidence of Schizophrenia in Primitive Societies,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 29:30-31; J. P. Foley, 'The Criterion of Abnormality,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 30:279-291; N. J. Demerath, 'Schizophrenia among Primitives,' Amer. J. Psychiatry (1942) 98:203-207. All these writers, as well as many others, point out the dire need for concrete cases of mental disorder among primitive peoples, if future discussions of this problem are to be fruitful.

3. The only exception, to the writer's knowledge, is found in A. I. Hallowell, 'Shabwan: A Dissocial Indian Girl,' Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry (1938) 8:329-340."

information, while in itself of no great consequence, becomes gravely serious when this very lack of information becomes the basis for building theories of the nature of abnormality from a cross-cultural perspective. It seems obvious that all theoretical formulations based on ethnographic data will remain mere verbal exercises until we shall have collected a large number of concrete cases in the field which can be subjected to scientific analysis. Impressionistic observations of an ethnographer, however competent he be, do not in themselves constitute objective evidence; and yet they are used by otherwise careful scholars as proof of or documentation for their theories. (4) "

" 4. Ackerknecht, whose scholarship is otherwise impeccable, accepts ethnographic generalizations unquestioningly. He quotes, without reservation, for example, Warner's evaluation of a Murngin magician as being 'perfectly normal in his behavior,' and in whom 'there was nothing sinister, peculiar or psychopathic....' Reference footnote 1; p. 52 (quoting from W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization; p. 210). One need not impugn Warner's competence as an observer to ask for the evidence for this statement. Generalizations on this level of abstraction constitute the bulk of the ethnographic 'evidence' in discussions of this problem. "

29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-4

This paper, then, is an attempt to begin to fill in this lacuna in our knowledge. The case to be presented is chosen because of its incontrovertible character. Tareveliman, the subject, is looked upon as abnormal by the members of his society, by the two anthropologists--Dr. E. G. Burrows and the writer--who studied the society, and by Tarev himself."

29: Spiro--189-190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 753 Ifalik

"Tarev--the native contraction of his name--is one of 250 natives of Ifaluk, an atoll in the Central Carolines in Micronesia. Though the Carolines, as a group, have been in contact with 'civilization' for three centuries, Ifaluk remains a rela- [190] tively unacculturated society, so that the aboriginal culture, with minor exceptions, is completely functioning. (5) According to native disease theory, illness is caused by ghost possession. All souls are immortal, repairing to the Sky at death where they become alus, the generic term for ghosts. Good souls become benevolent alus, curing disease; whereas bad souls become malevolent alus, causing disease. One of the nine classifications of disease is that of malebush, a generic term for all behavior that seems queer or deviant from the native point of view. One of these malebush is Tarev."

"5. For a complete ethnographic report see the writer's 'Ifaluk, a South Sea Culture,' on file with the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1 ~3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs--speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

---

"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

29: Spiro--190
116, 159, 177

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-3

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--190-191 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123 Ifalik-1 -2

"I should now like to turn to the actual examination of Tarev himself. Though we arrived in Ifaluk on July 27, there is no [191] entry in my field notes concerning Tarev until September 20. This may be explained by three factors: my own preoccupation with other ethnographic matters, Tarev's relative quiescence for long periods of time, and the reluctance of the natives to inform us about him. I first saw Tarev when I was administering a Rorschach in a house close to his. I mentioned to our interpreter that we would proceed next to his house, but he replied that the man in the next house was a 'fool fella,' and we would best leave him alone. When I questioned him about this man, it became evident that he was reluctant to talk about him. This reluctance characterized the other people as well. It was only when it became apparent that I could somehow control Tarev's aggressive behavior rather effectively that the people gave me information about him and no longer attempted to conceal his behavior from me.

The following description will follow my own chronological experiences with Tarev, and the materials recorded are taken directly from my field notes:

September 20, 1947. The 'fool fella' from Falalap [one of the two inhabited islands in the atoll] came up to Ted [Dr. E.G. Burrows] and me, as we arrived for the ceremonies, and asked to hold our hands. When we gave him our hands, he took them in his own and smelled them. Later in the day, he came to us and asked us to go with him, but the chiefs asked us not to comply with his wishes. Still later, when we returned to Ifaluk

[the other of the two inhabited islands; the one on which we lived], we found Tarev speaking to Maroligar [Tarev's uncle, one of the five chiefs] and telling him that he would like to return to his wife or else marry another woman. Maroligar told him that he could not remarry yet, and that it was our wish that he not do so. (7)

September 24, 1947. Tarev has caused quite a disturbance today. He wished to go to Falalap to see his wife, but the men told him not to go. When he persisted, they had to restrain him by force."

"7. From the very beginning, therefore, the ethnographers were involved in Tarev's activities. This is important to bear in mind with reference to the transference which later developed between Tarev and me."

"October 15, 1947. This morning Maroligar asked if he could use our [WPM: the author's] canoe. I, of course, gave him permission. When he returned, he explained that Tarev had tried to commit suicide by drowning. He had tied a rope around his neck, weighted stones to his feet, and was about to jump from his canoe into the lagoon when Maroligar and two other men stopped him. (This occurred a few days after the death of his wife.) Apparently he had had a trying night the night before, since he spent the entire night shouting and talking to himself. Among other things he had insisted that he was superior to the other people and that he was really an American. (8)

I asked Maroligar if I could speak to Tarev, and he was eager that I do so. When we arrived at the courtyard of his house, I noticed that all the women in the immediate area had departed because of their fear of him. When I peered into the house, he saw me immediately, and his face brightened. When I asked him to come out, saying that I

"8. The American is a person of high prestige and authority in this South Sea culture. It is difficult to say whether Tarev's insistence that he is an American is an outright delusion or rather a conscious attempt to identify with a 'reference group' of high status (the term is M. Sherif's)."

would like to speak with him, he immediately complied with my request. I offered him a cigarette and asked him if he were happy. He replied that he was very sad because of the death of his wife. I asked him why he had tried to commit suicide, and he explained that all the people were speaking 'bad' (9) to him. Maroligar interrupted him to say that he was lying. My grasp of the language was inadequate to continue the interview without the aid of an interpreter, and I asked Maroligar to call Tom, our interpreter. I tried to talk with Tarev in Maroligar's absence, but he seemed in a kind of stupor, and I could not get through to him. He regained contact with reality when Tom arrived, and the following interview ensued.[192]

Q. Why did you try to kill yourself?

A. Because the people talk bad to me.

"9. At this point, I could obtain no exact reference for the word 'bad.'

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-3

"Q. What do they say?

A. My mother talks bad. [Actually his 'mother' is his maternal aunt, which, in this culture, is his classificatory mother. His biological parents are dead.]

Q. What does she say?

A. She says that my wife does not like her or her sister.

Q. Why?

A. [No answer.]

Q. Were you very sad today?

A. My wife died. I feel like smashing everything in the house, because my mother and her sister do not like my wife. My wife died and I am very sad. (10)

Q. But other men's wives die and they do not try to commit suicide. Why should you?

A. I don't like my mother or father or sister.

Q. Don't they feed you?

A. Yes, they give me good food, but they talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. The children listen to what my parents say about me, and they repeat it to me.

Q. What do they say about you?

A. My parents say that I am a chief.

"10. The native term for sad is eratu dipei, which literally translated means, my stomach feels bad."

Q. Don't you like that?

A. I don't like what the children say to me.

Q. Don't you like to be called a chief?

A. They say that tree [pointing to it] does not belong to you, it belongs to us. The adults tell them to say that. [At this point, Maroligar interrupted to say that Tarev had accused him and his parents of wishing to fight him. He insisted that everything Tarev was saying was a lie. It was, of course, impossible to explain to him that Tarev was not 'lying' but was a victim of his own delusions.]

Q. Is it true, as people have told me, that an alus has possessed you?

A. Yes, the alus in the moon has entered my head and my stomach. [This convinced Tom and Maroligar even more that he was lying, because there is no alus in the moon.]

Q. How do you know that he has possessed you?

A. He came to my father. He [his father is actually dead] lives in another place. When he possessed my father, he possessed me.

Q. Where is your father?

A. Those pictures you showed me [the Rorschach cards], I like them very much. The place in the North, that's the place I see now.

Q. What place?

A. There's another one in the Northeast. This place in the North is very light.

When I sit in my house, it's very dark; then, that North place, the one I like very much, comes on top of my head.

Q. How does it feel when it comes on top of your head?

A. I like it very much. When I pull up the blanket, I look underneath the sleeping mat, and smoke comes out. I then lower the mat and look underneath another one, and smoke comes out from it, too.

Q. What happens to you when the alus of the moon possesses you?

A. That man inside that padre book [the Bible that a missionary had shown him] and his mother come inside me.

Q. What does it feel like when they come inside you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did they come inside you this morning, when you tried to commit suicide?

A. No.

Q. Did they come inside you last night?

A. The alus gave me something--something very fine.

Q. What did he give you?

A. Smoke. He put smoke inside my mouth, but it did not enter my stomach.

Q. You like that smoke?

A. I like it very much.

Q. Why?
A. [No answer.]
Q. Does your head hurt you now?
A. I went to Falalap to wail for my wife. I waved my arms, and when I came back, I continued to do so.
Q. Don't you like it here?
A. Yes, I would like to remain. But I would like an American doll. (11)
Q. Why would you like one?
A. Because the Americans know everything. The people here are stupid.
Q. Do you want a carving of a man or a woman or a child?
A. Any kind.
Q. Would you like to go to America?
A. If you go, I want to go with you. I want to go any place you go.

"11. The native men carve small statuettes, which they trade for cigarettes and other trade-goods. By an American doll or statuette, he meant a similar carving of an American."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 * Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-7

By this time Tom and Maroligar were completely impatient with this 'crazy lie talk' and insisted on terminating the interview. I told Tarev that I would be unhappy if he committed suicide, and that if he felt like doing it again, he should first come to see me. He replied that his wife had 'gone into the ocean [where she was buried] and I want to go too.' "

29: Spiro--192-193 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 125 Ifalik-1 -5

"October 19, 1947. Tarev has been cycloid in his behavior lately. He appears to be fairly adjusted for a few days and [193] then reverts to his fighting and delusions. Last night he took a long, heavy pole into his house, and worried everyone as to the use he would put it to. The women in his household had set out to take some prepared food to a family in mourning, but he would not permit them to go. Today, I attempted to give him some psychological tests. One of the tests was the Stewart Emotional Response in which the subject is asked what makes him happy, sad, angry, ashamed, and the like. The following is the result of the futile attempt.

Q. How have you been feeling lately?
A. I just had a dream of X [a chief who had recently died].
Q. Have you been feeling well?
A. I went to Tom's sister. She said I could not have the taro, since it belongs to someone else.
Q. Have you ever been happy?
A. I like what you say. When you talk, I am happy, for your talk is like my talk.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. I like you because you like this place. You came here, though it is very small.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. Some days, when I don't like what people say.

Q. Are you ever afraid?

A. When I walk around.

Q. Any other time?

A. When I want to walk around, someone always tells me to stay where I am and not to go away.

Q. Have you ever been angry?

A. When I want to go some place, and someone tells me that I can't go.

Q. Anything else?

A. I'm never angry.

Q. Have you ever been ashamed?

A. I don't talk to the women of this place because I am afraid.

Q. Yes, but have you ever been ashamed?

A. I took the wife of another man. Now I don't like that woman; I don't talk to her because I don't like her. I would like a woman to come to me, but only to talk to. I don't want to look beneath her skirt. I don't like the women of this island.

Q. Why?

A. My stomach does not like them.

Q. Would you like to have sexual intercourse with them?

A. No. One woman came to talk to me; I always remember her. I wanted to marry her, but Tom did not want me to.

Q. Why don't you like the women here?
A. My stomach doesn't like them.
Q. Why not?
A. She came to me; I talked to her. I wanted to see her genitals. God told all the people, a long time ago, to copulate. But I don't want to.
Q. Is there anything you want?
A. No.
Q. Is there anything you like?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Tom?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Maroligar?
A. When he talked bad to me, I did not like him. Now he talks good, I like him.
Q. Do you like the chiefs?
A. I am afraid of the chiefs.
Q. Do you like Arivimae [his son]?
A. Yes, very much.
Q. Do you like your mother?
A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with the pole you took last night?

A. Two men were talking and I was afraid. I took the pole and brought it into the house. If they come to fight me, I can fight them. Now somebody has stolen the pole.

Q. What did these men say?

A. Wasugu, waisuk. [These are nonsense syllables. Tom said it must be the speech of the alus.]

Q. Do you still see the smoke you told me about?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like to tell me?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. If you want to tell me something, not to shout or to fight, I will listen to you. If anyone else goes someplace, the people do not talk bad to him, but they talk bad to me.

Q. Do you still think of that place in the North?

A. I like the North very much. A very fine place. When another man calls me, I go there.

Q. What man?

A. I don't know.

Q. When did he call you?

A. Yesterday. He came and called me. I walked around in circles, walked around and around, and then fell down. Then that man came and walked around me. I stood up, and I saw the North.

Q. What did you see?

A. Tom's brother came. He said, 'Don't go; stay here.' I was very angry.

Q. Why do you like the North?

A. I don't know. The alus possesses me; he knows that place.

This interview came to a close by the arrival of a number of men, and Tarev would not continue to talk."

29: Spiro--193-194 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 775

"October 22, 1947. Today, while Tom and I were conducting some research, Tarev came to me to complain about his prob-[194] lems. It seems that the previous night people had tried to fight with him and kill him. He did not know who they were. He then said that he hears voices from Woleae (an atoll about thirty miles to the west of Ifaluk). When I questioned him, he replied that the voices were those of his (dead) wife, who was complaining to the chiefs of Woleae that he (Tarev) was incompetent and unable to work. The chiefs in turn told Tarev that he should be good. He then said that he had not eaten for two days and had sustained himself by drinking coconut juice. He explained, when I asked, that there was an alus on his head who did not want him to eat. I asked him if the alus were still there, and he said that it had left him. Unfortunately, I had an appointment, so I had to take my leave. I told him to go home and eat, and he promised that he would."

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-I -6

"November 4, 1947. Yesterday I saw Tarev running towards the public meeting hall (atelu). He touched the front pillar, clutched it as if he wanted to take something from it, and then ran back to his home. A short time later, I saw him running past my tent, heading towards Falalap, being pursued by a number of men. The men asked if I would stop him, since their efforts were futile. I was reluctant to do so, since I felt that interference by me would destroy the rapport I had established, but I could ill afford to refuse their request. I caught up to him and persuaded him to return to his home and promised that I would come to see him. Tom and I went to see him today. (12)

"12. Tarev still had the habit of seizing the hands of Dr. Burrows and myself and of smelling them deeply. Dr. Burrows informed me that on this same day, Tarev attempted to smell his hands, but could not do so since he was typing. Instead he smelled his feet."

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-2

Q. Why did you go to the public meeting hall yesterday?

A. I was in my house and somebody told me to go there, because the chiefs are there holding a meeting.

Q. Where were you going when I saw you later?

A. I was afraid that a small alus was hiding near my house, so I left.

Q. Did you see the alus?

A. No, but I heard it moving inside the house.

Q. How are you feeling today?

A. My arm is very tired. When I walk, I feel that I am not walking on the ground. I feel as if my feet are walking on air.

Q. Why is that?

A. I don't know. When I attempt to walk, I fall down.

Q. Is anything bothering you today?

A. Wotrilitu [a relative by marriage] stole my wife.

Q. How do you know?

A. He stole her from me a long time ago.

Q. Are you angry with him for that?

A. I took care of his children, but he stole my wife.

Q. Are you feeling better today than the last time we spoke?

A. I feel happier. But I can't stay in my sleeping mat because it is always moving.

Q. So you didn't sleep last night?

A. A little bit. But many people came to see me.

Q. Who were the people?

A. All the people of Ifaluk.

Q. What did they say to you?

A. Many people came; they spoke. It was bad talk. They spoke lies and gossip. Someone said that you and Ted called me. I went to see, but you were not there. Now I know they lied to me.

Q. What else did they say to you?

A. They said that a certain woman is menstruating, and she should not stay here, but should go to one of the menstrual huts in Falalap. Someone else said that we should not take stones from here to make an um [underground cooking pit], but we should take them from over there.

Q. Did they say anything else?

A. There were four pieces of taro on the side of my house. Someone took them and went to a menstrual hut with them.

Q. What did he want with the taro?

A. All the women went to the menstrual hut. Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted ordered the fish to enter the lagoon, and many fish came.

Q. Then what?

A. Many fish entered the lagoon. No, Mr. Ted and Mr. Mel did not order the fish, an alus ordered the fish.

Q. Why did he order the fish?

A. Many fish came, many people ate. [A long pause.] Day and night they spoke. A man came. He said that the fish would come.

Q. Then what happened?

A. Somebody told me yesterday, 'You will not get sick; no typhoon. Go to Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted.'

Q. Why?

A. Now I understand. It was not you who asked me to come, but someone else asked me. I want to take my grandchild.

Q. Why do you want your grandchild?

A. [No answer.] [195]

Q. Are people still speaking bad things to you?

A. People lie to me because they know I am a malebush.

Q. What do they say?

A. They say, 'You are malebush,' 'You are a thief,' 'You are a bad man.'

Q. Is what they say true?

A. They lie. Somebody said my wife went to another man. Some man stole my wife.

Q. Have you gone to that place in the North lately?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like, now?

A. I thought I was happy. And then I heard many voices, and I became unhappy. Yesterday I wanted to go to the ocean and swim away, for I can't stand all that talk.

Q. What talk?

A. That someone stole my wife from me.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He comes very often, day and night.

Q. What does he do?

A. [He said nothing, but clasped his hands together, as in Christian prayer, and pointed them at me. He then put his hand on my head and rumpled my hair. He then put his finger on my head, then my stomach, and finally on my leg. Apparently he was demonstrating to me what the alus does to him.]

Q. Are you afraid of the alus?

A. No.

Q. Is it a male or female alus?

A. It dances. It bends and sways. I like to see it. I see the alus dance. Then I imitate the alus, I dance too.

By this time, Tom had become disgusted with the entire interview, and insisted that he could not continue because Tarev 'talk lie, only talk lie.'"

29: Spiro--195
116, 159, 762

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik

"November 7, 1947. Yesterday while the men had all gone on a fishing trip, Tarev made another suicide attempt. He paddled into the lagoon, tied a rope to his foot, and tied rocks to the other end. A young man, who had been left behind to guard him, followed him; and when Tarev jumped into the lagoon, the man pulled him out. By this time, Maroligar had returned from fishing and asked Tarev to return to land. The latter refused, saying that Maroligar wanted to kill him (sic!). He was finally persuaded to return. (I was told all this secondhand, since I was on the other side of the island at the time. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to speak to Tarev after the incident.)"

29: Spiro--195-196 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-17

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?
A. In my stomach.
Q. Is it a male or female alus?
A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.
Q. Really?
A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.
Q. Where is that place?
A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.
Q. Are you dead now?
A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 158 Ifalik

"November 23, 1947. Maroligar came running to our tent to inform me that Tarev had just attempted to burn his house. His mother had discovered it in time and had beaten him for this act. I went to investigate the matter, and, by the time I arrived at his house, a number of men had gathered outside. As I was speaking to the men, Tarev came out of the house, seized my hand and smelled it. He was very agitated--perhaps in the worst condition I had seen him--and seemed to display a mixture of rage, anger, and fear. Tom was unavailable so that it was impossible to obtain a formal interview. I managed to gather from his incoherent and agitated speech that the people were again speaking 'bad' and wanted to kill him. I finally succeeded in allaying his fears, and he became fairly calm.

The men finally concluded that they must take some measure to prevent another outbreak, and asked me if they should tie him up. They said that Aneitin (the other schizophrenic) had been violent in the past, but after being tied for a couple of days, his violence disappeared permanently. Perhaps it would have the same effect on Tarev. I suggested that they wait a little, that I would have dinner and would return after dinner. If he became violent, they should then tie him. They predicted that as soon as I left he would again become violent, but when I returned later in the evening, he was still quite peaceful."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 521 Ifalik-1 - 2.

"November 25, 1947. Yesterday as I was sitting in a canoe shed, near Tarev's house, I heard some of the weirdest sounds I have ever listened to. I could not identify them at all, but one of the men said that they were emitted by Tarev. I went to investigate, but his door mat was covering the entrance to the house. He was talking and 'singing' in a falsetto, the kind of falsetto these people employ when quoting another person. (13) It was as if he were another person or were talking in the tones of another person. I asked one of the men what he was saying, but he said that he did not have the slightest idea. It seemed to him that Tarev was speaking a foreign language. Tarev stopped this talking, but after a brief pause resumed--this time in a deep, masculine voice. I lifted the door mat and called to him. He was standing in the middle of the house, but seemed not to hear me. I called twice more, but he still did not respond. As I turned to leave, he came towards me. I asked what he had been doing. He said that he had been dancing,

---

"13. When a person in this society reports a conversation that he has had with someone, the report is always in the form of a direct, rather than an indirect, quotation. In quoting the remarks of the other person, the reporter resorts to a falsetto. Tarev's conversation was in the falsetto that is employed in such conversations."

and as he spoke his face was radiant and his whole attitude was completely euphoric. He said he enjoyed his dance immensely and when I asked how he was feeling, he said that he was very happy. I gave him a cigarette, and he seized my hand to smell it. (14)"

"14. The contrast between this manic state and the state of complete anguish that characterized him the previous day was most striking."

29: Spiro--197-199
116, 159, 681, 115

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-1-6

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"December 6, 1947. Tarev was violent again yesterday. He came to me in the morning complaining that he had wanted to work, but that the other men would not permit him. Later in the day he tried to beat his sister with a coconut branch, and this again aroused the fear of the women. Maroligar came to tell me that they would have to tie him again. In the evening some people told me to go see Tarev immediately. A group of people were standing around Tarev and he was shouting at them in angry tones. It seems that he had stolen the basket of Arogeligar, and when he was caught, he again accused the people of talking bad about him and wanting to harm him. But order was soon restored."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1 -4

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

29: Spiro--200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 514 Ifalik

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

"January 18, 1948. Tarev comes to see me at least once a day. He smells my neck, now, as well as my hands, and at times includes my body and legs as well. He tells me, when he comes, that he has merely come for a walk, and after the smelling ritual, he returns to his house. The day before yesterday Tarev came to our tent, but I deliberately kept out of sight to see what he would do. A chair and table, used for typing, were still standing in front of the tent. He picked up the chair, and smelled the seat in deep draughts. Then, still holding the chair to his nose, he turned round and round, describing complete circles. He then place the chair on the ground, taking meticulous care to place it in the exact position it had formerly occupied, and then began to perform a kind of dance. This time he did not remain in the center of the circle, but rather described revolving spirals, which took him a distance of about fifty yards from whence he had begun. He then came to the canoe shed, from which his son and I were observing his behavior, and sat with us for a short time. Suddenly his face acquired a trance-like expression, and he left us to return to his dance, but with a much accelerated tempo. His spirals took him into the bush this time, and his son and I followed. I [201] called to him but he did not hear or see me, though he looked straight at me. His son was fearful lest Tarev injure himself, so I walked up to him and seized him by the shoulders. He was panting from sheer physical exhaustion, looked startled at seeing me, suddenly relaxed, smiled, and then began to laugh. I asked him what he had been doing, and his

answer was'tar,' nothing. I walked back to his house with him.
Yesterday, I had an interview with him.

Q. Did you dream last night?
A. Yes, but I don't remember it.
Q. What were you trying to do with the chair yesterday?
A. Nothing. I turned around with the chair, because the smoke came all over me.
Q. What smoke?
A. I turned the chair around because I saw the paper, and did what the paper said.
Q. But what smoke came to you?
A. I turned around with the chair; I saw something just like that [taking out an empty pack of cigarettes which I had thrown away, and pointing to the red seal with the name Lucky Strike on it].
Q. Do you like that?
A. Yes.
Q. Why?
A. I like that writing on it.
Q. What did that paper [the pack] tell you to do?

A. It is red, just like the torches used during night-fishing. (17)

Q. How are you feeling now?

A. I feel very good inside. Last night I began to shout, for I had something very bad inside me.

Q. What was it?

A. Somebody spoke bad to me, but I forget it now.

Q. Who spoke bad to you?

A. Teior [a man who is now dead; Teior had been married to a woman from Woleae]. He said, 'Let's you and me stay here.' He spoke bad. I did not like it, so I began to shout.

Q. What were the bad things he said?

A. He came to my wife's mother, and when I arrived, he left. Before I came, she gave him something to eat. He said to her, 'If I go to Woleae, I want you to remember the bad things that Tarev does.'

Q. What did you do about this?

A. Nothing.

"17. There is a three-month period in the spring in which the men fish every night. In this period the men live in the canoe sheds, and all sexual behavior is taboo."

Q. Does the alus still come to you?
A. He doesn't come anymore. Now I am very sad, and I cry.
Q. Why are you sad?
A. All kinds of voices come to me.
Q. Why do you live alone now [referring to the fact that he left his maternal home, to live in the formerly unoccupied house]?
A. Because I don't like the other people's conversations.
Q. Why not?
A. I speak bad things to my mother and sister. They don't like it, and then I become sad.
Q. Why do you say bad things?
A. When I'm around people, I say bad things. They don't like it, and then they become angry with me.
Q. What bad things do you say?
A. All the thoughts I have in my stomach. I remember those thoughts.
Q. Why don't you work like you used to do?
A. I don't like the work of this place. I like your work.
Q. What is my work?
A. You write on paper. You own things--chair and clothes.

Q. Aren't you ashamed that people see that you don't work?
A. No, because I want to do your work.
Q. Is there anything you'd like me to do for you?
A. I want to go with you. I don't want to stay here. I want to go with you to some other place.
Q. Why don't you want to stay here?
A. This place is a place for fools. All the people here are fools.
Q. Is Tom a fool?
A. No. If you leave here, I'll die.

At this point the men returned from fishing, and Tom wanted to get his fish, so we were forced to leave. But I first reassured Tarev that he would not die if I left."

29: Spiro--201-202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 786 Ifalik-1-2

"January 22, 1948. Yesterday Tarev came to the tent and discovered our calendar hanging on the tent pole. He turned it page by page, looking at both the numbers and the pictures, with an almost beatific smile on his face, and singing all the time. Later in the day, while we were gone, he took the calendar to his home. Some of the others saw him and made him return it. When they asked why he took it, he said that I was his father and therefore he had a right to take things from me.

Last night, however, I witnessed one of the weirdest things I have seen him do. Just as I was falling asleep, I heard [202] his falsetto-- singing in front of our tent. He remained there for some time, alternately singing and stopping. Then he began to sing quite loudly and I decided to stop it and take him home. As I stepped out of the tent, I saw him, in the light of a full tropical moon, standing in front of the public meeting house. His hands were in the prayerful pose he often adopted in imitation, he said, of the padre, and he was singing to and bowing before the wooden phallus attached to the pillar. (18)

"18. This is quite a large carving of a penis, attached to the front pillar. Most of the people do not know what it represents, but the chiefs say it represents the penis of one of the earliest chiefs."

Intermittently, he would spit on it. He continued this for some time, alternately bowing to the phallus and spitting on it. This was a most impressive scene, and I stood watching it for a long time, until Tarev finally returned home."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"January 27, 1948. Tarev has been in a trance-like state for almost a week. It has been impossible to establish any contact with him. He is living in his own private phantasy world. Last night he came into our tent, while we were sleeping. I asked him what he wanted, but he was completely incoherent. He had a gleam in his eye I had never seen before--as if he were keeping something from me. I finally succeeded in getting him to return home.

Today, however, he has again gained contact with reality. The men were hauling in the fish nets from the beach, and he was helping. As I went to watch the activities, I praised him for his work. He smelled my hand and replied that he was working because he knew it would please me."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762

"February 7, 1948 (aboard ship en route to Yap). The ship arrived yesterday to take us back. Tarev was the first to arrive at the tent to assist in the packing. He seemed calm though serious and slightly depressed, and kept constantly watching every movement I made. He asked if I were really leaving, and I said that I was. About half an hour later, a young boy shouted to me to come immediately to Tarev. He had gone to the lagoon and lay on his back in about two feet of water, refusing to allow the men to pull him out. By the time I arrived, he was half-drowned. I asked him to join me, which he did. I tried to reassure him that everything would be all right after I was gone, though he insisted that, now that I was leaving, the people would again try to kill him, and so on. He then smelled my hands and returned to his house in a deep depression. This is the last I saw of Tarev."

29: Spiro--202-203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121 Ifalik-1 3

"Since it was virtually impossible to obtain a case history on Tarev, we cannot get at the basic psychodynamics of this case. One aspect of his life emerges quite clearly, however, as of crucial significance--his Japanese interlude. It is our thesis that though this Japanese experience was not the sufficient cause of his psychosis, it was the necessary precipitating factor that served to elicit this particular syndrome. (19)

Regardless of the differences between the conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the abnormal--absolutist and clinical versus relativistic and statistical (cultural)--all interpretations will agree that the incidence of certain types of mental disease differs widely in different cultures. Comparative statistical data demonstrate this empirically, and, for the anthropologist, the explanation is not too hard to find. The psychological concepts of adjustment and maladjustment--like the biological concepts of adaptation and maladaptation--are not substantive, but rather relational terms. An organism is adapted or maladapted not in vacuo, but with reference to a particular environment. Any organism, as Dewey has put it so well, lives not 'in an environment,' but rather 'by means of its environment,' so that a change in either the organism or the environment destroys their dynamic equilibrium and results in maladaptation. (20)

"19. This analysis, with some modifications, was part of a paper read before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at its 1949 meetings in Bloomington, Indiana.

20. John Dewey, Logic: The Theory of Inquiry; New York, Henry Holt, 1938; p. 25."

So, too, human personality exists not so much in a culture as by means of [203] a culture. Each culture creates its own particular stresses and strains with which the personality must cope, but, at the same time, the culture also provides instrumentalities--institutionalized techniques--for the resolution of those stresses and strains. (21) Now those individuals who, for whatever the reasons--and the reasons are still very much obscure--cannot resolve these culturally-created stresses and strains by means of the instrumentalities that the culture itself provides must resolve them by means of personal instrumentalities, idiosyncratic ways known as neuroses or psychoses. However, since each culture creates its own unique psychic strains, the kinds of maladjustments and, consequently, the kinds of resolutions of those maladjustments--neuroses

---

"21. The high incidence of personality disturbances found in native cultures in acculturative situations, or in the rapidly changing American culture, may thus be explained by the fact that these cultures in transition create new tensions, but have not yet created those cultural channels necessary for the alleviation of the tensions. For a detailed analysis of this position and an attempt to resolve the conflicting interpretations of the abnormal, see the writer's 'A Cultural Interpretation of the Abnormal' (ms. in preparation)."

and psychoses--will vary from culture to culture. (22)

Ifaluk is no exception. Certain infancy and childhood traumata, which limitations of space do not permit description of, create certain tensions (frustration - aggression patterns) and needs (dependency-security patterns) which, if left unresolved could very well lead to severe personality disturbance. At the same time, however, the culture provides institutional techniques (primarily religious) which alleviate the tensions and satisfy the needs. These institutional devices obviate the necessity and preclude the occurrence of acute personality disturbances. Thus, the external culturo-dynamic equilibrium results in an internal psychodynamic equilibrium. This personality equilibrium, we have seen, was as characteristic of Tarev as of the other members of his society. Then an obtrusive element--cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese--intruded into his sociocultural field so as to destroy the equilibrium."

"22. This analysis, of course, applies only to those disturbances that result from culturally-patterned events. It does not apply to those that result from unique or 'personal-social conditioning,' to use Kimball Young's term."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

---

"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

LAMUTREK. WEST CAROLINES
Observer: Evan Lewis

1904	Rainfall in mm				No. of days with Rain			
	6 am	6 pm	total	Max. in 24 hrs.	in Genl.	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm
January	133.2	199.3	332.5	49.2	16	16	16	5
February	15.8	4.2	20.0	12.5	3	3	3	0
March	174.7	106.3	281.0	52.8	13	13	13	5
April	--	--	569.9	--	--	--	--	--
May	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
June	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
July	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
August	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
September	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
October	113.3	106.4	219.7	55.5	10	10	10	3
November	--	--	175.3	--	--	--	--	--
December	68.0	40.0	108.0	30.0	6	6	6	2

"However, there are chiefs who favor consanguineous marriage as an aid in repopulating the island, and point to its success on Eauripik, a small isolated island east of Yap. There, they say, it worked.

So alien is this to most human experience, even among wild tribes, that I reserved a doubt on it until I could consult a recongnized authority on these islands, an old and respected Japanese trader, Miyashita, of Palau. During Spanish and German as well as Japanese times he has lived in the islands and is the only foreigner to have made his home for a year on Eauripik.

'I don't attempt to explain it,' he said, 'but it's true. The people of Eauripik are unusually big, strong, healthy people. They almost never become sick. Yet the entire population of 190 people is one family descended from one couple. All marriages are within the family. There is no mixture from the outside. Foreigners do not visit the island. It is off the usual trade routes. All the people look alike. Closest relatives marry. And yet the population is increasing slightly.'"

32: Brown--89-90 (1913) 1914 Woleaians-1-3
116, 212, 174 Woleai

"In July, 1913, I paid a visit to the small reef island, Oleai, or Uleai, or Wolea, of one of the most westerly of the Caroline group. One of the chiefs squatted, at the suggestion of Herr Runge, the only European on the islet, and wrote a sentence in the script of the island. A few week [sic] ago I received from Mr. Runge a full list of the characters written by the chief, Egilimar. There are fifty-one, and evidently each represents a syllable, as will be seen by the accompanying copy of the list. Alongside he has also written Runge, Brun, and Egilimar in the script; and it will be seen that two, if not three, of those employed to write the last name are not given in the list. It is manifestly a syllabary, as is the Katukana of Japan, and a script that was invented in Korea some centuries ago, but never drove out the Chinese ideographs. But none of the characters have any resemblance to these. Nor do they resemble in any respect any of the alphabets we know, European, Levantine, Arabic, or Devanagari. The only other script known in the groups or islands of the Pacific is that of the Easter Island tablets. But they are ideographic; many of them according to the interpretation of them supplied to Bishop Jaussen, of Tahiti, by one of the learned men of the Easter Islands, bear resemblance to the form of the thing they represent, though it is affirmed also that they were but mnemonic suggestions of the beginning of a word or line of the hymns or lyrics sung at the annual festivals. They are but one stage beyond the ideographic hieroglyphs on the one hand, and serve the same purpose as the knots in the quipus of ancient Peru and of

the Pelew Islands.

This Oleai syllabic script is one stage further on in development towards an alphabet. Most of the characters are highly conventionalised, but some retain a resemblance to the thing to which their name or sound corresponds. In the [90] second column, the seventh from the bottom, schrũ means in the language of the islet 'a fishbone,' and the character has manifestly originated in a representation of a fish; the fifth from the bottom, lõ, means 'a bottle,' and evidently the character retains something of the form of the coconut water-vessel. In the first column, the sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second from the bottom have a hint of what their syllable indicates; ngã meaning 'bamboo,' boa 'ulcer,' warr 'canoe,' raa 'mast,' uh 'sail.' So in the third column, the first, rã, means 'a saw'; the second, lũh, 'a young coconut'; the third, sthah, 'a knife.' In a few others there might be found by stretching the imagination a hint of the thing indicated by the syllable. But the majority of the characters can be connected by no possibility with the meaning of the sound indicated.

The script is now known only to five men on the islet; but it is probably a relic of a wide usage in the archipelago. *There is no possibility of* any one of the five having invented it, and if invented by them since Europeans arrived it would have taken the forms either of the European alphabet or of the things bought or sold, of whose names and

numbers they wished to keep a record. If anyone wishes to compare this with such a script invented for commercial purposes, he should look up Furness's The Island of Stone Money; on page 138 is given a copy of an account kept by a native of Yap for trade purposes; and this native Fatamak, a sorcerer, I can personally testify, is a man of keen intelligence. A comparison will bring out the gulf that separates the two scripts. This Oleai script is manifestly the product of long ages for the use of the organisers of a highly-organised community of considerable size. In other words, it must have belonged to the ruling class of an empire of some extent, that needed constant record of the facts of intercourse and organisation."

33: Hasebe--142 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

"Oleai, also called Voleai, Uleai, Woleai, Ulie, Ouleyai, Ulea, Guliai, Olie, and Valayay, is 245 nautical miles southeast of Fais, and consists of Flalap (Volea, Ulea, Ulee, Ulier), Votagai (Utagai, Otagu), Faralis (Farailes, Futalis, Faralies, Farilies), Solulap (Saliap, Seliep) and Tagaulap (Thageilup, Tafaulep, Tacaylap, Tacaulap)."

33: Hasebe--142 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"The population [MR: of Woleai] is 545."

33: Hasebe--142-143
116, 131, 161, 304

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Aurupik

"Aurupik, also called Aurepig, Aurupeg, Aurupig, Aurepik, Jaurepik, Eauripik, Eurupuc, Eourypyg, Eurupugk, [143] Vaupe, Yaropie, and Kama, is about 65 nautical miles southwest of Oleai, and its population is 102. I examined two men and both of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143
116, 131, 161, 304, 103

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

34: Lesson--122 (1824, 1839 Woleaians
116, 101, 175 Lamotrek

[MC: alternative names for Lamotrek]
Kadu's Lamurrec and Cantova's Lamurrec, Torres' Mugnak, Krusenstein's Lamoursec, the Lamourca, Lamouirec or Falou of Father Legobien. Wilson called it Sweede Island.

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 304, 609 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: the Caroline native] was much pleased with the Sandwich Islands [LEM: Hawaii], whose inhabitants reciprocated in their affection for him. The lobes of his ears, prodigiously elongated, drew their attention in a singular manner.

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes) --3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 484, 159 Woleai

Since Kadou had travelled considerably in the Carolines and the Pelew Islands, he was never surprised at the birds or animals that he saw, either here or in the Aleutians. He was enchanted at seeing so many large vessels gathered together. His resolution to accompany us on our voyage remained unbroken. The crew began to teach him to read, but he made only very slow progress. Although he learned quite readily to recognize the letters of the Russian alphabet, he seemed not to understand what these characters stood for. However, one day at dinner, hearing the word "water" mentioned in Russian, he cried out joyously, "ah! ah! v, o, d, a, voda ("water" in Russian)"; we hoped then that he had really profited from the lessons which he had received, but he refused to take more of them and appeared determined to know not what our books could be.

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--4 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159 Woleai

Kadou still intended to accompany us [LEM: from the Marshalls], especially as he knew that we planned to visit the Carolines, which gave him the hope of seeing his homeland again. But when he learned that his son, who was living on the isle of Aour, was often calling to him by name and regretted his absence, paternal tenderness overcame him. He immediately told us that it was his wish to remain in this archipelago.

This resolve disappointed us very much, because Kadou would have been very useful to us on our voyage to the Carolines. He was beginning to understand us quite well. He knew some words of all the languages spoken on board and he had taught us a great many of those which he spoke. We were thus hopeful of learning from him in the future a host of interesting things about the Carolines where he was born. On the other hand, it was no less important to him that he should remain in the archpelago where he now was.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: A native of Woleai (Carolines) who had been shipwrecked on Aur] was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time he learned several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak Islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Oulea, his home-land, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadou had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 502 Woleai

We were convinced that Kadou was well-versed in a knowledge of the stars, but he preferred our compasses because he saw that even in foggy and cloudy weather, one's course could be determined with this instrument, while the island inhabitants, having only the stars to guide them, are at a great disadvantage when they do not see them.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--20 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 776 Woleai

For several weeks we tried in vain to ask Kadou concerning his ideas of God. He made every effort to understand us, but of no use. Finally, one day he succeeded; his face became animated, his whole body trembled. "Ah!" he cried, "you wish to know the name of that which we can neither see nor hear." At the same time he closed his eyes and covered his ears: "Its name is Taoutoup." Asked where he lived, Kadou pointed to the sky.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 802 Woleai

When we took. . . [LEM: Kadou, the Caroliner] on board we told him that he would be at sea for two months without ever seeing land, and he did not appear frightened. But having spent several weeks without observing land, he put no more faith in our words. He believed that we, as well as he, had been driven by winds far from his country and that we searched for land in vain. However, having observed that we were at ease, and that nothing on board was amiss, his anxiety soon ended.

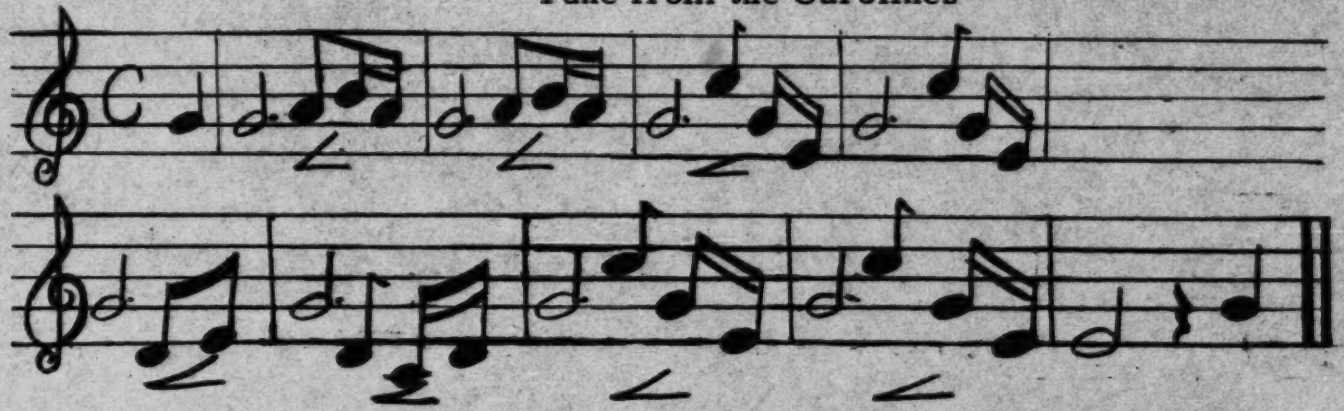
About his neck he vore a string on which he marked the time by knots. But his count lacked accuracy.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21-22 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 533 Woleai

During his first days on board...[LEM: Kadou's] curiosity was excessive. He wished to see all. Soon he regarded everything with indifference, becoming satiated with novelty, and finally he came to consider everything as possible. [22]

Kadou was gay, and he knew how to endear himself to the officers and the sailors. Often to us he sang all the songs that he knew. He was proud of having travelled so much. He particularly loved to sing a tune from the island of Eap, which greatly resembled another one from Radak. This tune has often rung from the summit of the snowy mountains of Ounalachka. Kadou sometimes spent hours repeating it and then the memory of his homeland and of his voyages moved him to tears.

Tune from the Carolines



36: Arai--42-56
116, 312

(1925) 1928

Woleaians
Woleai

Drinking Water
(Examined May 1925)

	Oleai Branch of South Sea Trade Co.	Used by Oleai Natives	Used by Oleai Natives
Kind	rain	pond A	pond A
Appearance	clear	clear	clear
Odor and Taste	no	no	no
Reaction	neutral	neutral	neutral
Organic Matter	trace	medium	much
Chloride	12.0	40.0	88.0
Nitrate	no	little	no
Nitrite	no	no	no
Ammonia	no	no	no
Lime	no	little	medium
Sulphate	no	much	little
Potability	yes	yes, when boiled	yes, when filtered and boiled

(1925) 1928

Woleaians
Ifalik

Drinking Water
(Examined May 1925)

	Ifalik
Kind	Central public pond
Appearance	clear
Odor and Taste	no
Reaction	neutral
Organic Matter	much
Chloride	150.0
Nitrate	little
Nitrite	no
Ammonia	no
Lime	little
Sulphate	medium
Potability	no

(1925) 1928

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Drinking Water
(Examined Sept. 1925)

	South Sea Trade Co. Branch	South Sea Trade Co. Branch	Northern Central Rariratsupu	Southern Central Raremore
Kind	rain	well	well	well
Appearance	clear	clear	light yellowish	clear
Odor and Taste	no	no	slightly smelly	no
Reaction	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
Organic Matter	very little	medium	much	much
Chloride	15.0	50.0	45.0	45.0
Nitrate	no	no	medium	no
Nitrite	no	no	no	no
Ammonia	no	no	no	no
Lime	not found	medium	medium	medium
Sulphate	not found	medium	medium	medium
Potability	yes	yes, when boiled	no	no

37: Keiyosei--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

37: Keiyosei--45-46
116, 162

(1929-30) 1930

Woleaians
Woleai

We arrived at Angaur. [46]. On the island there are about 250 Japanese, and 500 native people from different islands. All of them are engaged in the mining.

37: Keiyosei--46 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 433, 317 Woleai

The yearly production of phosphate is about 1,200,000-1,000,000 Yen, and the mining expenditure is one half million Yen a year. At the office I saw many samples exhibited there.

37: Keiyosei--47
116, 133, 228

(1929-30) 1930

Woleaians
Woleai

The Okimoto Pearl Nursery is located between Korror and the isolated islands. The factory and residences of the supervisors are on Korror Island. The mother pearl nursery is at the Sedo (sand ground with shallow water) between the two islands. The Sedo is about 100 ken wide [JW: approx. 600 ft.], the water is clear, and water circulation is very good.

37: Keiyosei--47 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 228 Woleai

According to Mr. Takeshima, the black pearl shell is collected at the same time as the Takase shell, and May is the regular season. It costs 10 sen for each one. Most of the shells are 6-7 inches wide. There are three suspended trays of mother pearls. Each one contains about 2, 072 mother pearls. The ratio of formation of pearls is about 80%, and the regular one is 2. 3 bun [JW: . 2737 inches] in diameter. According to Mr. Takeshima, it is not profitable economically, but it seems that it is able to maintain a balanced budget. Originally Mr. Kataoka and Mr. Watanabe obtained the permit for this pearl nursery, but finally it came to Mr. Okimoto through a capitalist in Osaka, Japan. There are many young shells near the nursery, but their shells are so thin that they cannot be used for the mother pearls.

38: Matsuoka--530 (No date) 1927 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

In the Central Carolines they used to employ the Yap style of building as may still be seen. On Aurupik the houses were sometimes built on a stone platform raised six feet above the level of the ground, covering a space of 120 square yards; with high towering gable ends they were an imposing sight, (South Sea Topography, 117) it is said. But today they are mostly set directly on the ground.

39: Berg--48
116, 437, 484

(1902) 1903

Woleaians
Woleai

From Polvot the 'Diana' reports that more than 20 canoes from the Western Carolines have arrived there with about 200 people. The purpose of the long trip is chiefly the exchange of Taik, the turmeric prepared in Truk. This time the people came not only from Woleai and the nearer islands, but allegedly even from Feys, not far from Jap.

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 142, 304, 175 Ifalik

"On the 31st March the schooner hove to off Evalook and several canoes came alongside. There is nothing to remark about these islands; they are low and of coral formation, producing nothing but the cocoanut. The natives traded off flying fish against tobacco. They are a tall, handsome race, of light colour, their bodies being closely tattoed all over, their dress being the same as that of the Oulleai people."

40: Robertson--50
116, 164, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"At the time of the Rupak's visit to Oulleai, the [MR: influenza] epidemic above alluded to was raging. This, together with the scarcity of food, was making great havoc among the people, and Williams, the Englishman, stated that he did not expect more than half the natives would survive."

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 175 Woleai

"On the 28th March the schooner called at Ulleai, which is a group of low coral islands almost surrounded by reefs. There is an Englishman living on this group who informed those on board the schooner that a Spanish man-of-war had been there shortly before, the crew of which had cut down half the bread-fruit trees and a large number of cocoanut trees, and that the people were consequently starving and dying at the rate of five and six a day. The commander of the vessel also ordered Williams, the Englishman above referred to, to haul down a flag that he kept hoisted there, and on his refusing to do so a boat's crew was sent on shore to pull the flag down. The commander then gave the natives a Spanish flag and told them to allow no other to be hoisted, but on the departure of the vessel the natives killed the man who had piloted her in and burnt the Spanish flag."

40: Robertson--50
116, 142, 291, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"They are a fine, well made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellows. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoanuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000

MARSTON BATES *and*
DONALD P. ABBOTT

CORAL ISLAND

PORTRAIT OF AN ATOLL

[Title Page.]

Charles Scribner's Sons
NEW YORK

[Pp 2-4 have no textual material]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000

© 1958 MARSTON BATES AND DONALD ABBOTT

A.8-58[V]

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. NO PART OF THIS BOOK MAY BE REPRODUCED IN ANY FORM WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 58-10527

W9348
170

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CONTENTS

FOREWORD 7
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS 10
MAPS 12

PART 1

I. *Moving In* 13
II. *Mostly About People* 25
III. *Mapping the Boondocks* 39
IV. *Fishing—and Bakalizing* 55
V. *Mostly About Food* 68
VI. *Fish Watching* 81
VII. *Radio Ifaluk* 92
VIII. *Well Digging* 105
IX. *Ship Come* 117

PART 2

X. *An End and a Beginning* 125
XI. *Mostly About Water* 132

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Contents

XII. *Lagoon Interludes* 147

XIII. *Something of the Past* 164

XIV. *Fishes and Lizards* 187

XV. *The Reefs* 201

XVI. *Woleai and Tilimwol* 220

XVII. *Sialach* 235

INDEX 253

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114 128 despite the underlying similarity of our points of view. We tried writing in the third person—Marston did this or Don thought that—but wives, friends, editors, said this made pretty flat reading. Finally we decided to split the book: Marston Bates would write the account for the period he was on the atoll; then Donald Abbott would take over for the remaining two months. The reader can thus expect to do one mental somersault, where "I" changes from Bates to Abbott between Chapters IX and X: Bates and Ted Burrows sadly going off with the Trust Territory ship, leaving Abbott with new companions to finish the study.

It is, of course, extremely presumptuous of us—of Abbott and Bates—to write about a study that also involved five other people. But the problems of multiple authorship seem insurmountable in a non-technical book and we wanted, in any case, to write subjectively, to write about our own reactions and feelings as well as about the people and things that we observed. In a very real sense, however, all seven of us achieved a "team approach" in our study of the atoll so that, whether they like it or not, all members of the team must share some responsibility for both the observations and the thoughts that we have expressed here. And certainly there must be a total sharing of the credit for whatever good may have come out of the Ifaluk enterprise.

114 The Ifaluk team consisted of:

Donald P. Abbott, marine biologist, of the Hopkins Marine Station of Stanford University, on Ifaluk from June 22 to November 9, and leader of the expedition from September 12 to the end.

Theodore Arnow, geologist and hydrologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk June 22–24 and September 12–26.

Marston Bates, biologist, of the University of Michigan, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12.

Frederick M. Bayer, zoologist, of the U. S. National Museum, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

Edwin G. Burrows, anthropologist, of the University of Connecticut, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12, and leader during this time.

Robert R. Harry, ichthyologist, of the George Vanderbilt Foundation, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Joshua I. Tracey, geologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk from September 12 to 26.

We came curiously and quickly to have a feeling of "belonging" on Ifaluk, and we found ourselves much involved with the people of the island in everything that we did. Inevitably, however, we were more closely associated with some than with others, and it may be helpful to identify here the people with whom we were most concerned, whose names appear most frequently in our narrative:

Fagolier, the paramount chief of Ifaluk.

Maroligar, the number two chief, guardian of the Fan Nap, where we lived.

Toroman, the number three chief and the official divider of food.

Lavausrung, the number four chief; a lady.

Wolpaitik, the number five chief (and the heaviest man on the island).

Totogoeiti (Tom), Ted's interpreter, and top ranking navigator (palu) of the island.

Yaniseman (Yani), "schoolteacher" and constant companion and advisor.

Bakalimar (Bakal), initially assigned as our special helper in camp and field, working later with Harry's fishing gang.

Tachiwelimeng (Tachim), neighbor, friend, and later one of Harry's fishing crew.

Letaweriur, Yani's wife and a composer of dance chants.

Gavileisei, master craftsman and canoe builder.

Gauaisig, an old man, navigator and canoe builder.

Talimeira, houseboy of Burrows and Spiro in 1948, now one of the two local "doctors."

Arueligar, "high priest" or "medicine man."

The Ifaluk study was made under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board, with a grant from the Office of Naval Research. We are particularly indebted to the Director of the Pacific Science Board, Dr. Harold J. Coolidge, and to the secretary of the Washington office, Mrs. Lenore Smith, and the secretary in Honolulu, the late Ernestine Akers, for help of all sorts.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Photograph and chart of Ifaluk FOLLOWING PAGE 32
The Men's House
Ted Burrows relaxing
Don Abbott's English lessons

An Ifalukian house FOLLOWING PAGE 64
The census operation
Seven prominent Ifalukians
The boondocks
Collecting botanical specimens

The "ur" dance FOLLOWING PAGE 96
Making flower garlands
The Ifalukian children
Canoe building
Weaving fish nets

Ocean-going canoes FOLLOWING PAGE 128
"Rop" fishing
"Yating" fishing
Rope making

The vegetation of Ifaluk FOLLOWING PAGE 160
The women's work
Food and kitchen utensils
The scientists at work

Water profile chart FOLLOWING PAGE 192
Outer margin of reef
Marine and land life
A native fish weir
Marston Bates—photographer

Three views of Ella FOLLOWING PAGE 224
Fish from the lagoon
The women dancing
Visiting captains

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

1

JUNE TO SEPTEMBER 600

By Marston Bates

ERRATA

PAGE 8:

Line 34 at the bottom of the page: for "Robert R. Harry, ichthyologist . . ." read "Robert R. Rofen, ichthyologist . . ."

PAGE 9:

At the end of line 21: for "Harry's fishing gang" read "Rofen's fishing gang."

At the end of line 22: for "one of Harry's" read "one of Rofen's . . ."

PHOTOGRAPHS FACING PAGE 161:

In the caption for the lower right picture: for "Bob Harry was after fish . . ." read "Bob Rofen was after fish . . ."

In the caption for the lower left picture: for "PHOTO BY HARRY" read "PHOTO BY ROFEN."

SECOND PAGE OF PHOTOGRAPHS FOLLOWING PAGE 192:

In the caption for the picture of the nearly armless starfish: for "PHOTO BY HARRY" read "PHOTO BY ROFEN."

[PP. 12-24 are not Processed]

[P. 11]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR20

sighted circling the atoll! Everyone rushed out to see. Don and I dashed back to the Fan Nap to get the walkie-talkies that had been provided for just this sort of a situation. The walkie-talkies had not been tested since being unpacked, but there was no time now. Don's seemed to transmit all right, but neither was very clear as a receiver, at least in the howling gale, so I ran back to the Fan Nap to tune the battery receiver-set there on the walkie-talkie wave length.

Don gave his position on the lagoon shore near the south end of the long island, and the plane must have heard because it turned and made a pass almost directly overhead. It was a weather observation plane from Guam. At the receiver set, with Ifaluk crowded around me, I could hear the whole conversation.

"Any damage there? Any damage there? Over."

"No damage, nobody hurt. Wind about Beaufort Nine. Is a typhoon coming? Over."

"Typhoon center already past now north of Ifaluk and moving northwest. Wind now at maximum velocity. We will report to Guam that you are all right . . ."

The plane disappeared into the mist over the north end of Falarik and out of radio range. Don lingered on the beach to make sure it would not make another circle, and I kept my ear at the radio for any further message, but only static came through. But we had heard enough. No more typhoon. Science said so. Western civilization had zoomed in from the sky to reassure us—and the relief was immense.

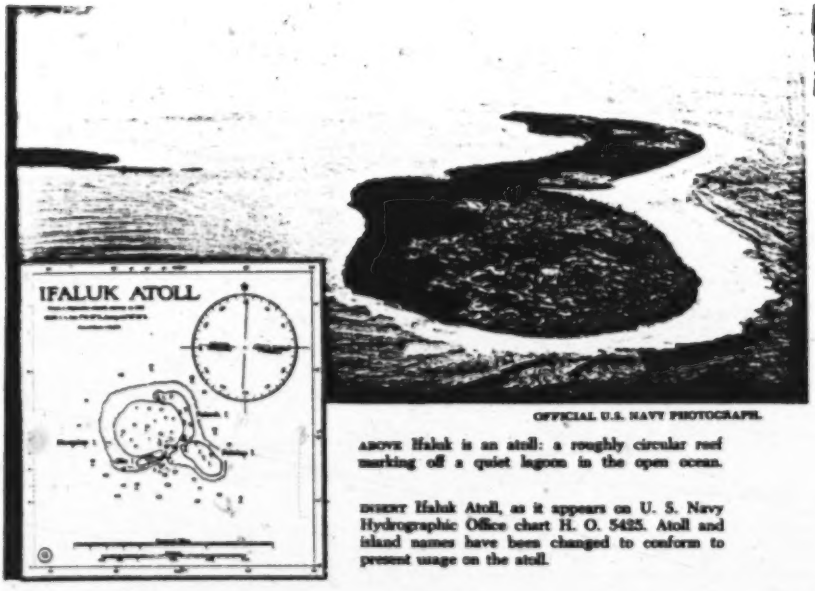
We relayed the information to the chiefs. Ifaluk was tremendously impressed with the whole business—the appearance of the plane, the conversation with the little boxes, and pick-up of the conversation on the Zenith radio in the Fan Nap. Goodness knows, we were impressed too.

Weeks later, when the trade ship of the Trust Territory Government stopped by Ifaluk, we found out that the storm had gained in force as it moved northwest and had hit the atoll of Ulithi squarely. Father William J. Walter, the missionary on Ulithi, described the damage in a letter to Don:

"A few hundred trees were uprooted and a few hundred more snapped in half. Paths were so strewn with debris that they were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
100



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSET Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

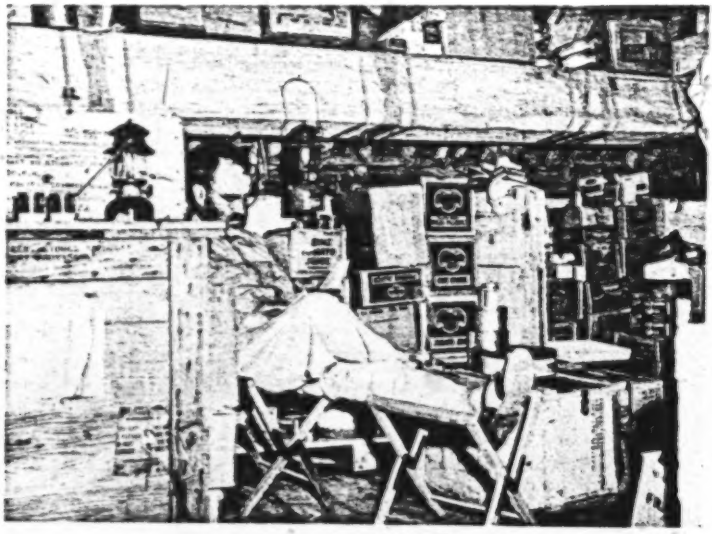
BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
137
114

[P.32(A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114



ABOVE Cases of food walled the kitchen area: Ted Burrows sometimes propped himself cozily there to read at night.

BELOW Don proposed a trade of English lessons for lessons in Ifalukian.

192
123
516

[P. 32(B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR90

obliterated completely. The ferocious wind scooped up the sea and hurled it over the island, ruining the fresh water in our rain catchments. The waves came up into the canoe houses and crumpled some of them. All canoes had previously been dragged inland into the villages and tied down between the houses. One of the women's club houses, which also served as maternity ward and hospital, began swaying under the impact of the storm. The women and children were removed to safety just before it disappeared in a spray of flying splinters. The waves piled up and crashed on the beach rolling water a hundred yards inland. The islands are only ten feet above sea level and the ocean threatened to inundate the land. All the coconuts and most of the fronds had been stripped from the trees. For nine months afterwards the people were on short rations and no copra could be produced."

The same trade ship brought news that another storm, about a month before, had hit Ulithi when a fleet of fishing canoes was out on the reef. Three canoes, with seven men, disappeared. The lost men included Tony's uncle, brother and nephew, and his niece lost her husband.

Ifaluk was too close to the equator to be often in the path of typhoons; it was in the area where these storms generally build up, gaining hurricane force as they move north. The island had not been struck by a major typhoon since 1907, but the storm of that year was a fearful one, and its mark was still on the island. From the lagoon, a few coconut palms stood out, much taller than the others; they were the survivors of the 1907 disaster. Great blocks of coral tossed up on the reef before Falalap were testimony enough to the unbelievable force of the sea.

The wind continued, but it could be ignored now that it held no threat of increased violence, and in the evening Don and I started seriously on our project of learning something about the language of Ifaluk. We had asked one of the young men, Yaniseman, to help with this, and he turned up with his good friend Tachiwelimeng.

This was the beginning of a close friendship and constant collaboration. Yaniseman was one of three young men from the island who had been sent to Yap for several months by the government of the Trust Territory to learn English and, on return, to serve as teachers for the island. The English that they could learn in this time was rudimentary,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5′ 7½″. Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch. 141 561

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5′ 1½″ tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses. 141 562 [462]

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians. 101

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians 142 [149]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were surely as mixed up racially as the Europeans (none of us can afford to be stuffy about purity of race) but the mixture in the Ifalukians must have contained some of the same elements as the European mixture. But how did they get so far away?

Most anthropologists believe that the Pacific islanders moved out from southeast Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of southeast Asia may have had a larger "Caucasian" component in their racial mixture than now. Despite his daring feat with the Kon-Tiki, few experts have much faith in Thor Heyerdahl's theory of American origin: he certainly proved that cross-Pacific contact is possible, but the evidence of language, culture and race points overwhelmingly to a Malayasian origin. One of the more probable migration routes for the Polynesians is from southeast Asia to the Philippines and through the Caroline islands to the central and south Pacific.

One gets the feeling, in this Polynesian-Micronesian area, of dealing with cultures far more complex than the technology would indicate: of dealing with the remnants of a high culture, of a "civilization." One feels that these same people, with the resources of a continent, could have built Angkor Vat or Copan: and they did produce some spectacular carving and building in places like Ponape and Easter Island. It is easy to understand the lure of the search for some "lost civilization" to account for these cultures; to understand the desire to create a mid-Pacific "continent of Mu" after the fashion of Atlantis. Maybe there is a general human tendency to explain the fascinating with the fabulous. Certainly the Pacific islanders are fascinating enough; but they have given us very few clear clues to either their origin or their history, and the few clues that we have are in part conflicting. Probably we shall never arrive at a clear and unequivocal reconstruction of their past.

But we were absorbed with the Present on Ifaluk. We had not yet acquired a proper Ifalukian shade of brown when we finally managed to finish our census of the people: but even with our strange color, we had already begun to feel at home, to feel "Micronesian" ourselves, a part of the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER III

MAPPING THE BOONDOCKS

THE IDEA was to study the human ecology of Ifaluk: the interrelations of man, his culture, and the environment. For man and his culture there was the reservoir of information accumulated by Burrows and Spiro during their 1948 residence on the island: studies which Ted planned to continue during his second visit. Don and I, with the enthusiasm of amateurs, wanted to help in this anthropological work. But there was also the environment to be studied—the land, the reef, the lagoon, the sea, the plants and animals. This "simple" situation—260 people living on half of a square mile of coral rock and sand—was incredibly complex.

When we had finished the counting, weighing and measuring of *Homo sapiens*, the next step seemed to be a start with the environment. The logical first move here was a map, a topographic survey of the situation.

The map problem was greatly simplified by the fact that a little previously a Navy reconnaissance plane had made a series of vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the whole atoll. The Ifalukians were fascinated by these photographs. They seemed to have no trouble at all in grasping the significance of either the vertical or oblique shots, and most people easily recognized the major landmarks, even locating their particular family dwellings. They knew the atoll thoroughly, and the aerial photographs gave them a chance to stand off and look at the whole thing at once, for the first time.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

126 Don and I spent one morning drawing a base map for the island of Falarik from a mosaic of the vertical air photographs. With this outline, the next problem was to fill in details of trails, households and vegetation. We thought we would start by mapping the principal trails.

Both of us were rank amateurs at sketch mapping. We had a Brompton compass lent by Ted Arnow and a triangular ruler marked with conventional scales, but no measuring tape more than six feet long and no plane table.

We first tried improvising a tape by tying knots at two-yard intervals in 100 yards of cod-line. When we had finished this tedious job, we discovered the darn thing stretched and tangled too easily to be of any use. I then dedicated myself to trying to learn to pace accurately, and soon managed a pace that fitted nicely when used on the base map with the 1:2500 scale of the triangular rule. This "Bates pace" was a purely arbitrary unit, but it worked well enough for our purpose. I learned to make nice adjustments in scrambling over coral [131] boulders and around breadfruit trees and through fern thickets so that I could come out with the proper count. In crossing the island, plotting the course on the outline map made from the air photos, we generally found an error of five or ten feet (it was about 900 feet across Falarik). This would probably have been disgraceful for an engineer but it pleased us immensely.

First we tried noting compass directions and number of paces for the quirks in the paths with the idea of plotting these on the map later. But this didn't work—too many mistakes. So I tried making a plane table by sinking a German camera adapter-screw into a board so that it could be fastened to an American camera tripod. The resulting contraption could not be called sturdy, but I was very proud of the improvisation.

We quickly worked out an effective system for dealing with trails. The mapping team consisted of Don, Bakal, Tony and me. Don handled the plane table, equipped with the triangular rule, the compass and a towel for switching away flies. Bakal toted things. Tony scouted ahead on the winding trails. I would keep an eye on Tony and when he seemed about to disappear on a trail, would call out to him to wait

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Ranau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included 43
only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which 592
had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and
when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife [591]
belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man
generally seemed to know much more about the household of his
mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been
living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal
movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleep-
ing regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—
which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census
making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties
meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two
old people who officially represented the smallest household were as [888]
well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous
members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading 858
that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of
the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us
from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family
and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would
be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though
"secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to
imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that
seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its
absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society [181]
extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further in- 597
creased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a
third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who
were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish
another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan
of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may
adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. 597
The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all 844
children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays [343]
there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 597 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 487 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense [178] vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [643] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Cocosuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2]
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 the fish and spear high out of the water, trying to avoid attracting
226 the shark with blood. Once more the shark swept by, this time with a second shark just behind. Bakal swam out to the reef, in response to Yani's yells, carrying one of the big, long spears, while Toroman rowed out with the BWUP to pick them all up.

Yani had fished around the coral heads of the lagoon all of his life, and said he had never before seen sharks come in so close to shore. He had a theory that the noise of the spear gun had attracted them. It seemed more likely to Don that they had followed the nice trail of blood from the speared moray, dragged all of the way across the lagoon from outside the pass (where sharks were common) to the area off the Fan Nap. The speared moray was still lying on the coral sand, so the one they had seen behaving so queerly in the lagoon was another.

[260] The day ended with a fine fish dinner.

Ted turned on the radio that evening to listen to some music and
123 presently accumulated an audience of several Ifalukians who had happened to drift by. The next evening people started accumulating on the temple grass behind the Fan Nap shortly after dinner, and it soon became apparent that they wanted another radio concert. The news, apparently, had spread that this was possible. We were a little appalled at the prospect of having to give a radio concert every evening, none of us being much addicted to radios. We explained that the battery would get tired if it were worked too hard. Then Don happened to think of the phonograph.

The expedition had been equipped with a portable, wind-up phonograph. No one knew whose idea this was—perhaps a hang-over from some previous atoll expedition with a juke-box addict among its members. The accompanying records mostly looked like juke-box material, though of uncertain vintage, along with a few records of Hawaiian music.

We pulled down the box of records, which had been stored away high on a beam in the Fan Nap, and set up the phonograph on the temple grass lawn back of the camp. Tony, eagerly helping, said he knew all about phonographs—that experience with the Coast Guard Station on Ulithi again—so we turned the machine and records over

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

to him. This arrangement worked well, and soon the concert was in full swing. I watched for a while from the side lines, caught by the contrast of the brown, naked bodies sprawled on the smooth lawn, listening to jazz records on a portable phonograph.

Presently another aspect of the contrast was brought to our attention —which served also as an illumination of the pocket problem. Nudity, or the seminudity of a loin-cloth, has one great drawback—there are no pockets. Of course, pockets don't necessarily follow from clothing, as any woman in the modern West well knows. But the absence of clothing does necessarily result in an absence of pockets. The men of Ifaluk and the women of the West, for their different reasons, thus share the problem of how to carry small useful objects of the sort that the Western male so conveniently stuffs in his pockets. The solution, in both cases, has been the purse. The men of Ifaluk always carried their purses with them—capacious, neatly woven affairs, which they put beside them when they sat down and tucked under their arms as they walked. What, we often wondered, were the contents of such a purse?

We got some insight, on this occasion, from Tony. After three or four records, he remarked to me that he thought the needle should be changed. I remembered we had come across needles in our unpacking, but for the life of me I couldn't remember where we had put them.

"Oh, that's all right," said Tony.

And he started to fish around in the depths of his purse. Presently he emerged with a small package and started to peel off the layers of wrappings of dried banana leaf, to disclose, finally, a paper of phonograph needles.

The answer to our question about the contents of the Ifalukian purse was clear—it might contain anything. Which I suppose would also be the answer in the case of the female purse of the West. Only Tony, carting his precious packet of needles from Ulithi to phonographless Ifaluk, seemed to have attained a state of preparedness hardly equalled by the White Knight. And yet, as Tony so triumphantly demonstrated, you never can tell!

I was, then, in no way surprised, a few days later, to have Tony pull

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

a small tube of yellow oxide of mercury out of that same purse, and ask me what it was for. When I explained, he graciously gave the tube to Tom, who had granulated eye-lids.

On Sunday (it was the 5th of July by then) I was just contemplating a siesta after a hard morning of mapping, when the peace of the island was broken by cries of "sail-ho" picked up and relayed from the windward side of Falalap across to Falarik in no time at all. Bakal arrived almost as fast as the cries, all out of breath, with Tony soon after, to report that it was a big Navy ship with the number "59" on the prow. The busy crossroads again.

We got out the walkie-talkies, but all we could hear was the "testing," "testing" of one another. The ship wasn't talking. Maroligar dragged a brand new American flag out of the chest by the Fan Nap altar, passing over two tattered ones that had been lying on top, and with Don's help tried to get it on the flagpole, which had been considerably damaged by the typhoon. They finally achieved a sort of half-mast effect—to the considerable puzzlement of the ship's captain, it turned out later.

Ted decided not to let anything as routine as a Navy visit to Ifaluk interfere with his siesta. Don and I, less blasé, haunted the beach until the grey hulk of a destroyer emerged from behind Falalap to anchor off the pass. A small boat put off immediately. When it beached, it turned out to have several cases of equipment identifiable as belonging to Bob Rofen. The crew said there was more cargo aboard. Don hardly dared believe that this might include his missing equipment. He and I went back to the ship with the boat and there, sure enough, were Don's drums, so carefully and lovingly packed in Pacific Grove months before.

We went into the wardroom and had coffee with the officers and told them all about Ifaluk. We borrowed paper, envelopes and stamps to surprise our wives with letters. When Ted came aboard, bringing money, we bought as many cartons of cigarettes as we could at the ship's stores, but this was the only thing we could think of that might be useful. The Ifalukian consumption of cigarettes was enormous—every adult on the island had the nicotine habit—and we were the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 Ted dealt out his forty-eight cans of beef as a going-away present. [622] The chief palu acknowledged this with a short but elegant-sounding speech.

We rowed out to the pass to watch the canoes put up sail when they had passed out of the lagoon—a pretty sight. Three sturdy canoes [502] starting out confidently across the Pacific to hit another tiny atoll—perhaps no staggering distance away, but still something to find without instruments.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

island with two pairs of blue jeans and some T-shirts by way of clothes, and first off had cut the legs of both pairs of blue jeans to convert them into shorts. The trouble was that my legs kept getting scratched in the course of pacing through the underbrush. Then the cuts would get nasty infections. I was ready to abandon my principles and take to long trousers, at least for work in the boondocks.

These infections were another of the flaws in paradise. Staphylococcus would start growing happily in every little skin abrasion, turning it into a nasty sore. The infections yielded fairly readily to antibiotic ointments, but this involved daily sessions of "wound-licking" and an ever-present decoration of band-aids over the scratched skin surfaces. This bothered me particularly because it was a contradiction of my pet theories about the intrinsic healthfulness of the tropical climate.

The whole question of "tropical sores" is a puzzling one. Coral cuts are notoriously troublesome, but on Ifaluk it seemed to make no difference whether the cut was made by coral or by the saw-like margins of the pandanus leaves. It might have been special susceptibility by newcomers to local bacterial strains—but the local people often had similar sores. It might have been some nutritional lack—I had seen similar infections in South America clear up quickly with thiamine injections. Certainly, we, with our canned food, were not living on any ideal diet.

Whatever the cause, the sores were a continuing nuisance, and I was very glad to get Don's extra trousers, much as I hated the idea of trousers—an arctic garment not really adapted to a tropical climate.

While Don was stowing his newly arrived gear, I concentrated on trying to set up a drying cabinet for plant specimens, taking one of the big wooden cases and fixing it so that pressed plants could be stored inside over continuously burning kerosene lanterns, to provide a constant, gentle heat. We would need a record of the plants growing on the island, both wild and cultivated, and there was no use starting plant collections without provisions for drying them.

This drying cabinet was put up in the "laboratory tent," a tarp that was suspended between two coconut palms beside the Fan Nap. A big mosquito net was hung under the tarp and a box to serve as table put inside. We frequently worked there during the day, to get away from

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different
264 ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided
527 by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut
[250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk
648 language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

after breakfast. All sorts of things went into that notebook (one of those waterproof engineer's books, carried in a case on the belt) and I had a chance to exercise my file-clerk instincts in keeping them straight. Numbers for plant notes had a square pencilled around them, so they caught the eye quickly. Pack and film numbers for photographs taken with the Crown Graphic had a circle around them; numbers for the Leica were double underlined; numbers for the Kodak Reflex were distinguished with a triangle.

The only marks for Thursday, July 9th, the day following the clean-up, were triangles, because the only notes were on photographs taken with the reflex. This was because the day was spent on a fishing expedition and I carried only the reflex. I never had liked that camera much, so I carried it whenever I thought there was danger of damage or loss—in this case, danger of salt-water damage.

Most of the men of Falarik were involved in this fishing expedition. Preparations started early in the morning. Great lengths of rope were hauled out of the canoe houses and wound spirally with strips of palm leaves, one after another, until the effect was that of a huge pile of monstrous green tinsel. The lengths of rope, as soon as they were prepared, were carried down to the lagoon shore and piled into the canoes.

By about ten o'clock everything was ready and the flotilla of canoes pushed off—a couple of dozen of them, the small one-man kind, and the medium-sized kind that carried four or five men. None of the big sea-voyaging canoes were launched. We went, with Bakal and Yani, in Bronson's rowboat, the BWUP, named for the ungainly trigger-fish. We felt awkward and sedate in this tub, but we were afraid of being a nuisance if we asked to go in one of the canoes. Anyway, Yani and Bakal were enamored of the BWUP, and it did make a steady base for observation and photography.

There was a row of about a mile across the still, bright lagoon. We took turns at rowing as a matter of principle, of sharing activities. But I am no athlete under any circumstances, and I was perhaps too obviously glad when I could stop the rowing and stretch out on the prow of the boat with head overside, staring into the mysterious sapphire

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in
006 the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows
[133] of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the
502 reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy
226 channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent
133 for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again.
[136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be
133 made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses; most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the cocoa operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
1422

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and adviser.

ASCAT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileiei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
643
142
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
142

ABOVE Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Causisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

622
516
142

[P. 64(c)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

137

above. The houseboats were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
516
142

[P. 64 (D)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal 301
turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, 302
with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear 123
lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had [292]
noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red [137]
hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western 123
male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me [301]
a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [502] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

461
517
562 Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an
643 inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
535 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[261] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 114 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 262 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records 267 136 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

137 [136] We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

137 262 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

137 245 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

251 Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food [731] supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

262 There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished 137 by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

244 Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
262 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
731 island, and came out with a total of 280 people, five dogs, nineteen cats,
[161] thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebra-
[052] tion of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
[937] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

000 I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

this or that. We might have done better if we had tried to adapt directly to the Ifalukian diet, because certainly the Ifalukians looked healthy and husky enough. Perhaps we couldn't have adapted to their varieties of starch in the time available, since changing food habits involves somewhat more than merely changing prejudices, and changing prejudices is not always easy, particularly when there are three people to interact on one another.

Clearly our own food behavior was not adapted to the atoll conditions, though I am not sure exactly what we did wrong. I always tend to have a skinny, underfed look, in the tropics. It bothers me to have people tell me how well I look after a winter in the north; and how bad I look after a period of tropical residence, because my feelings are exactly the opposite of my appearance. We weighed ourselves periodically on the bathroom scales that we had brought along for weighing the inhabitants of Ifaluk, and I worried a little as I watched the steady drop. But the worry wasn't enough to spoil the pleasure of living in the sun or lazily floating in the lagoon, or enough to jar me into any dietary experiments. We went on opening our cans while we weighed the food at Falepenach and Soumat, dietary intruders but having a wonderful time.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
[539] *They have given us a paper.*
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

unusual about the food except our corned beef. But always, after a communal activity of any kind, there was a communal meal. I drifted from group to group taking pictures and eating a snack of breadfruit with this friend, a hunk of taro with that, and letting them play the always-amusing game of peering at one another through the sights of my Graphic camera.

The day was shot as far as "work" for us was concerned. By the time we had got film and notes taken care of, we were ready for our afternoon swim in the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

From the beginning, we had formed a habit of going for a swim in the lagoon toward the end of the afternoon. Many people on Ifaluk bathed in the lagoon in late afternoon, so we were right in line with local custom. As an old Floridian, I really preferred swimming in the bright sun of mid-day and I tried to make our lagoon schedule as early in the afternoon as I could; but what with one thing or another, we often didn't get into the water until rather late.

We always wore goggles. I wonder now why anyone ever goes swimming without goggles. Man, under water, is blind without them. In many places, to be sure, there is little to see; but one can never be sure of this without trying. And in the lagoon at Ifaluk there were unending marvels to be looked at.

We were caught at first by the sheer pleasure of drifting around, exclaiming at the forms of the corals and of the colors of the fish. Then we got to thinking that if we were to spend an hour or so in the water every afternoon, we might as well be trying to make some systematic observations.

The fish, we noticed, paid very little attention to us. Apparently a large brown object of human shape plopped into their environment had no connotation of danger. The fish went on about their business as usual, indifferent to the observer. The contrast with the land, where birds and mammals clearly regard observing man as a potential enemy, was great. We didn't have to resort to field glasses or blinds—we could just float pleasantly on the surface and watch the fish. In coral seas, at least, fish watching seems to me to have it all over bird watching, though I doubt whether I would be so enthusiastic about fish watching in colder waters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000 [126] We had aqualung equipment, but this was for Bob Rofen to use in his fish collecting in the fall. We didn't touch it because the supply of compressed air was very limited, and anyway we were unfamiliar with the equipment. We felt no need for deep diving, though. There was plenty to observe close to the surface, and we had "schnorkel" breathing tubes, which were useful if you wanted to keep your eye on the fish.

133 If we were going to be scientific and systematic about our daily swim, the first thing to do, we decided, would be to make a map of the swimming area, so we could tell where we were. The coral in the lagoon grew in large, irregular clumps which I called "coral heads" though they are more properly called "reef knolls" or "patch reefs." These were separated by open areas in which the bottom was clean, white sand.

The coral heads near the shore grew to a height where they were just awash at low tides. The tops of these were flat, and the coral was dead except around the margins. In deeper water, the "heads" were rounded and they occurred scattered everywhere over the lagoon floor as far out as we could see, peering into the crystal water.

The coral formations in shoal water showed up plainly on our aerial photographs as irregular dark patches, and from these I tried sketching the formations directly in front of the Fan Nap, where our fish watching activities were concentrated. We subsequently checked and modified the map on the spot with the row boat, and in the end got a pretty accurate picture of this bit of the lagoon.

Landscape (or seascape) features, to be remembered, need names, so we decided we should name the reef formations in the swimming area. First to be commemorated were our wives. Two prominent and complicated contiguous masses of coral, fairly near shore, were named Izzie (for Isabela) and Nancy by Abbott and Bates respectively. Various tributary fragments broken off from these masses were given names after Abbott and Bates children. Ted selected a pleasant, rather isolated and well-rounded head to name after Marie, with Nani, his daughter, somewhat farther out in the same line, and his son David off to the right.

A central group of reefs was named after the five chiefs of Ifaluk. A large and rather sterile mass near shore presented a problem in

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

naming which Ted neatly solved by suggesting Beldame Flats, for the slightly wacky old lady who persisted in making eyes at him during evening dance rehearsals. 133

Out beyond and to the north of these discrete coral heads lay a great submerged mass of dead coral, which we decided to call the continent of Moo. Moo had a complex topography, with southern and northern outposts and an octopus point, only intermittently inhabited by octopuses during the summer. A great deal of my time was spent floating over the southern outpost of Moo where a big red squirrel fish (*Holocentrus spinifer* to ichthyologists) seemed to get as much pleasure out of watching me as I got out of watching him. [136]

Each coral formation was staked out into a series of territories by little Pomocentrid fish, called "lejoc" by the Ifalukians. The lejoc were only about three inches long, but their belligerence in defending their territories was in no way proportional to their size. We spent a lot of time teasing them. A foot, a hand, any new and foreign object intruded into the territory always caused great indignation—was always the object of fierce attack. 133 136

Each fish defended a roughly circular territory two or three feet in diameter, with boundaries marked by features of the coral landscape, and with a centrally located crevice or hole where the lejoc would lurk when not warding off intruders.

Biologists define a "territory" as an area defended by an individual, a pair, or a group, against intrusion by others of the same species. Many kinds of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish show territorial behavior, though until recently the matter had been little studied in fish, and there is still a great deal to be learned. The lejoc were clearly territorial in the strict sense, individuals clinging to the same area day after day and defending it against intrusion. My big red *Holocentrus* may also have been showing territorial behavior, since he (or she?) stayed in the same small area off Moo all summer. But I never noticed the *Holocentrus* showing aggressive behavior. Perhaps the outpost of Moo was a "home range" rather than a "territory" for this individual: the difference would depend on behavior in relation to another *Holocentrus* swimming into the area, a situation that I never had a chance to observe.

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he 000

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he
136 called "unlikely animals"—animals he never would have thought of if
126 he had been in charge of animal design. Any one of the three of us, cruising around with our goggles, would be likely to shout to the others to come see some new marvel he had just discovered for the first time.

136 I remember the afternoon Ted called out "come look at this—here is a helicopter fish!"

Sure enough there was a sort of squat fish hovering in mid-water near Marie (Ted was apt to do his fish watching near the coral head named after his wife) with fins split into long narrow rays which, in their movement, had reminded Ted of a helicopter. The fish seemed completely indifferent to our watching; presently it went into forward gear and moved slowly and sedately off.

We looked through the fish books and presently made out that it was *Pterois*, a "scorpion fish" or "lion fish." We learned that the protruding spines were poisonous, which probably accounted for its calm indifference. We subsequently saw these fish several times in our swimming area, but they were not among the regular, territorial inhabitants.

The synaptid sea-cucumber was another unlikely animal. Most sea-cucumbers have a reasonably cucumber-like form (though one kind on Ifaluk achieved an almost watermelon-like size). The synaptids, however, are long, slender, snake-like affairs. The species in our swimming area had a bright, almost black-and-white checkered pattern that reminded me of some of the South American vipers like the fer-de-lance. Stretched out from under a coral head, the sea-cucumber looked for all of the world like a fer-de-lance crawling out from under a rock. Only, when you looked closely, you saw not the menacing, triangular head of the viper, but instead, where the head should be, a rather silly-looking tuft of waving plumes. And when you picked this unlikely animal up, you found, not firm flesh, but a limp, tissue-paper-like affair. I always thought of them as the tissue paper fer-de-lances of the coral heads.

Don thought that the giant clams should be included among the unlikely animals, but he was looking at them as a zoologist, thinking of their unlikely physiology and structure. The giant clams (*Tridacna*)

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the Ifaluk lagoon were not really giant, perhaps because people found them and ate them before they had time to reach an unlikely size. To a non-zoologist, they didn't look unusual, except for the lovely colors of the margins of the partly-opened shell and of the flesh of the animal disclosed within.

Don gave me the following explanation of the unlikely physiology of the clams (in terms of the studies of C. M. Yonge on the Tridacna of the Great Barrier Reef of Australia):

"The animal has thousands of microscopic plants, single-celled algae, in its blood. The part of the body of the clam, exposed to the sun when the shell is open, bears hundreds of tiny lenses that focus the light into pools of blood below the skin, turning the superficial tissues into a sort of greenhouse. The algae in the blood are transposed from here and digested in the blood stream in the vicinity of the gut and "liver," providing a part of the clam's diet. The rest of the Tridacna's food is assorted small plankton, filtered from the water by the gills and taken in through the mouth. Algal food digested in the blood leaves fecal wastes there—in effect the beast is defecating in its blood stream. How to get rid of the fecal wastes in this unlikely place?

"The animal, like other clams, has a pair of kidneys; in other clams these excrete nitrogenous wastes from protein breakdown. But in Tridacna these nitrogenous wastes are picked up quickly by the algae and used as a fertilizer. Tridacna's urine is almost pure sea water. But the animal has found a 'new' use for its kidneys—each acts as a sort of accessory anus to eliminate the fecal wastes left in the blood by algae digestion there. The 'farming' operation has involved complex physiological changes affecting the whole organism."

We think of molluscs as slow, deliberate animals, but these *Tridacnas* can close their shells with extraordinary speed and decision. One of our amusements was to poke things at the clams to watch the suddenness with which they could snap shut. It is quite believable that the big ones could catch a diver's foot and hold him until he drowned —a standard hazard now in Pacific movies.

Don dedicated quite a lot of time to octopus watching. Octopus Point, along the west coast of the continent of Moo, got its name from a small octopus that made headquarters there the first few weeks of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

136 the summer. Just about the time that we had decided that this octopus had a permanent home there, it disappeared and our daily checks would reveal only the empty hole. Then Don found another small octopus living in a hole in the center of the coral we named after Maroligar.

The octopuses were suspicious creatures, and while they would often be partially outside when first found, they would slowly withdraw into the recesses of their holes under the steady gaze of the observer. There was always a pile of small coral fragments outside the hole, and as an octopus retreated, these fragments were pulled in by the sucker-covered arms to block the entrance—except that generally a small peep-hole was left, framing a watchful octopus eye.

The area around the hole on Maroligar reef was littered with debris from the meals of the octopus: empty shells, claws and legs from the crabs it had eaten. Don picked up all of these and saved them—a food record on the octopus. Every day he would find the remains of more crabs, so that he got a record of the diet of this crab-loving octopus over a period of several weeks.

Then, one day, the hole on Maroligar was empty, and it remained empty for quite a while. Thus we got the impression that these octopuses would make headquarters in one place for days, or weeks, but that they did not stay permanently in any one place, did not establish "territories" the way so many of the other lagoon inhabitants did.

I only once saw an octopus swimming in the daytime. I wouldn't have seen this if it hadn't moved—a piece of a brown coral mass I was looking at suddenly gave a few convulsive movements and then shot off, jet fashion, with trailing tentacles, to the next coral head where it stopped, again blending perfectly into the background. I swam slowly toward the place where it had disappeared, but just as I got near enough so that I could distinguish octopus from coral, it took off again, this time disappearing into the depths of the lagoon.

133 126 I have been writing glibly about "coral" and "coral heads." Actually, these patch reefs were built up of a wide variety of lime-secreting organisms, many of them not true corals. We picked one of the patch reefs, Maroligar, and tried to make a map of the different kinds of organisms that were contributing to its structure. We thought this

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

would be simple and easy, since Maroligar was a small patch reef about six yards long and a couple of yards wide. It turned out, however, to be a complicated operation, which kept Don and me busy for many hours.

Much of the trouble was technical—mostly the problem of working in the water with dry materials. When we had got an outline map made, we decided to spot the different kinds of coral and coral-like organisms on our map with colored pencils. But the colors, when wet, would blur! We had a canvas-covered inner-tube that served as a raft. We would tow mapping gear and towels on this, out to position. Then I would stand up, on some convenient part of Maroligar, dry my hands, and start trying to mark down the corals as Don, diving around with goggles, called them to me. He would come periodically to peer at my map, point with dripping finger to where I had the thing wrong, and with this well-placed drip of water that bit of my map would really be spoiled. Or I would try to move, and slip, splashing water over everything. At times we got completely fed up with the project, but we kept on and finally got a reasonable map that, with all of the different colors, was almost as pretty as Maroligar itself.

1: Burrows--1-2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"The report that follows is based mainly on six months of residence on Ifalik, from July, 1947, to February, 1948. This field work was part of the project called CIMA (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), sponsored by the National Research Council at the request of the U.S. Navy. There were two of us on Ifalik. Melford L. Spiro, then a graduate student in anthropology from Northwestern University, investigated the development of native personality. Aspects of the culture particularly vital to that project--child care, the individual life cycle, sexual life, and the detailed functioning of kinship--were left to him.

This report has two purposes: to record a good deal of the culture for comparative study, and to supply information useful to administrators. It is too much to hope that either purpose will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned. [2] Ethnologists who confine themselves to standard data are comparatively easy to please. But those who attempt new lines of inquiry--as they should, for the whole subject is in a pioneering stage--are bound to be disappointed in their sources. In the same way, some matters are obviously important to administrators; but nobody can tell what else may become so. There is only one remedy. Administrators must have the assistance of anthropologists, trained to make whatever fresh studies a changing situation demands.

For both purposes this account will be supplemented by Melford Spiro's analysis of personality development. A third report, now in preparation, will be a study of the arts

most developed in Ifalik, -- songs, dances, and ritual--showing how they express the themes and sentiments that dominate native life."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"Expert help has been received from many sources. Commander Betts of the Fleet Weather Center at Guam helped to explain the climate. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Honolulu officer of the Pacific Science Board, supplied English and scientific names of a number of animal species. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg explained the conditions that govern plant life. He and Mr. Bryan collaborated with Miss Marie Neal of Bishop Museum in identifying plant specimens. Dr. Maud Makemson of Vassar College, whose studies in Polynesian and Maya astronomy have pioneered a new field of research that might be called ethnoastronomy, identified, as far as possible from the rough data supplied her, the stars by which native navigators find their way to other islands. Melford L. Spiro supplemented and corrected the data at many points. Some of his help is acknowledged in the text, but as we exchanged data constantly, not all of it could be."

29: Spiro--189 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik-1 -4

"THE QUESTION of the incidence and kinds of mental illness found among primitive peoples has resulted in a respectable literature and has occasioned heated discussions. (1) It is not the purpose of this paper to enter into these many controversies or to discuss the problem of clinical versus cultural criteria of abnormality. Its nature is much less ambitious, being an account of just one abnormal personality in one primitive culture. It is the writer's hope that this paper will serve to re-emphasize what a number of writers have previously emphasized--the lack of concrete data on the nature of

---

"1. For an excellent survey of the literature, summary of divergent opinions, and an original interpretation--though one the writer does not entirely subscribe to--see Erwin H. Ackerknecht, 'Psychopathology, Primitive Medicine and Primitive Culture,' Bull. Hist. Med. (1943) 14:30-67."

psychopathology among primitive peoples. (2) With almost pathetic regularity, anthropological discussions of the nature of abnormality have been characterized by the absence of any intensive study of, or reference to, concrete individuals. (3) This lack of detailed

---

"2. See Ackerknecht, reference footnote 1; A. I. Hallowell, 'Culture and Mental Disorders,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:1-9; J. M. Cooper, 'Mental Disease Situations in Certain Cultures,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1934) 29:10-18; R. E. L. Faris, 'Some Observations on the Incidence of Schizophrenia in Primitive Societies,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 29:30-31; J. P. Foley, 'The Criterion of Abnormality,' J. Abnormal and Social Psychol. (1935) 30:279-291; N. J. Demerath, 'Schizophrenia among Primitives,' Amer. J. Psychiatry (1942) 98:203-207. All these writers, as well as many others, point out the dire need for concrete cases of mental disorder among primitive peoples, if future discussions of this problem are to be fruitful.

3. The only exception, to the writer's knowledge, is found in A. I. Hallowell, 'Shabwan: A Dissocial Indian Girl,' Amer. J. Orthopsychiatry (1938) 8:329-340."

information, while in itself of no great consequence, becomes gravely serious when this very lack of information becomes the basis for building theories of the nature of abnormality from a cross-cultural perspective. It seems obvious that all theoretical formulations based on ethnographic data will remain mere verbal exercises until we shall have collected a large number of concrete cases in the field which can be subjected to scientific analysis. Impressionistic observations of an ethnographer, however competent he be, do not in themselves constitute objective evidence; and yet they are used by otherwise careful scholars as proof of or documentation for their theories. (4) "

" 4. Ackerknecht, whose scholarship is otherwise impeccable, accepts ethnographic generalizations unquestioningly. He quotes, without reservation, for example, Warner's evaluation of a Murngin magician as being 'perfectly normal in his behavior,' and in whom 'there was nothing sinister, peculiar or psychopathic....' Reference footnote 1; p. 52 (quoting from W. L. Warner, A Black Civilization; p. 210). One need not impugn Warner's competence as an observer to ask for the evidence for this statement. Generalizations on this level of abstraction constitute the bulk of the ethnographic 'evidence' in discussions of this problem. "

(1947-48) 1950

This paper, then, is an attempt to begin to fill in this lacuna in our knowledge. The case to be presented is chosen because of its incontrovertible character. Tareveliman, the subject, is looked upon as abnormal by the members of his society, by the two anthropologists--Dr. E. G. Burrows and the writer--who studied the society, and by Tarev himself."

29: Spiro--202-203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121 Ifalik-1 3

"Since it was virtually impossible to obtain a case history on Tarev, we cannot get at the basic psychodynamics of this case. One aspect of his life emerges quite clearly, however, as of crucial significance--his Japanese interlude. It is our thesis that though this Japanese experience was not the sufficient cause of his psychosis, it was the necessary precipitating factor that served to elicit this particular syndrome. (19)

Regardless of the differences between the conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the abnormal--absolutist and clinical versus relativistic and statistical (cultural)--all interpretations will agree that the incidence of certain types of mental disease differs widely in different cultures. Comparative statistical data demonstrate this empirically, and, for the anthropologist, the explanation is not too hard to find. The psychological concepts of adjustment and maladjustment--like the biological concepts of adaptation and maladaptation--are not substantive, but rather relational terms. An organism is adapted or maladapted not in vacuo, but with reference to a particular environment. Any organism, as Dewey has put it so well, lives not 'in an environment,' but rather 'by means of its environment,' so that a change in either the organism or the environment destroys their dynamic equilibrium and results in maladaptation. (20)

"19. This analysis, with some modifications, was part of a paper read before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at its 1949 meetings in Bloomington, Indiana.

20. John Dewey, Logic: The Theory of Inquiry; New York, Henry Holt, 1938; p. 25."

So, too, human personality exists not so much in a culture as by means of [203] a culture. Each culture creates its own particular stresses and strains with which the personality must cope, but, at the same time, the culture also provides instrumentalities--institutionalized techniques--for the resolution of those stresses and strains. (21) Now those individuals who, for whatever the reasons--and the reasons are still very much obscure--cannot resolve these culturally-created stresses and strains by means of the instrumentalities that the culture itself provides must resolve them by means of personal instrumentalities, idiosyncratic ways known as neuroses or psychoses. However, since each culture creates its own unique psychic strains, the kinds of maladjustments and, consequently, the kinds of resolutions of those maladjustments--neuroses

---

"21. The high incidence of personality disturbances found in native cultures in acculturative situations, or in the rapidly changing American culture, may thus be explained by the fact that these cultures in transition create new tensions, but have not yet created those cultural channels necessary for the alleviation of the tensions. For a detailed analysis of this position and an attempt to resolve the conflicting interpretations of the abnormal, see the writer's 'A Cultural Interpretation of the Abnormal' (ms. in preparation)."

and psychoses--will vary from culture to culture. (22)

Ifaluk is no exception. Certain infancy and childhood traumata, which limitations of space do not permit description of, create certain tensions (frustration - aggression patterns) and needs (dependency-security patterns) which, if left unresolved could very well lead to severe personality disturbance. At the same time, however, the culture provides institutional techniques (primarily religious) which alleviate the tensions and satisfy the needs. These institutional devices obviate the necessity and preclude the occurrence of acute personality disturbances. Thus, the external culturo-dynamic equilibrium results in an internal psychodynamic equilibrium. This personality equilibrium, we have seen, was as characteristic of Tarev as of the other members of his society. Then an obtrusive element--cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese--intruded into his sociocultural field so as to destroy the equilibrium."

"22. This analysis, of course, applies only to those disturbances that result from culturally-patterned events. It does not apply to those that result from unique or 'personal-social conditioning,' to use Kimball Young's term."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

29: Spiro--203-204 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 177 Ifalik-1 - 2

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

---

"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
585 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 173 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional
114 values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of
262 snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records
262 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that
136 there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

139 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and
[136] the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

139
262 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

139
295 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Joshua I. Tracey, geologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk from September 12 to 26. 114

We came curiously and quickly to have a feeling of "belonging" on Ifaluk, and we found ourselves much involved with the people of the island in everything that we did. Inevitably, however, we were more closely associated with some than with others, and it may be helpful to identify here the people with whom we were most concerned, whose names appear most frequently in our narrative: 114 115 115

Fagolier, the paramount chief of Ifaluk.

Maroligar, the number two chief, guardian of the Fan Nap, where we lived.

Toromau, the number three chief and the official divider of food.

Lavausrung, the number four chief; a lady.

Wolpaitik, the number five chief (and the heaviest man on the island).

Totogoeiti (Tom), Ted's interpreter, and top ranking navigator (palu) of the island.

Yaniseman (Yani), "schoolteacher" and constant companion and advisor.

Bakalimar (Bakal), initially assigned as our special helper in camp and field, working later with Harry's fishing gang.

Tachiwelimeng (Tachim), neighbor, friend, and later one of Harry's fishing crew.

Letaweriur, Yani's wife and a composer of dance chants.

Cavileisei, master craftsman and canoe builder.

Gauaisig, an old man, navigator and canoe builder.

Talimeira, houseboy of Burrows and Spiro in 1948, now one of the two local "doctors."

Arueligar, "high priest" or "medicine man."

The Ifaluk study was made under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board, with a grant from the Office of Naval Research. We are particularly indebted to the Director of the Pacific Science Board, Dr. Harold J. Coolidge, and to the secretary of the Washington office, Mrs. Lenore Smith, and the secretary in Honolulu, the late Ernestine Akers, for help of all sorts. 122

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR30

obliterated completely. The ferocious wind scooped up the sea and hurled it over the island, ruining the fresh water in our rain catchments. The waves came up into the canoe houses and crumpled some of them. All canoes had previously been dragged inland into the villages and tied down between the houses. One of the women's club houses, which also served as maternity ward and hospital, began swaying under the impact of the storm. The women and children were removed to safety just before it disappeared in a spray of flying splinters. The waves piled up and crashed on the beach rolling water a hundred yards inland. The islands are only ten feet above sea level and the ocean threatened to inundate the land. All the coconuts and most of the fronds had been stripped from the trees. For nine months afterwards the people were on short rations and no copra could be produced."

The same trade ship brought news that another storm, about a month before, had hit Ulithi when a fleet of fishing canoes was out on the reef. Three canoes, with seven men, disappeared. The lost men included Tony's uncle, brother and nephew, and his niece lost her husband.

Ifaluk was too close to the equator to be often in the path of typhoons; it was in the area where these storms generally build up, gaining hurricane force as they move north. The island had not been struck by a major typhoon since 1907, but the storm of that year was a fearful one, and its mark was still on the island. From the lagoon, a few coconut palms stood out, much taller than the others; they were the survivors of the 1907 disaster. Great blocks of coral tossed up on the reef before Falalap were testimony enough to the unbelievable force of the sea.

The wind continued, but it could be ignored now that it held no threat of increased violence, and in the evening Don and I started seriously on our project of learning something about the language of Ifaluk. We had asked one of the young men, Yaniseman, to help with this, and he turned up with his good friend Tachiwelimeng.

This was the beginning of a close friendship and constant collaboration. Yaniseman was one of three young men from the island who had been sent to Yap for several months by the government of the Trust Territory to learn English and, on return, to serve as teachers for the island. The English that they could learn in this time was rudimentary.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 200 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 123 Ifalik

"Special acknowledgment is due the hospitality and collaboration of the native people. They not only submitted patiently to our most impertinent inquiries, but gladly offered whatever help we asked for, or whatever occurred to them. The chiefs were particularly helpful, assembling to give us information whenever we asked for it and assigning to us as helpers young Talimeira, who picked up English so fast that before we left he could be used as an interpreter in some matters, and Totogoeiti ('Tom'), our interpreter. An unforgettable example of chiefly conduct was the last sentence addressed to me by Paliuilimar, the aged chief who died during our stay on the island. I called on him when he was far gone, and could only speak faintly. When he saw me he raised his head and asked 'Have you plenty of young coconuts to drink?' "

2: Damm et al. --viii (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 123 Ifaluk

The sojourn on Aurepik from the 31st of October to the 2nd of November was short, and quite dramatic. Sarfert found an old man, who was well informed about the local history and legends. The collections were also satisfactory. Then as luck would have it, while the launch was on its way from the island to the ship, it capsized in the surf, and the photographic plates and all the ethnographic material were lost. That is the reason why we can not give any more exact details about the tools in the section devoted to the description of the material possessions, since neither Hellwig, Hambruch nor Krämer had been able to get anything from the natives, who had visited the ship, and they too had undertaken some collecting. Then Sarfert spent twelve days, from the 5th to the 17th of November, on Ifaluk. These natives were eager to cooperate in every way, but they did not know as much about the old religion and history of the island as he had expected. They themselves admitted that they had forgotten a great many of these old beliefs.

28: Spiro--20
116, 623, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs assemble the people for public meetings whenever they wish to announce a new policy or some new event. Before the people are assembled, however, the chiefs meet alone to decide among themselves what actions or decisions are to be taken. And though the chiefs are ranked in a descending heirarchy, the decision is always arrived at by a concensus rather than by any one prevailing over the others. From the nature of their discussions, which we were always permitted to attend, it seems that a majority decision is not sufficient, so that they continue to discuss the matter until they can all agree on the course to be taken. At times this requires a long time. For example, Dr. Burrows and I asked Tom if we might rent a canoe for the duration of our stay. He said that he would speak to the chiefs, since a matter of that kind would require their consideration. The chiefs had a special meeting, requiring three hours to decide what objectively looked like a very simple matter. The decision, incidentally, was to give us a canoe for the duration of our stay, but with the stipulation that we confine our canoeing to the lagoon, lest we go into the ocean, and capsize, in which case the chiefs would feel 'very bad.' It is also of interest parenthetically, in terms of the Ifaluk emphasis on status, that after informing us of the chiefs' decision, Tom told us that when we return to America we should inform the people and the chief that the Ifalukians were very good to us, and had given us a canoe, and 'then, Ifaluk more high.'"

28: Spiro--94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 858, 831 Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talemememar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--103
116, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the rivalry. One evening, sitting in one of the houses, I saw Iliakong, but she ignored me. I began to play with one of the little girls, and immediately the former came over, laughing at me, sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her to her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she didn't eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason soon became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. The whole point of my giving her the candy and carrying her home, was to show off to the others.

Almost every day, the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two and even three to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelmar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, who fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him).

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When one threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

What they want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share it with the others. If I held one in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can't have the desired object, the other cannot, either. One day, this would not work, and they tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezabung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, and I refused to put on medicine as they were slight scratches. Talememar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--147 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517, 533, 123 Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

29: Spiro--190-191 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123 Ifalik-1

"I should now like to turn to the actual examination of Tarev himself. Though we arrived in Ifaluk on July 27, there is no [191] entry in my field notes concerning Tarev until September 20. This may be explained by three factors: my own preoccupation with other ethnographic matters, Tarev's relative quiescence for long periods of time, and the reluctance of the natives to inform us about him. I first saw Tarev when I was administering a Rorschach in a house close to his. I mentioned to our interpreter that we would proceed next to his house, but he replied that the man in the next house was a 'fool fella,' and we would best leave him alone. When I questioned him about this man, it became evident that he was reluctant to talk about him. This reluctance characterized the other people as well. It was only when it became apparent that I could somehow control Tarev's aggressive behavior rather effectively that the people gave me information about him and no longer attempted to conceal his behavior from me.

The following description will follow my own chronological experiences with Tarev, and the materials recorded are taken directly from my field notes:

September 20, 1947. The 'fool fella' from Falalap [one of the two inhabited islands in the atoll] came up to Ted [Dr. E.G. Burrows] and me, as we arrived for the ceremonies, and asked to hold our hands. When we gave him our hands, he took them in his own and smelled them. Later in the day, he came to us and asked us to go with him, but the chiefs asked us not to comply with his wishes. Still later, when we returned to Ifaluk

[the other of the two inhabited islands; the one on which we lived], we found Tarev speaking to Maroligar [Tarev's uncle, one of the five chiefs] and telling him that he would like to return to his wife or else marry another woman. Maroligar told him that he could not remarry yet, and that it was our wish that he not do so. (7)

September 24, 1947. Tarev has caused quite a disturbance today. He wished to go to Falalap to see his wife, but the men told him not to go. When he persisted, they had to restrain him by force."

"7. From the very beginning, therefore, the ethnographers were involved in Tarev's activities. This is important to bear in mind with reference to the transference which later developed between Tarev and me."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1 -4

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR20

sighted circling the atoll! Everyone rushed out to see. Don and I dashed back to the Fan Nap to get the walkie-talkies that had been provided for just this sort of a situation. The walkie-talkies had not been tested since being unpacked, but there was no time now. Don's seemed to transmit all right, but neither was very clear as a receiver, at least in the howling gale, so I ran back to the Fan Nap to tune the battery receiver-set there on the walkie-talkie wave length.

Don gave his position on the lagoon shore near the south end of the long island, and the plane must have heard because it turned and made a pass almost directly overhead. It was a weather observation plane from Guam. At the receiver set, with Ifaluk crowded around me, I could hear the whole conversation.

"Any damage there? Any damage there? Over."

"No damage, nobody hurt. Wind about Beaufort Nine. Is a typhoon coming? Over."

"Typhoon center already past now north of Ifaluk and moving northwest. Wind now at maximum velocity. We will report to Guam that you are all right . . ."

The plane disappeared into the mist over the north end of Falarik and out of radio range. Don lingered on the beach to make sure it would not make another circle, and I kept my ear at the radio for any further message, but only static came through. But we had heard enough. No more typhoon. Science said so. Western civilization had zoomed in from the sky to reassure us—and the relief was immense.

We relayed the information to the chiefs. Ifaluk was tremendously impressed with the whole business—the appearance of the plane, the conversation with the little boxes, and pick-up of the conversation on the Zenith radio in the Fan Nap. Goodness knows, we were impressed too.

Weeks later, when the trade ship of the Trust Territory Government stopped by Ifaluk, we found out that the storm had gained in force as it moved northwest and had hit the atoll of Ulithi squarely. Father William J. Walter, the missionary on Ulithi, described the damage in a letter to Don:

"A few hundred trees were uprooted and a few hundred more snapped in half. Paths were so strewn with debris that they were

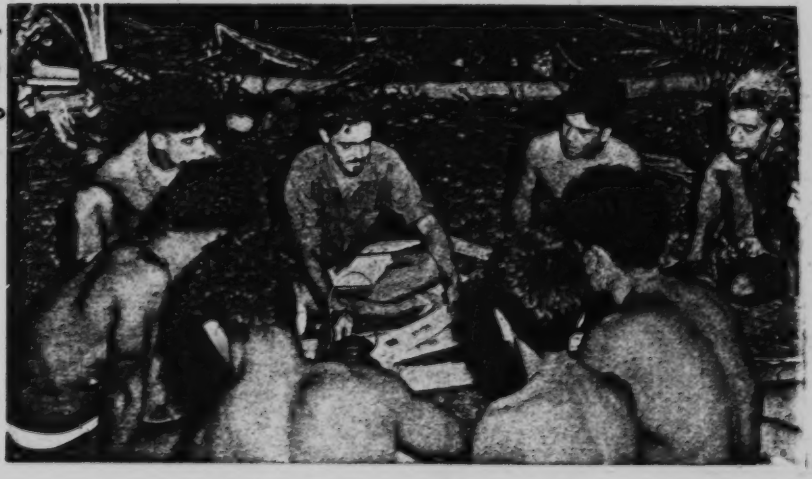
41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114

ABOVE Cases of food walled the kitchen area: Ted Burrows sometimes propped himself comfy there to read at night.

BELOW Don proposed a trade of English lessons for lessons in Ifalukian.

192
123
516



[P. 32(B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR20

U 731

obliterated completely. The ferocious wind scooped up the sea and hurled it over the island, ruining the fresh water in our rain catchments. The waves came up into the canoe houses and crumpled some of them. All canoes had previously been dragged inland into the villages and tied down between the houses. One of the women's club houses, which also served as maternity ward and hospital, began swaying under the impact of the storm. The women and children were removed to safety just before it disappeared in a spray of flying splinters. The waves piled up and crashed on the beach rolling water a hundred yards inland. The islands are only ten feet above sea level and the ocean threatened to inundate the land. All the coconuts and most of the fronds had been stripped from the trees. For nine months afterwards the people were on short rations and no copra could be produced."

U [345] [793]

The same trade ship brought news that another storm, about a month before, had hit Ulithi when a fleet of fishing canoes was out on the reef. Three canoes, with seven men, disappeared. The lost men included Tony's uncle, brother and nephew, and his niece lost her husband.

W 132

Ifaluk was too close to the equator to be often in the path of typhoons; it was in the area where these storms generally build up, gaining hurricane force as they move north. The island had not been struck by a major typhoon since 1907, but the storm of that year was a fearful one, and its mark was still on the island. From the lagoon, a few coconut palms stood out, much taller than the others; they were the survivors of the 1907 disaster. Great blocks of coral tossed up on the reef before Falalap were testimony enough to the unbelievable force of the sea.

W [22 23]

The wind continued, but it could be ignored now that it held no threat of increased violence, and in the evening Don and I started seriously on our project of learning something about the language of Ifaluk. We had asked one of the young men, Yaniseman, to help with this, and he turned up with his good friend Tachiwelimeng.

This was the beginning of a close friendship and constant collaboration. Yaniseman was one of three young men from the island who had been sent to Yap for several months by the government of the Trust Territory to learn English and, on return, to serve as teachers for the island. The English that they could learn in this time was rudimentary,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER III

MAPPING THE BOONDOCKS

THE IDEA was to study the human ecology of Ifaluk: the interrelations of man, his culture, and the environment. For man and his culture there was the reservoir of information accumulated by Burrows and Spiro during their 1948 residence on the island: studies which Ted planned to continue during his second visit. Don and I, with the enthusiasm of amateurs, wanted to help in this anthropological work. But there was also the environment to be studied—the land, the reef, the lagoon, the sea, the plants and animals. This "simple" situation—260 people living on half of a square mile of coral rock and sand—was incredibly complex. 114

When we had finished the counting, weighing and measuring of *Homo sapiens*, the next step seemed to be a start with the environment. The logical first move here was a map, a topographic survey of the situation.

The map problem was greatly simplified by the fact that a little previously a Navy reconnaissance plane had made a series of vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the whole atoll. The Ifalukians were fascinated by these photographs. They seemed to have no trouble at all in grasping the significance of either the vertical or oblique shots, and most people easily recognized the major landmarks, even locating their particular family dwellings. They knew the atoll thoroughly, and the aerial photographs gave them a chance to stand off and look at the whole thing at once, for the first time. 823 123 126

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long, and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2]
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 226 the fish and spear high out of the water, trying to avoid attracting the shark with blood. Once more the shark swept by, this time with a second shark just behind. Bakal swam out to the reef, in response to Yani's yells, carrying one of the big, long spears, while Toroman rowed out with the BWUP to pick them all up.

Yani had fished around the coral heads of the lagoon all of his life, and said he had never before seen sharks come in so close to shore. He had a theory that the noise of the spear gun had attracted them. It seemed more likely to Don that they had followed the nice trail of blood from the speared moray, dragged all of the way across the lagoon from outside the pass (where sharks were common) to the area off the Fan Nap. The speared moray was still lying on the coral sand, so the one they had seen behaving so queerly in the lagoon was another. The day ended with a fine fish dinner.

[220]

Ted turned on the radio that evening to listen to some music and 123 presently accumulated an audience of several Ifalukians who had happened to drift by. The next evening people started accumulating on the temple grass behind the Fan Nap shortly after dinner, and it soon became apparent that they wanted another radio concert. The news, apparently, had spread that this was possible. We were a little appalled at the prospect of having to give a radio concert every evening, none of us being much addicted to radios. We explained that the battery would get tired if it were worked too hard. Then Don happened to think of the phonograph.

The expedition had been equipped with a portable, wind-up phonograph. No one knew whose idea this was—perhaps a hang-over from some previous atoll expedition with a juke-box addict among its members. The accompanying records mostly looked like juke-box material, though of uncertain vintage, along with a few records of Hawaiian music.

We pulled down the box of records, which had been stored away high on a beam in the Fan Nap, and set up the phonograph on the temple grass lawn back of the camp. Tony, eagerly helping, said he knew all about phonographs—that experience with the Coast Guard Station on Ulithi again—so we turned the machine and records over

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

to him. This arrangement worked well, and soon the concert was in full swing. I watched for a while from the side lines, caught by the contrast of the brown, naked bodies sprawled on the smooth lawn, listening to jazz records on a portable phonograph.

Presently another aspect of the contrast was brought to our attention —which served also as an illumination of the pocket problem. Nudity, or the seminudity of a loin-cloth, has one great drawback—there are no pockets. Of course, pockets don't necessarily follow from clothing, as any woman in the modern West well knows. But the absence of clothing does necessarily result in an absence of pockets. The men of Ifaluk and the women of the West, for their different reasons, thus share the problem of how to carry small useful objects of the sort that the Western male so conveniently stuffs in his pockets. The solution, in both cases, has been the purse. The men of Ifaluk always carried their purses with them—capacious, neatly woven affairs, which they put beside them when they sat down and tucked under their arms as they walked. What, we often wondered, were the contents of such a purse?

We got some insight, on this occasion, from Tony. After three or four records, he remarked to me that he thought the needle should be changed. I remembered we had come across needles in our unpacking, but for the life of me I couldn't remember where we had put them.

"Oh, that's all right," said Tony.

And he started to fish around in the depths of his purse. Presently he emerged with a small package and started to peel off the layers of wrappings of dried banana leaf, to disclose, finally, a paper of phonograph needles.

The answer to our question about the contents of the Ifalukian purse was clear—it might contain anything. Which I suppose would also be the answer in the case of the female purse of the West. Only Tony, carting his precious packet of needles from Ulithi to phonographless Ifaluk, seemed to have attained a state of preparedness hardly equalled by the White Knight. And yet, as Tony so triumphantly demonstrated, you never can tell!

I was, then, in no way surprised, a few days later, to have Tony pull

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 Ted dealt out his forty-eight cans of beef as a going-away present. [622] The chief palu acknowledged this with a short but elegant-sounding speech.

We rowed out to the pass to watch the canoes put up sail when they had passed out of the lagoon—a pretty sight. Three sturdy canoes [507] starting out confidently across the Pacific to hit another tiny atoll—perhaps no staggering distance away, but still something to find without instruments.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

after breakfast. All sorts of things went into that notebook (one of those waterproof engineer's books, carried in a case on the belt) and I had a chance to exercise my file-clerk instincts in keeping them straight. Numbers for plant notes had a square pencilled around them, so they caught the eye quickly. Pack and film numbers for photographs taken with the Crown Graphic had a circle around them; numbers for the Leica were double underlined; numbers for the Kodak Reflex were distinguished with a triangle.

The only marks for Thursday, July 9th, the day following the clean-up, were triangles, because the only notes were on photographs taken with the reflex. This was because the day was spent on a fishing expedition and I carried only the reflex. I never had liked that camera much, so I carried it whenever I thought there was danger of damage or loss—in this case, danger of salt-water damage.

Most of the men of Falarik were involved in this fishing expedition. Preparations started early in the morning. Great lengths of rope were hauled out of the canoe houses and wound spirally with strips of palm leaves, one after another, until the effect was that of a huge pile of monstrous green tinsel. The lengths of rope, as soon as they were prepared, were carried down to the lagoon shore and piled into the canoes.

By about ten o'clock everything was ready and the flotilla of canoes pushed off—a couple of dozen of them, the small one-man kind, and the medium-sized kind that carried four or five men. None of the big sea-voyaging canoes were launched. We went, with Bakal and Yani, in Bronson's rowboat, the BWUP, named for the ungainly trigger-fish. We felt awkward and sedate in this tub, but we were afraid of being a nuisance if we asked to go in one of the canoes. Anyway, Yani and Bakal were enamored of the BWUP, and it did make a steady base for observation and photography.

There was a row of about a mile across the still, bright lagoon. We took turns at rowing as a matter of principle, of sharing activities. But I am no athlete under any circumstances, and I was perhaps too obviously glad when I could stop the rowing and stretch out on the prow of the boat with head overside, staring into the mysterious sapphire

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again. Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 535 643 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 262 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 262 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

unusual about the food except our corned beef. But always, after a communal activity of any kind, there was a communal meal. I drifted from group to group taking pictures and eating a snack of breadfruit with this friend, a hunk of taro with that, and letting them play the always-amusing game of peering at one another through the sights of my Graphic camera.

The day was shot as far as "work" for us was concerned. By the time we had got film and notes taken care of, we were ready for our afternoon swim in the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

From the beginning, we had formed a habit of going for a swim in the lagoon toward the end of the afternoon. Many people on Ifaluk bathed in the lagoon in late afternoon, so we were right in line with local custom. As an old Floridian, I really preferred swimming in the bright sun of mid-day and I tried to make our lagoon schedule as early in the afternoon as I could; but what with one thing or another, we often didn't get into the water until rather late.

We always wore goggles. I wonder now why anyone ever goes swimming without goggles. Man, under water, is blind without them. In many places, to be sure, there is little to see; but one can never be sure of this without trying. And in the lagoon at Ifaluk there were unending marvels to be looked at.

We were caught at first by the sheer pleasure of drifting around, exclaiming at the forms of the corals and of the colors of the fish. Then we got to thinking that if we were to spend an hour or so in the water every afternoon, we might as well be trying to make some systematic observations.

The fish, we noticed, paid very little attention to us. Apparently a large brown object of human shape plopped into their environment had no connotation of danger. The fish went on about their business as usual, indifferent to the observer. The contrast with the land, where birds and mammals clearly regard observing man as a potential enemy, was great. We didn't have to resort to field glasses or blinds—we could just float pleasantly on the surface and watch the fish. In coral seas, at least, fish watching seems to me to have it all over bird watching, though I doubt whether I would be so enthusiastic about fish watching in colder waters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

29: Spiro--192-193 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 125 Ifalik-1-5

"October 19, 1947. Tarev has been cycloid in his behavior lately. He appears to be fairly adjusted for a few days and [193] then reverts to his fighting and delusions. Last night he took a long, heavy pole into his house, and worried everyone as to the use he would put it to. The women in his household had set out to take some prepared food to a family in mourning, but he would not permit them to go. Today, I attempted to give him some psychological tests. One of the tests was the Stewart Emotional Response in which the subject is asked what makes him happy, sad, angry, ashamed, and the like. The following is the result of the futile attempt.

Q. How have you been feeling lately?
A. I just had a dream of X [a chief who had recently died].
Q. Have you been feeling well?
A. I went to Tom's sister. She said I could not have the taro, since it belongs to someone else.
Q. Have you ever been happy?
A. I like what you say. When you talk I am happy, for your talk is like my talk.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. I like you because you like this place. You came here, though it is very small.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. Some days, when I don't like what people say.

Q. Are you ever afraid?

A. When I walk around.

Q. Any other time?

A. When I want to walk around, someone always tells me to stay where I am and not to go away.

Q. Have you ever been angry?

A. When I want to go some place, and someone tells me that I can't go.

Q. Anything else?

A. I'm never angry.

Q. Have you ever been ashamed?

A. I don't talk to the women of this place because I am afraid.

Q. Yes, but have you ever been ashamed?

A. I took the wife of another man. Now I don't like that woman; I don't talk to her because I don't like her. I would like a woman to come to me, but only to talk to. I don't want to look beneath her skirt. I don't like the women of this island.

Q. Why?

A. My stomach does not like them.

Q. Would you like to have sexual intercourse with them?

A. No. One woman came to talk to me; I always remember her. I wanted to marry her, but Tom did not want me to.

Q. Why don't you like the women here?
A. My stomach doesn't like them.
Q. Why not?
A. She came to me; I talked to her. I wanted to see her genitals. God told all the people, a long time ago, to copulate. But I don't want to.
Q. Is there anything you want?
A. No.
Q. Is there anything you like?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Tom?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Maroligar?
A. When he talked bad to me, I did not like him. Now he talks good, I like him.
Q. Do you like the chiefs?
A. I am afraid of the chiefs.
Q. Do you like Arivimae [his son]?
A. Yes, very much.
Q. Do you like your mother?
A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with the pole you took last night?

A. Two men were talking and I was afraid. I took the pole and brought it into the house. If they come to fight me, I can fight them. Now somebody has stolen the pole.

Q. What did these men say?

A. Wasugu, waisuk. [These are nonsense syllables. Tom said it must be the speech of the alus.]

Q. Do you still see the smoke you told me about?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like to tell me?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. If you want to tell me something, not to shout or to fight, I will listen to you. If anyone else goes someplace, the people do not talk bad to him, but they talk bad to me.

Q. Do you still think of that place in the North?

A. I like the North very much. A very fine place. When another man calls me, I go there.

Q. What man?

A. I don't know.

Q. When did he call you?

A. Yesterday. He came and called me. I walked around in circles, walked around and around, and then fell down. Then that man came and walked around me. I stood up, and I saw the North.

Q. What did you see?

A. Tom's brother came. He said, 'Don't go; stay here.' I was very angry.

Q. Why do you like the North?

A. I don't know. The alus possesses me; he knows that place.

This interview came to a close by the arrival of a number of men, and Tarev would not continue to talk."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Marolīgar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

123 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was super- [560] ficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
585 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
262 in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

[KS: A list of photographs and sketches will be found in Category 116. The ones reproduced for the files are starred.]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER III

MAPPING THE BOONDOCKS

THE IDEA was to study the human ecology of Ifaluk: the interrelations of man, his culture, and the environment. For man and his culture there was the reservoir of information accumulated by Burrows and Spiro during their 1948 residence on the island: studies which Ted planned to continue during his second visit. Don and I, with the enthusiasm of amateurs, wanted to help in this anthropological work. But there was also the environment to be studied—the land, the reef, the lagoon, the sea, the plants and animals. This "simple" situation—260 people living on half of a square mile of coral rock and sand—was incredibly complex.

When we had finished the counting, weighing and measuring of *Homo sapiens*, the next step seemed to be a start with the environment. The logical first move here was a map, a topographic survey of the situation.

The map problem was greatly simplified by the fact that a little previously a Navy reconnaissance plane had made a series of vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the whole atoll. The Ifalukians were fascinated by these photographs. They seemed to have no trouble at all in grasping the significance of either the vertical or oblique shots, and most people easily recognized the major landmarks, even locating their particular family dwellings. They knew the atoll thoroughly, and the aerial photographs gave them a chance to stand off and look at the whole thing at once, for the first time.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

126 Don and I spent one morning drawing a base map for the island of Falarik from a mosaic of the vertical air photographs. With this outline, the next problem was to fill in details of trails, households and vegetation. We thought we would start by mapping the principal trails.

Both of us were rank amateurs at sketch mapping. We had a Brompton compass lent by Ted Arnow and a triangular ruler marked with conventional scales, but no measuring tape more than six feet long and no plane table.

We first tried improvising a tape by tying knots at two-yard intervals in 100 yards of cod-line. When we had finished this tedious job, we discovered the darn thing stretched and tangled too easily to be of any use. I then dedicated myself to trying to learn to pace accurately, and soon managed a pace that fitted nicely when used on the base map with the 1:2500 scale of the triangular rule. This "Bates pace" was a purely arbitrary unit, but it worked well enough for our purpose. I learned to make nice adjustments in scrambling over coral [131] boulders and around breadfruit trees and through fern thickets so that I could come out with the proper count. In crossing the island, plotting the course on the outline map made from the air photos, we generally found an error of five or ten feet (it was about 900 feet across Falarik). This would probably have been disgraceful for an engineer but it pleased us immensely.

First we tried noting compass directions and number of paces for the quirks in the paths with the idea of plotting these on the map later. But this didn't work—too many mistakes. So I tried making a plane table by sinking a German camera adapter-screw into a board so that it could be fastened to an American camera tripod. The resulting contraption could not be called sturdy, but I was very proud of the improvisation.

We quickly worked out an effective system for dealing with trails. The mapping team consisted of Don, Bakal, Tony and me. Don handled the plane table, equipped with the triangular rule, the compass and a towel for switching away flies. Bakal toted things. Tony scouted ahead on the winding trails. I would keep an eye on Tony and when he seemed about to disappear on a trail, would call out to him to wait

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

island with two pairs of blue jeans and some T-shirts by way of clothes, and first off had cut the legs of both pairs of blue jeans to convert them into shorts. The trouble was that my legs kept getting scratched in the course of pacing through the underbrush. Then the cuts would get nasty infections. I was ready to abandon my principles and take to long trousers, at least for work in the boondocks.

These infections were another of the flaws in paradise. Staphylococcus would start growing happily in every little skin abrasion, turning it into a nasty sore. The infections yielded fairly readily to antibiotic ointments, but this involved daily sessions of "wound-licking" and an ever-present decoration of band-aids over the scratched skin surfaces. This bothered me particularly because it was a contradiction of my pet theories about the intrinsic healthfulness of the tropical climate.

The whole question of "tropical sores" is a puzzling one. Coral cuts are notoriously troublesome, but on Ifaluk it seemed to make no difference whether the cut was made by coral or by the saw-like margins of the pandanus leaves. It might have been special susceptibility by newcomers to local bacterial strains—but the local people often had similar sores. It might have been some nutritional lack—I had seen similar infections in South America clear up quickly with thiamine injections. Certainly, we, with our canned food, were not living on any ideal diet.

Whatever the cause, the sores were a continuing nuisance, and I was very glad to get Don's extra trousers, much as I hated the idea of trousers—an arctic garment not really adapted to a tropical climate.

While Don was stowing his newly arrived gear, I concentrated on trying to set up a drying cabinet for plant specimens, taking one of the big wooden cases and fixing it so that pressed plants could be stored inside over continuously burning kerosene lanterns, to provide a constant, gentle heat. We would need a record of the plants growing on the island, both wild and cultivated, and there was no use starting plant collections without provisions for drying them.

This drying cabinet was put up in the "laboratory tent," a tarp that was suspended between two coconut palms beside the Fan Nap. A big mosquito net was hung under the tarp and a box to serve as table put inside. We frequently worked there during the day, to get away from

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [252] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

after breakfast. All sorts of things went into that notebook (one of those waterproof engineer's books, carried in a case on the belt) and I had a chance to exercise my file-clerk instincts in keeping them straight. Numbers for plant notes had a square pencilled around them, so they caught the eye quickly. Pack and film numbers for photographs taken with the Crown Graphic had a circle around them; numbers for the Leica were double underlined; numbers for the Kodak Reflex were distinguished with a triangle.

The only marks for Thursday, July 9th, the day following the clean-up, were triangles, because the only notes were on photographs taken with the reflex. This was because the day was spent on a fishing expedition and I carried only the reflex. I never had liked that camera much, so I carried it whenever I thought there was danger of damage or loss—in this case, danger of salt-water damage.

Most of the men of Falarik were involved in this fishing expedition. Preparations started early in the morning. Great lengths of rope were hauled out of the canoe houses and wound spirally with strips of palm leaves, one after another, until the effect was that of a huge pile of monstrous green tinsel. The lengths of rope, as soon as they were prepared, were carried down to the lagoon shore and piled into the canoes.

By about ten o'clock everything was ready and the flotilla of canoes pushed off—a couple of dozen of them, the small one-man kind, and the medium-sized kind that carried four or five men. None of the big sea-voyaging canoes were launched. We went, with Bakal and Yani, in Bronson's rowboat, the BWUP, named for the ungainly trigger-fish. We felt awkward and sedate in this tub, but we were afraid of being a nuisance if we asked to go in one of the canoes. Anyway, Yani and Bakal were enamored of the BWUP, and it did make a steady base for observation and photography.

There was a row of about a mile across the still, bright lagoon. We took turns at rowing as a matter of principle, of sharing activities. But I am no athlete under any circumstances, and I was perhaps too obviously glad when I could stop the rowing and stretch out on the prow of the boat with head overside, staring into the mysterious sapphire

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

137

ABOVE The boondocks were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
516
192

[P. 64 (D)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eii
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000 [126] We had aqualung equipment, but this was for Bob Rofen to use in his fish collecting in the fall. We didn't touch it because the supply of compressed air was very limited, and anyway we were unfamiliar with the equipment. We felt no need for deep diving, though. There was plenty to observe close to the surface, and we had "schnorkel" breathing tubes, which were useful if you wanted to keep your eye on the fish.

133 If we were going to be scientific and systematic about our daily swim, the first thing to do, we decided, would be to make a map of the swimming area, so we could tell where we were. The coral in the lagoon grew in large, irregular clumps which I called "coral heads" though they are more properly called "reef knolls" or "patch reefs." These were separated by open areas in which the bottom was clean, white sand.

The coral heads near the shore grew to a height where they were just awash at low tides. The tops of these were flat, and the coral was dead except around the margins. In deeper water, the "heads" were rounded and they occurred scattered everywhere over the lagoon floor as far out as we could see, peering into the crystal water.

The coral formations in shoal water showed up plainly on our aerial photographs as irregular dark patches, and from these I tried sketching the formations directly in front of the Fan Nap, where our fish-watching activities were concentrated. We subsequently checked and modified the map on the spot with the row boat, and in the end got a pretty accurate picture of this bit of the lagoon.

Landscape (or seascape) features, to be remembered, need names, so we decided we should name the reef formations in the swimming area. First to be commemorated were our wives. Two prominent and complicated contiguous masses of coral, fairly near shore, were named Izzie (for Isabela) and Nancy by Abbott and Bates respectively. Various tributary fragments broken off from these masses were given names after Abbott and Bates children. Ted selected a pleasant, rather isolated and well-rounded head to name after Marie, with Nani, his daughter, somewhat farther out in the same line, and his son David off to the right.

A central group of reefs was named after the five chiefs of Ifaluk. A large and rather sterile mass near shore presented a problem in

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he called "unlikely animals"—animals he never would have thought of if he had been in charge of animal design. Any one of the three of us, cruising around with our goggles, would be likely to shout to the others to come see some new marvel he had just discovered for the first time.

I remember the afternoon Ted called out "come look at this—here is a helicopter fish!"

Sure enough there was a sort of squat fish hovering in mid-water near Marie (Ted was apt to do his fish watching near the coral head named after his wife) with fins split into long narrow rays which, in their movement, had reminded Ted of a helicopter. The fish seemed completely indifferent to our watching; presently it went into forward gear and moved slowly and sedately off.

We looked through the fish books and presently made out that it was *Pterois*, a "scorpion fish" or "lion fish." We learned that the protruding spines were poisonous, which probably accounted for its calm indifference. We subsequently saw these fish several times in our swimming area, but they were not among the regular, territorial inhabitants.

The synaptid sea-cucumber was another unlikely animal. Most sea-cucumbers have a reasonably cucumber-like form (though one kind on Ifaluk achieved an almost watermelon-like size). The synaptids, however, are long, slender, snake-like affairs. The species in our swimming area had a bright, almost black-and-white checkered pattern that reminded me of some of the South American vipers like the fer-de-lance. Stretched out from under a coral head, the sea-cucumber looked for all of the world like a fer-de-lance crawling out from under a rock. Only, when you looked closely, you saw not the menacing, triangular head of the viper, but instead, where the head should be, a rather silly-looking tuft of waving plumes. And when you picked this unlikely animal up, you found, not firm flesh, but a limp, tissue-paper-like affair. I always thought of them as the tissue paper fer-de-lances of the coral heads.

Don thought that the giant clams should be included among the unlikely animals, but he was looking at them as a zoologist, thinking of their unlikely physiology and structure. The giant clams (*Tridacna*)

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

136 the summer. Just about the time that we had decided that this octopus had a permanent home there, it disappeared and our daily checks would reveal only the empty hole. Then Don found another small octopus living in a hole in the center of the coral we named after Maroligar.

The octopuses were suspicious creatures, and while they would often be partially outside when first found, they would slowly withdraw into the recesses of their holes under the steady gaze of the observer. There was always a pile of small coral fragments outside the hole, and as an octopus retreated, these fragments were pulled in by the sucker-covered arms to block the entrance—except that generally a small peep-hole was left, framing a watchful octopus eye.

The area around the hole on Maroligar reef was littered with debris from the meals of the octopus: empty shells, claws and legs from the crabs it had eaten. Don picked up all of these and saved them—a food record on the octopus. Every day he would find the remains of more crabs, so that he got a record of the diet of this crab-loving octopus over a period of several weeks.

Then, one day, the hole on Maroligar was empty, and it remained empty for quite a while. Thus we got the impression that these octopuses would make headquarters in one place for days, or weeks, but that they did not stay permanently in any one place, did not establish "territories" the way so many of the other lagoon inhabitants did.

I only once saw an octopus swimming in the daytime. I wouldn't have seen this if it hadn't moved—a piece of a brown coral mass I was looking at suddenly gave a few convulsive movements and then shot off, jet fashion, with trailing tentacles, to the next coral head where it stopped, again blending perfectly into the background. I swam slowly toward the place where it had disappeared, but just as I got near enough so that I could distinguish octopus from coral, it took off again, this time disappearing into the depths of the lagoon.

133 I have been writing glibly about "coral" and "coral heads." Actually,
● 126 these patch reefs were built up of a wide variety of lime-secreting organisms, many of them not true corals. We picked one of the patch reefs, Maroligar, and tried to make a map of the different kinds of organisms that were contributing to its structure. We thought this

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

would be simple and easy, since Maroligar was a small patch reef about six yards long and a couple of yards wide. It turned out, however, to be a complicated operation, which kept Don and me busy for many hours.

Much of the trouble was technical—mostly the problem of working in the water with dry materials. When we had got an outline map made, we decided to spot the different kinds of coral and coral-like organisms on our map with colored pencils. But the colors, when wet, would blur! We had a canvas-covered inner-tube that served as a raft. We would tow mapping gear and towels on this, out to position. Then I would stand up, on some convenient part of Maroligar, dry my hands, and start trying to mark down the corals as Don, diving around with goggles, called them to me. He would come periodically to peer at my map, point with dripping finger to where I had the thing wrong, and with this well-placed drip of water that bit of my map would really be spoiled. Or I would try to move, and slip, splashing water over everything. At times we got completely fed up with the project, but we kept on and finally got a reasonable map that, with all of the different colors, was almost as pretty as Marpligar itself.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114 128 despite the underlying similarity of our points of view. We tried writing in the third person—Marston did this or Don thought that—but wives, friends, editors, said this made pretty flat reading. Finally we decided to split the book: Marston Bates would write the account for the period he was on the atoll; then Donald Abbott would take over for the remaining two months. The reader can thus expect to do one mental somersault, where "I" changes from Bates to Abbott between Chapters IX and X: Bates and Ted Burrows sadly going off with the Trust Territory ship, leaving Abbott with new companions to finish the study.

It is, of course, extremely presumptuous of us—of Abbott and Bates—to write about a study that also involved five other people. But the problems of multiple authorship seem insurmountable in a non-technical book and we wanted, in any case, to write subjectively, to write about our own reactions and feelings as well as about the people and things that we observed. In a very real sense, however, all seven of us achieved a "team approach" in our study of the atoll so that, whether they like it or not, all members of the team must share some responsibility for both the observations and the thoughts that we have expressed here. And certainly there must be a total sharing of the credit for whatever good may have come out of the Ifaluk enterprise.

114 The Ifaluk team consisted of:

Donald P. Abbott, marine biologist, of the Hopkins Marine Station of Stanford University, on Ifaluk from June 22 to November 9, and leader of the expedition from September 12 to the end.

Theodore Arnow, geologist and hydrologist, of the U. S. Geological Survey, on Ifaluk June 22–24 and September 12–26.

Marston Bates, biologist, of the University of Michigan, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12.

Frederick M. Bayer, zoologist, of the U. S. National Museum, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

Edwin G. Burrows, anthropologist, of the University of Connecticut, on Ifaluk from June 22 to September 12, and leader during this time.

Robert R. Harry, ichthyologist, of the George Vanderbilt Foundation, on Ifaluk from September 12 to November 9.

1: Burrows--1 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 131, 101, 171 Ifalik 1-2

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the

sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

2: Damm et al. --4-5-116, 131 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2 Ifaluk

Lütke was the first to pay attention to the cartography of this atoll (1828). His chart [AN: see source] corresponds generally to the picture as it is today. But the northern part of the atoll is not correctly drawn, as Lütke sailed south. He shows the northwestern portion of the main island as a separate isle, Fararyk, which joins a large island, Ifalouk; in reality, both of them form the big Feladjik. On the other hand, the location of the two others, which he calls [5] Moay and Ella, is accurate. The Japanese Government Chart of 1925, Number 772, shows the most recent drawing of the atoll [AN: see source].

Location and Size

According to Cheyne, the diameter of the reef encircling the lagoon is about two miles. He estimates the circumference of the group as 5-6 miles, including the reef. With that he is considerably more exact than Meinicke *, who gives the circumference as "over a mile."

---

* Meinicke, Die Inseln. . . . , II, page 358. His figures are quite different from the other sources; for instance, he says that the group is 5 miles from Oleai, while the latest statement of the [AN: British] Pacific Islands Pilot (1933, 1, page 502) gives it as 30 miles. The difference may be explained by the fact that Meinicke reckons with geographic miles, while the other sources use nautical miles.

The following table gives the latitudes and longitudes of the various sources:

Year	Discoverer and Traveler	lat. N	long. E
1797	Wilson	7° 14′	144° 50′
1828	Lütke	7° 15′17″	215° 29′8″
	Raper	7° 14′	144° 30′
1844	Cheyne	7° 11′	145° 8′
	Gulick	7° 15′	144° 31′
1888	Meinicke	7° 15′	144° 31′
	Sievers	7° 15′	144° 31′
1920	Kolonial Lexikon	7° 15′	144° 31′
1925	Japanese Government Chart	7° 14′19″	144° 25′20″
			to 144° 27′13″

2: Damm et al, --109-110 (1909) 1938 · Woleaians-1-2
116, 175, 131 Aurupik

Like the majority of the Central Caroline Islands, Aurepik was introduced to Europe through the letter which Father Clain wrote on the 10th of June, 1697; he called the island Yaropie, but it is not mentioned on the map that was included with his letter. If we accept the statement of Krämer, who has made a critical study of the history of the discovery of Micronesia, we find that our island appeared for the first time on the chart of Pilot Somera, who was under Captain Don Francisco de Padilla in 1710. And Krämer believes that his Isla de Casa (House Island) is the same as Aurepik, on account of the peculiar houses on stone terraces, which give the island its characteristic cachet, and make an indelible impression on the visitor. On Cantova's native chart (1721) the atoll is called Eurrupuc, and it reappears under this name on Vaugondys's map (1756).

The information that we find in the Kolonial Lexicon (Vol. I, page 98): "Aurepik was discovered by Hunter in 1791, "is not correct, and it probably goes back to Gulick (1867, page 59). It is doubtless explained by a misunderstanding of Chamisso (Bemerkungen und Ansichten, page 104), who writes: "Compare the Phillip Islands of Captain Hunter, 1791 and the two islands of 1791, to which we have already referred as Eurïpïik." However, he did not want to identify it with this group, for on page 98 he mentions it as a separate cluster, which joins Aurepik. I think that Brigham (page 148) is much more exact, when he identifies the Phillips Islands with Sorol. [110]

On the 12th of April 1828, Lütke sighted the Island Eourypyg from the west (Kittlitz:

Eurupyk), but he did not land, and continued his northern route. Although there were a number of boats on the beach, the natives did not come to the ship. Von Kittlitz explains this by attributing it to a tabu laid on the boats, during a yearly festival. In September 1844, Andrew Cheyne visited the island, and on the 25th of March 1876, von Miklucho-Maclay touched the group as he came north on the little trading vessel "Sea Bird," but he did not go on shore.

On the 31st of October, 1909, the expedition ship, the "Peiho" of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, put Sarfert on land, and he stayed here until the second of November. At that time the "Scott" came from Yap to the island occasionally, and then the Japanese also called here once in a while.

2: Damm et al. --111 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 177 Aurupik

Lütke made the first exact cartography of the island (1828), but he only saw the archipelago from a distance*, and so he could only give an approximate picture of it. The various Naval Staff charts of the seafaring powers do not give any exact picture of the group either; the first officer Lorenzen of the "Peiho" was the first to survey it and to make a map (see Fig. 183).

---

* Cheyne (1852, page 138) says that you can see the islands at a distance of 12-13 miles from the ship's deck.

Lütke's chart [VMM: see source 2: p. 110, drawing 181] gives an accurate reproduction of the oval form of this atoll; Cheyne also describes it in this way, and he gives the largest diameter of the lagoon as 2 1/2 miles in the ESE-WNW direction. Meinicke says that Aurepik is "a small lagoon island half a mile long," but in reality Lorenzen's map shows that it is 5 1/2 sea miles long. The following table gives the latitudes and longitudes of the different sources: [113]

Year	Discoverer and Traveller	lat. N	long. E
1828	Lütke	6° 39' 44"	216° 49' 2"
	Horsburgh	6° 40'	143° 11'
1844	Cheyne	6° 35'	142° 59'
	Raper	6° 40'	143° 11'
1900	Brigham	6° 40'	143° 10'
1910	Sievers	6° 43'	143° 10'
1920	Kolonial-Lexicon	6° 42'	143° 6'
1925	Japanese Government Chart	6° 41' 12"	143° 4' 49"

In the text, both Lütke and von Kittlitz mention two islands, but Lütke's map shows four.* Cheyne also speaks of two low coral islands; he says that the eastern one, or the main island, is inhabited, and that each one is about a mile long. Meinicke also seems to have utilized one of these sources; perhaps he referred to Cheyne, because he, too, only knows about two little islands on the northern side, of which just the eastern one is inhabited. Miklucho-Maclay claims to have seen three little islands. Sievers gives the same number, and he is correct in stating that two of them are settled. In reality, the reef girdle of the group is studded with five islands: Aurepik, Uau, Ellanidigit, Bägefas, Sidene, but only the main island, Aurepik, on the eastern end of the atoll, and the second largest one, Uau, which lies farthest west, are inhabited. On the southern side of the big island is a landing place that canoes can use at high tide. The table shows the various spellings of the different island names:[114]

---

* Lutke 1835, Volume II, page 148; von Kittlitz, Vol. II, page 163. The difference between the text and the map may be explained by the fact that Lütke knew that two of the islands were uninhabited, and so he did not refer to them in the text.

2; Damm et al. --112-114 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-3
116, 131 Aurupik

Sievers:	Reichsmarineamt:	Sarfert:	Lorenzen:	Japanese Chart:
Aurepik	Aurepik	Aurepik	Aurepiik	Eauripik
Uau	Oäo	Uäu	Oäo	Oao
		Ellanidigit	Elangkilekit	Elangkileku
		Bägefäs	Behefas	Bekefas
Siting		Sidene	Sitong	Siteng

2; Damm et al. --154 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Faraulep

Lütke made the first drawing of this island group. This has served as a basis for all the subsequent island maps (Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, Japanese Government Chart 1925). Location and Size. The following table gives the various measurements:

	lat. N	long. E
v. Chamisso (in v. Kotzebue 1821 Book 3, page 94)	8° 3′	144° 30′
Lütke (according to the map)	8° 34′57″	215° 32′45″
Meinicke (1888 Book 2, page 358)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Gulick (1862 page 59)	8° 34′	144° 37′
Brigham (1900 page 64)	8° 36′	144° 36′
Sievers (1900 Book 2, page 364)	8° 40′	144° 35′
Kolonial Lexicon (Book I, page 600; most southern island)	8° 35′	144° 36′
Japanese Chart 1925	8° 35′45″	144° 33′16″

2: Damm et al. --155 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Faraulep

The atoll consists of three islands: the large Faraulip, and the second Pfx (Piko [Hambruch], Pig [Reichsmarineant], Pigue [Pacific Islands Pilot]), both of these are inhabited; the smallest island and the one farthest south, Eäd (Eatto [Hambruch], Eat [Reichsmarineant], Eate [Meinicke, Pacific Islands Pilot, Japanese Chart]) was formerly inhabited also, according to Hambruch, but since the devastations of a typhoon it has never been resettled.

The lagoon is accessible on the southern side by three narrow channels, which are only large enough for canoes.

The natives gave Hambruch the following data: a) islands: 1. Faraulip, 2. Pfx, 3. Eâd; b) oceans: 4. lamm; 5. nuguluorro; c) reefs: 6. mädonneï-jefan; 7. fall lipig; 8. furoú; 9 and 10 pallepall; 11. thawuorrŏ; 12. madonneijôu; d) channels: 13. tâualiăp; 14. tâuuleuleă; 15. tâuegiddegidd.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 131, 137, 484 Elato

Elato is the largest of the four islands which rest upon the reef that extends itself in a north-southern direction. Elato, situated to the north, is densely covered with forests; breadfruit trees and coconut palms predominate.... The natives [AN: who had come in canoes with trading intentions] did not look very trustworthy. They were importunate and begged constantly for tobacco,... Trading attempts were made, but the prices were too high and consequently only a few objects could be bought.... On certain stretches the breadfruit trees reminded us of a German forest. On other places attention was drawn to thickets of Hibiscus which supply the textile fibers for mats and waistcloths.

4: Krämer-1 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Lamotrek

1. Notes from the Sailing Directions Südsee-Handbuch and British Pacific Islands Pilot (1933).

Position: Lamotrek in the middle approximately at Lat. 7° 27' N. and Long. 146° 23' East, and Elato exactly at Lat. 7° 29' 30" N. and Long. 146° 19' East; The Pacific Islands Pilot gives it as 7° 28' and 146° 24'.

Südsee-Handbuch, page 34: The Lámutrik Islands (Lamotrek, Swede) are located approximately 42 nautical miles west of Sátuwal on a triangular atoll. The corner of the triangle in the southeast is the island of Lámutrik, and in the north the island of Puch, and in the west the island of Falaite; the latter two are uninhabited. In the center of Lámutrik, we have a swamp, where taro and sugar-cane grow. On Lámutrik there is a trading station of the Westkarolinengesellschaft which is directed by a white dealer.

There are several entrance passages into the lagoon. The best is the passage southeast of Puch; the channel further to the southeast and closer to the island of Lámutrik is dangerous owing to the cliffs in the lagoon at that point. In the south of the atoll there are a number of inferior boat passages in addition to one good one.

There are anchorages in the lagoon.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: The Elato Islands, approximately 5 nautical miles from Lámutrik, are located on a reef extending north-south and having a length of 4 nautical miles. The group consists of four islands of which Elato in the north is the largest.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: The entrance passage to the [MR: Elato] lagoon is in the east; it is approximately 90 meters wide and the water is 9 to 11 meters deep.

Anchorages: The British warship "Sphinx" threw anchor in February 1862 in the lagoon in a depth of 20 meters. The anchoring place was located about 1/2 a nautical mile south of the western tip of the island of Elato. Here the ship stayed for 10 days and cut firewood. Water was provided by digging pits.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Taos and Uler are located south of the Elato Islands on a reef separated from that of the others.

In this connection see the special plan on map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903, in the upper right hand corner.

4: Krämer--3
116, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Olimarao

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch p. 34]: The Olimaráu Islands (Hambruch: Olimaraue, story 2 of Füs) are located northeast of the Elato Islands; they are uninhabited. To this group belong the two islands of Olimaráu and Falipi. The former is located in the northeast and the latter in the southwest of the same reef.

4: Krämer--3-4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Lamotrek

Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. I, page 504: The Lamotrek Islands, approximately 5 miles east of the Elato Islands consist of 3 weeded islets on a triangular atoll. The island of Lamotrek, with an elevation of 107 feet (32.6 meters) up to the tops of the trees, is located at the extreme eastern tip of the atoll. The passage approximately 3/4 of a mile south of Puguet Island, the northernmost of the islands, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon. During the time of the northeastern winds the high seas set through it into the lagoon and special care is necessary. There is an entrance in the middle of the south side of the atoll; it has a width of about 2 cable lengths. This entrance is hard to find but is good when the winds are strong. Westward of the latter there is another entrance which is approximately 1-1/2 cable lengths in width. All the other entrances are narrow. [4]

Off the western side of Lamotrek (Lat. 7° 28' N and Long. 146° 24' E.) there is an anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but it is reported that when westerly winds are blowing the sea may become rather high. Landings are possible on the sandy beach at the western side of Lamotrek Island. In 1930 Lamotrek had a population of 165 including one Japanese.

The islands of Pugue and Falaite were uninhabited. There is little fowl and few pigs, but fish are abundant.

The largest and at the same time the principal island of Lámotrek does not have a special name, but is called after the lagoon, at the eastern end of which it is located. From S to N it is approximately 1250 meters long and in the middle it is a little over 700 meters wide. From south to north it becomes narrower in form. The northern cape is called Lugliong. In the west of the northern half, at the inland water, there is a bay which serves as a landing place. Here the village is located. A sketch map of the island was made between November 20-26, 1909 by the First Officer of the "Peiho" [MR: see 4: Krämer 15]. It showed the relative depths of the bay; its southern cape is [16] called Paliauei, whereas the northern corner is known as Uŏlebugui, "at the corner." [MR: see house 30 on map 3. 4: Krämer 18]

A sandbank separates the bay from the approximately 30-meter-deep lagoon; the sandbank from north to south has depths of 9, 3, 7, 12, 14 and 16 meters; inland from the sandbank the depth is 19 meters, which quickly decreases towards the land. This depth is called Mólog as the plan of the settlement on map 3 shows; southward it ends in a boat canal tauali vá. Thus conditions are similar to those of the eastern basin of the Onoun atoll at the island of Pisaras, except that the latter is much smaller than Lámotrek and projects eastward out of the line of the encircling ring.... The settlement is located inside the western bend [MR: of the bay] in a wide swinging arch. Inside the latter, in the

south, there is a small additional bay; it is less obvious on map 3 but is definitely shown on plate 1b [MR: 4: Krämer 413, Plate 1b]. Here the boathouse Aboi in which we stayed is located. Southward the bay ends in the wide sandy beach of cape Paliauei, where the Faktaipu and the house of the trader Lewis are located.

In the east: a. Lamotrek...or Namotrek, correctly Lamodjek...from lámo or namo, "the lagoon"; it is called trek, tjek, "small," although it is the largest of the three and longer (7 nautical miles) than Oleai which has a length of only 5-1/2 nautical miles. But it is shorter than well known Mokemok in the west, which from south to north measures about 20 nautical miles. Sometimes it is said that rek is the same word as rak, the season, i.e. the season, because the weather is always good; in that case it remains unexplained.

b. Falaite...in the west of the atoll; more correctly called Faleit or in former times Faleitabut; the word is derived from feiabut "unlucky child," because in the past the people on the island were wild; at the present time Falaite is uninhabited.

c. Puch...Pik small island in the north of the ring and usually pronounced Búiug; the word is derived from buik "boy" (Palau) and also sounded like it. Puch is uninhabited. In the east of the island is the good entrance Taualibúiug and in the west the boat passage Metaliár. Between Pik and the main island there is another entrance which on map 93 [MR: of the Reichsmarineamt 1903] is called the "dangerous entrance" [MR: 4: Krämer 2] [17]

Sailing southeast in the lagoon on the reef east of this entrance and on the southern side one comes to a projection of the reef which is covered with sand. It is the sandy cape of Mongalepi. If one draws a line from here southward which crosses the inland water and

reaches the southern reef--formerly at the rock Faisar (which disappeared in the last typhoon)--one gets the sósor boundary... which is the western limit of the district of the island of Lamotrek. East of the line no taboos need to be observed, but west of it one must fast if one sails early in the morning westward across the boundary. Smoking, too, is forbidden under such circumstances.

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Elato

Elato, sometimes simply pronounced Elat, because that is the word used for the seaweed after which the atoll and the main island are called; the latter is located in the north of the reef. The reef is reniform and has a bay opening to the east with a boat entrance into a small lagoon, which occupies only the northern part (Japanese map [MR: of 1925 on which the Admiralty map 772 was based]). In the southern part, which is separated from the northern, there seems to be little inland water. At the southern end the sandy island of Falipi is located; in the center (East). The island of the German map [MR: map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903] in the middle (w)Oletel (Hambruch: Oletul). Kari (Hambruch: Kare Reef) and Tamas are not given on the Japanese map. Hambruch, in addition, mentions Merekang "sharp point," Toeirul "calm quiet water" and Oilipi "on the sand."

Lamolior is uninhabited and located 2 nautical miles south of the atoll of Elat. "Lagoon of the south" with the islands of Toas and Olor (German map: Ulor).

4: Krämer--183
116, 103, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

OLEAÍ

(Map 4) [VMM: See 4: Krämer 184]

Position: halfway between Lat. 7° 21' N. and Long. 143° 55' E.

Exact position: northern tip of Raur, Lat. 7° 21' 39" N. and Long. 143° 57' 30" E.

Südsee-Handbuch, page 36: The Oleai Islands (Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) are located approximately 130 nautical miles west of the Elato Islands. The group comprises two atolls which surround a western and an eastern lagoon. The former is larger, but the bigger islands are grouped around the eastern lagoon. The main island of Flalap, located on the northern side of the eastern lagoon, gradually is connected with the island of Marijong (Mariom) by means of a sand dune which follows in the west; this same sort of bridge exists also with Paliau located to the southeast, which in turn is linked to Raur in the south. The group is formed of 19 islands--some of them large and some of them small--only the eight largest are inhabited, whereas the others exhibit a luxuriant growth of coconut palms and tall breadfruit trees. The names of the inhabited islands are Raur, Flalap (Oleái), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal and Falalis.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

Vanished Islands: The islands of Pial, Komol, and Falulap have been washed away according to the report of S. M. S. "Cormoran" of 1912.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Pacific Islands Pilot, page 501: The Woleai or Anangai Islands are located approximately 60 miles northeast of the Eauripik Islands. The southern side of the atoll is largely submerged and is divided into two lagoons by means of a series of reefs extending southeastward from the island of Tagaulap (Lat. 7° 22' N. and Long. [ER: original text reads Lat.] 143° 53' E). The western lagoon of the Woleai Islands is wide and in general deep although it has scattered shoals. The entrance to it is shallow and large ships cannot pass through it. Both lagoons are open to the south and fully exposed to the heavy seas caused by the southwest monsoon. A sandy cay [sic] is located on the reef on the southern side of the atoll approximately 1 1/2 miles from Tagaulap.

4: Krämer--186-188 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1 · 3
116, 131 Woleai

Entrances. The Raur Channel leads into the southern part of the eastern lagoon. It is approximately 2 1/4 cable lengths in width, as it runs between reefs extending southwest of the southern end of Raur and surrounding the island of Motogozu. It has depths from 10-25 fathoms (18.3-45.7 meters) in the fairway, but there might be less water in the approach. The western channel at the southwestern side of the west lagoon just southeast of the island of Falulap and in the center has a rock with a depth of 3 1/2 fathoms (6.4 meters) of water. The North Channel at the northeastern side of the west lagoon between the islands of Farailes and Jalangigereil, --southeast of the latter--is approximately one cable length wide between the reefs that extend on both sides and has depths of from three to seven fathoms (5.5-12.8 meters).

There is one additional entrance between the reefs extending from the eastern end of Tagaulap and the southern end of Mariaon, but it is narrow and the tidal currents in it are strong so that it [187] is practicable only for small boats (Marion Entrance).

Shoals: there are many in the western lagoon and they have been chartered. In the east lagoon there is a series of shoals with depths from 1-6 fathoms (1.8-11 meters) located about 8 cable lengths southeast of Mariaon Island. A rock with a depth of 2 fathoms (3.7 meters) is located approximately 2 3/4 cable lengths southwest of the southwesternmost end of the banks and another one, with a depth of two fathoms, is found 3 1/4 cable lengths north of the southern end of Raur.

Anchorages. Large ships may drop anchor in the eastern lagoon in depths of from

fifteen to twenty fathoms (27.4-36.6 meters); here fine sand and good protection are found approximately 4 1/2 cable lengths west of the northern part of Raur.

Small boats can drop anchor at the time of the southwest monsoon opposite to the southeastern side of Mariaon and also opposite to the northern side of the island of Tagaulap (Lat. 7° 22' N. and Long. 143° 53' E.).

In this connection compare map 772 [VMM: see 4: Krämer 184]

This map, as compared with the earlier ones... the Russian and the German ones which, in general, are in agreement gives the results of better soundings, especially of the western lagoon and its northern part. It also shows the extent of the southern barrier of the reef which hitherto had not been determined. The Russian line of soundings from Tagaulap south-south-westward, east-northeast of Falalis, the southernmost of the islands, had indicated the barrier, because here the depth of the lagoon had decreased to about 10 meters from an approximate depth of 40 meters. The new English map no. 772 shows a formation about 2 kilometers in length trending ENE from Falalis; between its eastern submarine end and the isolated sandy cay [sic] reef, there is a depression which I call Falalis Channel; the depth of this channel is 5.3-16 fathoms (9.5-31 meters).

Another new feature of the map is the sandy cay [sic] reef mentioned (on the German map it is indicated only superficially) on which a sandy islet is found straight south of

the western tip of Tagaulap and at a distance of 2 1/2 kilometers from it; the same is true of the isolated reef that follows in an easterly direction and on which the island of Motogosu is located. Between the two there is an entrance with a depth of approximately 7 fathoms(13 meters) which I call the Middle Channel; through it large ships can sail into the west and east lagoon, or better said, they could if the margins of the various reefs were marked by beacons. Hitherto the above-mentioned Raur Channel has been used for entrance into the east lagoon; our expedition ship went through it, since it and the east lagoon have been sounded with all necessary accuracy. [188] This is the location of the largest and most important island of the Oleai group which has given the name to it. The west lagoon is two or three times the size of the east lagoon and is less narrowed by shoals. The middle basin has a depth of 20-27 fathoms (36.5-49.5 meters); sandbanks are confined to the margins: there are two in the southeast (near the sand cay [sic] reef) which have a depth of 4.1 fathoms (7.5 meters), one in the northeast with a depth of 5.3 fathoms (9.5 meters) and a few smaller ones also in the northeast and southeast. It is noteworthy that no mention is made of the destruction of Raur... and the map has Raur and Paliau charted according to their appearance before 1907.

Bearings: in the south of Raur and about one nautical mile off the island, 216 fathoms (389 meters); at the same distance from Motogosu approximately 2 kilometers to the south 347 fathoms (625 meters): about 400 meters in front of the exit from the West Channel 168 fathoms (300 meters), whereas 500 meters to the south of that location the depth is no more than 20 fathoms. (36 meters).

4: Krämer--189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

James Wilson: [VMM: who discovered Oleai in 1797 said]

"At a distance of one mile we sounded the two ends in NW 1/2 W to W to N 1/2 E from which we were able to arrive at an estimate of their extent. The latitude of their southern part is 7° 16' and 144° 30' E..."

4: Krämer--191-192 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

According to the diary of Don Luis, the following were determined on the voyage; a shoal of 24 fathoms at Lat. 8° 20' N and Long. * 149° E, the wild island of Piguelao, according to Kadu [192] called Bigelle, at 8° 6' and 147° 17'** and the sandbank of Oraitilipu with a depth of 12 fathoms at the same latitude***; besides there was the uninhabited island of Fallao which according to Torres is called Fahueu, (Canotva: Fayo) and which is located at 8° 5' and 146° 45'****; Farruelap*****(Torres: Faroilap; Cantova: Fatoilep) is at 8° 3' and 144° 30' and Guliai (Torres: Ulee; Cantova: Ulea; Kadu: Oli) is at 7° and 144°. For his map, see Kotsebue Endeckunsreise... Vol. III, page 85.

*According to map 97, the Gray Feather Bank with a depth of 9 meters is located at 8° 10' and 148° 43' and the Hitchfield Bank with 20 meters of water at 7° 50' and 149° 40', and there are no other sandbanks in the region.
**Map 97 has Pikelot at 8° 9' and 147° 42'.
***On map 97, a bank by this name is charted at 8° 6' and 147° 15' with a question mark and a depth of 22 meters.
****The so-called West Faiëu; East Faiëu... and in Namoin(see 1010 Krämer, page 163). The meaning of the name is "stone one"; stone, fau and on Lamotrek fai and from that Fais has derived its name with the meaning of "rocky." Map 97, 8° 5' and 146° 52'.
*****Map 97: Faraulip

4: Krämer-- 204-205 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1 -2
116, 131 Woleai

The Oleai atoll is distinguished from the other groups by its hourglass shape. Oriented eastwest, the island has a length of 5.6 nautical miles and, in the west (Falalis-Votagái), it has a width of 3 nautical miles, whereas in the east (Raur at the southern tip, Voléa at the northern cape) it has a width of 2.1 nautical miles. The narrowest part of that hour-glass shape is about 1 nautical mile wide; from the new Sand-Cay to Tagaulap it would be a distance of 1 1/2 nautical miles.

This neck divides the inland water into two lagoons which are separated from one another in the northern part of the narrow section by single reefs. It is only southward, that a connecting channel, 2 1/2 cable lengths in width, runs from east to west and within the barrier reef has sufficient depth for some larger ships (at least 15 meters). The depth of the water in the east is mostly 7-9 fathoms, and in the south it is approximately twice that. Here we also find the most commonly used entrance, the Raur Channel. The large western lagoon in most places had a depth exceeding 20 fathoms and, in the middle, 27 fathoms; in the south it has another large entrance with a shoal with a depth of 5.3 fathoms, the Falális entrance. Between these two entrances, the Raur and Falális Channel, there is a third smaller one with a depth of 7 fathoms which is located between Sandy Cay and the small island of Motogosóu; it leads into the connecting channel through which one can get directly into the lagoons either in the east or west. All three of the southern entrances thus have sufficient depth (at least 15 meters) and sufficient width (at least 300

meters) but their margins are submerged, since the reef foundation on which Raur is located projects more than 700 meters to the west (up to the Raur Channel) and the reef of Falalis projects about 1500 meters towards the east. That leaves as boundaries in the south two submarine isolated reefs on which the small island of Motogosou is located in the east and the Sandy Cay mentioned in the west, which was newly created in the typhoon of 1907. According to the natives, there exists an old story which claims that there was an island in the same spot in the past and that it was destroyed by a typhoon in a similar manner to that in which Raur was washed away in 1907. The same typhoon deposited the sand formation which is known as the Sandy Cay in the old place. The special plan of map 93 of the Reichsmarineamt of 1903 has the nucleus of the Sandy Cay reef very lightly marked on the southern side west of the Motogosou reef; west of it we find a line of soundings running from SW-NE with the depths [205] 9.1, 9.1, 26.11, 9.6, 11, and 40 as the depth of the lagoon. It was not until the Japanese map was published that the open southern side (as at Onoun) was explained although only hasty surveys were made.

The German map includes a western channel between Falalis and Falulap; but there are shoals with a depth of 4-6 meters at the entrance; they are also charted on the Japanese map. This channel is suitable for canoes only and the same is true of the two entrances in the north, the North Channel between Jalangigereil and Fareiles which leads into the west lagoon (depth of 10 meters and width of 180 meters) and the Tagaulap Channel between this island and Marijong (with a sandbank of 3.6 meters ar a total width of 100 meters) which flows directly into the eastern lagoon.

Nothing more is to be said of the islands of Paliau and Raur in the east but that Paliau was greatly affected by the typhoon of 1907. Nevertheless in the main it was able to maintain its shape. The island of Raur was completely washed off its reef foundation...[217]

3. Máriong

Máriong has a length of about 700 meters extending from SW-NE. The village is located on the southeastern shore in a southwestern direction. The village is divided into three sections....

4. Tagaûlap

has a length of approximately 1500 meters from W-E; in the center the land widens southward and on this projecting area of land the village is located.... [218]

5. Soluap

has not been mapped.

6. Votagai

old outskirts of the village. At the eastern end of the island there is a sandbank. A projection in the south is known as Fausefang. The village is divided into three parts... [219]

7. Falális. Spirit Iletilimar.

Two village sections (photo 14c and 17b) [VMM: see source]....

4: Krämer--208-219 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 131 Woleai

8. Raur†

Raur was destroyed by the typhoon. . . A fallap, Lúgalapraûr, is said to have existed.

9. Paliau†

fallap, Gataliva.

5: Kittlitz--148
116, 131, 171

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Lamotrek

...we sighted the so-called Swedish Islands, which consist of three coral groups: Namurrek, Elato and Namolia-ur. Early the next morning several canoes came from the most eastern one, Namurrek; they were built exactly like the boats, which we had already seen.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 131, 175

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

According to the information we secured from Don Luis de Torres and the Caroline Islanders, the Farollap group was located northwest of the Swedish Islands. On the morning of the 28th of March we sighted three islets in this area, and soon some canoes came to greet us; they answered our first question by crying Farollap.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Ifalik

Until the third of April we hunted for two coral islands, which were shown on the maps, and which the Captian thought might be the same one which the natives of some other islands called Ifaluk. In reality there were four islands, the largest of which was Ifaluk; it had apparently given its name to the rest, just as Lugunor and some others did.

5: Kittlitz--153-55 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians-1-2
116, 131, 137, 136 Woleai

Toward noon, we tacked to the anchorage inside the lagoon [MR: on the southern side]; this spot was remarkably like the one at Lugunor. In both places the strip of land, which lay just a short distance from us, was the eastern part of the island group, but here it was composed of three separate islands, which were separated by very narrow canals, while the other was formed by the long island Lugunor, the principal one of the group. The southern one of these islands is Ra-ur, the central one Palliau, and the northern one Ulea or Uleai; it is also the entrance to the north side of the whole group. Uleai, which is the largest island of the group, is shaped like a triangle with flattened sides. Farther north on the edge of the shallows is Marion Island, which is to Uleai what Funoar is to Lugunor, except that the partially submerged reef between it and the main island is not so long as the one between the other two islands. All of these places that I have mentioned are like the Lugunor group in that they are partially covered with very tall trees, in whose shade the houses are [154] scattered, with little lawns around them. At low tide it is very easy to wade through the canals between the islands of this eastern shore, especially the one between Ra-ur and Palliau. We noticed that the large forest trees included more varieties than on Lugunor; there are fine specimens of Callophyllum ...and the Hernandia ovigera.... We saw the sea-swallow (Gygis candida) around the crowns of these trees.... Among the beach birds we saw the Strepsilas collaris...and the Numenius tenuirostris... In the bushes I found the Sylvia Sryinx and the black variety

of Lamprothornis....

On this island group there are neither hens nor doves, and we also missed the Pteropus. On the other hand I once saw [155]... the cuckoo...

The vegetation of these islands is naturally very similar to that of the Mortloks Islands... The Tacca pinnatifida, whose root should produce a fine arrowroot...is much more common than on Lugunor....

5: Kittlitz--156 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

The Uleai Island group consists of two horse-shoe chains, which belong to the same shallows and are only separated by a narrow canal on the northern side. Our anchorage lay in the lagoon of the eastern part; I have already mentioned the principal islands here; those of the western group are Ulemarai and Seliap; a row of very small but inhabited islets adjoins the latter on both sides.

6: Senfft--53
116, 131

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Lamutrik or Swede Island is also an atoll. Its shape is that of an isosceles triangle. At the corners of the triangle Lamutrik, Puch (not Pugun), and Fleit (not Faleite) Islands are situated. The Lamutrik group also includes the Elato Atoll about five nautical miles to the west, which consists of the islands of Elato, Oletel, Kari (not Karigun), Tauas, and Falipi, as well as the atoll one nautical mile south of Elato, with the two islands of Lamrior and Ulor. The names Namaliauon and Tauas given on chart 772 of theBritish admiralty are not familiar to the natives. Puch and Fleit are the only uninhabited islands. According to the chart of the British admiralty, the geographical position of Elato is 7° 29' 30" North and 146° 19' 0" East. The chart based on a sketch by the explorer Lutke is not correct. The errors may be seen by a comparison with a sketch I made together with the pilot Davenport during my stay on Lamutrik in September 1903. According to this there are several openings in the reef. There are two passages into the lagoon which lead to a safe harbor by Lamutrik Island.

6: Senfft--53
116, 131

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Oleai, which is sometimes--incorrectly--called Wolea or Ulie, is a typical atoll in the shape of a figure eight. The reef has an opening in the southeast. There are 21 islands on the reef, of which the following eight are inhabited: Raur, Paliau, Flalap (mistakenly called Oleai), Mariom, Tagaulap, Seliap, Usagel (which, on chart 772 published by the English admiralty, is called Olemari through a confusion with a village located on this island), and Falalis. The northern tip of Raur is situated at 7° 21' 39" South and 143° 57' 30" East.

7: Senfft--193 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 131, 137 Faraulep

I met several canoes which had been on their way out but returned to show me the passage into the reef of Faraulip Island. The three islands of this atoll are low islands. The coralline soil is overgrown with healthy specimens of coconut palms, breadfruit trees, bananas, Cystoeperma edule, some tobacco, and some pandanus and betel trees.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131, 161

(No date) 1904

Weleaians
Aurupik

Aurepik is an atoll comprising four islands, Aurepik, Uau, Pikefaj, and Elangkitegit, of which the first two are inhabited. The vegetation is the same as that on the other atolls. Coconuts trees are predominant here also.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

A small passage leads into the [MR: Ifalik] lagoon, which was formerly used by a Spanish man-of-war.... There are three very attractive islands on the reef.

7: Senfft --195
116, 131

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Aurupik

There is no passage into the lagoon, but the boats may pass over the reef at high tide. The reef is covered with trepang, but it is of a poor quality.

9: Senfft--13-14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

Oleai is also an atoll; [14] it consists of 23 islands of which Raur, Palián, Oleai, Máriom, Tagánlap, Séliap, Olemari (Ot'thogan), and Falális are inhabited.

11: Born--175-176 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

The Oleai Islands belong to the West Carolinian and Palauan district politically. They are situated about 380 nautical miles to the east of Jap, and form part of the island group which extends from Palau to the Marshall Islands over an area of more than 40 degrees of longitude. They comprise 21 islands of varying size. Only eight of them, the largest in size, are inhabited, although all of them have abundant growths of coconut trees and tall breadfruit trees. Raur, Paliau, Oleai, Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal, and Falalis are the islands which are inhabited.

The islands form two semi-circles which meet at Tagaulap Island, in such a way that they form the arabic numeral 3. The opening of the 3 forms the passage to the inner lagoon.

Through this large opening in the reef, the lagoon is exposed to the southwest monsoon, so that this wind causes a rough sea within the harbor. There are also many reef banks scattered throughout the harbor. One of the most dangerous of these is situated to the northeast of Motogosu (Motagu) Island. During stormy weather, which is frequent during the time of the northeast monsoon, the sea here is very rough; it swells and there are breakers and strong currents from all sides.

There are two narrow passages which are navigable for canoes and small craft, one between Fareiles and Jalangigereil, the other between Tagaulap and Marijong; the latter has more depth. Near this, towards Tagaulap, there are breakers [176] even during calm weather. During the northeast monsoon the surf is strongest at the apex of each of the two semi-circles.

11: Born--177 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
131 Woleai

Aurepik is a distance of 80 nautical miles from Oleai, Ifaluk is 40 and Faraulip 100 nautical miles distant.

12: Lutke--107-108
116, 131, 175, 161

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
West Fayu

Following our way west on the next day (February 22) we saw Pyghella and Faïeou islands which Don Louis Torrès had also seen, and which he called Pigouelao [AN: Pikelot] and Faliao [AN: Fayu]. The former [108] had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. Both of them are very small, not being more than a hundred and fifty meters long; they are almost at water level, surrounded by a reef forming a cove on Faliao, and both of them are uninhabited.

12: Lutke--127
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek
Elato

I steered first for the islands which Wilson called Islands of the Swede (Swede's Islands), because a sailor on his boat, who was born in Sweden, remained there. We did not meet anything worthy of notice until the 25th, when we passed seven miles from the shore of Taïeou Island (western) [AN: West Fayu] which we had already surveyed. On the evening of that same day we saw the Swede's Islands at the west. At dawn on the 26th we had drawn near to them; then we were joined by several canoes and the natives informed us that the easternmost of the three separate groups which form these islands is called Namourrek (or Namouttek) [AN: Lamotrek]; the westernmost is Elato and the most southern, Namoliaour.

12: Lutke--128-129 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Elato

After observing the latitude between the Elato and Namourrek groups, which are situated almost on the same parallel, we went to the western side of the former. This side consists of an open reef with several islets one of which is called Falipi. On Cantova's map, in almost this very spot you see Banc de Falipi. Could what was formerly a shoal have become an island in a hundred years time? There is a harbor in the Elato group: the boats sent from the Marianas to get the trepang always stop there. However, we were not able fo find [129] the entrance to the lagoon which according to what we had been told is on the eastern side. This is contrary to the law generally observed in the coral atolls, where the openings of the reef are to be found on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--130
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Wolcaians
Faraulep

We steered north, to go in quest of the Farroĭlap group (or Fattŏilap) which was seen by Mr. Torrès. By following his indications and the statements of the Carolinians, we reached this small group on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March. It is only four miles in circumference, and is composed of three islets with a lagoon in the center. After sailing around them we hove to on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--133 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Ifalik

Having run south to latitude 7° 20′, we now steered west. The two Wilson islands are situated in this latitude, and we now thought that they would prove to be the Ifalouk group; this surmise was correct. We surveyed it on the third of April. It consists not of two, but of four islands: Ifalouk, Moaï, Ella and Faraik; they lie, as usual, on a reef which forms a lagoon about five miles in circumference.

12: Lutke--136-137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Mr. Zavalichine came back when he had found a good anchorage, and then we entered the lagoon. After tacking a few times we threw anchor about noon [137] across from the northern point of Raour Island.

12: Lutke--142-143 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

The Ouleai group is fifteen miles in circumference; on the old maps it appeared twenty or thirty times larger. It is composed of twenty-two islands, whose names are given with a fair degree of exactitude both by Mr. Chamisso, and on Captain Freycinet's map. According to our observations the [143] southern tip of Raour island, the most eastern one of the group, lies latitude 7°20' 7" north, and at longitude 216°3' west.

12: Lutke--143-144 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai 12

The wearisome uniformity of the coral islands has this advantage at least, it dispenses the traveler from the obligation of describing in detail the form of each group. After seeing one, he has seen them all. We have already noted their appearance on the sea side. From the lagoon they all look like a round sandy streak, covered with thick woods, and broken by certain gaps which are framed by the breakers; these do not break the horizon line, however.

But the Ouleaï group differs from the others in this connection. Its form is highly irregular; there are two angles which project toward the north, and a deep recess lies between them. According to the hypothesis of the coral island formation, you can not explain this shape except by assuming that two entirely independent groups were formed here at this place, and simultaneously. The six-meter canal between the Angaligaraïl and the Faraïle islands seems to mark their separation. The reef which extends SE from there joins on the other side of Motogozeu Island the reef which starts from Raour Island, and this completes the eastern group; while a [144] depth of five fathoms, and the reef which extends E and NE from Felalis [AN: Falalis] Island indicate the direction in which the reef will have to go from Felalis, if it is ever to reach Feraïlles and to separate the western group.

The island Ouleaï stands out not only from the ones in this group, but from most of the ones which we had seen up until now. Its southern side does not have the shallow, which makes the other islands so inaccessible; instead the ground slopes down rather

rapidly to a bottom, which is level and sandy; through several fathoms of clear transparent water you can see each grain of sand on the floor. The interior of the island is charming; it is a grove, intersected with paths leading in every direction, and dotted with clearings where there are houses. The coral islands generally have the shape of a horse-shoe, and the sea always looks ready to occupy it. Scarcely have you left one beach when you reach another. Ouleaf on the contrary, is fairly large and there is a kind of park with some beautiful breadfruit trees.

12: Lutke--148-149 (1828) 1835* Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Aurupik

After surveying the southern side of the Ouleaï group, we steered south to hunt for the Eourypyg group about whose location I had obtained some information at Ouleaï. Acting on these advices on the twelfth we found this little group which is made up of only two islands. While sailing along its northern side we saw some men on the beach but to our great regret they did not launch their canoes which were on the bank. We did not see any in the lagoon either; so we never learned [149] the names of the islands which form this group.

12: Lutke--318
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

On the old maps the Ouleaf group occupied a space of two or three degrees in longitude. Captain Freycinet reduced it to seventy miles; while in reality it is only six Italian miles long in this direction.

14: Born et al--572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

On March 19 we [MR: Capt. Martens] sighted Oleai...and anchored...by the island of Raur....According to our observations the lagoon is placed 12 to 14 minutes too far to the east on the chart.

14: Born et al--572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 131 Ifalik

On March 26 we [MR: Capt. Martens] arrived at Ifaluk in the morning...According to astronomical observations Ifaluk is situated correctly on the chart as to latitude, but the longitude is 14 minutes too far to the east.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--540-541 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"West Fayu (Faiu) Island (8°05'N., 146°44'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 54 miles west of Pikelot Island is a small, thickly wooded islet [541] near the middle of a reef which forms a lagoon westward of it. This lagoon has depths of 16 to 22 fathoms, except for a 2 1/4 fathom patch in the middle. The entrance to the lagoon, on the southeastern side, is 1/2 mile wide, but the channel is considerably limited due to shoal depths of 1 to 2 1/4 fathoms. Boats can easily reach the landing place at the southern end of the island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek Islands (southeast end, 7°27'N., 146°24'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 39 miles westward of Satawal Island, consist of three islets lying on a triangular atoll enclosing a lagoon. Coconut palms and breadfruit trees grow on the islets. . . .

'Entrances. -- The northern side of the reef is continuous, but the other sides are broken, leaving several entrances to the lagoon. The entrance on the northeastern side and south of Pugue is wide and clear of detached dangers, but during strong northeasterly winds high seas set through it into the lagoon. Though the entrance at the middle of the southern side is difficult to find, it is 400 yards wide and a good channel when the northeasterly winds are strong. Westward of the latter is another entrance about 320 yards wide. All the other entrances are narrow.

Anchorage. -- Off the western side of Lamotrek Island there is anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but when westerly winds are blowing hard the sea is rather high. The sandy beach on the western side of Lamotrek Island can easily be reached by small boats."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541-542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 221 Elato

"Elato Islands, 5 miles westward of Lamotrek Islands, consist of two atolls, the southern enclosing one lagoon and the northern two lagoons. Elato Island is the largest of four islets on the northern atoll, and Toas Island is the larger of the two on the [542] southern atoll. Elato Island is flat, sandy, and covered with trees; natives from neighboring islands come here to obtain material for canoes. Trees also grew on the islet of the southern atoll. . . .

Anchorage has been found in a depth of 11 fathoms in the northern lagoon and about 1/2 mile south of the western extremity of Elato Island. The sandy beach on the southwest side of this island is easily reached by small boats.

A narrow entrance, available only to small boats, leads into the lagoon of the southern atoll."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Olimarao

"Olimaroa Islands (northeast end, 7°42'N., 145°53'E., H. O. Chart 5426), about 21 miles west-northwest of Elato Island, consist of two flat islets on an atoll reef; they are covered with coconut palms and other trees. The reef on the northwest side is marked by breakers at all times. On the southern side are two passages, of which the eastern is 1,000 yards wide and the western 600 yards wide. The depths in the lagoon appear to be regular, with no dangers.

. . . . The reef surrounding Olimarao Island makes landing difficult.

In 1934 a shoal, with a depth of 14 fathoms over it and marked by discolored water, was found 3 1/2 miles north-northeast of Olimarao Island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 223 Gaferut

"Gaferut (Grimes) Island (9°14'N., 145°23'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 97 miles north-northwest of Olimarao Islands, is low, thickly covered with trees, and encircled by a reef. There are no coconut palms and no inhabitants, but natives from Faraulep Islands visit it to catch birds, which are numerous on it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542-543 1938 Woleaians
116, 131 Faraulep

"Faraulep Islands, 62 miles southwest of Gaferut Island, consist of three low wooded islets on an atoll. On the southern side of the atoll are three narrow channels leading into the lagoon; they are [543] not suitable for large vessels. Small boats can reach the lagoon sides of the islets at half tide."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik Islands (7°15'N., 144°27'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 9 miles southwest of Gamen Reef and 81 miles southward of Faraulep Islands, lie on a small atoll reef. The three largest are wooded and have coconut palms on them. Between the two southernmost of the three largest islands is a shoal passage available to small boats; it is also very narrow due to a reef immediately inside. There are two jetties on the southern part of the western shore of Ifalik Island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543-544 1938 Woleaians-1-1
116, 131, 504 Woleai

"Woleai (Anangai) Islands (east end, 7°21'N., 143°55'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 32 miles westward of Ifalik Islands, consist of several islands covered with coconut palms and other trees. The reef on which they lie forms two lagoons, open to the southward. A number of reefs and shoals are scattered throughout the lagoons. Motegosu, on the western side of the entrance to East Lagoon, is composed entirely of sand and pebbles, and cannot be made out from a distance. . . .Raur, the southeastern island, was formerly the trade center, but was devastated by a storm that took place over 15 years ago. . . [544]. . . .

Entrances. -- Raur Channel, at the southern end of East Lagoon, is about 1/4 mile wide and has depths of 6 to 12 fathoms in it.

West Channel, on the southwestern side of West Lagoon, has a 3 1/2 fathom patch in midchannel.

North Channel, on the northeastern side of West Lagoon, is about 200 yards wide and has depths of 3 to 7 fathoms.

A shoal and narrow channel, suitable only for small craft, leads into the western part of East Lagoon from northward of the atoll. The tidal currents in it are strong.

Tidal currents. -- In the southern entrance to East Lagoon the flood current sets eastward at a maximum drift of 0.5 knot, and the ebb west-northwestward at 0.3 knot. The currents turn at about high and low tide.

Anchorage. -- East Lagoon is too limited to afford anchorage for many vessels;

West Lagoon, however, is extensive and deep, but its shoal entrance is a hindrance to large vessels. Since both lagoons are open to the southward, a swell sets in during the season of south-west winds. At such times small vessels will find suitable anchorage in the northwestern part of East Lagoon. Northward of Tagaulap, about 1 mile southwest of Woleai, is a comparatively shoal area which affords good anchorage during southwest winds.

Of two wooden piers in front of the South Sea Trading Co.'s office, the southern is safe for small boats to come alongside. The northern pier and another at southern end of the island are not secure. Row boats can land inside the coral reef on the south-western part of Utagal, where there is a sandy beach."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Aurupik

"Eauripik (Kama) Islands (east end 6°41'N., 143°05'E., H. O. Chart 5426), about 58 miles southwest of Woleai Islands, consist of six small islets, all except the westernmost of which have coconut palms on them. They lie on an atoll reef which is 5 1/2 miles long east and west, and which is steep-to with over 100 fathoms at a distance of 400 yards off. The reef on the southern side is generally low. The sea breaks on the northern side during southwesterly winds of force 1 to 2, but not on the southern side. At high tide small boats can land at a jetty on the southern side of Eauripik, the easternmost island."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

"Woleai or Anangai islands lie about 60 miles north-eastward of the Eauripik islands. The atoll, the southern side of which is mostly submerged, is divided into two lagoons by a ridge of reefs extending south-eastward from Tagaulap island (Lat. 7° 22' N., Long. 143° 53' E.). West lagoon is wide and generally deep, but with scattered shoals; as the entrance to it is shallow, large vessels cannot enter it. Both lagoons are open to the south, and during the south-west monsoon a swell sets in. A sand cay lies on the reef, on the southern side of the atoll, nearly 1 1/2 miles southward of Tagaulap island.

All the islands are covered with coconut palms and other trees. Motogozu islet, on the south-western side of East lagoon and nearly one mile westward of the southern point of Raur island, the south-easternmost island of the group, is low and formed of sand and gravel.

There are two white houses on the south-western side of Woleai island, the north-easternmost island of the group, but they are not conspicuous. There are two wooden piers in the middle of the southern side of Mariaon island, situated about 4 cables westward of Woleai island; the northern pier is weak. There is also a pier at the southern extremity of the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501-502 (no date) 1933
116, 131, 504

Woleaians-I 2
Woleai

"Entrance Channels. --Raur channel, leading into the southern end of East lagoon, is about 2 1/4 cables wide between the reef extending south-westward from the southern end of Raur island and the reef surrounding Motogozu islet, and has depths of from 10 to 25 fathoms (18^m3 to 45^m7) in the fairway, but the depths may be less in the approach.

[502]West channel, on the south-western side of West lagoon, close south-eastward of Falulap islet, has a 3 1/2-fathom (6^m4) patch in the fairway.

North channel, on the north-eastern side of West lagoon, between Farailes island and Jalangigereil is land, south-eastward of it, is about a cable wide between the reefs on either side, and has depths of from about 3 to 7 fathoms (5^m5 to 12^m8).

There is a passage between the reefs extending from the eastern end of Tagaulap and the southern end of Mariaon island, but it is narrow, and as the tidal streams in it are strong it is unsuitable except for small craft.

Shoals. --There are numerous shoals in West lagoon, which can best be seen on the chart. In east lagoon there is a shoal ridge, with depths of from one to 6 fathoms (1^m8 to 11^m0), situated about 8 cables south-eastward of Mariaon island. There is a 2-fathom (3^m7) patch about 2 3/4 cables south-westward of the south-western extremity of the ridge, and another 2-fathom (3^m7) patch situated 3 1/4 cables northward of the southern extremity of Raur island.

Anchorages. --Large vessels may obtain anchorage in East lagoon, in depths of from 15 to 20 fathoms (27^m4 to 36^m6), fine sand, with good shelter about 4 1/2 cables

westward of the northern part of Raur island.

Small vessels may obtain anchorage during the south-west monsoon off the south-eastern side of Mariaon island, and also off the northern side of Tagaulap island (Lat. 7° 22' N., Long. 143° 53' E.)."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --502-503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Ifalik

"Ulloa reef, over which there is a depth of 9 3/4 fathoms (17^m8), was discovered in 1894 by the Spanish man-of-war Don Antonio de Ulloa; it lies about 20 miles south-westward of the Ifalik islands, and about a mile westward of the reef is another, with a depth of about 12 fathoms (21^m9) over it.

Gamen reef, over the south-western end of which there is a depth of about 2 3/4 fathoms (5^m0), was discovered in 1885, by the Swedish barque Gamen; it lies from 9 to 21 miles north-eastward of Ifalik islands. The reef, is from 2 to 4 miles wide, and has depths of from 2 3/4 to 13 1/2 fathoms (5^m0 to 24^m1) over it, with over 100 fathoms (182^m9) close-to.

Ianthe shoal, over which there is a depth of 3 3/4 fathoms (6^m9), was discovered in 1845 by the American ship Ianthe; it lies about 100 miles south-eastward of Ifalik islands, and is about 1 3/4 miles [503] long east and west, and three-quarters of a mile wide. About 5 1/2 miles westward of Ianthe shoal is a shoal with a depth of 3 fathoms (5^m5) over it, which is much discolored and plainly visible. Between these two shoals there are two 7-fathom (12^m8) patches."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Olimarao

"Olimarao island lies on the northern side of the reef forming an atoll, about 95 miles south-south-eastward of Gaferut island; it is covered with coconut palms and other trees; all round the island the bottom shelves and it is unsuitable for landing.

On Falifi, at the western extremity of the atoll, trees grow luxuriantly, but there are no coconut palms.

The atoll has no permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by natives from Elato.

There are shallow depths on the north-western side of the atoll, where there are always breakers on the reef, and there is no passage into the lagoon. On the southern side there are two shoal passages, the eastern of which is half a mile wide and the western about 3 cables. It is reported that the depths in the lagoon are even, and there appear to be no dangers."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Faraulep

"Faraulep islands, about 80 miles northward of Ifalik islands, consist of three islets on a circular reef forming an atoll, the largest of which is Faraulep islet, 78 feet (23^m8) high; they lie on the northern and eastern sides of the reef of an atoll and are covered with coconut palms and other trees.

There are three passages into the lagoon on the southern side of the atoll, all narrow and unsuitable for large vessels to pass through but boats may enter the lagoon and obtain a landing on any of the islets.

....There are many turtles in the vicinity of this group.

Earl Dalhousie bank, with depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7) over it, lies about 56 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Tarang bank, over which there are depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7), was discovered by the schooner Tarang in 1910; it lies with its shoalest part, which is near the middle of the bank, about 83 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Between Earl Dalhousie bank and Tarang bank is Akashi shō, a bank with a depth of 14 fathoms (25^m6) over it."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 136, 161 Gaferut

"Gaferut island, about 60 miles north-eastward of Faraulep islet (Lat. 8° 36' N., Long. 144° 33' E.), is low, wooded, and surrounded by a fringing reef, which extends about 3 cables north-westward from its northern extremity, and about 2 1/2 cables south-south-westward from its southern extremity. The island, which is 65 feet (19m8) high to the tops of the trees, is uninhabited. Numerous booby gannets, which are similar to seagulls, inhabit the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Elato

"Elato islands, about 20 miles south-eastward of Olimarao island, consist of two atolls. On the northern are four islets, the largest of which is Elato, at the northern end; it is 101 feet (30^m8) high to the tops of the trees, and sandy.

On the eastern side of the atoll, about a mile south-westward of Elato islet there is an entrance into the lagoon about half a cable wide, with depths of from 5 to 6 fathoms (9^m1 to 11^m0).

In February, 1862, H.M.S. Sphinx entered the lagoon and anchored in a depth of 11 fathoms (20^m1) about half a mile southward of the western point of Elato islet.

Landing can be made on a sandy beach on the south-western side of Elato islet...

The southern atoll, on the south-eastern side of which are Toas and Ulor islets, is separated from the northern atoll by a passage about 1 1/4 miles wide. Both islets are wooded.

There is a narrow passage through the reef about 2 cables northward of Toas islet, which, except for small craft, is difficult to navigate."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 Lamotrek

"Orairuguron bank, over which there is a depth of 21 fathoms (38^{m}4), lies about 10 miles southward of Toas islet."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"Oraitilipu bank, over which there is a depth of 8 3/4 fathoms ($16^{m}0$) at its south-eastern extremity, lies about 32 miles eastward of West Fayu island. It extends for about 4 1/2 miles north-west and south-east. The depth immediately round the bank is over 100 fathoms ($182^{m}9$)."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131 West Fayu

"West Fayu island is densely wooded, and lies about 46 miles north-north-westward of Satawal islands. Reefs extend eastward, westward, and southward from it; that extending westward curves round and running eastward forms a lagoon with the reef which extends southward. There is a passage half a mile wide between the extremities of these two reefs, but the navigable channel is much reduced by a shoal, with depths of from one to 2 1/4 fathoms (1^m8 to 4^m1) over it.

There are general depths of from 16 to 21 fathoms (29^m3 to 38^m4) in the lagoon, but there is a reef, with a depth of 2 fathoms (3^m7) over it, nearly in the middle of it.

Landing can be made near the southern extremity of the island."

17: Meinicke--357
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

Westfayeu, 803' N., 146° 50' E., is a small flat uninhabited island covered with bushes which with its large reef surrounding it is over a mile long. Five miles to the east of it lies the dangerous sandbank Oraitilipu.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Lamotrek

Lamotrek is the common name for a group of 3 small lagoon islands West of Satawal. The easterly one, Lamotrek, is 1 miles long in a northwesterly direction; on the reef which surrounds the approachable lagoon are 3 larger and 7 small islands. The southern one, Lamoliork (Lamoliaur) is the smallest; the westerly one, Elato (7°30' N., 146°19' E.) is the same size as Lamotrek and has numerous reefs on the east sode of the reef; the west side is almost completely bare; on both sides a channel leads to a good harbor in the lagoon. SW from this island lies the dangerous sandbank Janthe (5°32' N., 145°40' E.); it was given this name after the ship which discovered it in 1845 and is perhaps the same sandbank that the people of the Carolines call Falipi.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Ifalik

Ifalik, 7°15' N., 144°31' E., is a small flat wooded lagoon island 5 miles east of Ulie and more than a mile in circumference. There are 4 little islands on the reef, the two larger and the only ones inhabited being on the east side and the two smaller ones between which a narrow canoe channel leads into the lagoon on the south side.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Olimarao

Olimarao (Cheyne's Five islands, 7°45' N., 145°47' E.) is 2¼ miles WNW of Olato and is a small lagoon island scarcely ¼ a mile long with two small inhabited islands on its reef.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Faraulep

Faraulep, 8° 35' N., 144° 36' E., lies NW of Olimarao and is a small uninhabited lagoon island of 1 mile in circumference on whose reef there are 3 small islands of which the most southerly is called Eate.

17: Meinicke--358-359 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131 Woleai

Ulea is barely a mile and a half long from east to west. The lagoon is an elongated oval but it is divided into 2 portions by a reef going out south from the island Tagoilap on whose south end is a small island Motogozen; of these two portions the east lagoon makes a fine [359] protected harbor into which wide and safe channel goes from the east of Motogozen and another narrower one north of this island; the west part of the lagoon is far larger but on account of the numerous coral banks half of it is scarcely usable as a harbor; 3 passages which all ships can go through make it approachable from the sea; the widest is on the S. side W. of Motogozen; the second on the W. side north of Felalis, the 3rd on the north side by the little island Angaliagarail. There are 22 small well wooded islands on the reef of which the most important are Raur (7°21' N., 143°57' E.) Paliau and Ulie, the biggest of all, on the east of the small lagoon; Tagoilap (Thagoilip), Seliap, Ulimirai on the north and Felalis on the south side of the larger lagoon.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Euripik, 6°40' N., 143°11' E., NW of Ulie is a small lagoon island scarcely ½ a mile long on the N side of whose reef there are 2 little islands of which only the easterly one is inhabited.

23: Pereiro--13-14 (N[illegible] date) 1895 Woleaians
116, 131, 437 Woleai

According to Coello, Don Luis Torres made a map of the islands that constitute this group in 1804, which number 23 and are located on a barrier reef 10 kilometers long and 5 wide. The location at the extreme north of the island of Raur, which is the most south west, if 150° 9' 54" long. N. This island is the point at which the boats trading in copra stop. The reef on which these [14] islands are situated has a 15 mile circumference and is open at the south.

28: Spiro--1 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 131 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk atoll is part of the larger culture area known as Micronesia. Micronesia lies north of Melanesia, occupying the region between, approximately, 20'N. and 5'S. latitude, and 130' and 180'E. longitude. It includes five major island groups: the Palaus, Carolines, Marianas, Gilberts, and Marshalls.

The Caroline Islands, of which Ifaluk is a part, lie south of Guam, west of the Marshalls, north of New Guinea, and east of the Phillipines. They form a broad belt extending from 131'E. longitude to 163'E. longitude, and from 1' to 10'N. latitude."

28: Spiro--1 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 131 Ifalik

"Ifaluk, a low coral atoll, is located at 7'15" N., 144'27" E. The atoll is two miles in length, and 1.6 miles in breadth. It has three fairly large islands: Felarik, in the north-east, Falalap in the south-east, and Ella on the south side of the atoll. There is also a small islet in the south-west. The oval lagoon is about 5 miles in circumference, and is nearly one square mile in area. It is entered by a shallow passage between ella and Falalap. (1)"

"1. The native canoes have no difficulty at all, of course, in making the passage. But only the smallest of navy ships can do so. The LSM that brought us to Ifaluk got in without too much difficulty, but it required three attempts to get out. As a result no attempt was made by the succeeding ships to enter the lagoon."

33: Hasebe--142 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131 Woleai

"Oleai, also called Voleai, Uleai, Woleai, Ulie, Ouleyai, Ulea, Guliai, Olie, and Valayay, is 245 nautical miles southeast of Fais, and consists of Flalap (Volea, Ulea, Ulee, Ulier), Votagai (Utagai, Otagu), Faralis (Farailes, Futalis, Faralies, Farilies), Solulap (Saliap, Seliep) and Tagaulap (Thageilup, Tafaulep, Tacaylap, Tacaulap)."

33: Hasebe--142-143
116, 131, 161, 304

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Aurupik

"Aurupik, also called Aurepig, Aurupeg, Aurupig, Aurepik, Jaurepik, Eauripik, Eurupuc, Eourypyg, Eurupugk, [143] Vaupe, Yaropie, and Kama, is about 65 nautical miles southwest of Oleai, and its population is 102. I examined two men and both of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 304, 103 Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143
116, 103, 131, 161, 304

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

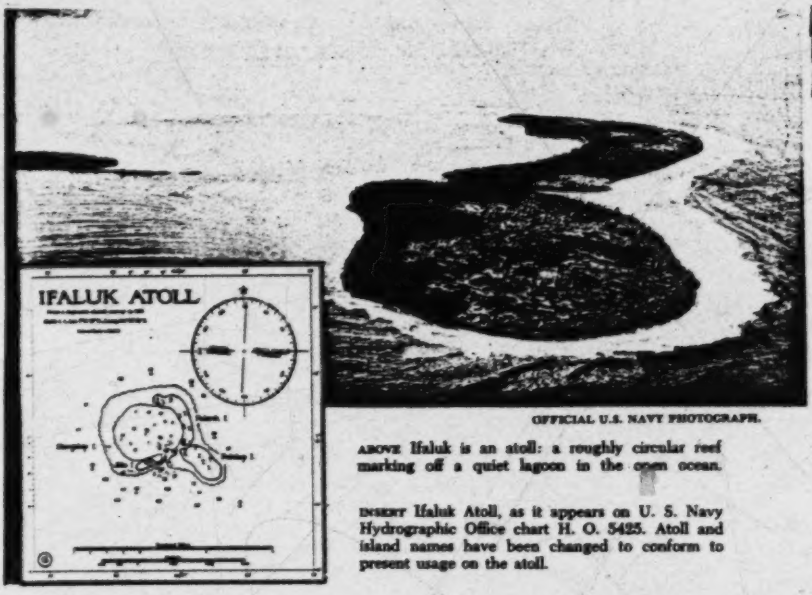
Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
100



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSERT Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
137
114

[P. 32 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

"One of the clearest units of time in the minds of the people of Ifalik seems to be the rag. A rag is a period of five months. There are two of them, seu e vang and seu rag (or simply vang and rag), which alternate. In giving the list of month names, the chiefs put the first five in vang; the sixth 'in between'; the next five in rag; and the twelfth again, in between.

This corresponds fairly well to one of the most striking features of their climate, the seasons; so that rag might be translated 'season.' The people are quite clear on several characteristics of each rag. The first is the difference in direction of the prevailing wind. During vang the prevailing wind is from the east. During rag it is from the west, though less steadily. The second difference is in the supply of breadfruit. During vang there is very little breadfruit; during rag, there is plenty. A third difference is that one of the important methods of fishing is seasonal. Vang is the time for going out after flying fish (mèngor) on moonless nights, with torches of dried coconut leaf and dip-nets. During rag this kind of fishing is not practised. A fourth, lesser difference is that when there is breadfruit, they say, there are no golden plover (kulohg). When the breadfruit disappears, the plover arrive.

Native month names do not correspond exactly to those of our calendar, and we have no names for their seasons. But the seasons can be distinguished clearly enough in our terminology. The summary below was made by comparing notes taken during our stay on Ifalik with 'A Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands', issued in 1944 by the

Aerology Section of the Navy.

Vang is the season of northern-hemisphere trade winds, which blow from the east or a little north of east. It corresponds to the winter of more northerly latitudes. The easterly winds set in, light and fitful at first, about November. In 1947 they did not become established until nearly the end of that month, but the season was said to be rather late that year. The trade wind blows more and more steadily through December, and in January and February there are comparatively few [10] calms. It builds up during the day, reaching a maximum in early afternoon and dying down again in the evening. It is generally light, up to 12 miles per hour, rarely more than 18. Beginning about March it is more and more often interrupted by calms.

Rag is the season of calms and variable, prevailingly west winds. Commander Betts explained that these westerly winds are actually the southern-hemisphere trade winds, which reach this latitude when the sun is farthest north. Blowing from the east to southeast quarter in more southerly latitudes, they swing clockwise to the southwest of the Carolines and so reach this area from the west.

Temperature varies little from season to season. It is usually within five degrees of 80° Fahrenheit. The variation between day and night--10 degrees or so--is greater than that between seasons. Clouds often cover the sky and reduce insolation. Effective temperature, measured by rate of evaporation, is also lowered much of the time by

breeze. Only bright, still days feel oppressively hot even to Americans. The natives seem to enjoy these, but are then inclined, even more than ever, to sit in the shade.

Rainfall is heavy. The nearest island for which records are available, Lamotrek, had a mean annual precipitation of 104.6 inches during the four years covered by the record. The season of calms and westerly winds, (April to August), is the rainiest, averaging more than 10 inches a month. As a rule, September, October, and November are relatively dry; December and January a little rainier; February the driest month of the year (mean precipitation on Lamotrek 2.1 inches), and March the next driest. However, rainfall may be heavy at any time. On Lamotrek, every month except February and September had more than 10 inches of rain during at least one of the four years of record.

Humidity is also steadily high, though somewhat less so during the season of easterly trade wind. It is disconcerting at first to see the apparently reckless handling of lighted bits of punk, rope, coconut husk, etc., in houses whose floors and roofs are covered with dried coconut leaf. Yet everything is so damp that accidental fires are rare; I saw but one during six months. For the same reason, cooking fires, though made of such light fuel as dried leaves and coconut husks, do not blaze high. They are smudgy so much of the time that most of the cooked food has a smoky taste."

1: Burrows--11 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik

"Four middle-aged men, asked how many typhoons they remembered, talked the matter over and reported a total of six. Only one of these was so severe that seas washed over the island. The inundation lasted for about two hours, they thought. The people all gathered in and around a house back from the shore. A rope was thrown around them, and all clung to it. Some did not manage to reach this place, and were washed away. All the breadfruit trees, they said, were blown down, most of the coconut trees, and the taro was washed out or destroyed. They remembered hearing of two particularly bad typhoons before their time. Sarfert's list of early chiefs includes mention of four memorable typhoons in the past. A resident of Ifalik, then, must expect to experience a number of typhoons during his lifetime; and one or more of them will probably endanger the lives of the population."

"In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants."

"A glimpse of the extent of interisland voyaging is afforded by the list of sailings to and from Ifalik during our six months there:

Aug. 18. --A visiting canoe from Faraulep, which had been at Ifalik since our arrival (July 28), awaiting a wind from the south, set out for home, accompanied by an Ifalik canoe.
Sept. 2. --Ifalik canoe returned from Faraulep.
Sept. 11. --An Ifalik canoe set out for Woleai.
Sept. 17. --Ifalik canoe returned from Woleai, accompanied by a Woleai canoe.
Sept. 19. --Woleai canoe returned.
Oct. 3. --Another canoe arrived from Woleai.
Oct. 11. --Visiting canoe went back to Woleai.
Dec. 6. --Ifalik canoe went fishing to the reef Faiaulap.
Jan. 14. --Woleai canoe that had visited Ifalik in October came again.

The long interval from Oct. 11 to January 14, with no sailings except one overnight fishing trip, was partly accidental, but largely due to the prevailing winds. During October and November they varied in both direction and force. They were mainly from the west. A west wind is good for reaching Elato, Lamotrek or Satawal from Ifalik.

But Tom was the only one who wanted to go that way (to visit a son on Lamotrek). And he was kept at home by two considerations: first, he had the visiting anthropologists to look after; second, his new canoe was not finished. [65]

Another deterrent at that time of year is that the westerly wind may blow up, with little warning, into a typhoon. Ifalik was not struck by a typhoon at that time; but twice --once in November, once in December-- was in the edges of one whose full force was felt on Yap. On those days the wind blew hard enough to uproot trees. That is far too strong for a canoe to venture out in, though one caught in such a blow may menage to ride it out.

From late November on, the trade wind blew from the east nearly every day. During the early part of its season this wind, too, is often too strong for safe sailing. Later on it dies down, and is more often a mild sailing breeze. Moreover, beginning about May, there would be occasional days of west wind; so that a canoe that went to Woleai before the trade might expect a good wind for the return trip without too long a wait. (A similar situation accounts for the frequent sailings to and from Woleai during September and October.) More frequent sailings might be expected during our spring and early summer months; but as we left Ifalik before then, no record can be given."

1: Burrows--80 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 821, 132, 502 Ifalik

"Stars as Weather Signs

Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ūlu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west."

2: Damm et al. --6-7 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 132 Ifaluk

The island group has not been spared by typhoons; in fact five of them have vented their fury on it. Previously, violent wind and rain caused some damage. Trees were uprooted, but nobody died, although these storms were followed by famine. The typhoon of March [7] 27-28, 1907 devastated the island, and 35 natives perished (24 from Jŏr, 10 from Jiwăn on Falālăp, and one boy from Felādjĭk). According to the local reports, the wind first appeared from the NE, and it lashed the island group broadside, but as yet there was no flood tide. But when it turned SE the water roared over Falālăp and Felādjĭk, and carried everything away. In 1909 you could still see some of the havoc that it had wrought. Hellwig wrote in the Logbook of the Expedition: "The dry, white trunks of great trees, that were bereft of their branches, stood out among the underbrush, and even at a distance you could see the palm trunks lying in rows on the ground."

On the other hand the typhoon did some constructive work; it fused the sand island Măje with the large island, and thus increased the area suitable for building purposes.

2; Damm et al. --114 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 132 Aurupik

This island also suffered a great deal from the dreadful typhoon of March 1907, and you could still see traces of it in 1909. The natives told Hambruch, that the typhoon had carried away a part of the eastern end of the island. Sixty years before, a similar storm is supposed to have devastated the island.

For general information about the climate and temperature on the Carolines, compare Singer (1899, Globus, Vol. 76, page 41).

2: Damm et al. --198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
132 Faraulep

Yoṅeläf

is regarded as a kind of demon. And since he brings the typhoon, he is greatly feared on the lower Caroline Islands.

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, page 34]: The wind and weather are similar to conditions on Jap: from May to September calms and indefinite winds prevail, but mostly they are those of the southern quadrant; from December to May, on the other hand, the northeastern monsoon is dominant.*

*It would more accurately be called a trade wind instead of a monsoon, because the true monsoon season--such as it occurs in the Indian Ocean--is lacking.

In 1903 the northeastern monsoon blew from January until the middle of April; from then on until November eastern winds prevailed, but the air currents were irregular and southwestern winds were frequent. Between November and January the wind blew principally from southeast to northeast. Typhoons on the whole are rather rare, but the depopulation of the islands around the year 1845 is explained by just this type of natural catastrophe. The violent typhoon of March 1907 also wrought devastation on these islands. [3]

Rain falls during all months, but hitherto limited measurements have shown that 1,540 millimeters or 56% of the total are to be attributed to the five months from April to August. The driest month is February with no more than 52 millimeters of rainfall. January, February and March with 331 millimeters receive only 12% of the total.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

The Südsee-Handbuch on page 5 after Hans Meyer Das Deutsche Kolonialreich gives rainfall measurements for Lámutrik, lat. 7° 26' W, long. 146° 30' E.

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	144	52	135	294	236	342	327	341	153	264	208	244

Total: 2, 741 millimeters

Following these statistics is a treatment of the winds.

4: Krämer--33
116, 132

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek
Elato

On December 12, 1900 a light typhoon is said to have hit the [Lamotrek] islands. Southwestern winds in January are looked upon as bad omens. In 1907 the typhoon of Oleai did not hit the Lamotrek group quite as hard.

4: Krämer--185-186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132, 175, 731 Woleai

Tagaulap. About fifteen to twenty years ago at the time of the southwestern monsoon a tidal wave tore away the entire southern end of the island of Tagaulap with all its houses, coconut palms and breadfruit trees but without the loss of human life. Today the tip of the island is completely covered by sand and only the bare skeletons of dead trees rise above the dry sand. [186]

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe. The former island at the present time is a reef covered with a sandbank. During the typhoon, the government schooner "Ponape" happened to lie at anchor south of Flalap. When the winds were northeasterly to westnortheasterly she lost both her anchors and with the tidal wave that had destroyed Raur, she was carried southwest across the reefs and out to sea.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132 Woleai

The typhoon of Aurepik seems to have hit Oleai, too, in 1830.

6: Senfft--53
116, 132

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

There are abundant rainfalls during the season when the southern winds are predominant, that is, from June to December. This also explains the fertility of the islands.

6: Senfft--53-54
116, 132

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

There have been no typhoons on the island for decades. May to December is a period of calm or of constantly changing winds; for the most part, the winds [54] from the southeast, the south, and the southwest predominate at that time. From December to June there is a strong northeast monsoon. The average rainfall on Lamutrik is approximately 3,000 millimeters per year.

6: Senfft--54
116, 132, 165

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Oleai had been swept by this same typhoon, but the results were less unfortunate. There I learned, however, that the population had decreased by one-third during the last few years.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

Since the last heavy typhoon the island had been only troubled by some more or less violent winds. About the rainfall since 1901 an account had been made and sent to the Foreign Office.

11: Born--176 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 132 Woleai

About 15 or 20 years ago, at the time of the southwest monsoon, a tidal wave swept away the entire southern tip of Tagaulap, together with all the houses, coconut and breadfruit trees on that section, although no lives were lost; this island is most exposed to the rough sea of the southwest winds. Today the tip of the island consists only of sand, and nothing is left but the bare branches...

14: Born et al--567-570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians -1 6
116, 132, 731 Woleai

Wednesday evening [MR: March 27, 1907] passed quietly with almost complete calm and beautiful moonlight. Early the next day several sharp thunderstorms passed over the islands from north and east, and a strong wind with rain squalls set in by fits and starts. The wind let up again and again after a short time, and then there was almost complete calm. From morning on a striking phenomenon was the ever stronger surf from the east and south, which had no relationship to the strength of the wind. Likewise, there appeared early in the morning numerous huge frigate birds, which hovered aimlessly back and forth over the island. I had not noticed these birds in Oleai before. In the usually quiet lagoon there was already a heavy sea at noon, rolling up on the sandy shore in mighty breakers. The first officer of the "Ponape" explained this phenomenon to me as the beginning of a spring-tide, which might be expected the next night (full moon). Towards one o'clock P.M. I went aboard the "Ponape" to consult with the captain about the weather. He told me that under the circumstances a departure that day was not to be considered, the barometer was falling sharply; there was the possibility of an approaching typhoon. He further declared that in such an event he would try to hold fast as long as possible in the lagoon. Finally, he asked me to stay on board because I would be safer than on land. However, considering the impossibility of bringing my bulky baggage on board now with the constantly heavier sea, I preferred to go ashore again.

In spite of the fact that astonishingly there was almost no wind, there was, [568] when I left the ship at about 2:30 P.M., a fearful sea, both on the outer reef and in the lagoon so that the "Ponape" had to change her anchoring place. Shortly after I left the ship a strong rain squall suddenly came blustering from the north-northeast, which struck the canoe I was in violently so that we almost sank. Summoning all their strength, the natives succeeded in holding the canoe and bringing it to land. Here I found my house already evacuated for during my absence powerful waves had come up over the 80 to 100 meter long dunes as far as the house. In the course of the next two and a half hours this whole dune, the eastern point of the island of Oleai, was washed away; there was now a wide passage between the islands of Oleai and Talian, and through this the waves coming over the outer reef from the northeast crashed wildly into the lagoon, where they met the equally heavy surf from the southwest so that the waves towered very high. At 5 o'clock, while I sat writing on the veranda, a heavy sea with slight wind again broke over the reef and, striking towards my house, it threw me several meters away through the splintered veranda railing. My left thigh was severely bruised by falling beams, which made walking very difficult for me and on the next day would have been almost disastrous. At 5:15 I sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape," in which I transmitted to him the advice of a Spaniard who was with me to move the anchorage of the "Ponape" near the village of Isang, under the protection of the northwestern point of Oleai. I thereupon received a note saying that the barometer was standing still and abating of the

wind was to be expected, but that on the other hand the surf would still increase. Shortly before 6 o'clock I had to abandon the already half demolished station; I moved back into the adjacent village of Leuleperik, where I took quarters in a recently finished finely built native house. Late in the evening the wind from the north-northeast began to grow still stronger so that branches of trees were already being broken off. From 1 A.M. on one heard through the whistling of the wind the constant snapping of branches like musketry fire and the crashing of huge falling trees like the thunder of cannon, above itall rose the thundering noise of the surf, but the houses stood firm through the whole night. Towards 5 o'clock we (the Spanish trader Villaçon and I) were awakened by the watch we had posted with the news that the waves were already striking in the village of Leuleperik and that there was already water around our lodging. Leuleperik is about 800 to 1,000 meters away from the northeast shore. The water rose so fast that we scarcely had time to give the most necessary instructions for saving the luggage. We hurried to the Japanese station, which is in the village of Jaur, at the widest part of the island, and in the middle of it. The way was already blocked by fallen coconut palms and other trees lying in all directions, in some places forming real barricades. In spite of the coconuts, branches and trees whistling down to the right and left of us, we reached the Japanese station without accident, and had there an open view of the lagoon to the south. The schooner "Ponape" was not to be seen. Glaring lightning flashed on the horizon in the west. The surf in the lagoon was already beating against the houses of the village. We

soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong [570] ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been wrenched from the ground with all its

roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast. It is impossible to describe the strength of this wind. It was as if a thousand express trains were racing close by our tree. The air was so full of rain and sea spray, mixed with sand, that is was impossible to see to a distance of even a few meters. Thus the storm raged uninterrupted until towards 3 in the afternoon, coming from east-southeast to southeast.

At this time it calmed a little. The sun even broke through, though veiled, for a few minutes, and it was now possible to orient ourselves. It turned out that we were quite close to the shore of the lagoon in the northwestern corner of the island. The water had fallen. Around us there stretched a wide desolate waste, the ground was covered meters high with fallen trees. Only now and then, where a blooming, delightful garden had been, did the bare stump of a breadfruit tree and some withered palms project. Far and wide there was no trace of human habitation. Only a few disordered heaps of ruins marked the places where the great canoe houses, filled with the pride of the natives, the artful high-sea canoes, fishing wier baskets and nets, had stood. There was no human being to be seen. When we approached the village of Jaur, we found the water there meter-high. Suddenly we saw two fantastic figures, youths, rubbed bright red all over their bodies, carrying a pig. We followed them and wading in water up to our hips we reached,

after difficult climbing stretches, the place in about the center of the island where the natives had already partly gathered again. It turned out that by good fortune none of the inhabitants of the island of Oleai had perished. A bivouac was quickly put up, huts constructed of bush work, and a fire lit. In this bivouac we spent the first night of pouring rain.

On Saturday, March 30, in the morning, the wind had let up considerably. We went to the shore and looked around. The sea was still wildly whirling and seething in the lagoon; there was no trace of the schooner "Ponape." A walk along the shore of the island showed us everywhere the same ghastly devastation. The islands of Paliau and Raur seemed to have suffered especially badly. At the place where the lovely island of Raur had been opposite Oleai, only a long, white sandbank with a few palms and tree stumps was to be seen. On the beach at Leuleperik we found the first victim of the catastrophe, the body of a boy about 5 years old....

14: Born et al--570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 173 Woleai

As to the question of the cause of this horrible catastrophe [MR: typhoon, March 1907] I should like to impart some observations which I made after the typhoon, but without the intention of drawing conclusions from them. It seems to me that it is not out of the question that volcanic, undersea eruptions had something to do with it. During the typhoon at 10 in the morning earthquakes could be felt; many pumice stones were washed ashore, which competent people said were lava. The whole atoll seemed even to the natives to have lifted since the high water mark had receded considerably. A new island emerged between Falalis and Motogosu, where, to be sure, there had already been a reef. This island is called Met and is supposed to have been inhabited long ago in the dim past. The native legend relates that a tidal wave washed it away in those days. Between the islands of Paliau and Oleai there used to be only a small passage, which was almost dry at low tide. Now, after the typhoon, this passage is very considerably widened and deepened. The reef bank between these two islands was cracked like a marble slab thrown on the floor; great pieces were split out of it. The ground on the islands of Paliau and Raur also looked as if shattered. On the outer reef of Raur, where the tidal wave had broken over it, there were three longish piles of coral rubble like little lonely islands. The outer reef side of the same two islands, formerly grown with thick bush, was a flat surface strewn with coral gravel, smooth and even as a table, where it had been exposed to the tidal wave. The direction of the tidal wave was presumably from east-northeast to west-southwest; its height cannot be given with certainty.

14: Born et al--571
116, 132, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

The accounts of those saved from Raur and Paliau unanimously gave the following picture of the events on those islands: As early as the evening of March 28, experienced people concluded from the peculiar roar of the surf that a tidal wave was approaching. So all precautions were taken to save the women and children, and they were fastened with ropes in the branches of breadfruit trees. On March 29, towards 8 in the morning, after the water had risen a meter and a half high on the island during the night, a dark cloud appeared with a terrifying whistling noise over the tops of the highest breadfruit trees, thus over 40 meters high: the tidal wave. It broke like a gigantic jet of water in the middle of the islands and poured with a terrific flood into the lagoon. However, this first tidal wave did not tear away the tightly bound people; but directly after the first came a second and still higher wave, which swept away all trees, houses and people. The lagoon at this moment was a great whirling eddy, into which the trees full of men were torn. Those who did not drown were crushed by the trees in the surf on the reef ledges.

14: Born et al--573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 731 Woleai

On April 11 in the evening the steamer [MR: "Germania"] anchored in the lagoon of Oleai. Dr. Born came aboard immediately.

Some of the islands which I [MR: district official Fritz] saw three months ago in the full splendor of their luxurious coconut groves, are wholly destroyed; only a few trees project from the heaps of fallen ones, standing, but without their tops; not a green leaf is to be seen.

Until June rainfall left much to be desired; besides the strong northeastern trade wind completely dried out the thin-layered soil and was very disadvantageous to the flora. In spite of the lack of rain and the prevailing strong winds a mosquito plague again proved most disagreeable during May and June.

The amounts of precipitation recorded at the three weather stations were as follows:

	Jap	Palau	Lamutrik
1904	2986.0 mm	--	--
1905	2917.3 mm	3218.6 mm	1961.10 mm.

LAMOTREK (West Carolines); Observer: Evan Lewis

1902	Rainfall in mm				Days with rain						
	6 am	6 pm	total	maxim 24 hrs.	in gen.	above 0.2 mm	above 1.0 mm	above 25.0 mm	storm	only sheet lightning	earth quake
January	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
February	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
April	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
May	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
June	281.7	185.8	467.5	75.9	18	18	18	6	0	3	0
July	228.4	205.9	434.3	63.9	21	21	21	5	1	1	0
August	293.7	101.4	395.1	90.6	18	18	18	5	1	0	0
September	55.9	66.0	121.9	32.0	10	10	10	1	0	0	1*)
October	55.3	67.5	122.8	30.8	6	6	6	3	0	0	0
November	**)	-	116.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
December	35.9	23.3	59.2	17.5	8	8	8	0	0	0	0
YEAR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

*Sept. 22, 11:47 am, earthquake

**Observer absent from Nov. 1 to 17. During that period 85.0mm rainfall collected in the rain gauge.

LAMUTREK, WEST CAROLINES

Observer: Evan Lewis

1903	Rainfall in mm			Max in	No. of Days with Rain				
	6 AM	6 PM	Total	24 hrs.	in Genl	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm	storms
January	61.7	45.5	107.2	34.3	8	8	8	1	--
February	13.5	6.5	20.0	10.0	3	3	3	0	--
March	6.0	0.0	6.0	3.5	2	2	2	0	--
April	88.0	56.0	144.0	46.3	9	9	9	2	--
May(19-31 missing)	--	--	283.0	--	--	--	--	--	(2)
June	75.0	162.2	237.2	38.5	18	18	18	2	1
July(1-9 missing)	--	--	391.4	--	--	--	--	--	(1)
August	81.0	194.5	275.5	78.2	10	10	10	5	3
September(26-30 missing)	(85.2)	(112.3)	(197.5)	(80.0)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(3)	--
October(1-15 missing)	--	--	209.8	--	--	--	--	--	1
November	218.7	141.6	360.3	104.0	13	13	13	4	3
December(12-20 missing)	--	--	461.6	--	--	--	--	--	(2)
YEAR	--	--	2693.5	--	--	--	--	--	--

26: Anonymous--206 (1903) 1904 Woleaians-2
116, 132 Lamotrek

[JJH: The observer found it necessary to be absent several times. On his return he always measured the amount of rainfall that had collected in the gauge during his absence. Thus the yearly total can be relied upon, with the exception of the slight amount lost by evaporation.]

The north-east trade wind blew steadily from Jan. to the middle of April. The winds were irregular from then until the beginning of November. Although during this latter period winds were observed coming from the eastern quadrant, southwest winds were also frequent. During November the southeast to northeast winds again won supremacy.

Storms almost without exception came from N, NE to SE.

27: Anonymous--232 (1906) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132 Lamotrek

[JJH: Following is additional information for 1905]:

LAMUTREK, West Carolines

	Rainfall in mm				No. of Days with Rain.			
	6am	6pm	total	Max. in 24 hours	in Genl	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm
Nov. 1905	150	52	202	71	9	9	9	3
December	54	38	92	30	6	6	6	1
Year	---	---	1963	--- ---	---	---	---	---

28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--1 [4]
116, 132

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Data on climate in Ifaluk are hard to obtain. The few instruments we had with us became casualities of the humidity. But the figures on temperature we did obtain seem to corroborate the official temperature recorded for the entire area by the Germans and Japanese. These give a mean temperature of 80' F. with variation of no more than four degrees. (2)

The average relative humidity for the Western Carolines is about 81 per cent. Despite this relatively high humidity, the climate is not uncomfortable; on the contrary, I found it quite pleasant. This is probably due to the prevailing winds and the trees which shade the islands and protect them from the glaring sun.

Rainfall is relatively heavy. The figures vary, but an average of 100 inches is a safe figure."

"2. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944."

30: Wendland--72
116, 132

(1904) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

LAMUTREK. WEST CAROLINES
Observer: Evan Lewis

1904	Rainfall in mm				No. of days with Rain			
	6 am	6 pm	total	Max. in 24 hrs.	in Genl.	above 0.2mm	above 1.0mm	above 25.0mm
January	133.2	199.3	332.5	49.2	16	16	16	5
February	15.8	4.2	20.0	12.5	3	3	3	0
March	174.7	106.3	281.0	52.8	13	13	13	5
April	--	--	569.9	--	--	--	--	--
May	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
June	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
July	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
August	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
September	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
October	113.3	106.4	219.7	55.5	10	10	10	3
November	--	--	175.3	--	--	--	--	--
December	68.0	40.0	108.0	30.0	6	6	6	2

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk
Ulithi OR20

obliterated completely. The ferocious wind scooped up the sea and hurled it over the island, ruining the fresh water in our rain catchments. The waves came up into the canoe houses and crumpled some of them. All canoes had previously been dragged inland into the villages and tied down between the houses. One of the women's club houses, which also served as maternity ward and hospital, began swaying under the impact of the storm. The women and children were removed to safety just before it disappeared in a spray of flying splinters. The waves piled up and crashed on the beach rolling water a hundred yards inland. The islands are only ten feet above sea level and the ocean threatened to inundate the land. All the coconuts and most of the fronds had been stripped from the trees. For nine months afterwards the people were on short rations and no copra could be produced."

The same trade ship brought news that another storm, about a month before, had hit Ulithi when a fleet of fishing canoes was out on the reef. Three canoes, with seven men, disappeared. The lost men included Tony's uncle, brother and nephew, and his niece lost her husband.

Ifaluk was too close to the equator to be often in the path of typhoons; it was in the area where these storms generally build up, gaining hurricane force as they move north. The island had not been struck by a major typhoon since 1907, but the storm of that year was a fearful one, and its mark was still on the island. From the lagoon, a few coconut palms stood out, much taller than the others; they were the survivors of the 1907 disaster. Great blocks of coral tossed up on the reef before Falalap were testimony enough to the unbelievable force of the sea.

The wind continued, but it could be ignored now that it held no threat of increased violence, and in the evening Don and I started seriously on our project of learning something about the language of Ifaluk. We had asked one of the young men, Yaniseman, to help with this, and he turned up with his good friend Tachiwelimeng.

This was the beginning of a close friendship and constant collaboration. Yaniseman was one of three young men from the island who had been sent to Yap for several months by the government of the Trust Territory to learn English and, on return, to serve as teachers for the island. The English that they could learn in this time was rudimentary,

"Ifalik consists of a coral reef surrounding a nearly circular lagoon, whose area, according to the U.S. Commercial Company's Survey (Maps), is .939 of a statute square mile. (Photo). Four islets rise above high-water mark. Toward the south and west are two small ones, one of them a mere sandspit. Two large ones, separated by a narrow channel, run the length of the eastern side of the lagoon and extend somewhat beyond it to north and south. The total land area is .569 of a square mile. The population is concentrated on the lagoon side of the two larger islands, Falālap and Falārik.

Traditionally each of the eight main canoe-houses faces a pass. All but one of these, however, are too shallow for anything larger than a canoe. The steamer pass is on the south, between Falārik and Ellā, the larger of the uninhabited islets. Because of a few large coral heads the entrance is narrow and winding. Their removal would straighten it, and make it wide enough for large ships. In the lagoon there is ample room and depth for anchorage, sheltered during the trade-wind by the two larger islands. Outside the lagoon there is anchorage to the southwest, near the entrance to the pass, sheltered during trade-wind weather by the islet Ellā. Natives say that in a west wind ships used to anchor on the eastern side, off the channel between the two large islands. Landing there must have been difficult at any time, because the reef is steep-to and a high surf nearly always running.

On Falārik the land slopes up very gradually from the lagoon side. About half way across it is level, with some hollow places. Toward the seaward (eastern and northern)

side it rises again. The highest land, which appears to be not more than 20 feet above mean sea level, is close to the seaward beaches. From this low ridge the land slopes away much more steeply to a narrow fringing reef.

All around Falālap the beaches are narrow, the slope up from shore relatively abrupt, as on the seaward side of Falārik. A ring of comparatively high land surrounds a central depression which takes up something like half of the area of the island. This conformation, and the extension of Falālap away from the lagoon, give it the appearance of a very small, nearly separate atoll, a little higher than usual, so that the center is a swamp instead of a lagoon."

Structurally, Ifaluk is a low coral atoll with a lagoon, that has a circumference of approximately five miles; it is circular, or according to Sievers, almost square.

Lütke said that there were four islands, but actually there are only three: the main island, Felādjĭk, the second largest, Falālăp, which adjoins it to the south, and the little isle, Elă. There is no Ifalouk Island in the circle of atolls, and the one which Lütke called Moay is [6] really Falālăp. A comparison of the first two drawings will prove this. Lütke's mistake is due to the fact that he made a separate little island out of the northwestern portion of the large one. Although Cheyne spoke of only three, Lütke's assertion was upheld over Meinicke until very recent times; Meinicke made Imoai and Falalap one and the same island.

The little sand island Elánelap was first discovered by the Hamburg South Sea Expedition; it is possible that it is one of the newest atolls. But this type of sand island can disappear again very easily in any natural disturbances. During the typhoon of 1907 a little sand island called Máje became merged with the large Felādjĭk, and it is now the new part of Sāgo village.

Lütke (1828)	Meinicke (1888)	Sarfert (1909)	Pac. Islds. Pilot (1933) Jap. Gov. Chart (1925)
Fararyk Ifalouk	Flarik	Felādjĭk	Flarik

2; Damm et al. --5-6 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 133 Ifaluk

Moay	Imoai		
Ella	Ella	Elă	Ella
	Falalap	Falālăp	Flalap
		Elăńelap	

The reef is typical of atoll reefs; on the southeastern side it makes a large bulge, and it is supposed to have a circumference of five miles. In the south there is a shallow, narrow passage between the Elăn and Falālăp Islands; Sarfert says that the broader one between Falālăp and Felādjĭk is sixty meters wide. There are two landing places on the southwestern tip of Felādjĭk Island.

2: Damm et al. --114 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 133 Aurupik

According to Brigham, the reef has a circumference of 2 1/2 miles, and there is no channel to the lagoon; an insufficient passage is on the SE side, but it permits the natives to bring their canoes over the reef to the beach at high tide. It may have been this difficulty which prevented the inhabitants from taking their boats to Lütke's ship when it sailed past the northern side of the island. The surf is very high, and the British Pacific Islands Pilot says you encounter it on the northern side if there are light southwest winds. It almost cost Sarfert his life; for, as he was going back to the "Peiho", his boat capsized...

2: Damm et al. --155 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 133 Faraulep

Lütke said that structurally the Faraulep Island group was that of a typical coral atoll, containing three islets, and with a circumference not exceeding four miles. Hellwig describes it in his Journal in a very plastic manner, and with his own peculiar exactitude: "The atoll has three rather long, thickly wooded islands, which rise somewhat toward the interior; the lagoon is deep blue, with strips of light and dark green and sand banks which have a yellowish hue. Beyond this and the sand beaches you see the reef, which is clearly outlined on the outer side with the dazzling white chains of foam of the surf; this is especially high on the leeward side." His observation that the islands rise somewhat toward the interior is remarkable; on the main island, Faraulip, the rise is 23.8 meters!

4: Krämer--4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Elato

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]: The Elato Islands, approximately 20 miles southeast of Olimarao, consist of two atolls. There are four islands on the northern one of the atolls and the largest of them is Elato at the northern end. Its elevation is 101 feet (30.8 meters) up to the tops of the trees and the ground is sandy.

On the eastern side of the atoll, approximately one mile southwest of Elato there is an entrance to the lagoon; it is about half a cable length in width and has a depth of 5-6 fathoms (9.1-11 meters). In February 1862 H. M. S. "Sphinx" sailed into the lagoon and anchored in a depth of 11 fathoms (20.1 meters) approximately 1/2 mile south of the western tip of Elato. In 1930 the population numbered 72.

The southern atoll with the islands of Toas and Uler on its southeastern side is separated from the northern atoll by a passage about 1-1/4 mile wide. A narrow passage through the reef is found about 2 cable lengths north of the island of Taos [sic]; all but small boats have trouble steering through it.

In this connection see the special plan on map 772 of the Admirality made after that of Japan. Map of the year 1925.

4: Krämer--4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Olimarao

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]; The island of Olimarao is located on the northern side of the atoll-forming reef approximately 95 miles south southeast of the island of Gaferut; it is covered with coconut palms and other trees. Around the entire island the ground is steep and ill fitted for landing purposes.

On Falifi at the western extremity of the atoll trees grow luxuriantly, but there are no coconut trees included in the lot....

There are irregular depths at the northwestern side of the atoll, where the reef is marked by breakers at all times; there is no entrance to the lagoon on this side. On the southern side there are two shallow entrances; the eastern one is one half mile in width and the western one three cable lengths. It is reported that the depths in the lagoon are regular with no dangers (map 772).

4: Krämer--9
116, 133

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Ifalik

Sŭteval (Sătewal) in the east of Lámotrek is at a distance of only 37 nautical miles from the latter, which is approximately the same as the distance of Ifaluk from Oleai. On map 93 a shoal is marked ten nautical miles NNE of Ifaluk...and it is said that it is covered by 12 meters of water; but a note is added which reads "supposedly even more shallow." Naturally this shoal is well known to the natives. On Lamotrek I learned that it was called Fas (=stone?) and that it lay dry at low water. The waves come together in this spot so that water columns shoot up to such a height that sometimes they may be observed from Ifaluk.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

These Woleai islands are arranged in the form of two semi-circles, which intersect at the island of Tagaulap; they are grouped in such a manner than an Arabic "3" is formed by them. The opening of this 3 is to the south. This large entrance in the reef exposes the lagoon freely to the southwestern monsoon and when it blows, the waves run high into the port. The latter, in addition, has many reef banks. One of the most dangerous shoals is found northeast of the island of Motegoau (Motagu) and .7 nautical miles west of Paliau. In case of violent winds of the type that often prevails at the time of the northeastern monsoon, the sea is very rough, and has breakers coming from all sides and meeting in a roaring confusion.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Entrances to the Oleai group are the North Channel between Jalangifereil and Fareiles, the West Channel, and the Raur Channel east of Motegosu; the latter has an approximate width of 1/2 nautical miles and in the middle has a depth of 16 to 46 meters. An entrance that is practicable for canoes and boats is found between Tagaulap and Marijong. Next to it, in the direction of Tagaulap high breakers are found even when the breeze is slight. The surf is strongest almost exactly at the vertex of the semi-circles and at the time of the northeastern monsoon.

4: Kramer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Flalap (Wolea, Ulie), the northernmost and largest of the Oleai Islands, is triangular in shape and has a length of approximately one nautical mile. The coastal reef on the southern side ascends steeply, but it offers good landing places.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

The western lagoon of the Woleai Islands is wide and in general deep although it has scattered shoals. The entrance to it is shallow and large ships cannot pass through it.

4: Krämer--188-189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133, 175, 103 Woleai

The true shape of the atoll has finally become known through the new English map. [189] The name Voleai appeared for the first time in 1608 in a letter of Pater Clain who gave it as Valayay; in 1706 it was given as Ulier,* in 1710 as Olie, and 1721 as Ulee according to Cantova.

*On Clain's map the names of the islands are: Parivu (Paliau), Raor (Raur), Ulier (Volea), Marioc (Mariong), Tacaylap (Tagaulap), Alingaray (Votagai) and Farilies (Falalis).

4: Krämer--203 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Earthquakes are said to be not too rare. Lütke talks of great clefts in the reef on Wolea which he claims to be the result of earthquakes.

Volé́a or Falálap.*

Among the various islands of the group, the main island of Volé́a (which is otherwise known as Falálap, the "great land") is the most important. It has a hornshaped spur which projects in the direction of the NE monsoon seas and thus is triangular in shape; it is shown on the map of 1903. The southwestern side was slightly curved like a bay. From here to the tip of the island the distance was almost one kilometer. It was this large and wide aggradation that saved the inhabitants in the typhoon of 1907. According to the Japanese map, the typhoon increased the width of the land towards the NE by about 200 meters; on the other hand, the two northern sides of the triangle in the E and W were somewhat curved inland so that the isoceles triangle was changed more nearly approaching a cap form, as map 5 shows [VMM: see 4: Krämer 207]. Unfortunately due to [208] lack of time I myself was not able to survey the island, but I asked the second officer Gollert to take care of it in my place, and thus we are at least able to visualize what the northern tip looked like 2 1/2 years after the typhoon (map 5) [VMM: see 4: Krämer 207]. In the worse rubble some ponds with brackish water are left standing in places formerly occupied by taro swamps.

---

*The same as the island of the Mogemog archipelago.

5: Kittlitz--150-51
116, 133

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato
Lamotrek

The Elato group is composed of a chain of small islands, which are bound together by a common reef; there is no approach on the western side, and this may be the reason why nobody came to see us during the short time that we were there. There is supposed to be a good anchorage inside the lagoon, but the entrance is on the eastern side, consequently against the prevailing wind; usually the reverse is true on the coral groups, and the reef projects farthest against the wind so the deeper channels are found under the wind on the western and southern sides. Accordingly these three island groups [MR: Namurrek, Elato, and Namolia-ur], which lie so close together, are doubtless the highest portions of the same shallows whose real entrance is on the southern side; so that the Elato lagoon [151] is really only a part of the common lagoon of the whole group.

These coral islands all look about alike from the sea; narrow low strips of sand lie between the breakers on more or less exposed stony reefs.

5: Kittlitz--162-63 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 133 Woleai

Early on the morning of the 9th of April we sailed, and our first task was to make a geographical survey of the southern side of the island group. As usual in the coral islands, there is a much smaller amount of land visible here; even the reef is mostly submerged, and during the day you can only recognize it by the bright green color of the shallows; at night [163] these places are very dangerous for ships when the Captains are not well acquainted with the waters.

6: Senfft--53
116, 133; 504

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The harbor in the southeast of the atoll is very good; the passage is large enough to admit even the largest boats. Flalap and Mariom Islands are now connected by a dune on which some plants are already growing. The channels which admit of passage by boats between Flalap and Paliau and between Paliau and Raur are now very narrow.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 101, 175, 133, 136 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it. We reached the island on December 5 after dark and could not find any anchor ground. The captain sent some of his men on land who during the night were to maintain a fire in order that the ship could stay close to the land. At dawn I rowed ashore. The map of the Admiralty characterizes Grimes as an elevated island, but in reality it is a flat sandbank which in some places rises up to an elevation of 2 meters. The only type of vegetation is a species of mangrove. Apparently a strong storm hit the island a few months ago for most of the trees had lost their branches and many---including the strongest---had been completely uprooted. The fauna consists of innumerable sea birds, which had their loose nests either in the trees or on the level ground; furthermore there were coconut crabs and--to judge from the traces--large turtles, which do not visit the island but at night. The birds were so tame that they could be seized by hand. Gaferut, including the reef, has a length of about 1300 meters; exclusive of the reef it is 600 paces long and 300 paces wide. We could not find anchor ground during the day either.

14: Born et al--567 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

...we succeeded in negotiating the difficult entrance into the lagoon of the atoll, which winds between large coral blocks. On the chart only an entrance for small boats is shown, and ships usually anchor outside the reef at a depth of 9 to 16 fathoms.

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133 Aurupik

"Eauripik or Kama islands, about 180 miles south-eastward of the Sorol islands, lie on the reef of an atoll which is generally low and steep-to. With light south-westerly winds there are usually breakers on the northern side of the atoll, but not on the southern side.

All the islets, with the exception of Edarepe, at the western end of the atoll, which is awash at high water, are covered with coconut palms. There is a jetty on the southern side of Eauripik which a boat can reach at high water.

There is no passage into the lagoon, but boats can cross the reef at high water."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133 Aurupik

"In 1921, the Japanese vessel Matsuye, when 3 1/2 miles south-south-eastward of Eauripik, experienced a current setting north-north-west at a rate of about one knot, which appeared to be caused by the direction of the wind.

In September, 1926, the Japanese warship Manshū found no current in a position about 6 miles southward of the same island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik islands, about 30 miles eastward of Woleai island, lie on the eastern and southern part of the reef forming the atoll. Flarik and Flalap islands, on the eastern side of the atoll, are covered with coconut palms; Ella island has a few coconut palms showing above the other trees.

There is a narrow and shallow boat-passage between the reefs extending from Flalap and Ella islands. There are two piers on the western side of Flarik island, at the southern end, which can easily be reached."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek islands, about 5 miles eastward of Elato islands, consist of three wooded islets on a triangular atoll. Lamotrek islet, 107 feet ($32^{m}6$) high to the tops of the trees, lies at the eastern extremity of the atoll.

The passage about three-quarters of a mile southward of Pugue islet, the northernmost islet, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon, but during the north-east trade a heavy sea sets into the lagoon and caution is necessary. There is a passage about 2 cables wide, nearly in the middle of the southern side of the atoll; its position is difficult to detect, but it is a good passage when the north-east wind is strong. The next passage westward is about 1 1/2 cables wide; all the other passages are narrow.

Anchorage may be obtained on the western side of Lamotrek islet (Lat. 7°28'N., Long. 146° 24'E.), sheltered from north-easterly winds, but it is reported that during westerly winds the sea becomes rather rough. Landing can be made on a sandy beach on the western side of Lamotrek islet."

Geologically, these islands are of three forms: the coral islands, or atolls, represented by Ifaluk; those of sedimentary rock formation, such as Yap; and those of volcanic origin, like the northern Palaus."

37: Keiyosei--47 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 133, 228 Woleai

The Okimoto Pearl Nursery is located between Korror and the isolated islands. The factory and residences of the supervisors are on Korror Island. The mother pearl nursery is at the Sedo (sand ground with shallow water) between the two islands. The Sedo is about 100 ken wide [JW: approx. 600 ft.], the water is clear, and water circulation is very good.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

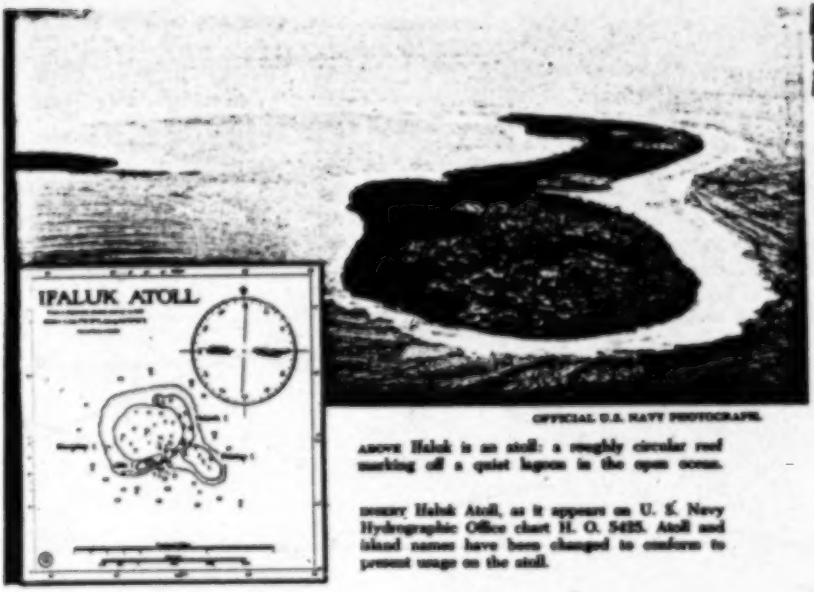
In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
102



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSERT Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
137
114

[P. 32 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Ranau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 599 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [1078] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [643] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 206 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in
004 the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows
● [133] of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the
502 reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy
226 channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent
133 for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again.
[136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be
133 made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000 [126] We had aqualung equipment, but this was for Bob Rofen to use in his fish collecting in the fall. We didn't touch it because the supply of compressed air was very limited, and anyway we were unfamiliar with the equipment. We felt no need for deep diving, though. There was plenty to observe close to the surface, and we had "schnorkel" breathing tubes, which were useful if you wanted to keep your eye on the fish.

133 If we were going to be scientific and systematic about our daily swim, the first thing to do, we decided, would be to make a map of the swimming area, so we could tell where we were. The coral in the lagoon grew in large, irregular clumps which I called "coral heads" though they are more properly called "reef knolls" or "patch reefs." These were separated by open areas in which the bottom was clean, white sand.

The coral heads near the shore grew to a height where they were just awash at low tides. The tops of these were flat, and the coral was dead except around the margins. In deeper water, the "heads" were rounded and they occurred scattered everywhere over the lagoon floor as far out as we could see, peering into the crystal water.

The coral formations in shoal water showed up plainly on our aerial photographs as irregular dark patches, and from these I tried sketching the formations directly in front of the Fan Nap, where our fish watching activities were concentrated. We subsequently checked and modified the map on the spot with the row boat, and in the end got a pretty accurate picture of this bit of the lagoon.

Landscape (or seascape) features, to be remembered, need names, so we decided we should name the reef formations in the swimming area. First to be commemorated were our wives. Two prominent and complicated contiguous masses of coral, fairly near shore, were named Izzie (for Isabela) and Nancy by Abbott and Bates respectively. Various tributary fragments broken off from these masses were given names after Abbott and Bates children. Ted selected a pleasant, rather isolated and well-rounded head to name after Marie, with Nani, his daughter, somewhat farther out in the same line, and his son David off to the right.

A central group of reefs was named after the five chiefs of Ifaluk. A large and rather sterile mass near shore presented a problem in

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

naming which Ted neatly solved by suggesting Beldame Flats, for the slightly wacky old lady who persisted in making eyes at him during evening dance rehearsals.

Out beyond and to the north of these discrete coral heads lay a great submerged mass of dead coral, which we decided to call the continent of Moo. Moo had a complex topography, with southern and northern outposts and an octopus point, only intermittently inhabited by octopuses during the summer. A great deal of my time was spent floating over the southern outpost of Moo where a big red squirrel fish (*Holocentrus spinifer* to ichthyologists) seemed to get as much pleasure out of watching me as I got out of watching him.

Each coral formation was staked out into a series of territories by little Pomocentrid fish, called "lejoc" by the Ifalukians. The lejoc were only about three inches long, but their belligerence in defending their territories was in no way proportional to their size. We spent a lot of time teasing them. A foot, a hand, any new and foreign object intruded into the territory always caused great indignation—was always the object of fierce attack.

Each fish defended a roughly circular territory two or three feet in diameter, with boundaries marked by features of the coral landscape, and with a centrally located crevice or hole where the lejoc would lurk when not warding off intruders.

Biologists define a "territory" as an area defended by an individual, a pair, or a group, against intrusion by others of the same species. Many kinds of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish show territorial behavior, though until recently the matter had been little studied in fish, and there is still a great deal to be learned. The lejoc were clearly territorial in the strict sense, individuals clinging to the same area day after day and defending it against intrusion. My big red *Holocentrus* may also have been showing territorial behavior, since he (or she?) stayed in the same small area off Moo all summer. But I never noticed the *Holocentrus* showing aggressive behavior. Perhaps the outpost of Moo was a "home range" rather than a "territory" for this individual: the difference would depend on behavior in relation to another *Holocentrus* swimming into the area, a situation that I never had a chance to observe.

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

136 the summer. Just about the time that we had decided that this octopus had a permanent home there, it disappeared and our daily checks would reveal only the empty hole. Then Don found another small octopus living in a hole in the center of the coral we named after Maroligar.

The octopuses were suspicious creatures, and while they would often be partially outside when first found, they would slowly withdraw into the recesses of their holes under the steady gaze of the observer. There was always a pile of small coral fragments outside the hole, and as an octopus retreated, these fragments were pulled in by the sucker-covered arms to block the entrance—except that generally a small peep-hole was left, framing a watchful octopus eye.

The area around the hole on Maroligar reef was littered with debris from the meals of the octopus: empty shells, claws and legs from the crabs it had eaten. Don picked up all of these and saved them—a food record on the octopus. Every day he would find the remains of more crabs, so that he got a record of the diet of this crab-loving octopus over a period of several weeks.

Then, one day, the hole on Maroligar was empty, and it remained empty for quite a while. Thus we got the impression that these octopuses would make headquarters in one place for days, or weeks, but that they did not stay permanently in any one place, did not establish "territories" the way so many of the other lagoon inhabitants did.

I only once saw an octopus swimming in the daytime. I wouldn't have seen this if it hadn't moved—a piece of a brown coral mass I was looking at suddenly gave a few convulsive movements and then shot off, jet fashion, with trailing tentacles, to the next coral head where it stopped, again blending perfectly into the background. I swam slowly toward the place where it had disappeared, but just as I got near enough so that I could distinguish octopus from coral, it took off again, this time disappearing into the depths of the lagoon.

133 126 I have been writing glibly about "coral" and "coral heads." Actually, these patch reefs were built up of a wide variety of lime-secreting organisms, many of them not true corals. We picked one of the patch reefs, Maroligar, and tried to make a map of the different kinds of organisms that were contributing to its structure. We thought this

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

would be simple and easy, since Maroligar was a small patch reef about six yards long and a couple of yards wide. It turned out, however, to be a complicated operation, which kept Don and me busy for many hours.

Much of the trouble was technical—mostly the problem of working in the water with dry materials. When we had got an outline map made, we decided to spot the different kinds of coral and coral-like organisms on our map with colored pencils. But the colors, when wet, would blur! We had a canvas-covered inner-tube that served as a raft. We would tow mapping gear and towels on this, out to position. Then I would stand up, on some convenient part of Maroligar, dry my hands, and start trying to mark down the corals as Don, diving around with goggles, called them to me. He would come periodically to peer at my map, point with dripping finger to where I had the thing wrong, and with this well-placed drip of water that bit of my map would really be spoiled. Or I would try to move, and slip, splashing water over everything. At times we got completely fed up with the project, but we kept on and finally got a reasonable map that, with all of the different colors, was almost as pretty as Maroligar itself.

"Virtually all the land was built by coral polyps. The only igneous rock in sight anywhere on it is a single boulder on Falālap. This, the natives say, was brought by canoe in ancient times, as a whetstone for their adzes. Where it came from is no longer remembered.

Thin ledges of beach sandstone, compacted mainly from foramenifera, run along the seaward reef between high and low water mark in a number of places.

The consistency of the soil ranges from a fine muck in the taro swamps to piled blocks that form the highest land, just inshore from the seaward beaches. The lagoon shore of Falārik, and both sides of the channel between the two main islands, are [13] bordered by a broad strip of sand. Except where it is washed by the sea, this is colored gray by mixture with vegetable matter. All the houses on Falārik, and some of those on Falālap, are on this sandy strip. Between the sand of the lagoon side and the boulders of the seaward side, most of the soil consists of gravel of varying degrees of coarseness, mixed with some sand and humus.

The hollow center of Falālap is a quagmire. Stamping on the wet muck will make it quake perhaps 20 feet away. This swamp is the main source of taro for the people of both islands. Four little swampy depressions near the north end of Falārik are also planted to taro; but their contribution to the food supply is important only to a few households.

Although the land is too flat to form a watershed, drainage is rapid (except in the taro

swamp) because of the extremely porous character of the soil. Puddles formed by a heavy downpour soon disappear. However, water seems to lie only a few feet below the surface everywhere. Artificial water-holes are scattered about the interior of Falārik. Hollow places are boggy most of the time. A hole being dug for the corner-post of a canoe-house began to fill with water at a depth of about four feet."

6: Senfft--53
116, 134, 136, 137

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The soil seems to be altogether coralline. There are no mountainous regions, and the vegetation is abundant. In spite of the thin layer of humus, the usual plant products of atolls are found here, chiefly coconut palms, which are strong and healthy, large breadfruit trees, pandanus, bananas, Calophyllum, marshmallow, arrowroot, some sugar cane, taro, Cystosperma edulis, and curcuma. There are few mangroves, and no bamboo or areca.

The fauna consists of pigs, chickens, dogs, cats, rats, and sea and land birds; there are few beetles and butterflies.

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 135 Ifalik

"Materials other than foodstuffs are also limited, except for coral. Without coral there would be no plants and no people, but it has few more specific uses."

1: Burrows--18-19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 136

"The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; sirð, hog; malʾok, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifalik that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture. [19]

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifalik from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed."

"As to wild fauna, the only small forms which the natives consider important are pests. They are beginning to be aware, through foreign instruction, of harmful bacteria. Lice infest their heads, and they may be seen delousing each other's hair as a friendly service.

Mosquitoes abound. Two varieties were noticed. One is a small black day-flying kind, common about houses and in other shady places. (Pipiens?) The other is larger, lighter in color, with striped legs, and is active at night. Mosquitoes can be blamed for filariasis, which is not very prevalent. It is probably unnecessary to add that all this part of the Pacific is free from malaria.

Flies are even more numerous than mosquitoes. They gather in swarms about food that attracts them, particularly fish and crustaceans. The commonest kind is black, the same to a layman's eye as the common house fly of America. Another is rusty in color, slimmer, with red eyes and wings that stand out from the body.

Nothing was seen or heard of centipedes or scorpions. Spiders of various kinds are common. None was pointed out as dangerous.

There are no snakes, but lizards of several kinds are pentiful. [sic] Common about the houses is the little dark kuel (a geko, perhaps Lepidodactylus lugubris). The people are said to fear it because one moment you see it, the next you don't. This fear does not seem to trouble them much, though. Another small variety is the blue-tailed skink (Emoia cyanura--Lesson). Far from being feared, these have been seen to jump on a

man's bare leg and off again without attracting any apparent notice. A larger, glossy black lizzard, the tagurupai (not identified), is noticeable especially on the trunks of coconut trees. Big monitor lizards (galūf; probably Varanus indicus--Daudin) are found on Falālap, where they are said to have been introduced to prey on rats. The natives say they also eat eggs and young chickens. The people maintain that there are none on Falārik. No large ones were seen there. Smaller ones of similar color are said to be of a different kind."

"There are few varieties of land birds. The Micronesian starling (some sub-species of Aplonis opacus) is a common scavenger about the houses. Another is a versatile little songster (lltri), equally at home among the trees, where it catches flies with snapping bill, or on the ground, where it picks at crawling creatures or garbage. In color it is rusty brown on the back, light gray below. This color and its excellent singing suggest a small thrush or chat (turdus obscurus?).

Wading shore birds are more varied. The Pacific golden plover (kulong; Pluvialis dominica fulva Gmelin) is a dooryard bird during that part of the year when it is to be found on Ifalik. Mention in songs and in conversation showed that the natives have a kind of fondness for it, as Americans and English have for the quite different species called 'robin' in their two countries. Other wading birds are turnstone (nigenrouru; probably Arenaria interpres Linn.); an unidentified species with long straight bill (bwongupalei; perhaps a dotterel, charadrius;) [20] wimbrel or curlew (liak; probably numenius phaeopus variegatus (Scopoli); another known only by name, garevāsh, but from the description quite like the curlew; and herons of three colors--white, 'blue' or slaty; and sooty, virtually black. All were called by the same name, (liapellk), and all may be forms of the reef heron (Demigretta sacra).

Passing migrants included swallows, seen over the lagoon for a few evenings, and hawks of some broad-winged kind, a pair of which spend about a week on Falārik. Of all the birds mentioned, only the plover seemed to attract more notice among the people

than any other familiar bit of landscape.

Sea-birds are numerous and have some importance. One variety, the noddy tern (kurugao; Anous sp.) is used for food. Another common variety is the white fairy tern (giegie; Gygis alba). These two nest on Ifalik. Both indicate the presence of schools of fish by hovering over them and swooping to catch the small fry on which the school is feeding. Other kinds of tern are seen occasionally, among them the black-naped tern (sterna sumatrana; native name uncertain), but apparently do not nest on the island. The white tropic bird or bos'n bird (mālu; Phaethon lepturus) is not common, but is occasionally seen. It is said to be plentiful on uninhabited West Fayu. The same is true of the frigate bird or man o'war bird (getaf; Fregata sp.). The natives have an esthetic admiration for this bird and its soaring flight.

Names of other sea birds were collected, but the birds were not seen and could not be identified. The kemā or xemā, described as a large bird 'some of them white, some blue', might be a booby. 'Blue' is a poor name for the color of the brown ones, but Tom's English was far from precise about colors. No boobies nest on Ifalik, but brown ones were seen at sea not far from there. Koro is a long-tailed seabird, also in two colors; koro wet, a white one, and koro rol, black. Still other varieties mentioned in the lore of navigation are paiennai (white, larger than fairy tern); metalipangerale, with long tail feathers (possibly 'Captain's language' for some species with a different common

name); and gerap, a small black and red bird. (The description fits the cardinal honey-eater (Mysomela cardinalis) found on high islands in that part of the Pacific; but that is a land bird.)"

1: Burrows--20 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"No flying-fox or other bats were seen on Ifalik. The only mammal, other than the three domesticated ones already discussed, is the rat. For a time they overran our tents at night. We set traps and caught one every night for more than a week. After that, whether because of the traps or because a cat began to include a visit to us in its nightly rounds, they did not trouble us again until near the end of our stay. In general, while they were certainly common, they did not seem inordinately numerous. Those we caught were not very big; brownish on head and back, light gray underneath. Some larger and apparently grayer ones were seen among the coconut trees, but not clearly enough to give a definite impression as to whether they were of a different species. Rats are not eaten."

1: Burrows--20-21 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"There are several kinds of land crabs. Hermit crabs (yng) are common on the beaches and about the houses. They are not recognized as of any importance, though they may be useful as scavengers. A larger, dark kind (arIk) that digs holes about houses at night, is sometimes eaten, we were told; but apparently not highly regarded. Tom said he never ate them himself. The ragōm, that lives in the ground in the bush, is eaten, also crushed to make bait for fish-traps. The usela, not seen, is described as a slow-moving crab that [21] lives in the tops of coconut trees. The largest species, and one of the choicest delicacies, is the coconut crab (afe; Birgus latro Dana). These are only the most familiar kinds. In general, any that are big enough to be worth the trouble are eaten."

"Sea animals are far more important to the people than those of air or land. Nearly all varieties that are caught are eaten. Even the whale (ras), though never caught, is eaten on the rare and memorable occasions when one goes aground on the reef. Jaw-bones of several of them were kept behind the men's house as trophies.

Exceptions to the rule of eating everything are the shark (pagõ) and octopus (sauevang? --name discussed next paragraph). This was explained as a mutual arrangement. The people do not eat shark and octopus, so that shark and octopus will not eat them. Once a small octopus-like creature, stuffed into a Japanese mess-kit so that its shape did not show, was brought to us as a gift. It had tentacles, and I now suppose it was a squid; but in asking Tom how to cook it I called it an octopus. With a contemptuous expression he told us to throw it away, saying that Japanese and Trukese eat octopus, but not the people of Ifalik. Later, after conferring with the chief who brought it, he said it was not an octopus but a gus, a rare delicacy. It was too late then for our gus to be cooked. I had not even looked at it carefully. Asked whether gus is the name for a small octopus, Tom said not. A gus, he explained, has no beak, and will not bite a hand thrust into a hole in the coral, as an octopus will. We never saw another gus.

Tom consistently gave the native name for octopus as sauevang. Some of his remarks about it, --for example, 'in the deep water they grow big, with arms like the roots of that tree'--indicated that he knew what the English word meant. Yet a group of natives

once identified as sauevang two pictures in Hosaka's 'Sport Fishing in Hawaii'; one of a conger or white eel, the other of a brown eel. They cannot have mistaken either for octopus, though they might for moray--not illustrated by Hosaka--which is common on the reef. This discrepancy was not noticed in time to clear it up.

Moray and sting-ray (fai) are apparently not eaten, though I have no verbal statement to that effect. A sting-ray brought ashore near our quarters was left hanging in a tree, then lying on the ground, for several days before it disappeared, presumably either eaten by dogs or thrown away.

In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked towatch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish of many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-shails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--21-22
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Far the most important source of animal food is fish. The list of varieties to follow was obtained by two procedures. One was to collect native names of fish brought to us as gifts, or brought ashore in our presence, and of others said to be important. The other was to show groups of natives the pictures of fish in Hosaka's book, mentioned above. Size and color, not shown in the pictures, were indicated by gestures and words. The people were confident that they knew which of the fish shown in the pictures were familiar to them and which were not. They had names for most of those illustrated, -- sometimes more than one name for one picture, which may indicate [22] a difference of opinion, or more than one variety of similar form, or--what is not uncommon--one name for a species when young, another when full grown. Eliminating known cases of that kind and obvious variants of essentially the same name, the total number of names collected is 74. Names obtained in the two ways were compared. Twice the book was taken out to where a pile of fish lay waiting to be distributed. So far as the catch on those days allowed, the pictures were compared with actual specimens. The identifications that follow can probably be trusted as far as larger categories are concerned. Where a single species is widespread, even the specific identification is probably correct. In view of the rough and ready method, some mistakes must be expected. But at least the list will give an idea of the range and character of the fish taken for food."

"Classification by habitat seemed useful, but is bound to involve some overlapping, possibly some definite errors.

OPEN SEA OR SURF FISH

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
albacore	aúle	Germo alalunga (Gmelin
barracuda	serau	Sphyraena barracuda (Walbaum
blue crevally	langu (when small, saritr)	Caranx stellatus
bonito, skipjack	galangap, garangap, garʔng	Euthynnus pelamis
bonito, little tunny	ajInnéu	Euthynnus alletteratus (Rafinesque

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
dolphin, mahimahi	teparo	Coryphaena hippurus (Linn.
flying fish	mĕngōr	Cypselurus simus
horse mackerel, akule▸	agumau?*, sep*	Selar crumenophthalmus (Bloch
omaku	trep	Caranx mate [23]
sailfish	marelatīo	Istiophorus orientalis (Schlegel
uoua	iau	Neomyxus chapitali (Eydoux and Souleyet

"* Native reports inconsistent.

▸ To me, a fish they called lipau looked very like what in Hawaii is called akule; but the chief Maroligar insisted it was not the same as the picture."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
wahoo, ono	ngeli	Acanthocybium (Cuvier
yellowfin tuna, ahi	tangēr, tanglri, (when small, tagū	Neothunnus macropterus (Schlegel
	LAGOON FISH	
flounder	lipēri	Platophrys mancus (Broussonet
milkfish	autā*	Chanos chanos
mullet	geraf, autā*	Mugil cephalos
needlefish	ewo.kang, ta'aku	Belone playura

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristis murdjan (Forstal
shiner (? silvery, with rosy blotches)	oerIk	(Anchoviella purpurea?)
threadfish, moi	rerepago*, 'absent'*	Polydactylus Sexfilis
	REEF FISH	
alaihi	gutr or kotr	Holocentrus diadema
balloon fish	taūsh	Chilomysturus affinis
balloon fish	lotr; when small, wat	Tetrodon hispidus (Linnaeus

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
banded damselfish	maze	Abudefduf (Quoy and Gaimard [24]
goatfish	'many kinds': fauligi, semarubwong, seuiarang (yellow), shou, sounalo, perhaps others.	Pseudupeneus
hawkfish, black-sided	galietr*, mwelialo*	Paracirrhites forsteri (Schneider
hawkfish, white-lined	lemware	Paracirrhites arcatus (Cuvier

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
Linalea, kala	ig valevale	Naso unicornis (Forskal
maiko	gemaruaga	Hepatus lineolatus
manini	limēn	Hepatus triostegus (Linnaeus
manini, yellow	llgarigari	Chaetodon unimaculatus (Bloch
mu	tralautr	Monotaxis grandoculis (Forskal
nenue	rel	Kyphosus fuscus (Lacepede)#

"# The rel of Ifalik is probably not fuscus; at least it has no brown or tawny tinge, but looks in different lights, black, gray, or gleaming silver. The scales are silver-white, outlined with black."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
scorpion fish, nohu	lōu'	Scorpaenopsis gibbosus (Schneider
opule	gago (luku	Anampses cuvier (Quoy and Gaimard
pao'o	limwale	Salarius zebra (Vaillant and Sauvage
papio	arong*, trep*	not given by Hosaka

"* Native reports inconsistent.
' Asked if they eat this fish, which is sometimes poisonous, natives said they do."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
parrot fish	'Many kinds': are (red), are kulong (black-spotted), fagilimat, gauagaua glrigIri, kabwu, moguaimwe, ngItra uia (blue), perhaps others [25]	Callyodon sp.
po'opa'a	lululau	Cirrhitus pinnulatus (Schneider
long-fin razorfish	petoura	Iniistius pave (Valenciennes
redfish, big-eye	nipau	Priacanthus cruentatus (Lacepede
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristus murdjan (Forskal

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
sandfish; a'awa	vatre	Lepidaplois bilunulatis (Lacepede
snapper	taiau	Aprion virescens (Valenciennes
spot pom	shonno	Abudefduf sordidus (Forskal
surgeon fish	evali	Hepatus bariene (Lesson
triggerfish	bwūp	Balistapus rectangulus (Schneider
triggerfish, black	perematr	Melichthys buniva (Lacepede
ulua, black	arong	Caranx sexfasciatus (Quoy and Gaimard
ulua, white	etām	Carangoides ajax (Snyder

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
ulua, silver	(when small) silalīo	Blepharis ciliaris (Bloch
upapalu	ligotro	Amia frenata (Valenciennes
wake pueo	merāp	Upeneus arge (Jordon and Evermann
wake ula	wōmei	Mulloidicthys auriflamma (Forskal
wrasse(?)[r]	pezap	not given by Hosaka
wrasse, green; hinalea	iōiō*	Thalassoma umbrostygma (Ruppell

[r] long, nearly tubular snout; about 10" long; rosy head, after parts darker.
* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
kihikihi	iwājōla	not given by Hosaka"

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

"Most prized of all animal foods is the meat of the sea turtle. Though the sight of one or two of them in the lagoon is not uncommon, they are not often taken. We knew of four being caught during our six months on Ifalik; three of them at one time. They are made still scarcer for most of the people by the fact that the highest chief has a right to all of them. He distributes first to his clan, Kovalū. Others get only what surplus he cares to distribute to them. For the lower orders, the taste of turtle is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"Native names of fish not otherwise identified:

fofo, an open-sea fish, may be a yard long, slim, caught in traps around drifting logs. Except for small size resembles Hawaiian ono (Acanthocybium solandri) but natives, shown the picture of ono, insisted it was a different kind.

lipwaix, a reef fish, caught by angling; eight inches to a foot long. Prominent pointed teeth. Color, blotched red and purple.

porosh--named, not seen; 'small mouth, fat inside skin.' (These characteristics resemble rel; another Kyphosus?)

ireileile--named, not seen; dorsal and ventral fins extend to tail.

orā--small yellow reef fish."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 227 Ifalik

"Wild animals, particularly sea creatures, are used in more varied and ingenious ways. The skin of the fish called rel, which has a silvery gleam in some lights, is wrapped around the shanks of fish hooks to serve as a lure, usually in connection with a tuft of feathers."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians
136 Ifalik

"The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds--in Ifalik the white fairy tern and the black noddy--hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito."

2: Damm et al. --8 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 136 Ifaluk

At first it seemed that the island did not have anything except mosquitoes; they appeared at twilight, and came back every night. Sarfert's boy and the interpreter had to keep a smudge fire going all night, or else they could not have stayed on the island. Formerly there were only a few mosquitoes. The following table [AN: omitted here, see source, pages 8-11] gives just a small number of the land animals; naturally there are a great many more in the ocean.

2: Damm et al. --115 [2]
116, 136

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

There were a great many wild doves in the jungle, while quantities of chickens ran around in the villages.

2: Damm et al. --157 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 136 Faraulep

Just as on the other low coral islands, there are few land animals. Aside from the domestic ones, Hambruch only found a few species of birds. The mosquitoes are a great nuisance, especially after the rain. [CS: Omission of the vocabulary with the list of animals].

4: Krämer--193-194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai

...[VMM: there were] large numbers of white sea swallows, Gygis candida, flying around the trees; their squalling, alluring calls could always be heard in their flight. Strepsilas collaris is among the common beach-birds and the curlew, Numenius tenuirostris, is seen one at a time occasionally. In the bush, Sylvia syrinx and the Lamprothornis of Lukunor are found which are distinguished from a similar species of Kusae by a sulphur yellowish white [194] body with black longitudinal lines. There are no chickens and no pigeons and no pteropidae. Once a cuckoo was heard.

4: Krämer--291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136, 137 Woleai

[ER: Indices of the fauna and flora of Oleai follow on pp. 295-298 of source, but are omitted here; they include lists of the mammals, birds, fish, shells.]

Toward noon, we tacked to the anchorage inside the lagoon [MR: on the southern side]; this spot was remarkably like the one at Lugunor. In both places the strip of land, which lay just a short distance from us, was the eastern part of the island group, but here it was composed of three separate islands, which were separated by very narrow canals, while the other was formed by the long island Lugunor, the principal one of the group. The southern one of these islands is Ra-ur, the central one Palliau, and the northern one Ulea or Uleai; it is also the entrance to the north side of the whole group. Uleai, which is the largest island of the group, is shaped like a triangle with flattened sides. Farther north on the edge of the shallows is Marion Island, which is to Uleai what Funoar is to Lugunor, except that the partially submerged reef between it and the main island is not so long as the one between the other two islands. All of these places that I have mentioned are like the Lugunor group in that they are partially covered with very tall trees, in whose shade the houses are [154] scattered, with little lawns around them. At low tide it is very easy to wade through the canals between the islands of this eastern shore, especially the one between Ra-ur and Palliau. We noticed that the large forest trees included more varieties than on Lugunor; there are fine specimens of Callophyllum ...and the Hernandia ovigera.... We saw the sea-swallow (Gygis candida) around the crowns of these trees.... Among the beach birds we saw the Strepsilas collaris...and the Numenius tenuirostris... In the bushes I found the Sylvia Sryinx and the black variety

of Lamprothornis....

On this island group there are neither hens nor doves, and we also missed the Pteropus. On the other hand I once saw [155]...the cuckoo...

The vegetation of these islands is naturally very similar to that of the Mortloks Islands... The Tacca pinnatifida, whose root should produce a fine arrowroot...is much more common than on Lugunor....

5: Kittlitz--158-61 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 136 Woleai

We obtained a very large variety of fish here... among them, several that we had already observed in Lugunor, for example, the two fire-red kinds of Serranus (Serr. punctulatus and Serr. urodelus)... We also saw the new Myripristis....

One fish of the Labridae... was named Axodon by Cuvier in 1829... later Valenciennes called it Odax.... [159]

We saw the Iulis Gaymardi.... and a small yellow-gold kind of Iulis... which was new then; there was also a very fine Halichoeres... [160] a new Labrus... several kinds similar to the Cheilinus, among them the Sparus zonephorus, a... rather small Scarus... the remarkable Grammistes punctatus... and a particularly interesting Acanthurus which we later named Acanthurus pyroferus. Among the smaller fish we observed A. glaucopareius ... A. Rhombus nob... and Naseus incornis, Cuv...

We got two new species of Chaetodons... Ch. reticulatus and Ch. punctatofasciatus, Cuv. Then we found the remarkable Spritzfisch (Chelmon rostratus)... [161] Pomacentrus chrysurus, Broussonet.... Glyphysodon Curassao, or a fish very similar to it... a pretty black Balistes.... and another species, Balistes conspicillum Sh...

6: Senfft--53
116, 134, 136, 137

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The soil seems to be altogether coralline. There are no mountainous regions, and the vegetation is abundant. In spite of the thin layer of humus, the usual plant products of atolls are found here, chiefly coconut palms, which are strong and healthy, large breadfruit trees, pandanus, bananas, Calophyllum, marshmallow, arrowroot, some sugar cane, taro, Cystosperma edulis, and curcuma. There are few mangroves, and no bamboo or areca.

The fauna consists of pigs, chickens, dogs, cats, rats, and sea and land birds; there are few beetles and butterflies.

6: Senfft--53
116, 136, 137

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The vegetation is the same as on Oleai. In the central section of Lamutrik Island there is an extensive swampland in which there are copious taro and sugar cane plantations. The fauna is also the same, but there are far more sea birds and rats on this atoll, while there are no cats at all. The rats do a great deal of harm to the coconuts. The natives wrap pandanus leaves around the trunks to protect the palms from the rats; the sharp thorns of these leaves prevent the rats from running up the tree.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 101, 175, 133, 136 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it. We reached the island on December 5 after dark and could not find any anchor ground. The captain sent some of his men on land who during the night were to maintain a fire in order that the ship could stay close to the land. At dawn I rowed ashore. The map of the Admiralty characterizes Grimes as an elevated island, but in reality it is a flat sandbank which in some places rises up to an elevation of 2 meters. The only type of vegetation is a species of mangrove. Apparently a strong storm hit the island a few months ago for most of the trees had lost their branches and many---including the strongest---had been completely uprooted. The fauna consists of innumerable sea birds, which had their loose nests either in the trees or on the level ground; furthermore there were coconut crabs and--to judge from the traces--large turtles, which do not visit the island but at night. The birds were so tame that they could be seized by hand. Gaferut, including the reef, has a length of about 1300 meters; exclusive of the reef it is 600 paces long and 300 paces wide. We could not find anchor ground during the day either.

13: Lutké--307-309 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians -1-2
116, 136 Woleai

Three days spent in the lagoons of Ouléaï provided us with a great quantity of new fish of the most interesting kinds. A new genus of the family of the Labridae (Axodon. Cuv.) was established from a single specimen I obtained; this fish appeared to us to be rare wherever we were. It is remarkable above all for the width of its front teeth; in the general shape of its body and coloring it resembles somewhat the genus Julis. We also caught [308] some specimens of the magnificent Julis Gaymardi of Quoy, as well as some new species of Chaetodon and Balistes, the Holocanthus dux and trimaculatus, the celebrated Chelmon (Chaetodon rostratus, Linn.), a couple of new species of Acanthurus and several others.

This coral group seemed to us poorer than that of Lougounor in animals of the higher orders. No Pteropus presented itself to us; and even the rat which, it would appear, is found on all these islands, is rare here. We were shown two domestic cats that were very carefully shut in, of a breed with long legs and of a reddish yellow color; we were told that they had been brought from Manilla. [sic]

We noticed here the same birds as on Lougounor, except for the hens and pigeons; on the other hand, I saw the same long-tailed cuckoo I had seen twice on Ualan and had been unable to see on Lougounor. The Sterna alba is very common here and likes to rest on the trees; the Sterna stolida and tenuirostris, on the contrary, just as on Ualan, are seen more on the water; the Sterna melanauchen...was noticed singly and seemed to

nest on the sandbanks; there we took some young specimens which we thought [309] belonged to this species; the other sea swallows, mentioned above, nest in common on the trees. We were able to obtain the nests and eggs of the Sterna stolida.

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 136, 161 Gaferut

"Gaferut island, about 60 miles north-eastward of Faraulep islet (Lat. 8° 36' N., Long. 144° 33' E.), is low, wooded, and surrounded by a fringing reef, which extends about 3 cables north-westward from its northern extremity, and about 2 1/2 cables south-south-westward from its southern extremity. The island, which is 65 feet (19m8) high to the tops of the trees, is uninhabited. Numerous booby gannets, which are similar to seagulls, inhabit the island."

"The only indigenous mammals are rats, whose activities are by no means restricted to the bush, however. Aside from the rats, lizards are the only other indigenous animals. There are a number of species of lizards, ranging in size from the very tiny to the giant lizards, of which there are two, both of whom were imported from Yap for the purpose of exterminating the rats. (9) Neither rats nor lizards are eaten, and the natives were repelled by the suggestion."

"9. An interesting sidelight on 'primitive logic' confronts us at this point. The natives distinguish each species of lizards by a separate name, and do not classify them under a generic title. To them they are different kinds of organisms, so that one kind is the object of a genuine phobia, but the others are looked upon with indifference."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2]
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 004 [133] depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows of coral heads below could be made out.

502 226 Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 133 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again. [136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 133 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional
114 values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of
262 snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records
267 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that
● 136 there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

137 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and
[136] the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

139 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second,
262 smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

139 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to
245 Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

naming which Ted neatly solved by suggesting Beldame Flats, for the slightly wacky old lady who persisted in making eyes at him during evening dance rehearsals.

Out beyond and to the north of these discrete coral heads lay a great submerged mass of dead coral, which we decided to call the continent of Moo. Moo had a complex topography, with southern and northern outposts and an octopus point, only intermittently inhabited by octopuses during the summer. A great deal of my time was spent floating over the southern outpost of Moo where a big red squirrel fish (*Holocentrus spinifer* to ichthyologists) seemed to get as much pleasure out of watching me as I got out of watching him.

Each coral formation was staked out into a series of territories by little Pomocentrid fish, called "lejoc" by the Ifalukians. The lejoc were only about three inches long, but their belligerence in defending their territories was in no way proportional to their size. We spent a lot of time teasing them. A foot, a hand, any new and foreign object intruded into the territory always caused great indignation—was always the object of fierce attack.

Each fish defended a roughly circular territory two or three feet in diameter, with boundaries marked by features of the coral landscape, and with a centrally located crevice or hole where the lejoc would lurk when not warding off intruders.

Biologists define a "territory" as an area defended by an individual, a pair, or a group, against intrusion by others of the same species. Many kinds of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish show territorial behavior, though until recently the matter had been little studied in fish, and there is still a great deal to be learned. The lejoc were clearly territorial in the strict sense, individuals clinging to the same area day after day and defending it against intrusion. My big red *Holocentrus* may also have been showing territorial behavior, since he (or she?) stayed in the same small area off Moo all summer. But I never noticed the *Holocentrus* showing aggressive behavior. Perhaps the outpost of Moo was a "home range" rather than a "territory" for this individual: the difference would depend on behavior in relation to another *Holocentrus* swimming into the area, a situation that I never had a chance to observe.

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The water was full of marvels. Don had a category of what he
●136 called "unlikely animals"—animals he never would have thought of if
126 he had been in charge of animal design. Any one of the three of us, cruising around with our goggles, would be likely to shout to the others to come see some new marvel he had just discovered for the first time.

136 I remember the afternoon Ted called out "come look at this—here is a helicopter fish!"

Sure enough there was a sort of squat fish hovering in mid-water near Marie (Ted was apt to do his fish watching near the coral head named after his wife) with fins split into long narrow rays which, in their movement, had reminded Ted of a helicopter. The fish seemed completely indifferent to our watching; presently it went into forward gear and moved slowly and sedately off.

We looked through the fish books and presently made out that it was *Pterois*, a "scorpion fish" or "lion fish." We learned that the protruding spines were poisonous, which probably accounted for its calm indifference. We subsequently saw these fish several times in our swimming area, but they were not among the regular, territorial inhabitants.

The synaptid sea-cucumber was another unlikely animal. Most sea-cucumbers have a reasonably cucumber-like form (though one kind on Ifaluk achieved an almost watermelon-like size). The synaptids, however, are long, slender, snake-like affairs. The species in our swimming area had a bright, almost black-and-white checkered pattern that reminded me of some of the South American vipers like the fer-de-lance. Stretched out from under a coral head, the sea-cucumber looked for all of the world like a fer-de-lance crawling out from under a rock. Only, when you looked closely, you saw not the menacing, triangular head of the viper, but instead, where the head should be, a rather silly-looking tuft of waving plumes. And when you picked this unlikely animal up, you found, not firm flesh, but a limp, tissue-paper-like affair. I always thought of them as the tissue paper fer-de-lances of the coral heads.

Don thought that the giant clams should be included among the unlikely animals, but he was looking at them as a zoologist, thinking of their unlikely physiology and structure. The giant clams (*Tridacna*)

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

136

of the Ifaluk lagoon were not really giant, perhaps because people found them and ate them before they had time to reach an unlikely size. To a non-zoologist, they didn't look unusual, except for the lovely colors of the margins of the partly-opened shell and of the flesh of the animal disclosed within.

Don gave me the following explanation of the unlikely physiology of the clams (in terms of the studies of C. M. Yonge on the Tridacna of the Great Barrier Reef of Australia):

"The animal has thousands of microscopic plants, single-celled algae, in its blood. The part of the body of the clam, exposed to the sun when the shell is open, bears hundreds of tiny lenses that focus the light into pools of blood below the skin, turning the superficial tissues into a sort of greenhouse. The algae in the blood are transposed from here and digested in the blood stream in the vicinity of the gut and "liver," providing a part of the clam's diet. The rest of the Tridacna's food is assorted small plankton, filtered from the water by the gills and taken in through the mouth. Algal food digested in the blood leaves fecal wastes there—in effect the beast is defecating in its blood stream. How to get rid of the fecal wastes in this unlikely place?

"The animal, like other clams, has a pair of kidneys; in other clams these excrete nitrogenous wastes from protein breakdown. But in Tridacna these nitrogenous wastes are picked up quickly by the algae and used as a fertilizer. Tridacna's urine is almost pure sea water. But the animal has found a 'new' use for its kidneys—each acts as a sort of accessory anus to eliminate the fecal wastes left in the blood by algae digestion there. The 'farming' operation has involved complex physiological changes affecting the whole organism."

We think of molluscs as slow, deliberate animals, but these *Tridacnas* can close their shells with extraordinary speed and decision. One of our amusements was to poke things at the clams to watch the suddenness with which they could snap shut. It is quite believable that the big ones could catch a diver's foot and hold him until he drowned —a standard hazard now in Pacific movies.

Don dedicated quite a lot of time to octopus watching. Octopus Point, along the west coast of the continent of Moo, got its name from a small octopus that made headquarters there the first few weeks of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

136 the summer. Just about the time that we had decided that this octopus had a permanent home there, it disappeared and our daily checks would reveal only the empty hole. Then Don found another small octopus living in a hole in the center of the coral we named after Maroligar.

The octopuses were suspicious creatures, and while they would often be partially outside when first found, they would slowly withdraw into the recesses of their holes under the steady gaze of the observer. There was always a pile of small coral fragments outside the hole, and as an octopus retreated, these fragments were pulled in by the sucker-covered arms to block the entrance—except that generally a small peep-hole was left, framing a watchful octopus eye.

The area around the hole on Maroligar reef was littered with debris from the meals of the octopus: empty shells, claws and legs from the crabs it had eaten. Don picked up all of these and saved them—a food record on the octopus. Every day he would find the remains of more crabs, so that he got a record of the diet of this crab-loving octopus over a period of several weeks.

Then, one day, the hole on Maroligar was empty, and it remained empty for quite a while. Thus we got the impression that these octopuses would make headquarters in one place for days, or weeks, but that they did not stay permanently in any one place, did not establish "territories" the way so many of the other lagoon inhabitants did.

I only once saw an octopus swimming in the daytime. I wouldn't have seen this if it hadn't moved—a piece of a brown coral mass I was looking at suddenly gave a few convulsive movements and then shot off, jet fashion, with trailing tentacles, to the next coral head where it stopped, again blending perfectly into the background. I swam slowly toward the place where it had disappeared, but just as I got near enough so that I could distinguish octopus from coral, it took off again, this time disappearing into the depths of the lagoon.

133 126 I have been writing glibly about "coral" and "coral heads." Actually, these patch reefs were built up of a wide variety of lime-secreting organisms, many of them not true corals. We picked one of the patch reefs, Maroligar, and tried to make a map of the different kinds of organisms that were contributing to its structure. We thought this

"All the islets of the atoll are covered with a vegetation that thrives on this forbidding-looking soil. The beaches are narrow, and there are no natural clearings. The growth is low in only a few places, next to the beaches and in patches of the big taro swamp. Elsewhere trees give nearly unbroken shade.

Heavy rainfall and rapid drainage have two effects on the vegetation. An unfavorable one is to leach out the soluble part, which is to say much of the plant food, in any decaying vegetable matter that accumulates on the ground. While this may prevent the growth of some plants, it is more than offset by another effect of rainfall and drainage, the leaching out of excess salts. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg, who participated as a botanist in the U.S. Commercial Company's economic survey of this area, kindly prepared the following explanation of how this works:

'The vegetation may be summarized by saying that it is heavier and more luxuriant in direct relation to the amount of rainfall and the area of the island. This is because, as is well known, salinity produces a condition of physiological drought. Saline areas are characterized by a sparse vegetation similar to that of deserts. Where the rainfall is sufficient and the area is large enough to maintain a permanent lens of fresh or almost fresh water the vegetation of the interior portions is more or less mesophytic and luxuriant.'

This effect is heightened by the muck of such places as the taro swamp that takes up the interior of Falālap. To quote Dr. Fosberg again: 'It is probable that this muck,

besides providing a more fertile substratum, retards the diffusion outward of the available fresh water, also retarding the diffusion inward of salt water that always accompanies dry periods.'

The number of plant species listed was 64, of which 26 were trees, three classified as shrubs, and the remaining 35, herbs. After spending several days in helping me collect the native names of plants, Tom assured me that I had all that grow on Ifalik. Of course, the statement was not accurate. In fact, several kinds [14] were added later, and no doubt some were missed. Still, the list probably gives a fair idea of native knowledge of the flora."

(1947-48)

English or Hawaiian Name	Native Name	Scientific Name
coconut	lu, nu	Cocos nucifera
breadfruit	mai	Artocarpus altilis
banana	uir	Musa
pandanus	far	Pandanus
papaia	baiwai	Carica papaya
hau	gilivō	Hibiscus tiliaceus
kamani (tamanu)	ragūes, sevang, vitou	Calophyllum inophyllun Linn.
	wutu	Guettarda speciosa
	treli	Messerschmidia argentea(Linn.

gul	Barringtonia assiatica
lel	Morinda citrifolia
avus	Crataeva speciosa
waryng	Ocimum sanctum
aro	Premna integrifolia Linn.
aroma	Pipturus argenteus (Forst. f.) (Wedd.
kelau, gula	Cordia subcordata Lam.
Gaingei	Pemphis acidula
tria	Rhizophora mucronata Lam.
song	Bruguiera conjugata (Linn.) (Merr.

	remag, natu	Scaevola frutescens
	kasās	Terminalia catappa ? [15]
English or Hawaiian Name	Native Name	Scientific Name
plumeria, frangipani	seuru	Plumeria rubra
banyan	giliao	Ficus sp.
staghorn fern	kamarag	Gleichenia sp.
spider lily	giop	Crinum sp., probably asiaticum
bird's nest fern	enenux	Asplenium nidus
(a fern)	riri	Polypodium phymstodes Linn.
purslane	gop	Portulaca samoensis

(a grass)	buyol	Lepturus repens (Forst.) (R. Brown)
turmeric	angorik, gerēl, geval	Curcuma longa Linn.
(a sedge)	bwogorewau	Cyperus brevifolius (Rottb.)
sugar cane	wou	Saccharum officinarum
taro	wot	Colocasia esculentia
pulaka	pulax	Cyrtosperma chamissonis
giant arum	filē	Alocasia macrorrhiza
Polynesian arrowroot	mogmog	Tacca leontope taloides
betel pepper	gabwī	Piper betle
betel palm	bu	Areca catechu

hibiscus	fleros	Hibiscus rosa-sinensis
bamboo	sur, bwa	Bambuseae
pineapple	faretrā	Ananas sativa
squash (a summer squash or vegetable marrow)	kalebwās	Cucurbita pepo
moss (all kinds?)	lum	Musci
mushroom (all kinds)	talingilipat	Fungi"

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Specimens of some of the plants of less importance to the people were not collected, because of limited room in a plant press improvised out of empty cartons. Having been advised that artificial heat would be necessary to collect plants in this region, I gave up in advance any attempt to preserve specimens. Later, when the trade winds set in, collection seemed worth risking; but the amount was limited to the number of used cartons. Not until we returned to Honolulu did I learn that satisfactory collecting would have been feasible by painting the specimens with formaldehyde.

Native names of plants unidentified for lack of specimens follow:

Trees: livalus (possibly Vigna marina), kirali, marat, mot, sol, rangonax, faliap, kili, kuelabo.

Herbs: korax, ualomax, atogobwei, guruguru, kerriō, guan, bogo li le pa, atilt, keisi, kevakuel, nge.

The most useful plants occur in a number of varieties. Names of some of these indicate the island from which they are traditionally supposed to have come. Botanical comparison might check the accuracy of these traditions; at any rate, they give some indication of the range of contact with other islands."

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Coconut (lu or nu--the vowel sound variable, often liu or similar). Four varieties are distinguished. All are said to occur throughout the Carolines. The people say they can tell at once, by looking at a tree or ripening nut, to which variety it belongs. The difference, as they describe it, is in the shape, and more particularly, the color, of the husk when the fruit is ripening. The names of the varieties are used either like adjectives, following the generic name, or else as nouns, as when we call an apple a Baldwin.

The varieties are: garau(e)rau, husk brown when quite young; mau, husk green and round; tra, husk reddish; ial, yellowish. Of this last variety there are only a few trees on Ifalik. No distinction is made among the varieties in quality or suitability for particular uses."

1: Burrows--16-17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Breadfruit (mai): There are two main kinds, easily distinguishable by either the leaf or the fruit.

Mai vae--leaves very little indented; the young leaves not at all. Fruit comparatively small, with a number of large seeds (pukil).

Mai vau--leaves deeply indented. Fruit larger, with a fibrous core and no seeds. Seven sub-varieties of mai vau are distinguished: tagumelin, mai rau, mai mwarei, seuaiki, welige sol, mauli, tro malo.

Mai guiau--leaves deeply indented, like mai vau; fruit with seeds, like mai vae. Apparently this variety is comparatively unimportant.

No preference of one variety over another is expressed, so far as quality of fruit is concerned. The larger size of the fruit of mai vau and the absence of seeds are recognized as advantages. The seeds of mai vae can be eaten, but are often thrown away. Mai vae seems to bear earlier than mai vau, at least during the secondary crop, that which comes in early in the trade-wind season. The main practical difference [17] among the varieties seems to be that only two of the sub-varieties of mai vau, tagumelin and mai rau, are thought to have wood suitable for outrigger floats. It is said to be more buoyant than that of other varieties."

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

" 'Taro' (Pulax; Crytosperma chamissonis). Twelve varieties were pointed out: patsa, pulax e mau, pereliau, talinga mor (Mor's ear?), talinga nap (big ear), sia li ralo, pulax i sali, annIpenni, pulax e bwar, filal, pwololo, etI Ii bwulax, gor. There are considerable differences in color, texture, and flavor of the underground part, and some are considered choicer than others. The varieties are indistinguishable at sight to me, and so they are, Tom assured me, to him. Taro is in the woman's sphere, and only women are experts in it. The only distinguishing characteristic pointed out by his wife, Lagajarong, applied to the variety called etI li bwulax. If I understood her rightly, she said that if you plant the pistil (?) from the flower of this variety, it will grow.

True taro; wot; Colocasia esculenta. An impromptu committee of three women gave me the following list of 18 varieties, and assured me it is complete: elibwā, gaimwem, waligo, likerak, tarewai, sarewāk, mivou, tolipanneu, ganipwā, garimar, geratIgi, pei, rangoi, togōs, otumalu, outeriap (from Yap). The tubers vary in texture, flavor, and public esteem."

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Banana (Wir; Musa sapientum). Six varieties are recognized. No erect fruit clusters were seen. The fruit of all the varieties brought to us (I think this includes all there are except possibly the two Yap varieties) is sweet and can be eaten raw, though we preferred one or two of them cooked.

bwongër--this is considered the original variety, 'native' to the island. The fruit is large, the skin of an orange color, the flesh somewhat rosy. Fruit prized for eating, fiber for weaving, dried leaves for cigarette wrappers.

wlrls Truk--supposedly from Truk. Fruit of medium size, pointed, yellow--our favorite. Fiber considered good for weaving, leaves for cigarette wrappers.

reiap--supposedly from Yap. This variety is used for all three purposes, but it is considered inferior.

melawalibwe--another variety ascribed to Yap. Fruit small and little eaten. Leaves not used for cigarette wrappers. This variety is chiefly valued for fiber from the trunk.

wlrls Seipan--as the name indicates, supposedly introduced from Saipan. The bright yellow fruit is considered good (we preferred it cooked). Valued also for weaving fiber and cigarette wrappers.

wlri li Valupe--supposedly from Ponape. Short fruit in big bunches. Valued for all three uses. There are only a few plants of this variety on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--17-18 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Pandanus--Three varieties are recognized.

far--considered the old native variety. Grows on relatively high, dry land. The favorite for mats. [18]

far en Nuta--supposedly introduced from 'Nuta', said to be in the Marianas--presumably what our charts call Rota. Cured leaves prized for sails.

pogū--grows in swampy places. Glossy leaves of enormous size. Valued only to wrap around coconut trunks to prevent rats from climbing."

1: Burrows--26
116, 313, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The supply of wood, whether for fuel or timber, is scanty. Breadfruit makes a good soft wood; but since the trees are needed to grow food, there is little of it to spare. Many species furnish hard wood; but on Ifalik none of them grow into large trees."

" Native Timber Trees

Names of other trees used for timber, with more specific notes on the uses, follow:

aro-Straight shoots used for palings on house walls, or slats on canoe platforms; saplings used for canoe poles; large trunks for house posts.

gaingei-Proverbially strong. Used for some of the small pieces of canoe outrigger attachment. A favorite for levers, poles, walking sticks.

kelau, kalua-First choice for house posts. Said to be very durable in the ground.

kili-A small tree. The tough wood is used for canoe paddles and smaller house timbers.

lel-House timber.

mog-House timber.

ragēs-(Also called sevāng and vitou) canoe end-posts and outrigger booms.

sol-House timber.

treli-a hard wood with various uses; its forks favored for the forked sticks attaching outrigger floats to booms.

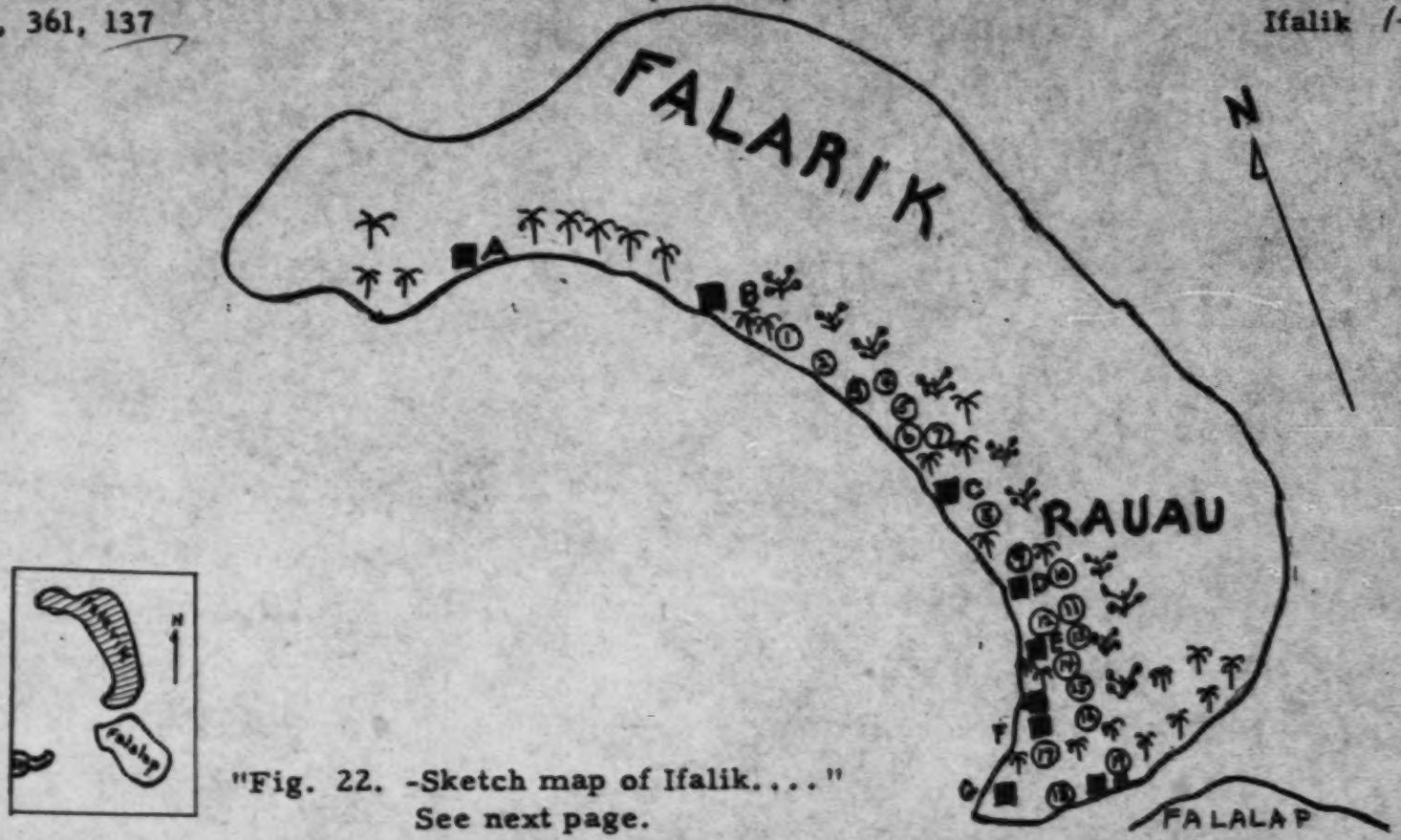
wutu-House timber.

tria-Hard, straight-grained wood used to make men's combs."

1: Burrows--92-A
116, 361, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-3



"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik...."
See next page.

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation."

See next page.

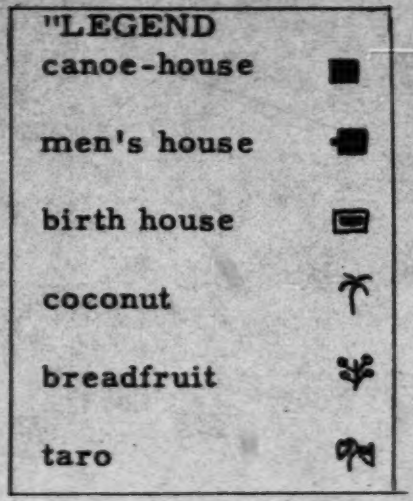


Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation.
Numbers designate homesteads, from north to south. Their native names follow: 1, FalolorIk; 2, Atrovalū; 3, Atiuwan; 4, Atielū; 5, Nuteitei; 6, Nimau; 7, Bwėnnau; 8, Falegumei; 9, Aulivang; 10, Faleoulėrix; 11, Uluas; 12, Fanneserax; 13, Xalingelū; 14, Foraix; 15, Welipeien; 16, Somat; 17, Falevelū; 18, Uelepi; 19, Uarigin; 20, Metalegop; 21, Apilimat; 22, Falūn; 23, Weluāra; 24, Gauong; 25, Auriela; 26, Leagago; 27, Fal i Trel; 28, Arotrang; 29, Ilux.
Canoe-houses, from north to south: A, Pa'ugop; B, Gajuteling; C, Fan ni Wā; D, Sabwōlap; E, Fale Pėngā; F, Katēlū; G, Fan ni Wong; H, Paurėl; I, Gavilea."

2; Damm et al. --8 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Ifaluk

The scenic charm of the group is greatly enhanced by the profusion of coconut palms and bread-fruit trees. According to the [AN: British] Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, these were only found in numbers on Felādjik and Falālap; Elā, on the other hand, only had a few of them.

2: Damm et al. --115 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Aurupik

Sievers emphasizes the fine growth of coconut palms; among the cultivated plants you see principally field and swamp taro, and sweet potatoes.

2: Damm et al. --156-157 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 137 Faraulep

Hellwig has already given an enthusiastic description of the picturesque impression which the thickly wooded Faraulip makes on the traveler; and in truth [157] there are many species of flora. Sievers counts coconut palms, bread-fruit trees, bananas, Cystosperma edule, betel palms and pandanus trees. [CS: Omission of the names of the plants.]

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 131, 137, 484 Elato

Elato is the largest of the four islands which rest upon the reef that extends itself in a north-southern direction. Elato, situated to the north, is densely covered with forests; breadfruit trees and coconut palms predominate.... The natives [AN: who had come in canoes with trading intentions] did not look very trustworthy. They were importunate and begged constantly for tobacco... Trading attempts were made, but the prices were too high and consequently only a few objects could be bought.... On certain stretches the breadfruit trees reminded us of a German forest. On other places attention was drawn to thickets of Hibiscus which supply the textile fibers for mats and waistcloths.

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 137, 487 Woleai

Fialap is well covered with trees; paths cross the island in various directions.

4: Krämer--291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 136, 137 Woleai

[ER: Indices of the fauna and flora of Oleai follow on pp. 295-298 of source, but are omitted here; they include lists of the mammals, birds, fish, shells.]

5: Kittlitz--124
116, 161, 137

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
West Fayu

We hunted in vain for the Mannaľjö sandbank, which Don Luis de Torres had mentioned, and then we steered west again, and on the 22nd of February we sighted the little islands Pyghellá and Fajïhú. Neither one is inhabited; on Pyghellá we saw some coconut palms rising above the succulent bushes, on Fajïhú there were tall trees, but no palms.

5: Kittlitz--153-55 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians-1-2
116, 131, 137, 136 Woleai

Toward noon, we tacked to the anchorage inside the lagoon [MR: on the southern side]; this spot was remarkably like the one at Lugunor. In both places the strip of land, which lay just a short distance from us, was the eastern part of the island group, but here it was composed of three separate islands, which were separated by very narrow canals, while the other was formed by the long island Lugunor, the principal one of the group. The southern one of these islands is Ra-ur, the central one Palliau, and the northern one Ulea or Uleai; it is also the entrance to the north side of the whole group. Uleai, which is the largest island of the group, is shaped like a triangle with flattened sides. Farther north on the edge of the shallows is Marion Island, which is to Uleai what Funoar is to Lugunor, except that the partially submerged reef between it and the main island is not so long as the one between the other two islands. All of these places that I have mentioned are like the Lugunor group in that they are partially covered with very tall trees, in whose shade the houses are [154] scattered, with little lawns around them. At low tide it is very easy to wade through the canals between the islands of this eastern shore, especially the one between Ra-ur and Palliau. We noticed that the large forest trees included more varieties than on Lugunor; there are fine specimens of Callophyllum ...and the Hernandia ovigera.... We saw the sea-swallow (Gygis candida) around the crowns of these trees.... Among the beach birds we saw the Strepsilas collaris...and the Numenius tenuirostris... In the bushes I found the Sylvia Sryinx and the black variety

of Lamprothornis....

On this island group there are neither hens nor doves, and we also missed the Ptero-pus. On the other hand I once saw [155]...the cuckoo...

The vegetation of these islands is naturally very similar to that of the Mortloks Islands... The Tacca pinnatifida, whose root should produce a fine arrowroot...is much more common than on Lugunor....

6: Sénfft--53 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 134, 136, 137 Woleai

The soil seems to be altogether coralline. There are no mountainous regions, and the vegetation is abundant. In spite of the thin layer of humus, the usual plant products of atolls are found here, chiefly coconut palms, which are strong and healthy, large breadfruit trees, pandanus, bananas, Calophyllum, marshmallow, arrowroot, some sugar cane, taro, Cystosperma edulis, and curcuma. There are few mangroves, and no bamboo or areca.

The fauna consists of pigs, chickens, dogs, cats, rats, and sea and land birds; there are few beetles and butterflies.

6: Senfft--53 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 136, 137 Lamotrek

The vegetation is the same as on Oleai. In the central section of Lamutrik Island there is an extensive swampland in which there are copious taro and sugar cane plantations. The fauna is also the same, but there are far more sea birds and rats on this atoll, while there are no cats at all. The rats do a great deal of harm to the coconuts. The natives wrap pandanus leaves around the trunks to protect the palms from the rats; the sharp thorns of these leaves prevent the rats from running up the tree.

7: Senfft--193 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 131, 137 Faraulep

I met several canoes which had been on their way out but returned to show me the passage into the reef of Faraulip Island. The three islands of this atoll are low islands. The coralline soil is overgrown with healthy specimens of coconut palms, breadfruit trees, bananas, Cystoeperma edule, some tobacco, and some pandanus and betel trees.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 137 Lamotrek

Lamutrik is a typical atoll in the form of an isosceles triangle with the islands Falaite, Puch, and Lamutrik, of which only the latter is inhabited, situated on its three points. It offers a pleasant view with its white sandy shore and a small bay where the German flag can be seen in the background. Coconut palms, breadfruits, pandanus, hibiscus, some curcuma and arrowroot, some Calophyllum, Crataeva speciosa, and Averrhoa carambola trees and taro thriving on marshland, sugar cane and Cyrstosperma edule can be seen growing densely on the island; yams and bamboo are entirely lacking. Fowl and pigs are not very numerous, and the amount of fish in the lagoon has decreased; on the other hand there are many land- and seabirds living in the trees. The cultivation on the other two islands of the atoll is supposed to be the same. Accordingly a plantation of coconut palms on these islands is not possible or at any rate only to a very small extent.

28: Spiro--7 [3]
116, 137

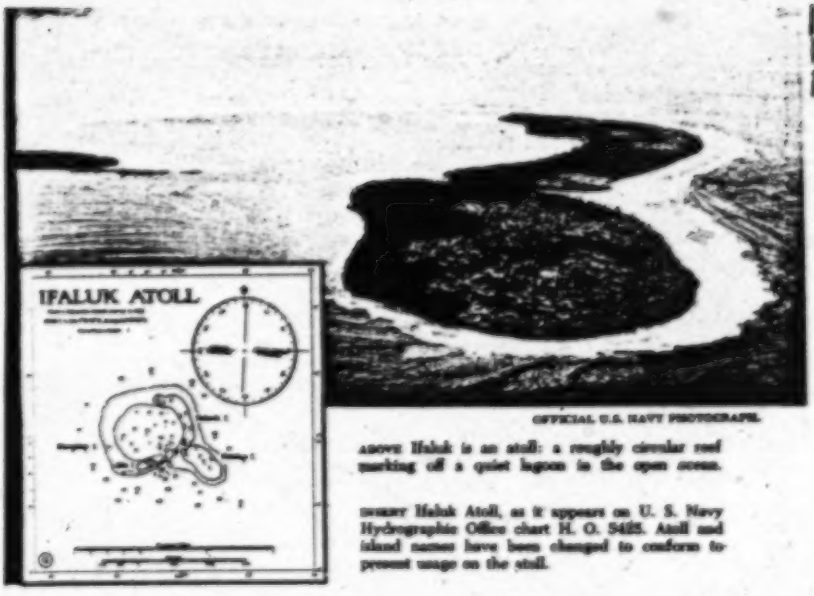
(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Vegetation is dense in the bush, the luxuriant flora compensating for the paucity of fauna."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
100



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSET Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
139
114

[P.32(A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

126 Don and I spent one morning drawing a base map for the island of Falarik from a mosaic of the vertical air photographs. With this outline, the next problem was to fill in details of trails, households and vegetation. We thought we would start by mapping the principal trails.

Both of us were rank amateurs at sketch mapping. We had a Brompton compass lent by Ted Arnow and a triangular ruler marked with conventional scales, but no measuring tape more than six feet long and no plane table.

We first tried improvising a tape by tying knots at two-yard intervals in 100 yards of cod-line. When we had finished this tedious job, we discovered the darn thing stretched and tangled too easily to be of any use. I then dedicated myself to trying to learn to pace accurately, and soon managed a pace that fitted nicely when used on the base map with the 1:2500 scale of the triangular rule. This "Bates pace" was a purely arbitrary unit, but it worked well enough for our purpose. I learned to make nice adjustments in scrambling over coral [137] boulders and around breadfruit trees and through fern thickets so that I could come out with the proper count. In crossing the island, plotting the course on the outline map made from the air photos, we generally found an error of five or ten feet (it was about 900 feet across Falarik). This would probably have been disgraceful for an engineer but it pleased us immensely.

First we tried noting compass directions and number of paces for the quirks in the paths with the idea of plotting these on the map later. But this didn't work—too many mistakes. So I tried making a plane table by sinking a German camera adapter-screw into a board so that it could be fastened to an American camera tripod. The resulting contraption could not be called sturdy, but I was very proud of the improvisation.

We quickly worked out an effective system for dealing with trails. The mapping team consisted of Don, Bakal, Tony and me. Don handled the plane table, equipped with the triangular rule, the compass and a towel for switching away flies. Bakal toted things. Tony scouted ahead on the winding trails. I would keep an eye on Tony and when he seemed about to disappear on a trail, would call out to him to wait

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Ranau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

●137

ABOVE The boondocks were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
516
192

[P. 64(D)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 114 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 262 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records 262 136 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

● 137 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of [136] the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

137 262 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

137 245 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

Z: Damm et al. --118 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 141, 177 Aurupik

You realize how little contact these natives have had with civilization when you learn that Hambruch could not get any anthropological measurements because the natives were afraid of the instruments.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 141 Woleai

Hambruch measured 12 natives, 4 women and 8 men; the former had a height of about 150 centimeters (3), but one of them was 162.8 centimeters tall. The men varied between 158-167, with an average height of 163 centimeters.

Dolichocephaly is no longer observed, since there is no cephalic index under 170; two of the people were brachycephalic (81.1 and 85.5), 7 were mesocephalic (73.6-77.7) and three had a cephalic index of 70-71.5.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5' 7½". Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch.

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5' 1⅛" tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses.

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians.

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low-over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians

2: Damm et al. --12 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 142 Ifaluk

The natives are tall and well built. Their skin is light brown, and the hair is black. Children often have very brown, almost blond hair; it is cut near the shoulders, at least Sarfert never saw hair, that had been allowed to grow to its full length.

The men do not have much beard; whiskers are never worn, but they do have a beard on the chin. Moustaches are kept short, and they are not very popular.

2; Damm et al--117
116, 142

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

At first glance, the natives of Eauripik reminded Sarfert of the Sorol inhabitants. There were two distinct types of natives; some had a broad head, and were stocky; the others were slender, and with a narrow head; the latter were not so numerous. The women frequently had masculine features, and their coiffure enhanced this appearance. A number of the women wore most of their wavy hair cut short over the forehead, the rest had it long or parted. So there was no uniformity about it. Miklucho-Maclay apparently did not see any bobbed-heads among the natives, who came to call on him, for he writes that their curly and frizzled hair forms regular "caps". This recalls the costume of the young Rauelimar. The coiffure reminded Miklucho-Maclay of the natives of the islands southeast of Ceram; he concludes that there must be a mixture of Papuan blood on Aurepik.

Usually the women are considerably lighter than the men; the babies were almost as light as European children. Miklucho-Maclay identifies the coloring of the natives whom he saw on the ship as number 37 of Broca's scale.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oäo, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear... The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

4: Krämer--10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Lamotrek

The inhabitants [MR: of Lamotrek] are light brown Central Carolinians. The pictures show that some refined types are represented. The hair of the natives in a few cases... is curly, but the faces do not have negroid features. Even big beards occur as the face of Ikisera shows [MR: see source, plate 2b]; his face may well be aligned with some European types. Noses are well formed and do not have the Malayan upturned forms. The latter is a little more pronounced with Bóesu and Urúpo [MR: see source, Plate 1a] but Sukurang of the same family does not have it; in his case we observe a more projecting zygomatic arch, which is enhanced by the thinness of his face. Also the girls... have very pleasing forms and agreeable features; the same is true of the woman on plate 3c [MR: see source] with her wide face. In the case of the half-breed Bessie Lewis [MR: see source, Plate 3d] the British mixture does not appear to an advantage.

4: Krämer--189-190 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
142 Woleai

Some of [VMM: the women] had pretty faces and had neither thick lips nor broad faces although they were inclined towards both. Their hair is black and long. The color of their skin is somewhat different from that of the men in that a sickish looking white-ness [190] is mixed with a natural olive color.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Woleai

In Lütke, Volume III, page 144 (Observations) the following is said: the inhabitants of the low islands are thin rather than fat and tall rather than short. Their hair is thick, brownish black and knotty. The nose protrudes and is wide and large, the lips thick, etc. These standards are applicable as a rule.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 142 Woleai

The Caroline hand was found on three men. The hair of the women is straight, has wide waves, and that of almost all the men is quite frizzly and in one instance extremely curly. Cantova describes the islanders of Faroilap, who wanted to sail to Oleai and drifted to Guam; they had frizzly hair. The color of their bodies is the brown of the Central Carolinians.

6: Senfft--54
116, 142

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The hair of the natives is either straight or slightly curly. Few of them have small curls, and I saw no cases of frizzly hair of the negroid type.

11: Born--177
116, 142, 101

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

In physical structure, dress, language, and customs, the Oleaï natives belong to the Central Carolinians. They are closely related to the natives of Truk, Ululssi, Lamutrik, Satuwal, Sorol, Sonsol, Atogui, and Merir.

For the most part, they are of medium size and slender build; their skin is lighter than that of the people of Jap, and their features are regular and attractive. Their iris is dark brown, the conjunctiva bulbi has a yellow tinge and pigmentary spots. The shades of hair vary from dark brown to almost black, but the children are often dark blond; many of them have curly hair. Many of the women are as tall as the men. Frequently they have beautiful, well-proportioned bodies. The men have only a very slight beard.

The women also plait all kinds of mats, handbags, and small pouches in which tobacco, tinderboxes, kindling implements, and all the other small articles which the natives carry about with them may be kept. Betel, however, and the articles that go with it are missing; the Oleaï natives do not chew betel and therefore have beautiful white teeth.

12: Lutke--127
116, 142

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek

These men seemed better built to us than their eastern neighbors. There is no particular difference in their features.

28: Spiro--4-5
116, 142

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Since neither Dr. Burrows nor I did any physical measuring, the following descriptions are entirely impressionistic. One of the most impressive facts about physical type on Ifaluk is the degree of variation that obtains, in what is genetically as homogeneous a population as one could possibly find. As far as we know, the natives have never mated outside the little group of islands comprising the Yap district, and within that area, the population is considerably under 1000. And yet there is variation in skin color from light brown to dark (6); in stature from fairly tall to short; in hair form, from frizzly to straight; [5] in nose form, from wide, 'negroid', nostrils to narrow, 'caucasoid' ones; in lip form, from thin to thick, inverted lips. Yet, despite this variation, one would have little difficulty in identifying an Ifaluk as a Carolinian, and as quite different from the 'average' negroid, Caucasoid, or Mongoloid."

"6. There is one albino on Ifaluk--a woman."

40: Robertson--50
116, 142, 291, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"They are a fine, well made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellows. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoanuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives."

40: Robertson--50
116, 142, 304, 175

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Ifalik

"On the 31st March the schooner hove to off Evalouk and several canoes came alongside. There is nothing to remark about these islands; they are low and of coral formation, producing nothing but the cocoanut. The natives traded off flying fish against tobacco. They are a tall, handsome race, of light colour, their bodies being closely tattoed all over, their dress being the same as that of the Oulleai people."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

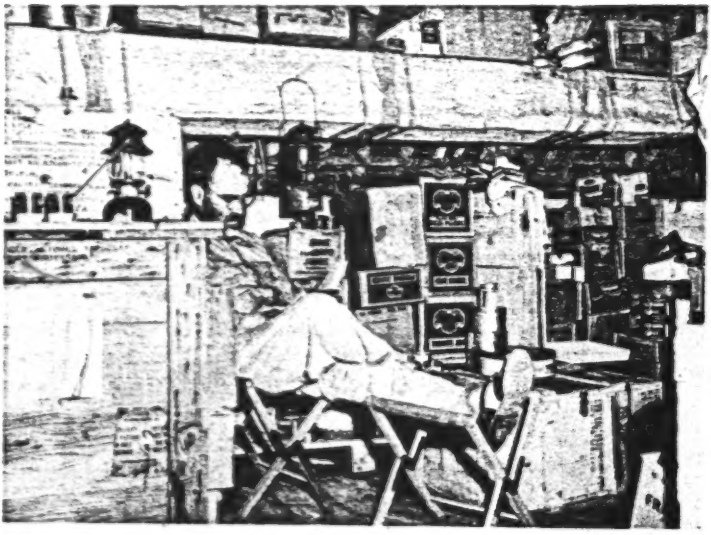
About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114



ABOVE Cases of food walled the kitchen area: Ted Burrows sometimes propped himself comfy there to read at night.

BELOW Don proposed a trade of English lessons for lessons in Ifalukian.

192
123
516

[P. 32 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5′ 7½″. Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch. 141 561

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5′ 1½″ tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses. 141 562 [462]

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians. 101

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians 142 [[44]]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were surely as mixed up racially as the Europeans (none of us can afford to be stuffy about purity of race) but the mixture in the Ifalukians must have contained some of the same elements as the European mixture. But how did they get so far away?

Most anthropologists believe that the Pacific islanders moved out from southeast Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of southeast Asia may have had a larger "Caucasian" component in their racial mixture than now. Despite his daring feat with the Kon-Tiki, few experts have much faith in Thor Heyerdahl's theory of American origin: he certainly proved that cross-Pacific contact is possible, but the evidence of language, culture and race points overwhelmingly to a Malayasian origin. One of the more probable migration routes for the Polynesians is from southeast Asia to the Philippines and through the Caroline islands to the central and south Pacific.

One gets the feeling, in this Polynesian-Micronesian area, of dealing with cultures far more complex than the technology would indicate: of dealing with the remnants of a high culture, of a "civilization." One feels that these same people, with the resources of a continent, could have built Angkor Vat or Copan: and they did produce some spectacular carving and building in places like Ponape and Easter Island. It is easy to understand the lure of the search for some "lost civilization" to account for these cultures; to understand the desire to create a mid-Pacific "continent of Mu" after the fashion of Atlantis. Maybe there is a general human tendency to explain the fascinating with the fabulous. Certainly the Pacific islanders are fascinating enough; but they have given us very few clear clues to either their origin or their history, and the few clues that we have are in part conflicting. Probably we shall never arrive at a clear and unequivocal reconstruction of their past.

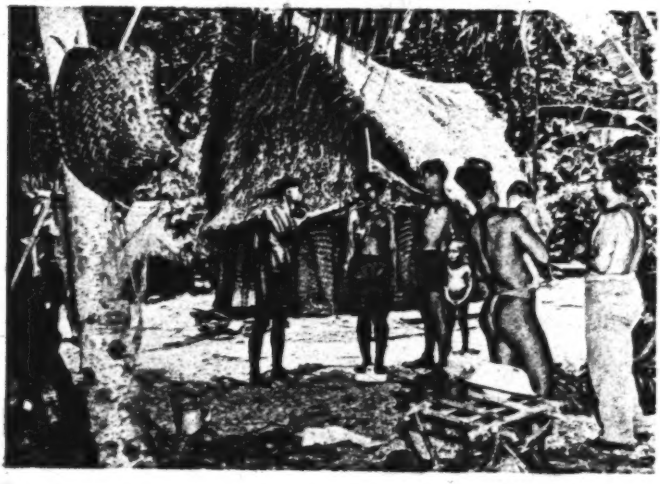
But we were absorbed with the Present on Ifaluk. We had not yet acquired a proper Ifalukian shade of brown when we finally managed to finish our census of the people: but even with our strange color, we had already begun to feel at home, to feel "Micronesian" ourselves, a part of the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

192
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.



126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
● 192

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
693
192
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
192

RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Gauaisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

622
516
192

[P. 64(c)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

137

ABOVE The boondocks were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
516
192

[P. 64 (D)]

2: Damm et al. --117 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
144 Aurupik

The coiffure reminded Miklucho-Maclay of the natives of the islands southeast of Ceram; he concludes that there must be a mixture of Papuan blood on Aurepik.

2: Damm et al. --158
116, 144

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

No physical anthropological surveys were made. According to Sievers, the population is similar to that of Feis and Mogomog.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 144 Woleai

The natives of Oleai according to their physique, dress, language, and customs belong to the Central Carolinians and are closely related to the inhabitants of Truk, Ululssi, Lamutrik, Sátowal, Sorol and other islands.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 144 Woleai

In a treatment of the population of Oleai we must bear in mind that it is greatly mixed due to the migrations of the natives of the surrounding islands. The settlement charts show that we may hardly talk of a true local type.

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 157, 144 Woleai

In general it must be stressed that the natives of Uleai are charming, a fact which has been observed by previous visitors and which is most true of the women. The photographs are well able to prove this point. An English half-breed (photograph 18c) [VMM: see source], as on Lamotrek, proves British dominance.

10: Miklucho-Maklai --295 (1876-1877) 1877 Woleaians
116, 144 Aurupik

Their [MR: the Eauripik natives] appearance reminded me of the natives of the islands southeast of Ceram and the Kei Archipelago. In both instances I am doubtful whether we are dealing with natives who have some Papua blood.

11: Born--177 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
144 Woleai

In physical structure, dress, language, and customs, the Oleaï natives belong to the Central Carolinians. They are closely related to the natives of Truk, Ululssi, Lamutrik, Satuwal, Sorol, Sonsol, Atogui, and Merir.

28: Spiro--5
116, 144, 174

(1947-48) 1949*

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Ifaluk are members of the so-called Micronesian race, which is closely related to the Polynesian. Their features definitely bespeak a racial admixture, but whether this contact was in historic or prehistoric times is still a moot point."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5′ 7½″. Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch.

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5′ 1½″ tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses.

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians.

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were surely as mixed up racially as the Europeans (none of us can afford to be stuffy about purity of race) but the mixture in the Ifalukians must have contained some of the same elements as the European mixture. But how did they get so far away?

Most anthropologists believe that the Pacific islanders moved out from southeast Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of southeast Asia may have had a larger "Caucasian" component in their racial mixture than now. Despite his daring feat with the Kon-Tiki, few experts have much faith in Thor Heyerdahl's theory of American origin: he certainly proved that cross-Pacific contact is possible, but the evidence of language, culture and race points overwhelmingly to a Malayasian origin. One of the more probable migration routes for the Polynesians is from southeast Asia to the Philippines and through the Caroline islands to the central and south Pacific.

One gets the feeling, in this Polynesian-Micronesian area, of dealing with cultures far more complex than the technology would indicate: of dealing with the remnants of a high culture, of a "civilization." One feels that these same people, with the resources of a continent, could have built Angkor Vat or Copan: and they did produce some spectacular carving and building in places like Ponape and Easter Island. It is easy to understand the lure of the search for some "lost civilization" to account for these cultures; to understand the desire to create a mid-Pacific "continent of Mu" after the fashion of Atlantis. Maybe there is a general human tendency to explain the fascinating with the fabulous. Certainly the Pacific islanders are fascinating enough; but they have given us very few clear clues to either their origin or their history, and the few clues that we have are in part conflicting. Probably we shall never arrive at a clear and unequivocal reconstruction of their past.

But we were absorbed with the Present on Ifaluk. We had not yet acquired a proper Ifalukian shade of brown when we finally managed to finish our census of the people: but even with our strange color, we had already begun to feel at home, to feel "Micronesian" ourselves, a part of the island.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162, 145 Woleai

Looking at the statistics of these islands we notice the disproportionately great number of the female population as compared with the male, on the other hand the proportion of children to grown-ups is not unfavorable if we take into consideration that only children up to eight years have been counted. The very low percentage of young girls, though, is conspicuous; girls, who according to their build and expression could not have been more than sixteen years old, already showed traces of age.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second, smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

000 this or that. We might have done better if we had tried to adapt directly to the Ifalukian diet, because certainly the Ifalukians looked [146] healthy and husky enough. Perhaps we couldn't have adapted to their varieties of starch in the time available, since changing food habits involves somewhat more than merely changing prejudices, and changing prejudices is not always easy, particularly when there are three people to interact on one another.

114 Clearly our own food behavior was not adapted to the atoll conditions, though I am not sure exactly what we did wrong. I always tend to have a skinny, underfed look, in the tropics. It bothers me to have people tell me how well I look after a winter in the north, and how bad I look after a period of tropical residence, because my feelings are exactly the opposite of my appearance. We weighed ourselves periodically on the bathroom scales that we had brought along for weighing the inhabitants of Ifaluk, and I worried a little as I watched the steady drop. But the worry wasn't enough to spoil the pleasure of living in the sun or lazily floating in the lagoon, or enough to jar me into any dietary experiments. We went on opening our cans while we weighed the food at Falepenach and Soumat, dietary intruders but having a wonderful time.

5: Kittlitz--161-62 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 481, 151 Woleai

The natives of Uleai excelled even the other Caroline islanders in their diving ability; we saw some remarkable proofs of this during our short visit. One half-grown boy, who seemed about fifteen years old, [162] often amazed us by the skill with which he could catch anything that we threw over board. We were anchored at a depth of nineteen fathoms, and he always managed to reach the object before it touched the bottom. He even succeeded in finding very small articles like pocket knives and other iron things, which we always showed him before tossing them into the water. Like a flash he jumped out of his canoe, which was on the other side of the launch; he swam under the keel of this boat and reappeared a few minutes later with the booty.

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--90
116, 854, 151

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A universal feature in picking up a baby is to smell it. Whether the mother picks the baby from its cradle, or a 'stranger' takes the baby from the arms of another, she will first place her face in its belly, and its genital region, nuzzling it, and smell it with deep and long draughts. The same behavior can be no more articulated than the reasons for our kissing babies. It is a sign of affection, both the form (smelling) and the region (genital) being culturally determined. It should be remarked here, though we shall have occasion to return to this point, that the olfactory sense is very important in this culture, the natives loving highly scented odors, such as cheap perfume, and abominating any offensive odor. ('it stink too much'.) (8)"

"8. Olfactory values of course, are in part universal, and in part culturally conditioned. As a whole the natives and I agreed on those odors we considered offensive. There were two exceptions. Their preserved breadfruit emitted a rancid odor that I found very repugnant, whereas our mild American cheese repelled the natives."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 152 Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--147
152

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings."

"A sentiment that in a way counteracts that of rank--at least counteracts any tendency to take advantage of rank by arrogance--is that of kindliness. There is less evidence in the way of formal patterns of behavior to attest the strength of this sentiment than the others. The high value placed on kindliness is probably related to the absence of sorcery, though there is no telling, on the evidence at hand, just what the relationship is.

The particular form of kindliness usually singled out for praise is kindly speech. People are praised for what Tom called 'fine talk'. 'Bad talk' is condemned, and people with a reputation for what we call 'a sharp tongue' are avoided. Or so they say; we never knew an actual instance among this courteous people, who seem to live up to their ideal in this respect amazingly well. Children were sometimes scolded--mostly, so far as I noticed, for a boldness toward us that was considered presumptuous. But the scoldings were mild, as compared with tongue-lashings far from rare in our culture. The only voices I heard raised in serious anger were directed at the psychopath Tarobweliman, whose defiance of the [203] proprieties wore out the patience of his relatives.

People told us repeatedly that they liked us better than the Japanese because of our kindly talk. This was itself a case of the fine talk they value. No doubt there was flattery in it. Yet I think there was truth as well. Naturally our address to them was friendly; a considerable part of our job was to win their confidence and enlist their

help, without which we could never have worked up more than a superficial account of their culture. Besides, it was no strain to talk kindly to these masters of the soft answer.

Fine talk is particularly important in people who are important themselves; most of all in the chiefs. In discussing succession to chieftainship, I once asked Tom if a man who was first in line of succession to a title might be passed over because of undesirable personal qualities. Without stopping to refer the matter to the chiefs--though they were there to be consulted--Tom said oh, yes; if the heir-apparent was given to bad talk, he would never be considered for the title.

Songs in praise of various chiefs extoll their talk more than anything else, referring especially to the formal speeches at public assemblages. Some of the praise is for oratorical skill; a smooth, rich flow of words, 'like coconut oil'. But the main emphasis is on kindliness. More than one of the songs refers to a belief that if the talk of the chiefs is kindly, the people will thrive and live long; if the talk of the chiefs is harsh, the people will perish. How strong this belief is, I have no way of telling; but it accords so well with this sentiment of kindliness, as expressed particularly in speech, that it is pretty surely more than empty words. The positive value in the sentiment of kindliness is the joy of pleasant human relationships. It corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for response. That wish is also exemplified in the master-sentiment here mentioned only in passing: that of sexual fulfilment."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIIItr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

1: Burrows--204-205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 262 Ifalik

"The object of the ritual which only Maroligar can perform is to ensure abundant food. Divination is more often to learn the outcome of sickness, or what evil spirit inflicted it--so that he can be exorcised-- than for anything else.

The high value of food is emphasized in the chiefs' talks to the people. A related value, industry, is prized mainly as a means to abundance of food: 'If you do not work, there will be no food.' The people are exhorted not to steal, --especially not to steal food. They are urged to share--share food especially--with those who lack it, and with the sick.

There is a positive side to the value placed on food. The custom of concluding every communal task, and every ceremony in which all the people take part, with a feast, is evidence of that. The offering to [205] the gods at the beginning of such feasts may be a precaution, but may well have a more positive tone, that of inviting the gods, in token of good will and thankfulness, to share the people's bounty. Tom was fond of saying that Ifalik has plenty of food. So it has, as far as coconuts and pulax go; but the supply of breadfruit depends upon the season, and that of fish is rather scanty."

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

The natives were very cordial and friendly to Sarfert. The attitude of the women was most amusing, whether the men were present or not. By nature they were vivacious, but whenever their husbands were around they scarcely uttered a word. During the exchanges they turned away when they wanted to laugh; but their eyes showed what they were thinking, and the eyes glistened in a sly but quite provocative manner.

When Sarfert was alone with them, they made no secret of the fact that they were all crazy about him. They proved it by their caresses and the dancing movements, which they made; even a white haired old woman tried to allure him, and her zealous efforts aroused much mirth. The women all declared that they simply wanted him to give them tobacco; * and they promised, that they would tell all the white men who came to Ifaluk that he was much nicer in every way than they were.

---

* Tobacco has always been a very desirable commodity (Robertson 1876 / 1877 , page 50).

Sarfert noticed that, when they were bartering, [AN: chiefly tobacco] they always had their minds set on one particular object; if they could not get it they usually took their exchange gifts back again. Then they calmly set ridiculous prices on even the tiniest things, which they were offering. If Sarfert became angry, they explained that the white man could produce all these items easily, and he had an adequate supply, while they did not! Lütke and Kittlitz also noticed this selfish attitude, and they had been warned about these islanders by the whalers.

They were astonished at the phonograph, laughed at it, but kept at a safe distance, and tried to peek into the horn. They thought that a man was hidden inside the apparatus!

2: Damm et al. --118 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Aurupik

From the first, the natives were most cordial and friendly to the white man, and they were glad to talk to Hambruch. Hellwig observes that even the smallest children were not shy, although ships come to the island only at very rare intervals.

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Uleai islanders in the past seem to have been rather rough: I learned on Lamotrek that around 1894 an Irishman, Harry Crishom, had been murdered by 4 natives. They shot him in the back and then threw him into the channel of Paliau. Probably in this instance, as in the case of the murder on Oleai, the guilty parties are strangers. For in general, the natives of Oleai have always had a reputation of friendliness and companionship; we ourselves had proof of this characteristic and Tetens also describes it.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

6: Senfft--54
116, 152

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The level of intelligence is not very high. The natives are petty and narrow-minded as well as lazy. They lack the fairness and generosity of the people of Yap. It is only natural, then, that they are not held in very high esteem by the Yap natives.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 761, 152 Woleai

As depressing as it is to see a gay people surrounded by graves it impressed me as even worse that they do not seem to realize what death is. They speak with laughter about their dead, with laughter did they show me the hopelessly sick and the efforts of the paralyzed man who was painfully trying to get up with the help of two sticks in order to demonstrate the violent trembling of his sturdy body was accompained by the laughter of the people around him. There is no doubt that this blunt attitude towards death is due to the accumulation of misfortune which these people experience.

11: Born--190-191 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Oleai natives are by nature a very friendly and peaceful people. They have never had any wars, and they have no weapons for warfare. It is all the more striking, then, that, after a longer stay with them, one becomes aware of behavior which can only be described as forward, if not impudent. [191] In their relationships with white people they make no attempt to conceal the fact that their only object is to make as great a profit as possible. This is in marked contrast to the charming and sincere behavior of the Jap natives which make all transactions with them pleasant and friendly.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaf natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaf immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

12: Lutke--133-134
116, 152

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

They [AN: the natives] were distinguished from all the other Carolinians we had met heretofore, if not by their outer appearance, then by their noisy behavior. They all wanted to get on the ship; [134] and we had to use force to prevent it.

12: Lutke--134-135 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Ifalik

One impudent fellow seized a belaying-pin, and plunged with it into the sea. At that time the big chief of the group was on the boat; I told him that I should detain him on board until the stolen object had been returned. The old man was very frightened; but all the others remained calm, and promised me that the belaying-pin would be brought back instantly. And in fact, one of the chiefs found it on the canoes and brought it back, demanding an ax for the service he had just rendered. While all this was taking place, and while I was trying to reassure the old tamol by giving him some presents, another man repeated the same performance, and jumped in the water from the top of the stern. But after a few minutes the same chiefs forced him to restore the stolen object himself. For the sake of example, I was strongly tempted to give this rascal several lashes, but the poor devil was so frightened [135] that I let him go, and he fled in his canoe lest we change our minds.

12: Lutke--138
116, 152, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The inhabitants of Ouleai had no more hesitancy about begging than the natives of Lukunor; the little boys were the worst, and when they saw that Doctor Mertens was collecting sea-shells they brought him all sorts of atrocities which they tried to sell. They tossed them on the ground if he refused to pay the price that they demanded.

12: Lutke--138-139 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 177 Woleai

Far from hindering, the natives tried to help us. The only thing to which they [AN: the natives] objected was the firing of our hunters. At the beginning [139] they trembled and screamed at each shot, even in the distance, and begged us not to make so much noise; they soon became accustomed to it, however; and they finally cried ouai! each time they heard a gun.

12: Lutke--300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Woleai

Among other natives, we met a tamol whom we had seen in the spring at Elato and he told us that the tamol Oralitaou, whom we had met at Guahan, had returned from there to his own country. During our absence the old Rooua had died; his brother Rooua-meun, who was now in Namourrek, had succeeded him. Tapeligar had gone to Fais and to Mogmog, and Aman to Farrollap.

Tapeligar assured us that after our departure he was so bored that he had started to travel, and that he had done so in the hope of finding me somewhere. He declared that when our ship had appeared, his wife had begged him with tears in her eyes to take her to capital Litské, for he would surely give her some lujeuche (pieces of glass, trinkets, etc.) Among the other Caroline natives we did not see such trickery which was clearly designed to make us give him presents. In general you see more envy and spite here than in the other places; if you give a gift to one you may be sure that all the others will ask for the same thing.

14: Born et al--568-570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-1
152, 823 Woleai

[MR: During the typhoon of March, 1907] We soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been

wrenched from the ground with all its roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast.

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husbands anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

The adults do not explicitely threaten their children with castration, but they do so symbolically, by grabbing their penis'. (1)"

"1. I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. That the idea is anxiety laden is shown by their reverting to it much later at certain time intervals, and asking me about it."

28: Spiro--125 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 827, 152 Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--140 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 765, 152 Ifalik

"If the person dies in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day, in which case the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse is painted red, and it is dressed in a new lavalava. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long rope-net, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and of the others is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is praticularly true of the person's mothers and spouse. In the case of the man's death, mentioned above, the mother and wife beat their breasts and scratched their faces with such ferocity that they had to be restrained by some of the other women, who forcibly held their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little effected by the scene. It is true that the children are not permitted the usual run of the yard, and the young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults will periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all 'culturally patterned'? Since I observed only three funerals, and the pattern in all three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior, and my questioning of the people as well as other evidence seemed to indicate that the hypothesis had some degree of validity. My informants stated that all women, for example, express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts. Furthermore, if a woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But how about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Navor, died, her husband could not perform the culturally patterned wailing. He broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling, rather than becoming channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance, Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother, the day after her funeral, as an expression of his heated feelings. Unfortunately I did not observe his behavior during the funeral itself. But whether it was then culturally or

personally expressive, this extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the practice of burning the house of the deceased is not practiced in this culture."

GEOGRAPHY

This section deals with what the people of Ifalik know about the resources of their island. It seemed possible to find out what they know by watching them and asking questions, without calling on the array of specialists that would have been necessary to describe the island in terms of what we know. Yet the expert help just acknowledged proved necessary in order to translate their knowledge into terms intelligible to our science. Besides, it proved possible now and then, with this help, to test the accuracy of their knowledge and find some of its limitations.

To begin with some concepts that form a framework for their knowledge, no general names were found for 'number', 'space', or 'time'. This suggests a boundary to the degree of abstraction which their tools for thinking allow them. Within these limits, they are at home with all three concepts."

28: Spiro--111-112
116, 153, 861, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Social scientists have recently stressed the fact that imitation alone does not explain social and cultural learning, that such learning involves a system of rewards and punishments, the former serving to reinforce positive responses, and the latter serving to extinguish the wrong responses. On Ifaluk the punishments are quite definite and tangible, whereas the rewards are diffuse and mostly psychological in nature. In other words, rewards are seldom in the nature of 'Presents.' The simple cultural fact is that there is little possibility for the concept of 'present.' In a culture in which each family is an economic unit, almost entirely self-sufficient, each such family manufactures what every other family has so that there is no division of labor which results in exchange of goods. The child, therefore, cannot be offered something which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess are his for use anyway. Presents in the form of material goods would merely be an addition of something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough so as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors operating--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is an unimportant factor, for again, given the cultural and geographical facts--the reality situation--there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any cultural goods the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being able to listen to the

radio, to see the movie, to go for an automobile ride, etc. do not exist. Others, such as being able to stay up late at night, to go with his parents to a party or to the home of a relative are not special privileges. They are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward and/or privilege following a meritorious deed is therefore, absent from this culture.

The only category remaining under reward is praise, and this is employed. The child who conforms to the social expectations, or who does something particularly meritorious, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents, but by all adults. The positive dynamics in learning, therefore, is the desire to be praised, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But this, apparently is not enough. There are negative sanctions that are even more important than the positive, though, to be sure, they may be viewed as the obverse side of the motivational coin. If one desires praise and security, one avoids blame, rejection, and ridicule. Ridicule and its resultant feeling of shame is probably the strongest factor operative in the Ifaluk learning pattern. There are, as we shall soon see, six specific punishments with which children are inflicted--almost all of which elicit shame and rejection responses rather than physical pain. Positively, then, it is the knowledge of being loved for doing the right thing--emotional security--that motivated good

behavior. Negatively, it is the feeling of being rejected, of not being loved--emotional insecurity--that soon eliminates bad behavior. 'If you do that', or 'if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig' is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicity rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six negative sanctions that are employed to punish the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful, and should be avoided. These are being beaten,[112] spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an alus, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut-leaf, never with the naked hand. The actual physical pain involved, as I can testify, is slight. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain at all. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear--fear of octopus or shark or an alus of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since he is thrown in shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an alus, though the latter does elicit fear, for the alus, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but is extremely frustrating. The children have complete mobility within their district, and being shut-in works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. It is the psychological experiencing of the punishment, as rejection, shame, frustration,

that is the dynamic force behind the punishments.

The following table is a statistical tabulation of the punishments reported by the children, giving the number of children who named any one punishment. Some named many, some none.

Table II

Number of subjects: 42
Male : 25
Female : 17

Punishment	No. of subj.	% of subj.	% of M.	% of F.
Beating	35	83	88	76
Spitting	22	52	56	47
Thrown in ocean	18	43	56	23
Confinement	18	43	44	41
Threatened with Alus	17	40	56	18
Scolding	14	33	24	47

28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--34
116, 345, 283, 461, 156

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--54-55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 156, 787, 831 Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

1: Burrows--201-202 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The positive value of the sentiment of rank, for those whose position is relatively high, is obvious: the satisfaction afforded by a feeling of superiority. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for recognition. The negative value, for those whose position is low, is of course humiliation or a sense of inferiority.

As individual rank is so largely settled by birth, a man can not do much to improve his position. Most of those of rather humble status seemed content with their lot. Presumably Spiro will penetrate into this matter farther than I can. But even the foregoing account, focussed as it is on formal, shared patterns of behavior, has repeatedly shown how two individuals were driven by craving for a higher position than their genealogies [202] allowed them. They are the two most prominent individuals on the atoll, in our eyes, except for the chiefs; and there is some doubt about even that exception--namely, Tom and Gargeligar. Though the writer is by no means qualified to diagnose a neurosis, he can not help pointing out how the behavior of these two resembles the standard picture of an inferiority complex."

4: Krämer--201 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 157, 144 Woleai

In general it must be stressed that the natives of Uleai are charming, a fact which has been observed by previous visitors and which is most true of the women. The photographs are well able to prove this point. An English half-breed (photograph 18c) [VMM: see source], as on Lamotrek, proves British dominance.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 157 Lamotrek

The population is peace-loving and good-natured but indolent.

9: Senfft--14
116, 157, 463

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

The population is peace-loving but is greatly inferior to that of Yap in intelligence, industry and character; they are efficient, though, as canoe constructors, seamen and fishers.

14: Born et al--576 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 157, 731 Ifalik

On April 12 we [MR: district official Fritz] arrived at Ifalik and brought the people the share of the provisions allotted to them [MR: after the typhoon of March, 1907]. But none wanted to leave their destroyed home; much more, the ruling chief turned down my proposal. All depictions of the coming distress were useless; the chief frankly and rightly feared a lessening of power with the emigration of large numbers of his subjects. But I am convinced that when after a few months bitter want strikes, the obstinacy of this gentleman will yield of its own accord.

28: Spiro--17-18 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 574, 622, 157 Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--25 [2]
116, 622, 554, 157

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--60-61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 157, 761 Ifalik

"On the other hand death wishes do exist, as the TAT reveals. A great number of people perceived the human figures in the pictures as dead. This of course, is not [61] the only possible interpretation of such perception. Dead people may not only be hostile death wishes, but may be personal identifications of the people with innert, lifeless, people, as projections of their own inner psychic life. This will bear much scrutiny before a final conclusion is drawn. Apriori, I suspect, that both are operative here, depending upon the person.

In either event it would be important to know whether the people harbor death wishes against others. My field work, on this point, was sloppy, indeed. I have one notation in my field notes, dated one month after our arrival, in which Tom had informed me that if a man harbors death wishes against another, a benevolent alus will punish him by retaliating in kind. This note was tucked away in the corpus of field notes, and forgotten. I have no idea, therefore, whether this is a personal or a cultural belief, nor what the incidence of such phantasies are, nor, if this is a cultural belief, how many deaths are attributed to this fact."

28: Spiro--88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 853, 157, 862 Ifalik

"It has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration, in which the breast is always available, that children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of children on Ifaluk are thumb suckers, not only those who have been weaned, but those who are still being suckled. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking, while others are unconcerned about it. Those opposed to the practice say that it weakens the thumb and kills the child's appetite.

Thumb sucking, then, is not only a function of oral frustration. It may be a simple satisfaction of the sucking reflex. Or, in older children, it may be a regression to the oral level of mastery. This would be particularly true on Ifaluk, in which the older child is, relatively speaking, neglected, so that the thumb sucking is a return to the security and emotional gratification of the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she lifts it from its bed or cradle, returning it to its place, when she is finished. Always care is taken to support the infant's head, so that it does not fall back. At first the stiff cloth is used which prevents the head from falling. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl. Again, I learned this the hard way, by violation of the practice, and being taught the correct way by the father of the infant I had 'maltreated'.

Only the mother may feed the baby during its first three months. If she should die, a wet nurse will be found, but not if her milk is scarce. In the latter case, coconut juice will be added to the diet."

28: Spiro--89-90 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 157, 609 Ifalik

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

"7. There is little rationality in their almost compulsive knife sharpening. The knives are already sharp. It is likely that this preoccupation has unconscious, symbolic significance. I have no evidence but suspect that it is related to certain sexual anxieties, perhaps a castration anxiety."

1: Burrows--125-126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 768, 158 Ifalik

"Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage, --witness the wrecking of houses by Galēt in the myth (p. 54), when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falālap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outbursts on the part [126] of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property."

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 683, 158 Ifalik 1-3

"The lone human culprit was 'Tarof', the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katēlū, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a 'mental case' and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falālap to Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously) in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent: once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of angorIk (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifalik, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifalik are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention--in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave--than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public [150] works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifalik seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt

to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked."

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics-- one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

28: Spiro--73 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-13
116, 428, 756, 158 Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 158 Ifalik

"November 23, 1947. Maroligar came running to our tent to inform me that Tarev had just attempted to burn his house. His mother had discovered it in time and had beaten him for this act. I went to investigate the matter, and, by the time I arrived at his house, a number of men had gathered outside. As I was speaking to the men, Tarev came out of the house, seized my hand and smelled it. He was very agitated--perhaps in the worst condition I had seen him--and seemed to display a mixture of rage, anger, and fear. Tom was unavailable so that it was impossible to obtain a formal interview. I managed to gather from his incoherent and agitated speech that the people were again speaking 'bad' and wanted to kill him. I finally succeeded in allaying his fears, and he became fairly calm.

The men finally concluded that they must take some measure to prevent another outbreak, and asked me if they should tie him up. They said that Aneitin (the other schizophrenic) had been violent in the past, but after being tied for a couple of days, his violence disappeared permanently. Perhaps it would have the same effect on Tarev. I suggested that they wait a little, that I would have dinner and would return after dinner. If he became violent, they should then tie him. They predicted that as soon as I left he would again become violent, but when I returned later in the evening, he was still quite peaceful."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."

1: Burrows--166 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 159, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

(1947-48)

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalū clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

28: Spiro--93-94
116, 858, 159

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"To claim that the infant is king in Ifaluk is not to exaggerate the situation at all. The infant is always in control of a social situation, and easily dominates the adults, bending them to his will. Two examples from my field notes will serve to illustrate this point. Talimera, the young man who became my interpreter, and I were interviewing Nautrimar, the mother of a baby about eighteen months old. Now Nautrimar and I were very close friends, and she was always eager to be of help to me, so that the obstreperous conduct of her baby daughter was not to her liking. The baby was running about the yard constantly, shouting, and generally creating a disturbance that made it all but impossible to continue with our interview. She would catch the baby, holding it in her arms, but it would soon leave her arms to run about. Talimera would pursue her, and hold her for a while, but she would soon leave him, so that her mother would have to chase her again, and pick her up. When the infant wanted to leave her mother's lap, however, she was not restrained, and would again run away, this time, being caught by her mother's sister. This little comedy act continued for the better part of an hour. All were mildly irritated by the child's behavior, but none made the slightest attempt to restrain her, verbally or physically. The baby was in complete control of the situation.

Another example is even more telling. Tiovis, a 15 month old boy, was brought to the canoe house by his maternal grandfather Auelimar.

During the half hour I remained in the canoe house, he perpetrated the following deeds, without the slightest display of anger on the part of the adults, or the smallest attempt to restrain him. Tiovis began by pushing his hands into the face of Auelimar, pulling his beard, and then shoving his hands under Auelimar's chin, so that the latter had to strain his neck upward. He then grabbed a pole and began to strike Mawaulimar, an olderly man, who saved himself by removing himself from the scene, sitting behind a canoe. Tiovis then began to play with the rope fibre that Auelimar had in his basket. It requires much time and patience to sort out the fibres, which are to be twisted into rope. Yet when Tiovis began to mess them up so that they became gnarled, Auelimar merely resorted them, and replaced them in the basket. Ramen, a youpg married man came into [94] the canoe house, and took Tiovis in his arms, whereupon the latter did to him what he had done to his grandfather--push his hands in his face, etc.

All this while, Tiovis is the center of attention, the men laughing at his antics, and having a merry time observing them. The theory behind this almost fantastic indulgence is that the baby is completely innocent, and is not responsible for its behavior. ('no savvy nothing.'). This theory is consistent with the lack of punishment of the child, but surely it need not prevent the adults from restraining some of the infant's behavior

which is both irritating and destructive. (11)"

"11. The same theory is employed to explain the indulgence of the whims and aggressions of the abnormal children. The latter often throw stones at others, which may seriously bruise someone, yet no attempt is made to restrain them, since they 'no savvy nothing.'"

29: Spiro--189-190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 753 Ifalik

"Tarev--the native contraction of his name--is one of 250 natives of Ifaluk, an atoll in the Central Carolines in Micronesia. Though the Carolines, as a group, have been in contact with 'civilization' for three centuries, Ifaluk remains a rela- [190] tively unacculturated society, so that the aboriginal culture, with minor exceptions, is completely functioning. (5) According to native disease theory, illness is caused by ghost possession. All souls are immortal, repairing to the Sky at death where they become alus, the generic term for ghosts. Good souls become benevolent alus, curing disease; whereas bad souls become malevolent alus, causing disease. One of the nine classifications of disease is that of malebush, a generic term for all behavior that seems queer or deviant from the native point of view. One of these malebush is Tarev."

"5. For a complete ethnographic report see the writer's 'Ifaluk, a South Sea Culture,' on file with the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1-3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs—speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

---

"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--190-191 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123 Ifalik-1-2

"I should now like to turn to the actual examination of Tarev himself. Though we arrived in Ifaluk on July 27, there is no [191] entry in my field notes concerning Tarev until September 20. This may be explained by three factors: my own preoccupation with other ethnographic matters, Tarev's relative quiescence for long periods of time, and the reluctance of the natives to inform us about him. I first saw Tarev when I was administering a Rorschach in a house close to his. I mentioned to our interpreter that we would proceed next to his house, but he replied that the man in the next house was a 'fool fella,' and we would best leave him alone. When I questioned him about this man, it became evident that he was reluctant to talk about him. This reluctance characterized the other people as well. It was only when it became apparent that I could somehow control Tarev's aggressive behavior rather effectively that the people gave me information about him and no longer attempted to conceal his behavior from me.

The following description will follow my own chronological experiences with Tarev, and the materials recorded are taken directly from my field notes:

September 20, 1947. The 'fool fella' from Falalap [one of the two inhabited islands in the atoll] came up to Ted [Dr. E.G. Burrows] and me, as we arrived for the ceremonies, and asked to hold our hands. When we gave him our hands, he took them in his own and smelled them. Later in the day, he came to us and asked us to go with him, but the chiefs asked us not to comply with his wishes. Still later, when we returned to Ifaluk

[the other of the two inhabited islands; the one on which we lived], we found Tarev speaking to Maroligar [Tarev's uncle, one of the five chiefs] and telling him that he would like to return to his wife or else marry another woman. Maroligar told him that he could not remarry yet, and that it was our wish that he not do so. (7)

September 24, 1947. Tarev has caused quite a disturbance today. He wished to go to Falalap to see his wife, but the men told him not to go. When he persisted, they had to restrain him by force."

"7. From the very beginning, therefore, the ethnographers were involved in Tarev's activities. This is important to bear in mind with reference to the transference which later developed between Tarev and me."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-1-7

"October 15, 1947. This morning Maroligar asked if he could use our [WPM: the author's] canoe. I, of course, gave him permission. When he returned, he explained that Tarev had tried to commit suicide by drowning. He had tied a rope around his neck, weighted stones to his feet, and was about to jump from his canoe into the lagoon when Maroligar and two other men stopped him. (This occurred a few days after the death of his wife.) Apparently he had had a trying night the night before, since he spent the entire night shouting and talking to himself. Among other things he had insisted that he was superior to the other people and that he was really an American. (8)

I asked Maroligar if I could speak to Tarev, and he was eager that I do so. When we arrived at the courtyard of his house, I noticed that all the women in the immediate area had departed because of their fear of him. When I peered into the house, he saw me immediately, and his face brightened. When I asked him to come out, saying that I

"8. The American is a person of high prestige and authority in this South Sea culture. It is difficult to say whether Tarev's insistence that he is an American is an outright delusion or rather a conscious attempt to identify with a 'reference group' of high status (the term is M. Sherif's)."

would like to speak with him, he immediately complied with my request. I offered him a cigarette and asked him if he were happy. He replied that he was very sad because of the death of his wife. I asked him why he had tried to commit suicide, and he explained that all the people were speaking 'bad' (9) to him. Maroligar interrupted him to say that he was lying. My grasp of the language was inadequate to continue the interview without the aid of an interpreter, and I asked Maroligar to call Tom, our interpreter. I tried to talk with Tarev in Maroligar's absence, but he seemed in a kind of stupor, and I could not get through to him. He regained contact with reality when Tom arrived, and the following interview ensued.[192]

Q. Why did you try to kill yourself?

A. Because the people talk bad to me.

"9. At this point, I could obtain no exact reference for the word 'bad.'

"Q. What do they say?

A. My mother talks bad. [Actually his 'mother' is his maternal aunt, which, in this culture, is his classificatory mother. His biological parents are dead.]

Q. What does she say?

A. She says that my wife does not like her or her sister.

Q. Why?

A. [No answer.]

Q. Were you very sad today?

A. My wife died. I feel like smashing everything in the house, because my mother and her sister do not like my wife. My wife died and I am very sad. (10)

Q. But other men's wives die and they do not try to commit suicide. Why should you?

A. I don't like my mother or father or sister.

Q. Don't they feed you?

A. Yes, they give me good food, but they talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. The children listen to what my parents say about me, and they repeat it to me.

Q. What do they say about you?

A. My parents say that I am a chief.

"10. The native term for sad is eratu dipei, which literally translated means, my stomach feels bad."

Q. Don't you like that?

A. I don't like what the children say to me.

Q. Don't you like to be called a chief?

A. They say that tree [pointing to it] does not belong to you, it belongs to us. The adults tell them to say that. [At this point, Maroligar interrupted to say that Tarev had accused him and his parents of wishing to fight him. He insisted that everything Tarev was saying was a lie. It was, of course, impossible to explain to him that Tarev was not 'lying' but was a victim of his own delusions.]

Q. Is it true, as people have told me, that an alus has possessed you?

A. Yes, the alus in the moon has entered my head and my stomach. [This convinced Tom and Maroligar even more that he was lying, because there is no alus in the moon.]

Q. How do you know that he has possessed you?

A. He came to my father. He [his father is actually dead] lives in another place. When he possessed my father, he possessed me.

Q. Where is your father?

A. Those pictures you showed me [the Rorschach cards], I like them very much. The place in the North, that's the place I see now.

Q. What place?

A. There's another one in the Northeast. This place in the North is very light.

When I sit in my house, it's very dark; then, that North place, the one I like very much, comes on top of my head.

Q. How does it feel when it comes on top of your head?

A. I like it very much. When I pull up the blanket, I look underneath the sleeping mat, and smoke comes out. I then lower the mat and look underneath another one, and smoke comes out from it, too.

Q. What happens to you when the alus of the moon possesses you?

A. That man inside that padre book [the Bible that a missionary had shown him] and his mother come inside me.

Q. What does it feel like when they come inside you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did they come inside you this morning, when you tried to commit suicide?

A. No.

Q. Did they come inside you last night?

A. The alus gave me something--something very fine.

Q. What did he give you?

A. Smoke. He put smoke inside my mouth, but it did not enter my stomach.

Q. You like that smoke?

A. I like it very much.

Q. Why?
A. [No answer.]
Q. Does your head hurt you now?
A. I went to Falalap to wail for my wife. I waved my arms, and when I came back, I continued to do so.
Q. Don't you like it here?
A. Yes, I would like to remain. But I would like an American doll. (11)
Q. Why would you like one?
A. Because the Americans know everything. The people here are stupid.
Q. Do you want a carving of a man or a woman or a child?
A. Any kind.
Q. Would you like to go to America?
A. If you go, I want to go with you. I want to go any place you go.

"11. The native men carve small statuettes, which they trade for cigarettes and other trade-goods. By an American doll or statuette, he meant a similar carving of an American."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-7

By this time Tom and Maroligar were completely impatient with this 'crazy lie talk' and insisted on terminating the interview. I told Tarev that I would be unhappy if he committed suicide, and that if he felt like doing it again, he should first come to see me. He replied that his wife had 'gone into the ocean [where she was buried] and I want to go too.' "

29: Spiro--192-193 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 125 Ifalik-1-5

"October 19, 1947. Tarev has been cycloid in his behavior lately. He appears to be fairly adjusted for a few days and [193] then reverts to his fighting and delusions. Last night he took a long, heavy pole into his house, and worried everyone as to the use he would put it to. The women in his household had set out to take some prepared food to a family in mourning, but he would not permit them to go. Today, I attempted to give him some psychological tests. One of the tests was the Stewart Emotional Response in which the subject is asked what makes him happy, sad, angry, ashamed, and the like. The following is the result of the futile attempt.

Q. How have you been feeling lately?
A. I just had a dream of X [a chief who had recently died].
Q. Have you been feeling well?
A. I went to Tom's sister. She said I could not have the taro, since it belongs to someone else.
Q. Have you ever been happy?
A. I like what you say. When you talk I am happy, for your talk is like my talk.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. I like you because you like this place. You came here, though it is very small.
Q. Have you ever been very sad?
A. Some days, when I don't like what people say.

Q. Are you ever afraid?
A. When I walk around.
Q. Any other time?
A. When I want to walk around, someone always tells me to stay where I am and not to go away.
Q. Have you ever been angry?
A. When I want to go some place, and someone tells me that I can't go.
Q. Anything else?
A. I'm never angry.
Q. Have you ever been ashamed?
A. I don't talk to the women of this place because I am afraid.
Q. Yes, but have you ever been ashamed?
A. I took the wife of another man. Now I don't like that woman; I don't talk to her because I don't like her. I would like a woman to come to me, but only to talk to. I don't want to look beneath her skirt. I don't like the women of this island.
Q. Why?
A. My stomach does not like them.
Q. Would you like to have sexual intercourse with them?
A. No. One woman came to talk to me; I always remember her. I wanted to marry her, but Tom did not want me to.

Q. Why don't you like the women here?
A. My stomach doesn't like them.
Q. Why not?
A. She came to me; I talked to her. I wanted to see her genitals. God told all the people, a long time ago, to copulate. But I don't want to.
Q. Is there anything you want?
A. No.
Q. Is there anything you like?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Tom?
A. No.
Q. Do you like Maroligar?
A. When he talked bad to me, I did not like him. Now he talks good, I like him.
Q. Do you like the chiefs?
A. I am afraid of the chiefs.
Q. Do you like Arivimae [his son]?
A. Yes, very much.
Q. Do you like your mother?
A. Yes.

Q. What did you do with the pole you took last night?

A. Two men were talking and I was afraid. I took the pole and brought it into the house. If they come to fight me, I can fight them. Now somebody has stolen the pole.

Q. What did these men say?

A. Wasugu, waisuk. [These are nonsense syllables. Tom said it must be the speech of the alus.]

Q. Do you still see the smoke you told me about?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like to tell me?

A. Yes.

Q. What?

A. If you want to tell me something, not to shout or to fight, I will listen to you. If anyone else goes someplace, the people do not talk bad to him, but they talk bad to me.

Q. Do you still think of that place in the North?

A. I like the North very much. A very fine place. When another man calls me, I go there.

Q. What man?

A. I don't know.

Q. When did he call you?

A. Yesterday. He came and called me. I walked around in circles, walked around and around, and then fell down. Then that man came and walked around me. I stood up, and I saw the North.

Q. What did you see?

A. Tom's brother came. He said, 'Don't go; stay here.' I was very angry.

Q. Why do you like the North?

A. I don't know. The alus possesses me; he knows that place.

This interview came to a close by the arrival of a number of men, and Tarev would not continue to talk."

29: Spiro--193-194 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 775

"October 22, 1947. Today, while Tom and I were conducting some research, Tarev came to me to complain about his prob-[194] lems. It seems that the previous night people had tried to fight with him and kill him. He did not know who they were. He then said that he hears voices from Woleae (an atoll about thirty miles to the west of Ifaluk). When I questioned him, he replied that the voices were those of his (dead) wife, who was complaining to the chiefs of Woleae that he (Tarev) was incompetent and unable to work. The chiefs in turn told Tarev that he should be good. He then said that he had not eaten for two days and had sustained himself by drinking coconut juice. He explained, when I asked, that there was an alus on his head who did not want him to eat. I asked him if the alus were still there, and he said that it had left him. Unfortunately, I had an appointment, so I had to take my leave. I told him to go home and eat, and he promised that he would."

29: Spiro--194-195
116, 159, 115

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-I-6

"November 4, 1947. Yesterday I saw Tarev running towards the public meeting hall (atelu). He touched the front pillar, clutched it as if he wanted to take something from it, and then ran back to his home. A short time later, I saw him running past my tent, heading towards Falalap, being pursued by a number of men. The men asked if I would stop him, since their efforts were futile. I was reluctant to do so, since I felt that interference by me would destroy the rapport I had established, but I could ill afford to refuse their request. I caught up to him and persuaded him to return to his home and promised that I would come to see him. Tom and I went to see him today. (12)

"12. Tarev still had the habit of seizing the hands of Dr. Burrows and myself and of smelling them deeply. Dr. Burrows informed me that on this same day, Tarev attempted to smell his hands, but could not do so since he was typing. Instead he smelled his feet."

29: Spiro--194-195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 115 Ifalik-2

Q. Why did you go to the public meeting hall yesterday?

A. I was in my house and somebody told me to go there, because the chiefs are there holding a meeting.

Q. Where were you going when I saw you later?

A. I was afraid that a small alus was hiding near my house, so I left.

Q. Did you see the alus?

A. No, but I heard it moving inside the house.

Q. How are you feeling today?

A. My arm is very tired. When I walk, I feel that I am not walking on the ground. I feel as if my feet are walking on air.

Q. Why is that?

A. I don't know. When I attempt to walk, I fall down.

Q. Is anything bothering you today?

A. Wotrilitu [a relative by marriage] stole my wife.

Q. How do you know?

A. He stole her from me a long time ago.

Q. Are you angry with him for that?

A. I took care of his children, but he stole my wife.

Q. Are you feeling better today than the last time we spoke?

A. I feel happier. But I can't stay in my sleeping mat because it is always moving.

Q. So you didn't sleep last night?

A. A little bit. But many people came to see me.

Q. Who were the people?

A. All the people of Ifaluk.

Q. What did they say to you?

A. Many people came; they spoke. It was bad talk. They spoke lies and gossip. Someone said that you and Ted called me. I went to see, but you were not there. Now I know they lied to me.

Q. What else did they say to you?

A. They said that a certain woman is menstruating, and she should not stay here, but should go to one of the menstrual huts in Falalap. Someone else said that we should not take stones from here to make an um [underground cooking pit], but we should take them from over there.

Q. Did they say anything else?

A. There were four pieces of taro on the side of my house. Someone took them and went to a menstrual hut with them.

Q. What did he want with the taro?

A. All the women went to the menstrual hut. Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted ordered the fish to enter the lagoon, and many fish came.

Q. Then what?

A. Many fish entered the lagoon. No, Mr. Ted and Mr. Mel did not order the fish, an alus ordered the fish.

Q. Why did he order the fish?

A. Many fish came, many people ate. [A long pause.] Day and night they spoke. A man came. He said that the fish would come.

Q. Then what happened?

A. Somebody told me yesterday, 'You will not get sick; no typhoon. Go to Mr. Mel and Mr. Ted.'

Q. Why?

A. Now I understand. It was not you who asked me to come, but someone else asked me. I want to take my grandchild.

Q. Why do you want your grandchild?

A. [No answer.] [195]

Q. Are people still speaking bad things to you?

A. People lie to me because they know I am a malebush.

Q. What do they say?

A. They say, 'You are malebush,' 'You are a thief,' 'You are a bad man.'

Q. Is what they say true?

A. They lie. Somebody said my wife went to another man. Some man stole my wife.

Q. Have you gone to that place in the North lately?

A. No.

Q. Is there anything you would like, now?

A. I thought I was happy. And then I heard many voices, and I became unhappy. Yesterday I wanted to go to the ocean and swim away, for I can't stand all that talk.

Q. What talk?

A. That someone stole my wife from me.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He comes very often, day and night.

Q. What does he do?

A. [He said nothing, but clasped his hands together, as in Christian prayer, and pointed them at me. He then put his hand on my head and rumpled my hair. He then put his finger on my head, then my stomach, and finally on my leg. Apparently he was demonstrating to me what the alus does to him.]

Q. Are you afraid of the alus?

A. No.

Q. Is it a male or female alus?

A. It dances. It bends and sways. I like to see it. I see the alus dance. Then I imitate the alus, I dance too.

By this time, Tom had become disgusted with the entire interview, and insisted that he could not continue because Tarev 'talk lie, only talk lie.'"

29: Spiro--195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762 Ifalik

"November 7, 1947. Yesterday while the men had all gone on a fishing trip, Tarev made another suicide attempt. He paddled into the lagoon, tied a rope to his foot, and tied rocks to the other end. A young man, who had been left behind to guard him, followed him; and when Tarev jumped into the lagoon, the man pulled him out. By this time, Maroligar had returned from fishing and asked Tarev to return to land. The latter refused, saying that Maroligar wanted to kill him (sic!). He was finally persuaded to return. (I was told all this secondhand, since I was on the other side of the island at the time. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to speak to Tarev after the incident.)"

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?
A. In my stomach.
Q. Is it a male or female alus?
A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.
Q. Really?
A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.
Q. Where is that place?
A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.
Q. Are you dead now?
A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 521 Ifalik-42

"November 25, 1947. Yesterday as I was sitting in a canoe shed, near Tarev's house, I heard some of the weirdest sounds I have ever listened to. I could not identify them at all, but one of the men said that they were emitted by Tarev. I went to investigate, but his door mat was covering the entrance to the house. He was talking and 'singing' in a falsetto, the kind of falsetto these people employ when quoting another person. (13) It was as if he were another person or were talking in the tones of another person. I asked one of the men what he was saying, but he said that he did not have the slightest idea. It seemed to him that Tarev was speaking a foreign language. Tarev stopped this talking, but after a brief pause resumed--this time in a deep, masculine voice. I lifted the door mat and called to him. He was standing in the middle of the house, but seemed not to hear me. I called twice more, but he still did not respond. As I turned to leave, he came towards me. I asked what he had been doing. He said that he had been dancing,

---

"13. When a person in this society reports a conversation that he has had with someone, the report is always in the form of a direct, rather than an indirect, quotation. In quoting the remarks of the other person, the reporter resorts to a falsetto. Tarev's conversation was in the falsetto that is employed in such conversations."

and as he spoke his face was radiant and his whole attitude was completely euphoric. He said he enjoyed his dance immensely and when I asked how he was feeling, he said that he was very happy. I gave him a cigarette, and he seized my hand to smell it. (14)"

"14. The contrast between this manic state and the state of complete anguish that characterized him the previous day was most striking."

29: Spiro--197-199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 681, 115 Ifalik-1 6

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 . Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"December 6, 1947. Tarev was violent again yesterday. He came to me in the morning complaining that he had wanted to work, but that the other men would not permit him. Later in the day he tried to beat his sister with a coconut branch, and this again aroused the fear of the women. Maroligar came to tell me that they would have to tie him again. In the evening some people told me to go see Tarev immediately. A group of people were standing around Tarev and he was shouting at them in angry tones. It seems that he had stolen the basket of Arogeligar, and when he was caught, he again accused the people of talking bad about him and wanting to harm him. But order was soon restored."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1-7

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

29: Spiro--200-201 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik-1 5

"January 18, 1948. Tarev comes to see me at least once a day. He smells my neck, now, as well as my hands, and at times includes my body and legs as well. He tells me, when he comes, that he has merely come for a walk, and after the smelling ritual, he returns to his house. The day before yesterday Tarev came to our tent, but I deliberately kept out of sight to see what he would do. A chair and table, used for typing, were still standing in front of the tent. He picked up the chair, and smelled the seat in deep draughts. Then, still holding the chair to his nose, he turned round and round, describing complete circles. He then place the chair on the ground, taking meticulous care to place it in the exact position it had formerly occupied, and then began to perform a kind of dance. This time he did not remain in the center of the circle, but rather described revolving spirals, which took him a distance of about fifty yards from whence he had begun. He then came to the canoe shed, from which his son and I were observing his behavior, and sat with us for a short time. Suddenly his face acquired a trance-like expression, and he left us to return to his dance, but with a much accelerated tempo. His spirals took him into the bush this time, and his son and I followed. I [201] called to him but he did not hear or see me, though he looked straight at me. His son was fearful lest Tarev injure himself, so I walked up to him and seized him by the shoulders. He was panting from sheer physical exhaustion, looked startled at seeing me, suddenly relaxed, smiled, and then began to laugh. I asked him what he had been doing, and his

answer was'tar,' nothing. I walked back to his house with him.
Yesterday, I had an interview with him.

Q. Did you dream last night?
A. Yes, but I don't remember it.
Q. What were you trying to do with the chair yesterday?
A. Nothing. I turned around with the chair, because the smoke came all over me.
Q. What smoke?
A. I turned the chair around because I saw the paper, and did what the paper said.
Q. But what smoke came to you?
A. I turned around with the chair; I saw something just like that [taking out an empty pack of cigarettes which I had thrown away, and pointing to the red seal with the name Lucky Strike on it].
Q. Do you like that?
A. Yes.
Q. Why?
A. I like that writing on it.
Q. What did that paper [the pack] tell you to do?

A. It is red, just like the torches used during night-fishing. (17)

Q. How are you feeling now?

A. I feel very good inside. Last night I began to shout, for I had something very bad inside me.

Q. What was it?

A. Somebody spoke bad to me, but I forget it now.

Q. Who spoke bad to you?

A. Teior [a man who is now dead; Teior had been married to a woman from Woleae]. He said, 'Let's you and me stay here.' He spoke bad. I did not like it, so I began to shout.

Q. What were the bad things he said?

A. He came to my wife's mother, and when I arrived, he left. Before I came, she gave him something to eat. He said to her, 'If I go to Woleae, I want you to remember the bad things that Tarev does.'

Q. What did you do about this?

A. Nothing.

"17. There is a three-month period in the spring in which the men fish every night. In this period the men live in the canoe sheds, and all sexual behavior is taboo."

Q. Does the alus still come to you?
A. He doesn't come anymore. Now I am very sad, and I cry.
Q. Why are you sad?
A. All kinds of voices come to me.
Q. Why do you live alone now [referring to the fact that he left his maternal home, to live in the formerly unoccupied house]?
A. Because I don't like the other people's conversations.
Q. Why not?
A. I speak bad things to my mother and sister. They don't like it, and then I become sad.
Q. Why do you say bad things?
A. When I'm around people, I say bad things. They don't like it, and then they become angry with me.
Q. What bad things do you say?
A. All the thoughts I have in my stomach. I remember those thoughts.
Q. Why don't you work like you used to do?
A. I don't like the work of this place. I like your work.
Q. What is my work?
A. You write on paper. You own things--chair and clothes.

Q. Aren't you ashamed that people see that you don't work?
A. No, because I want to do your work.
Q. Is there anything you'd like me to do for you?
A. I want to go with you. I don't want to stay here. I want to go with you to some other place.
Q. Why don't you want to stay here?
A. This place is a place for fools. All the people here are fools.
Q. Is Tom a fool?
A. No. If you leave here, I'll die.

At this point the men returned from fishing, and Tom wanted to get his fish, so we were forced to leave. But I first reassured Tarev that he would not die if I left."

29: Spiro--201-202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 786 Ifalik-1-2

"January 22, 1948. Yesterday Tarev came to the tent and discovered our calendar hanging on the tent pole. He turned it page by page, looking at both the numbers and the pictures, with an almost beatific smile on his face, and singing all the time. Later in the day, while we were gone, he took the calendar to his home. Some of the others saw him and made him return it. When they asked why he took it, he said that I was his father and therefore he had a right to take things from me.

Last night, however, I witnessed one of the weirdest things I have seen him do. Just as I was falling asleep, I heard [202] his falsetto-- singing in front of our tent. He remained there for some time, alternately singing and stopping. Then he began to sing quite loudly and I decided to stop it and take him home. As I stepped out of the tent, I saw him, in the light of a full tropical moon, standing in front of the public meeting house. His hands were in the prayerful pose he often adopted in imitation, he said, of the padre, and he was singing to and bowing before the wooden phallus attached to the pillar. (18)

"18. This is quite a large carving of a penis, attached to the front pillar. Most of the people do not know what it represents, but the chiefs say it represents the penis of one of the earliest chiefs."

Intermittently, he would spit on it. He continued this for some time, alternately bowing to the phallus and spitting on it. This was a most impressive scene, and I stood watching it for a long time, until Tarev finally returned home."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159 Ifalik

"January 27, 1948. Tarev has been in a trance-like state for almost a week. It has been impossible to establish any contact with him. He is living in his own private phantasy world. Last night he came into our tent, while we were sleeping. I asked him what he wanted, but he was completely incoherent. He had a gleam in his eye I had never seen before--as if he were keeping something from me. I finally succeeded in getting him to return home.

Today, however, he has again gained contact with reality. The men were hauling in the fish nets from the beach, and he was helping. As I went to watch the activities, I praised him for his work. He smelled my hand and replied that he was working because he knew it would please me."

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762

"February 7, 1948 (aboard ship en route to Yap). The ship arrived yesterday to take us back. Tarev was the first to arrive at the tent to assist in the packing. He seemed calm though serious and slightly depressed, and kept constantly watching every movement I made. He asked if I were really leaving, and I said that I was. About half an hour later, a young boy shouted to me to come immediately to Tarev. He had gone to the lagoon and lay on his back in about two feet of water, refusing to allow the men to pull him out. By the time I arrived, he was half-drowned. I asked him to join me, which he did. I tried to reassure him that everything would be all right after I was gone, though he insisted that, now that I was leaving, the people would again try to kill him, and so on. He then smelled my hands and returned to his house in a deep depression. This is the last I saw of Tarev."

29: Spiro--202-203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121 Ifalik-1-3

"Since it was virtually impossible to obtain a case history on Tarev, we cannot get at the basic psychodynamics of this case. One aspect of his life emerges quite clearly, however, as of crucial significance--his Japanese interlude. It is our thesis that though this Japanese experience was not the sufficient cause of his psychosis, it was the necessary precipitating factor that served to elicit this particular syndrome. (19)

Regardless of the differences between the conflicting interpretations of the meaning of the abnormal--absolutist and clinical versus relativistic and statistical (cultural)--all interpretations will agree that the incidence of certain types of mental disease differs widely in different cultures. Comparative statistical data demonstrate this empirically, and, for the anthropologist, the explanation is not too hard to find. The psychological concepts of adjustment and maladjustment--like the biological concepts of adaptation and maladaptation--are not substantive, but rather relational terms. An organism is adapted or maladapted not in vacuo, but with reference to a particular environment. Any organism, as Dewey has put it so well, lives not 'in an environment,' but rather 'by means of its environment,' so that a change in either the organism or the environment destroys their dynamic equilibrium and results in maladaptation. (20)

"19. This analysis, with some modifications, was part of a paper read before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at its 1949 meetings in Bloomington, Indiana.

20. John Dewey, Logic: The Theory of Inquiry; New York, Henry Holt, 1938; p. 25."

So, too, human personality exists not so much in a culture as by means of [203] a culture. Each culture creates its own particular stresses and strains with which the personality must cope, but, at the same time, the culture also provides instrumentalities--institutionalized techniques--for the resolution of those stresses and strains. (21) Now those individuals who, for whatever the reasons--and the reasons are still very much obscure--cannot resolve these culturally-created stresses and strains by means of the instrumentalities that the culture itself provides must resolve them by means of personal instrumentalities, idiosyncratic ways known as neuroses or psychoses. However, since each culture creates its own unique psychic strains, the kinds of maladjustments and, consequently, the kinds of resolutions of those maladjustments--neuroses

---

"21. The high incidence of personality disturbances found in native cultures in acculturative situations, or in the rapidly changing American culture, may thus be explained by the fact that these cultures in transition create new tensions, but have not yet created those cultural channels necessary for the alleviation of the tensions. For a detailed analysis of this position and an attempt to resolve the conflicting interpretations of the abnormal, see the writer's 'A Cultural Interpretation of the Abnormal' (ms. in preparation)."

and psychoses--will vary from culture to culture. (22)

Ifaluk is no exception. Certain infancy and childhood traumata, which limitations of space do not permit description of, create certain tensions (frustration - aggression patterns) and needs (dependency-security patterns) which, if left unresolved could very well lead to severe personality disturbance. At the same time, however, the culture provides institutional techniques (primarily religious) which alleviate the tensions and satisfy the needs. These institutional devices obviate the necessity and preclude the occurrence of acute personality disturbances. Thus, the external culturo-dynamic equilibrium results in an internal psychodynamic equilibrium. This personality equilibrium, we have seen, was as characteristic of Tarev as of the other members of his society. Then an obtrusive element--cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese--intruded into his sociocultural field so as to destroy the equilibrium."

"22. This analysis, of course, applies only to those disturbances that result from culturally-patterned events. It does not apply to those that result from unique or 'personal-social conditioning,' to use Kimball Young's term."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

29: Spiro--203-204 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 177 Ifalik-1-2

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

---

"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes) --3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 484, 159 Woleai

Since Kadou had travelled considerably in the Carolines and the Pelew Islands, he was never surprised at the birds or animals that he saw, either here or in the Aleutians. He was enchanted at seeing so many large vessels gathered together. His resolution to accompany us on our voyage remained unbroken. The crew began to teach him to read, but he made only very slow progress. Although he learned quite readily to recognize the letters of the Russian alphabet, he seemed not to understand what these characters stood for. However, one day at dinner, hearing the word "water" mentioned in Russian, he cried out joyously, "ah! ah! v, o, d, a, voda ("water" in Russian)"; we hoped then that he had really profited from the lessons which he had received, but he refused to take more of them and appeared determined to know not what our books could be.

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--4 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159 Woleai

Kadou still intended to accompany us [LEM: from the Marshalls], especially as he knew that we planned to visit the Carolines, which gave him the hope of seeing his homeland again. But when he learned that his son, who was living on the isle of Aour, was often calling to him by name and regretted his absence, paternal tenderness overcame him. He immediately told us that it was his wish to remain in this archipelago.

This resolve disappointed us very much, because Kadou would have been very useful to us on our voyage to the Carolines. He was beginning to understand us quite well. He knew some words of all the languages spoken on board and he had taught us a great many of those which he spoke. We were thus hopeful of learning from him in the future a host of interesting things about the Carolines where he was born. On the other hand, it was no less important to him that he should remain in the archpelago where he now was.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: A native of Woleai (Carolines) who had been shipwrecked on Aur] was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time he learned several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak Islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Oulea, his home-land, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadou had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 502 Woleai

We were convinced that Kadou was well-versed in a knowledge of the stars, but he preferred our compasses because he saw that even in foggy and cloudy weather, one's course could be determined with this instrument, while the island inhabitants, having only the stars to guide them, are at a great disadvantage when they do not see them.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--20 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 776 Woleai

For several weeks we tried in vain to ask Kadou concerning his ideas of God. He made every effort to understand us, but of no use. Finally, one day he succeeded; his face became animated, his whole body trembled. "Ah!" he cried, "you wish to know the name of that which we can neither see nor hear." At the same time he closed his eyes and covered his ears: "Its name is Taoutoup." Asked where he lived, Kadou pointed to the sky.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 802 Woleai

When we took. . . [LEM: Kadou, the Caroliner] on board we told him that he would be at sea for two months without ever seeing land, and he did not appear frightened. But having spent several weeks without observing land, he put no more faith in our words. He believed that we, as well as he, had been driven by winds far from his country and that we searched for land in vain. However, having observed that we were at ease, and that nothing on board was amiss, his anxiety soon ended.

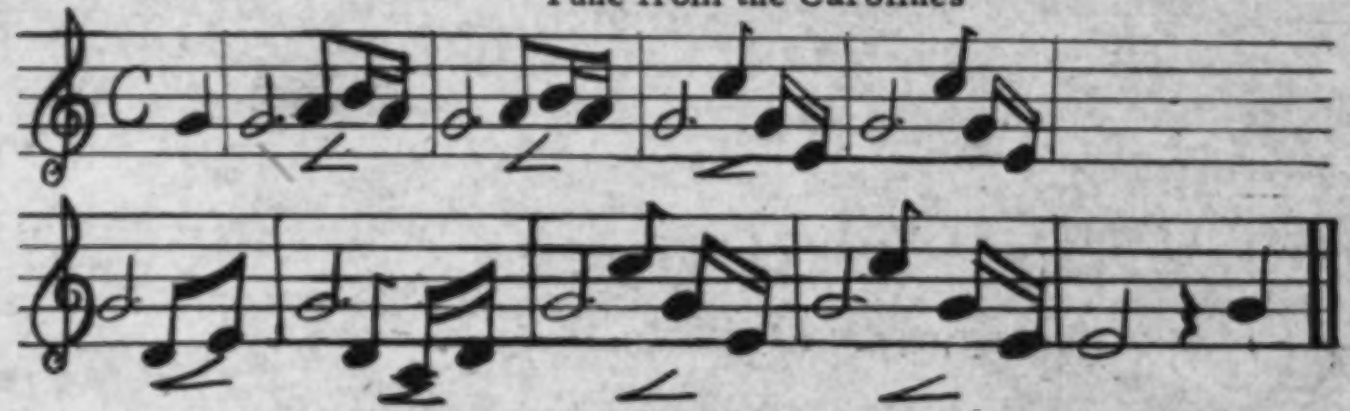
About his neck he wore a string on which he marked the time by knots. But his count lacked accuracy.

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21-22 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 533 Woleai

During his first days on board...[LEM: Kadou's] curiosity was excessive. He wished to see all. Soon he regarded everything with indifference, becoming satiated with novelty, and finally he came to consider everything as possible. [22]

Kadou was gay, and he knew how to endear himself to the officers and the sailors. Often to us he sang all the songs that he knew. He was proud of having travelled so much. He particularly loved to sing a tune from the island of Eap, which greatly resembled another one from Radak. This tune has often rung from the summit of the snowy mountains of Ounalachka. Kadou sometimes spent hours repeating it and then the memory of his homeland and of his voyages moved him to tears.

Tune from the Carolines



"The following early figures on the population are presented by Damm:

1797	(Wilson)about	200
1828	(Lütke) about	150
1852	(Cheyne) about	140
1903/4	(Sievers)	281
1909	(Hamburg Expedition)	208
1914	(Finsch) about	300
1930	Pacific Is. Pilot	305

The first three are estimates, useless for indicating change in the course of time. The last four seem more trustworthy. That of the Hamburg Expedition is much smaller than the rest. This may be a result of the typhoon of 1907. Not many lives were lost in that disaster, but, judging by native accounts of all such occasions, the destruction of food-bearing plants probably led to emigration on a considerable scale. By 1914 most of the refugees may have returned.

One more figure, for 1937, is available from a Japanese source (Civ. p. 33). The total given is 388. It is of dubious value, to say the least. It is the sum of figures for

three islands: Flalap (76), Ifalik (269), and Pik (54). Now Flalap (Falālap) is indeed the name of one of the inhabited islands. Ifalik might be used for the other island, Falārik, though the natives use it only for the whole atoll; and the figure given is large for Falārik. But there is no such island as Pik. The third island on Ifalik is Ellā, and it has been uninhabited as far back as native tradition goes, except that during the American trusteeship, the atoll's one leper has been quarantined there. Moreover, the totals attributed to the three islands add up to 399, instead of the 388 given as the total. There is an islet called Pik on the nearby atoll of Faraulep. Subtracting the 54 attributed to Pik would give a total of 345 for the two inhabited islands of Ifalik. But the figures are in such a muddle that they can lead to nothing but guesswork.

Comparing the last four figures in Damm's list with the 250 of 1947-8 suggests a decrease in population during the 20th century. That suggestion, for what it is worth, supports the frequent assertion of natives that the population was much larger formerly than it is now. There are several other indications of depopulation: the number of old house sites now unoccupied; the constitution of some of the present households; the ratio of children to married couples in the present population. For lack of better evidence, these must be considered in some detail.

As for the abandoned house-sites, there is, of course, no assurance that all of them were ever occupied at one time. But on the island at Falārik there are two [4] clusters

of them long enough to show on the map (Fig. 2). One is between Rauau and Falārik districts. This now uninhabited stretch of road is lined with old house sites. The other is at the north end of the island, beyond what is now the last house. Two canoe-houses are still maintained there, though there are now no dwellings near; and the site of an old men's house (bachelors' dormitory and meeting-house) is pointed out near the northernmost canoe-house, far from any present dwelling. It seems unlikely that such considerable areas would have been left vacant just by casual moving about.

The constitution of some households which differ from the usual pattern also suggests a dwindling population. The household called Uaragin includes two married couples. Both are examples of patrilocal residence; that is, the wife has come to live at the husband's home. This is contrary to local custom. Of the members of this household, only one belongs to the lineage which traditionally owns the site. This is the husband in the elder generation. If he had gone to live at his wife's home, as is customary, the site would have been abandoned. His son, the husband in the younger generation, has also deviated from custom by bringing his wife home instead of going to live with her people. The household called Foraik is another example. The whole lineage that formerly lived there had died out. The present occupants moved in from Welipeien, the site next door. Finally, the only household on the island which has been newly established in the present generation is at Uluās. It consists of a single family, a married couple and their daughter. They went there to reoccupy an abandoned site

which belongs to the husband's clan. All these deviations from custom, then, are attributed to a wish to keep occupied, or to reoccupy, sites which by the customary pattern of residence would have been abandoned.

A third sign of depopulation is the fact that, although there are 60 married couples in the present population, there are only 81 children less than 20 years old. The latter figure, an estimate worked out by Spiro from relative ages, includes orphans and children of widows as well as children of the married couples. If the fertile part of the population was reproducing itself, the number of children would be at least 120.

Although none of these indications, taken by itself, is convincing, they add up to a probability that Ifalik has been sharing in the general depopulation of the Yap district. Reasons for this are by no means certain. Undoubtedly foreign contact, even in this remotest island of Micronesia, has had something to do with it, by means of introduced diseases if nothing else. Poor sanitation undoubtedly aggravates the damage done by disease. Inadequate diet, especially a shortage of Vitamin E, may play a part of reducing fertility. Disapproval of sexual intercourse between parents until the last baby can walk may cut down the birth rate. Yet if extra-marital intercourse is as prevalent as gossip makes it out to be, it should make up for that. Infant mortality is presumably high, though statistics are lacking to prove it.

Probably study of one island can contribute only a little toward a solution of this problem. Depopulation has been widespread in the Pacific. One encouraging feature

is that in many islands where foreign influence has been greater than in Ifalik, the population, after declining for a time, began to hold its own and then to increase. (Ref. Keesing). Another is the likelihood that American medical care will reduce the death rate."

2: Damm et al. --11 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifaluk

Only the two larger islands of the atoll, Felādjïk and Falālăp were inhabited; Elă had never been settled. The population was divided in the following manner:

Year	Source	Felādjïk	Falālăp	Total
1797	Wilson			about 200
1828	Lütke *			about 150
1852	Cheyne			about 140
1903-4	Sievers			281
1909	Hamburg South Sea Expedition	109	99 (62 in the south, 37 in the north district)	208
1914	Finsch			about 300
1930	Pacific Islands Pilot			305

* Lütke believed that this number was fairly accurate; his companion, von Kittlitz, speaks of a very large population.

2; Damm et al. --116
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The population is small; the following table lists them together:

Year	Population	Source
1791	about 50	Hunter (according to Gulick, page 59)
1828	about 30	Lütke, 1835, Vol. II, p. 326
1844	about 150	Cheyne, 1852, page 138
1900	50	Brigham, 1900, page 62
1903	48	Sievers, Vol. II, p. 364, 347; More information Deutsch Schutzgeb. Vol. 17, p. 194-196. Deutsches Kolonialblatt Vol. 15, p. 12-14.
1909	60-80	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1914	about 50	Finsch, 1914, page 64
1930	113	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 501.

2: Damm et al. --155 [2] (1909) 1938 Wolleaians
116, 131, 161 Faraulep

The atoll consists of three islands: the large Faraulip, and the second Pfx (Piko [Hambruch], Pig [Reichsmarineant], Pigue [Pacific Islands Pilot]), both of these are inhabited; the smallest island and the one farthest south, Eäd (Eatto [Hambruch], Eat [Reichsmarineant], Eate [Meinicke, Pacific Islands Pilot, Japanese Chart]) was formerly inhabited also, according to Hambruch, but since the devastations of a typhoon it has never been resettled.

The population has never been large, but we can not discover on what grounds Gulick and Meinicke state that the islands are uninhabited. As a matter of fact, only the smallest island Eād is uninhabited, and it is [156] quite probable that this situation is fairly recent. The following figures are given:

Year	Total	Faraulip	Pīx	Observations	Source
1828	about 60				Lütke, 1835 Vol. 2, p. 326
1903-4	121			1 native merchant	Sievers, 1910, Bk. 2, p. 347, 364. Finsch, 1914, page 64.
1909	155	96	59	14 of them on Yap	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1912	80				Kolonial-Lexicon Bk. 1, p. 600.
1930	145			10 Japanese are included	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 503.

2: Damm et al. --155-156 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 161, 175 Faraulep

There is a decline of nearly 50% in the population between 1909 and 1912. This can scarcely be attributed to the islanders' fondness for travel. It seems to be due to the progressive decay which Sievers noted, and which Hambruch said was formerly traced to the constant civil wars.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oão, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear... The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 177, 441 Woleai

[AN: Considerable increase of ethnographic material noted by Hellwig].... There were many similarities to Truk culture, and we found material proof of the earlier direct relations with the remote Truk group. Many ornaments had come from Aúrepik and the rather distant Ngulú and Poloot (Puluwat) groups. A Spanish and a Japanese merchant, who before the typhoon had trade stations on the group, are said to have imported special ornaments of Spondyl shell. To this Japanese, the natives apparently owed the iron kitchen pots and the other European implements that could be found in every household.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elă, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wólea, Lámutrik.,. and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk ....Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

4: Krämer--1
116, 161, 167, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Natives: Lámutrik has a population of no more than 200, who may be looked upon as new arrivals. Sixty years ago the tidal wave of a typhoon had in part destroyed the population and in part had forced it to emigrate to Truk, Jap, and Saipan; later on some of them returned to their home islands.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Olimarao

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch p. 34]: The Olimaráu Islands (Hambruch: Olimaraue, story 2 of Füs) are located northeast of the Elato Islands; they are uninhabited. To this group belong the two islands of Olimaráu and Falipi. The former is located in the northeast and the latter in the southwest of the same reef.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 731 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: In 1903 the population [MR: of Elato] amounted to 90 heads; probably it has decreased even further through the typhoon of March 28, 1907.

4: Krämer--3-4 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 161 Lamotrek

Pacific Islands Pilot, Vol. I, page 504: The Lamotrek Islands, approximately 5 miles east of the Elato Islands consist of 3 weeded islets on a triangular atoll. The island of Lamotrek, with an elevation of 107 feet (32.6 meters) up to the tops of the trees, is located at the extreme eastern tip of the atoll. The passage approximately 3/4 of a mile south of Puguet Island, the northernmost of the islands, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon. During the time of the northeastern winds the high seas set through it into the lagoon and special care is necessary. There is an entrance in the middle of the south side of the atoll; it has a width of about 2 cable lengths. This entrance is hard to find but is good when the winds are strong. Westward of the latter there is another entrance which is approximately 1-1/2 cable lengths in width. All the other entrances are narrow. [4]

Off the western side of Lamotrek (Lat. 7° 28' N and Long. 146° 24' E.) there is an anchorage with shelter from northeast winds, but it is reported that when westerly winds are blowing the sea may become rather high. Landings are possible on the sandy beach at the western side of Lamotrek Island. In 1930 Lamotrek had a population of 165 including one Japanese.

The islands of Pugue and Falaite were uninhabited. There is little fowl and few pigs, but fish are abundant.

4: Krämer--4
116, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Olimarao

[MR: From the British Pacific Islands Pilot, p. 504]: The atoll [MR: Olimarao] does not have any permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Elato.

4: Krämer--10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Elato

We heard that no more than 220 natives were left on Lamotrek; it is said that in 1890 they still numbered 300 and that in former times the figure was a high as 1000. These statements are in line with the information received by the shipwrecked who reached the shores of the island in 1787 and who gave the population as 1400. Freycinet on page 101 says that Lamoursek had 2000, Elato 1200 and Ulor 180 inhabitants, and that 170 people lived on Puk and 130 on Falati; his figures would apply to the time around 1800. Even on Goulimarao (Olimarau) the natives were supposed to have numbered 225. During our stay on the island there were many cases of influenza and dysentery so that we may assume a further decrese in the population figures. The Pacific Islands Pilot (page 4) says that in 1930 there were no more than 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek and 72 on Elato.

Accordingly in 1800 when the king of Lamotrek ruled over almost all the coral islands, the population was undoubtedly very large and possibly we were dealing with overpopulation which later was reversed (see Oleai).

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 103, 161 Olimarao

4. Olimarau is uninhabited*; the name is derived from vol "opposite the blue sea" (Truk: madau). It is located 26 nautical miles northwest of Elato. The natives visit the island for turtle fishing. Hambruch learned that the last native of Olimarau had died in 1899 on Lamotrek.

* According to Freycinet Goulimarao around 1800 had 225 inhabitants

4: Krämer--183
116, 103, 131, 161

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

OLEÁI

(Map 4) [VMM: See 4: Krämer 184]

Position: halfway between Lat. 7° 21' N. and Long. 143° 55' E.

Exact position: northern tip of Raur, Lat. 7° 21' 39" N. and Long. 143° 57' 30" E.

Südsee-Hanbuch, page 36: The Oleai Islands (Oleai, Uleai, Wolea, Ulie, Anangai) are located approximately 130 nautical miles west of the Elato Islands. The group comprises two atolls which surround a western and an eastern lagoon. The former is larger, but the bigger islands are grouped around the eastern lagoon. The main island of Flalap, located on the northern side of the eastern lagoon, gradually is connected with the island of Marijong (Mariom) by means of a sand dune which follows in the west; this same sort of bridge exists also with Paliau located to the southeast, which in turn is linked to Raur in the south. The group is formed of 19 islands--some of them large and some of them small--only the eight largest are inhabited, whereas the others exhibit a luxuriant growth of coconut palms and tall breadfruit trees. The names of the inhabited islands are Raur, Flalap (Oleái), Marijong, Tagaulap, Saliap, Utagal and Falalis.

4: Krämer--186
116, 161, 504

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Two white houses are visible on the southwestern beach of Woleai, the northernmost of the islands of the group, but they cannot be seen distinctly. Two wooden landing bridges are found in the center of the southern side of the island of Marion approximately 4 cable lengths west of Woleai; the northern pier is weak. There is another pier at the southernmost tip of the island. In 1930 the population of the group numbered 539 persons.

4: Krämer--189
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson of the "Duff" estimated the population of the Woleai Group as 3150, in 1797.]

4: Krämer--201-202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

As on Lamotrek, a strong decrease of the population took place in the Oleai group. Freycinet (page 101) says that around 1800 the population figure for Guliay was 3,000. In addition, the following islands must be mentioned to give a true picture of the group: Raor (Raur) with a population of 110, Paliao (Paliau) 125, Mariog (Mariong) 90, Fagoun-lap (Tagaulap) 86, Soliap (Soluap) 70, Fallougla (Votagai?) 50, Harradies (Falalis) 50, Falouelap (Falulap) 36, Hanarisaray (Eangaligarail) 32. It is news that the latter was inhabited at all. On the other hand, the old main island of Votagai is missing. It is not clear whether these figures are included among the population of 3,000 given for Guliay, or whether they are to be added. In any case 3,000 would be much too high a figure for one coral island, since Volea or Falalap, the main island of Oleai, barely has an area of one square kilometer. Under very favorable conditions, 1000 people can subsist on the products of one square kilometer of tropical land, but 3000 is an utter im-possibility. Thus the figure is either wrong or it applies to the entire atoll with all its islands. [202]

I learned on the spot that Falalis, like Volea, in the past had a population of 300(cf. 3000 given above), but that in 1909 only 30 persons inhabited Falalis, 60 Tagaulap, 50 Mariong, 200 Raur before the typhoon, and 60 Paliau. Probably we might assume 300 each for Volea and Votagai in the past. Gulick, in the Nautical Magazine of 1862, page 174, states that the population numbers about 600. As mentioned above, the figure for 1904 was 661 and for 1930, 539.

5: Kittlitz--124
116, 161, 137

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
West Fayu

We hunted in vain for the Mannaïjö sandbank, which Don Luis de Torres had mentioned, and then we steered west again, and on the 22nd of February we sighted the little islands Pyghellá and Fajähú. Neither one is inhabited; on Pyghellá we saw some coconut palms rising above the succulent bushes, on Fajähú there were tall trees, but no palms.

7: Senfft--194
116, 131, 161

(No date) 1904

Weleaians
Aurupik

Aurepik is an atoll comprising four islands, Aurepik, Uau, Pikéfaj, and Elangkitegit, of which the first two are inhabited. The vegetation is the same as that on the other atolls. Coconuts trees are predominant here also.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
161, 784, 828 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it.

12; Lutke--107-108 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175, 161 West Fayu

Following our way west on the next day (February 22) we saw Pyghella and Faleou islands which Don Louis Torrès had also seen, and which he called Pigouelao [AN: Pikelot] and Faliao [AN: Fayu]. The former [108] had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. Both of them are very small, not being more than a hundred and fifty meters long; they are almost at water level, surrounded by a reef forming a cove on Faliao, and both of them are uninhabited.

12: Lutke--133 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik

Proportionally, there is a larger population here than on the other groups. While we were lying under the wind of the island, waiting to make the noon observations, we were surrounded by twenty-five canoes with at least a hundred natives.

12: Lutke--327-328 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

In the Namourrek group Louïto [AN: one of the chiefs of the Caroline Islands] says that there are a thousand and four hundred inhabitants, and Freycinet gives two thousand; but the three adjoining groups, [328] taken together contain less than a square verst, and certainly can not nourish more than thirty families.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930 there were 165 inhabitants, all of whom lived on Lamotrek, the southeastern islet."

15: U. S. Hydrographic Office--541 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"There are no permanent inhabitants on the island, but natives from Satawal Island often visit it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 223 Gaferut

"Gaferut (Grimes) Island (9°14'N., 145°23'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 97 miles north-northwest of Olimarao Islands, is low, thickly covered with trees, and encircled by a reef. There are no coconut palms and no inhabitants, but natives from Faraulep Islands visit it to catch birds, which are numerous on it."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161, 225 Olimarao

"There are no permanent inhabitants but natives from Elato Islands come here occasionally to gather tortoise shell."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930 there were 72 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930 there were 539 inhabitants on the islands."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 161 Faraulep

"In 1930 there were 155 inhabitants."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Wolcaians
116, 161 Aurupik

"In 1930 there were 113 inhabitants."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Woleai

"In 1930, there were 539 inhabitants in the group."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Aurupik

"In 1930, there were 113 inhabitants."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Ifalik

"In 1930, there were 305 inhabitants of the group who are peaceful on the whole, and some of them understand English."

16: Gt. Britain, H. O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Faraulep

"In 1930, Faraulep and Pigue islets had a total population of 155 including 10 Japanese. Eate islet, the southermost islet, was uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 136, 161 Gaferut

"Gaferut island, about 60 miles north-eastward of Faraulep islet (Lat. 8° 36' N., Long. 144° 33' E.), is low, wooded, and surrounded by a fringing reef, which extends about 3 cables north-westward from its northern extremity, and about 2 1/2 cables south-south-westward from its southern extremity. The island, which is 65 feet (19m8) high to the tops of the trees, is uninhabited. Numerous booby gannets, which are similar to seagulls, inhabit the island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Olimarao

"The atoll has no permanent inhabitants, but is occasionally visited by natives from Elato."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Elato

"In 1930, there were 72 inhabitants [MR: on Elato]."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 Lamotrek

"In 1930, there were 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek islet, including one Japanese. Pugue and Falaite islets were uninhabited."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --505 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 161 West Fayu

"The island is uninhabited, but natives from Satawal visit it occasionally."

17: Meinicke--357
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

Westfayeu, 803' N., 146° 50' E., is a small flat uninhabited island covered with bushes which with its large reef surrounding it is over a mile long. Five miles to the east of it lies the dangerous sandbank Oraitilipu.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep, 8° 35' N., 144° 36' E., lies NW of Olimarao and is a small uninhabited lagoon island of 1 mile in circumference on whose reef there are 3 small islands of which the most southerly is called Eate.

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 161. Ifalik

Ifalik, 7°15' N., 144°31' E., is a small flat wooded lagoon island 5 miles east of Ulie and more than a mile in circumference. There are 4 little islands on the reef, the two larger and the only ones inhabited being on the east side and the two smaller ones between which a narrow canoe channel leads into the lagoon on the south side.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Olimarao

Olimarao (Cheyne's Five islands, 7°45' N., 145°47' E.) is 2¼ miles WNW of Olato and is a small lagoon island scarcely ¼ a mile long with two small inhabited islands on its reef.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 131, 161

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Euripik, 6°40' N., 143°11' E., NW of Ulie is a small lagoon island scarcely ½ a mile long on the N side of whose reef there are 2 little islands of which only the easterly one is inhabited.

28: Spiro--5 [2]
116, 161, 621

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

33: Hasebe--142
116, 161

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Woleai

"The population [MR: of Woleai] is 545."

33: Hasebe--142-143
116, 131, 161, 304

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Aurupik

"Aurupik, also called Aurepig, Aurupeg, Aurupig, Aurepik, Jaurepik, Eauripik, Eurupuc, Eourypyg, Eurupugk, [143] Vaupe, Yaropie, and Kama, is about 65 nautical miles southwest of Oleai, and its population is 102. I examined two men and both of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143
116, 131, 161, 304, 103

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufal for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
262 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
231 island, and came out with a total of 260 people, five dogs, nineteen cats,
[161] thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebration of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of
[052] being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
[937] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food

1: Burrows--3 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

"The population of Ifalik in 1947-8 was about 250. While we were there it was actually a few less than that most of the time, because of almost continual visiting on Woleai, and the absence of two young men in Yap, one training with the medical officer there, the other studying to be a school-teacher. The ship that took us away brought these two back to the island.

Of the 250, 108 were male, 142 female. The excess of 34 women and girls amounts to 13.6%. Reasons for it are not clear. More travelling among the men, and some marrying and settling on other islands may have something to do with it. But there were also some husbands from other islands on Ifalik. Loss of a canoe at sea would nearly always cost the island more men than women, but canoes are not lost often enough to account for all the disparity between sexes."

1: Burrows--86
116, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Much of the daily activity of the atoll is carried on by, or on behalf of, permanent groups organized on the basis of common residence, or kinship, or both. In the discussion of these that follows, the source of the specific figures given here and there is a census by households, taken during our first days on the island. A rather thorough collection of genealogies, made later on by Spiro, revealed some inaccuracies in the census. So most of the figures represent the consus [sic] as corrected by the genealogies."

1: Burrows--88-89
116, 618, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1.2
Ifalik

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan mambership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

	Falārik	Rauau	Falālap	Total
Kovalū..	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik..	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār..	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū..	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl..	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk..	9	12	2	23
Bwēl..	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea..	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

1: Burrows--102-103 (1947-48) Woleaians f-3
116, 597, 162 Ifalik

"One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifalik is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked out an estimate of the number of people in the population less than 20 years old. (As they do not keep track of chronological ages, this had to be based on relative ages.) The total came to 81. Of these, 32, or 39.5% had been adopted. A corresponding percentage for the older people was not worked out. (This would have been more difficult as adoption among them is less widely remembered.) However, as we see no reason to suspect a change in the prevalence of adoption, the estimate for the younger people probably indicates fairly well the proportion of adoptions in the population as a whole.

A request for a child is usually made before its birth. A childless mother (or even one who has children, but wants another) will ask a pregnant woman for her baby. Such a request may be refused, but custom exerts pressure in favor of granting it. Negotiations for adoption may also begin after the birth of a child, when someone takes a fancy to it. Although the negotiations seem to be conducted by the women, their husbands share in a decision about [103] giving or taking a child. In talking about adoption with men, adopted children were commonly referred to as the vam (adopted child) of the adopting father.

The adopting parents prepare to feed the mother after the birth of the child, in order that she may have plenty of milk. The adopting mother makes a special planting in her taro patch. When the expectant mother goes to the birth house to be delivered of the

child, the adopted father goes fishing to provide food for her. Traditionally, he is expected to 'keep the fire going in the earth oven for 10 days', in order to feed the mother. Actually, the earth oven, the ancient way of cooking, is only used nowadays for cooking in greater quantities than usual, as when a turtle or large fish is caught. If a child is requested after his birth, the adopting parents are still under an obligation to give food, which then takes the form of a present to the biological parents.

Acquiring a new set of relatives by adoption does not mean renouncing the old ones. When adoption is within the lineage, it is only the parents who are changed, joint family and clan remaining the same. This is said to be the preferred kind of adoption. But the rule is not always observed. Adoption even from another clan is not uncommon. Six cases were noted in my preliminary census. Spiro's genealogical study later revealed many cases of adoption of which I was not told when taking the census, so adoptions without the clan are undoubtedly much more numerous than that.

When adopted into another household, a child's home is primarily with its adopting parents. But it knows perfectly well who its original parents were, visits freely with them, and may spend the night at their house whenever it cares to. When adopted into another clan, it acquires something like a double clan membership. It may not marry either in the clan into which it was born or in that into which it was adopted.

One of the functions of adoption is to express and reinforce good-will between two

families. Another one, obviously, is to continue a lineage which otherwise would become extinct."

2: Damm et al. --185-186 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 162, 361 Faraulep

There are villages on the main island Faraulip and on Pix; but Hambruch found that the third island Ead was uninhabited, and only stone pedestals overgrown with plants and abandoned taro fields gave evidence that it was formerly settled. The colonies belong to a chief and two sub-chiefs. On Faraulip there are eighteen dwellings, four blood houses and one spirit house. [CS: Omission of the table describing the residents of each one, page 185-186] [186] So in this colony there were 22 men, 28 women, 17 boys, 11 girls; a total of 78 persons, in addition to 14 who were at Yap at the moment. The total population was therefore 92.

2: Damm et al. --186-187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 162 Faraulep

On Pix Hambruch found 17 dwellings, 14 cookhuts and 2 spirit-houses; with 15 men, 24 women, 10 girls, 13 boys, or 62 persons all together. There was also the abandoned post of the Japanese merchant. Hambruch's survey resulted in the following table:

1. and 2.	oue e rūx	4 men, 5 women, 1 girl, 1 boy
3.	nanūefat	1 man, 2 women, 1 girl, 2 boys
4.	materemēijūr	3 men, 4 women, 2 girls, 3 boys (the house planks were "sewed" together with a rope)[187]
5.	fareiáń	1 man, 4 women, 2 boys
6.	orifára	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 2 boys
7.	oripéi	1 man, 2 women, 1 boy
8.	xateubūr	2 men, 2 women, 2 girls, 1 boy
9.	ralūń	1 man, 3 women, 2 girls, 1 boy.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 162 Elato

There were on Elato 26 farmsteads with 19 permanent dwelling and sleeping houses and a number of primitive mat-houses. The population consisted of 87 persons. In addition there were two Wólea families whose members lived alternately in Elato or in Wólea, and there were finally 180 typhoon-refugees from Wólea.

List of Houses on Elato

In the main they are primitive huts since no real reconstruction work has been done since the typhoon of 1907.

1. Etsatiu, bush hut
2. Kŭ ŭei, birth hut
3. Cooking house, măl ŭm, which at the same time is used as sleeping quarters for menstruating women.
4. House for women in childbed, im a fătsu...
5. Ilaroéi, visitors from Oleai
6. Bŭŏl i bŭgi, visitors from Oleai
7. Tsŭiĕrăs, visitors from Oleai.
8. Fazefăl, 1 ♂ (♀ died)
9. Faliŏp, 3 ♂, 3 ♀, --, 1 girl
10. Im mo gitigit
11. Legóŭria, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
12. Făl e gílĭau, 1 ♀
13. Gitoŭ, 4♂, 2♀, 2 boys. It is owned by Oleai islanders from Uazagor, who also have property and a house there, and who at times live on Oleai and at times on Elato
14. Pâùŭĭl, 3 ♂, 4 ♀, --, 1 girl

The cooking house is built from the hut found on deck of a ship-wrecked boat.

Stone foundation of the former " great house" maifŭrz.

Remnants of the former "great house" --eâur e lăp.

15. Olegešārs, 5 ♂, 5 ♀, --, 1 girl
16. Nogŭr, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
17. Lugăl; Japanese trading station, now deserted
18. Uŏlĕl, people from Pâu i ĕl come here
19. Kătogălū, 2 ♂, 2 ♀, 1 boy and 1 girl
20. Kolŭng, 1 ♂, 1 ♀
21. Uŏlipār, 4 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, --
22. Kŭsorŏlo, 4 ♂, 4 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
23. Kăti e făl, house of the chief, 4 ♂, 1 ♀, --
24. Rolegorăl, belongs to 23

On the house there is a drawing of a vulva, māk e boār.

25. Matal ie ĕăl, is inhabited only at the time of the mosquito plague since then a fresh wind blows there
26. Merekam. Birth hut, house for women in childbed and menstrual lodge of the visitors from Oleai. [31]

4: Krämer--30-31
116, 361, 162

(1909), 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

Property units: 13 ♂ 41
Buildings: 26 ♀ 32
boys 7
girls 7
total 87

The true old Elato natives are about to die out.

Only the people settled on Elato have been included in the enumeration. Not listed are the Oleai islanders--numbering about 180--who since the typhoon of 1907 have found shelter, and who live very closely together in miserable huts. They intend soon to return to Oleai.

6: Senfft--54 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 162, 731 Lamotrek

The total population of Lamutrik is almost exactly 200, and the number of men and women is approximately the same. A very old man from Lamutrik told me that the island was uninhabited until about 60 years ago. A typhoon and a strong tidal wave had destroyed almost all the inhabitants as well as the plantations. A few of the survivors went to Oleai to get canoes, and the others used these to emigrate to Yap, Saipan, Truk, and other islands with which they were familiar. Some of them later returned, after the vegetation had been renewed.

6: Senfft--54
116, 162

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The total population of the Oleai Atoll is 661; the number of women is by far the larger.

7: Senfft--194
116, 162

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

There are 52 men, 51 women, and 40 children on Flarik Island, 28 men, 27 women, and 22 children on Flalap Island, and 24 men, 19 women, and 18 children on Imoei, that is, a total population of 281. There were a few cases of skin diseases and some of elephantiasis.

7: Senfft--194
116, 162

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

Of the three islands, Faraulip, Pig, and Eat, only the first two are inhabited. There are 21 men, 23 women, and 19 children on Faraulip, and 17 men, 22 women, and 19 children on Pig, that is, a total population of 121.

7: Senfft--194-195
116, 162, 174

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Aurupik

The total population consists of a single family, 48 people in all. They are all attractive, healthy people. [195] There are 17 men, 18 women, and 13 children. The head of the family, a native of Jap by the name of Malai, told me the story of their origin. About 45 years ago, he and two other men from his island had gone to Palau; they lost their course and were stranded on Aurepik, a distance of five hundred nautical miles. Aurepik at that time had a large population. One of the two men with him died and the other made an attempt to sail back to Jap but was never heard from again. He himself remained on the island and married there. Once the entire population went on the customary expedition to Oleaĭ; his wife had just given birth to a child so that he and his mother-in-law remained behind to stay with her. The expedition never arrived in Oleaĭ and was never heard from again. About a year later a tidal wave swept over the entire island of Aurepik and destroyed all the vegetation so that for a long time he lived only on crabs and shells. His wife had born him nine more children who, when they were older, married natives from Ileaĭ and brought them back to the island.

9: Senfft--13
116, 164, 162

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The census showed 68 men, 64 women and 68 children, altogether 200 persons; there had been about six deaths in the course of the year, and as far as can be judged from the description, three died from consumption and two from dysentery. What I saw of diseases there were two people suffering from elephantiasis, one blind man, two persons with eye-diseases (one of which could see only at night), one woman with a saddle-nose and two children with abnormally swollen abdomens; lues and gonorrhea are said not to be existent.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162, 145 Woleai

Looking at the statistics of these islands we notice the disproportionately great number of the female population as compared with the male, on the other hand the proportion of children to grown-ups is not unfavorable if we take into consideration that only children up to eight years have been counted. The very low percentage of young girls, though, is conspicuous; girls, who according to their build and expression could not have been more than sixteen years old, already showed traces of age.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162 Woleai

A census taken on the islands of the atoll brought the following results:

Island	Men	Women	Children	Total
Olemari	41	40	50	131
Raur	12	10	7	29
Palian	15	20	13	48
Oleai	45	88	50	183
Mariom	5	15	12	32
Taganlap	17	21	14	52
Seliap	26	38	46	110
Falabis	25	40	11	76
Total	186	272	203	661

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 100 male adults on Namourrek and Elato.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 350 male adults on Ouleai.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Olimarao

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 20 male adults on Olimarao.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Aurupik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 30 male adults on Eourypyk.]

12: Lutke- -326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 150 male adults on Ifalouk.]

12: Lutke--326
116, 162

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

[AN: According to Lutke's estimate there were about 60 male adults on Farroilap.]

37: Keiyosei--45-46 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 162 Woleai

We arrived at Angaur. [46] On the island there are about 250 Japanese, and 500 native people from different islands. All of them are engaged in the mining.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

2: Damm et al. --76 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 163 Ifaluk

The women have a good many children. Three (deceased) women had ten, but today the average is between 3 and 5. The cause of this declining birth rate is unknown.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 163 Woleai

A survey of the island's settlement conditions...brought the following result: 21 dwelling houses, 27 men, 29 women, children under 12 years of age: 6 boys, 11 girls; a total of 73 persons.

6: Senfft--56
116, 163

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

On the whole the natives are very fertile; a woman with five children is not an unusual sight.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

122 but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with
123 Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

648 By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

125 Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

805 The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know
162 exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words
[192] for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

● 163 Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

2: Damm et al. --12 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164, 178 Ifaluk

You seldom find ringworm. However, Sarfert saw a good many large scars, decayed legs, etc. In contrast to the other Carolines (for example Polowat, Satowal) syphilis occurs here. According to the natives, the life span was formerly very long, but people now die in middle life. The health conditions alone can not be responsible for this situation; it is much more likely that the cultural decline plays just as important a part in the premature decease of the inhabitants.

2: Damm et al. --158 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164 Faraulep

When Hambruch visited the island, the natives were suffering from a severe epidemic of coughing and catarrh. He also discovered the tropical diseases: elephantiasis (pererâup), ringworm (genisewâu), framboesia (rûf) and syphilis (huâu); there was a high percentage of the latter.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 164, 755 Elato

On Elato much ethnographic material could be acquired though an influenza epidemic had impaired our work. Many patients had been quartered in the four large canoe houses, and their relatives surrounded and nursed them. The "King" had taken precautions against the spread of the disease; the preventive measures consisted of exorcism ceremonies, dances, and songs. Several times a day mussel-horns were blown.

4: Krämer--73 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 164 Lamotrek

"We," [VMM: says Elisabeth Krämer] "arrived on the island of Lámotrek on November 22, 1909 immediately after a great epidemic which had resulted in a large number of deaths and had killed men, women, and children."

6: Senfft--54
116, 164, 744, 273

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The state of health at the time of my stay there was still so bad that I sent the governmental physician to that island for a longer period. Dysentery seems to be one of the chief causes of death, and the prevalence of this disease can probably be explained by the use of sour toddy; this beverage is made from the axis of the inflorescence of coconut trees. It is very intoxicating and usually produces a desire to quarrel; it is also said to have the effect of an aphrodisiac. I was told that its effect is increased by placing the bottles on the beach in the hot sun and then mixing the juice with salt water.

The number of other diseases is also very high. There are many cases of elephantiasis, eye disease, and paralysis. The report of the governmental physician will treat of matters of health in more detail. Two military policemen have been stationed on the island, and they have been ordered to use all possible means to suppress the use of toddy.

7: Senfft--193
116, 164

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

Ringworm seems to be widespread on this island; I noticed three cases of elephantiasis.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 164, 162 Lamotrek

The census showed 68 men, 64 women and 68 children, altogether 200 persons; there had been about six deaths in the course of the year, and as far as can be judged from the description, three died from consumption and two from dysentery. What I saw of diseases there were two people suffering from elephantiasis, one blind man, two persons with eye-diseases (one of which could see only at night), one woman with a saddle-nose and two children with abnormally swollen abdomens; lues and gonorrhea are said not to be existent.

Sour toddy causes intestinal disturbances and is one of the factors causing dysentery, a disease which is especially violent in Oleaï. Although the preparation of this drink is now against the law, there are still many natives who drink it.

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 164, 744 Woleai

The governmental physician was stationed for two and a half months on the Oleai atoll. He found that the state of health on the whole is better there than on Jap. The natives there suffer chiefly from dysentery, as well as gastric and intestinal diseases in general; there are skin diseases, chiefly ringworm, fewer ulcers, and there is filariasis (elephantiasis).

18: German Government--3313 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 164 Woleai

From November 18th until January 20th I was on the Oleai atoll; I found the state of health there much better than that on Jap. There fewer ulcerous skin diseases occur. The most frequent diseases are ringworm, which affects a large percentage of the natives, dysentery, and various types of intestinal ailments which I believe are due to excessive indulgence in sour toddy and fermented breadfruit pudding; there are also the various diseases caused by the filaria worm.

20: German Government--4123
116, 164, 744 (1906-1907) 1908

Woleaians
Woleai

All in all the health of the whites and natives was good. On Oleai an epidemic broke out which in the beginning looked suspiciously like smallpox and which seized almost all the natives. Extensive precautionary measures were taken; the government physician vaccinated all the natives, but determined finally that this was not an epidemic of real smallpox.

28: Spiro--59
116, 776, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--59 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 164 Ifalik

"We shall examine the diseases, classified under tamai-le-alusengau and give a short description of the therapy employed. It should be remembered that in all these cases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, in the form of a spirit possession, and the therapy consists of exorcising this alus.

(1). Maliel: This is an infrequent, but fatal illness. It is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine (19) after which his face is covered with a taro leaf, a small flame is held over the leaf, and a chapeng is sung. (20)

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It is a very sore back, preventing the person from rising. Medicine of herbs is heated very hot, and is held over his

---

"19. All medicine consists of herbs or leaves of specified plants, which are stirred into water or coconut juice, and consumed by the patient. Unfortunately, I did not collect the names of these plants.

20. The chapengs for all the illnesses will follow the complete catalogue of disease."

back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceeded by a chapeng.

(3). Metageserae: This is relatively frequent and fatal. It consists of pains in the stomach. (21) The patient is given medicine to drink, and a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a cocopalm over the patient.

(4) Imailolo: Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) Metageleperei: This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) Mesatat: This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient."

"21. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities, and unquestionably include ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused."

28: Spiro--60
116, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the category of diseases caused by the alus are three others, but they are classified separately from the six enumerated above, for these six are fatal, and the others are not. That is, my indication of fatality means that despite treatment a high percentage of the patients will die, though some are cured by the therapy. Were the healer not to perform the cure, they would all die. The others caused by the alus are not fatal, even if the cure were not to be applied. These are a broken bone (ebung), which is set, and a cut (kopitok) on which I have no information. While we were on Ifaluk, all bruises and cuts--and there were many--were brought to us."

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics--one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

"The second category of disease comprises those caused by Meselipik. Now Meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. I don't know whether to refer to Meselipik is 'all same cold', so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by Meselipik. As far as I can determine Meselipik is the personification of chills. His origin or creation is unknown, but he is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. He is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1). Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3). Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. He is cured by the consumption of medicine, and the singing of the chapeng, while the coconut palm is waved over him.

(4). Gilicha: This characterized by red spots covering the body, cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is Luegoba, in which are subsumed all skin diseases, yaws, gangosa, leprosy, which are not fatal, and for which there is no cure. These

are caused by the land, that is, by dirt. (22)

The chapeng for the various diseases follow. These chapeng can best be translated by incantation, as opposed to some others, which are hymns."

"22. A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by these sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

40: Robertson--50
116, 164, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"At the time of the Rupak's visit to Oulleai, the [MR: influenza] epidemic above alluded to was raging. This, together with the scarcity of food, was making great havoc among the people, and Williams, the Englishman, stated that he did not expect more than half the natives would survive."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

island with two pairs of blue jeans and some T-shirts by way of clothes, and first off had cut the legs of both pairs of blue jeans to convert them into shorts. The trouble was that my legs kept getting scratched in the course of pacing through the underbrush. Then the cuts would get nasty infections. I was ready to abandon my principles and take to long trousers, at least for work in the boondocks.

These infections were another of the flaws in paradise. Staphylococcus would start growing happily in every little skin abrasion, turning it into a nasty sore. The infections yielded fairly readily to antibiotic ointments, but this involved daily sessions of "wound-licking" and an ever-present decoration of band-aids over the scratched skin surfaces. This bothered me particularly because it was a contradiction of my pet theories about the intrinsic healthfulness of the tropical climate.

The whole question of "tropical sores" is a puzzling one. Coral cuts are notoriously troublesome, but on Ifaluk it seemed to make no difference whether the cut was made by coral or by the saw-like margins of the pandanus leaves. It might have been special susceptibility by newcomers to local bacterial strains—but the local people often had similar sores. It might have been some nutritional lack—I had seen similar infections in South America clear up quickly with thiamine injections. Certainly, we, with our canned food, were not living on any ideal diet.

Whatever the cause, the sores were a continuing nuisance, and I was very glad to get Don's extra trousers, much as I hated the idea of trousers—an arctic garment not really adapted to a tropical climate.

While Don was stowing his newly arrived gear, I concentrated on trying to set up a drying cabinet for plant specimens, taking one of the big wooden cases and fixing it so that pressed plants could be stored inside over continuously burning kerosene lanterns, to provide a constant, gentle heat. We would need a record of the plants growing on the island, both wild and cultivated, and there was no use starting plant collections without provisions for drying them.

This drying cabinet was put up in the "laboratory tent," a tarp that was suspended between two coconut palms beside the Fan Nap. A big mosquito net was hung under the tarp and a box to serve as table put inside. We frequently worked there during the day, to get away from

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--261-262 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 165, 177 Lamotrek

At present, many inhabitants are affected by influenza; in recent times 14 people died of it, and children may die within one day. [626] In addition, dysentery has killed victims. Thus the probability that diseases are spread by the voyages of the natives is much greater than the alleged importation of all kinds of diseases by the vessels of the whites. Only for venereal diseases the whites may be made responsible.....In earlier times the population of Lamutrik amounted to 1000 persons; twenty years ago there were only about 300 left, and now there are only ca. 220.

4: Krämer--183
116, 165, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe.

4: Krämer--185
116, 165, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

In 1904 the population of the Woleai group numbered 661. The main reason given for a lowering of the population figure is dysentery, due to the consumption of sour toddy, and elephantiasis and paralysis. The serious typhoon of March 28, 1907 devastated the eastern islands of the group and took the lives of 200 people. It is probable that the population has decreased and now is little more than 450.

6: Senfft--54
116, 132, 165

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

Oleai had been swept by this same typhoon, but the results were less unfortunate. There I learned, however, that the population had decreased by one-third during the last few years.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 165 Woleai

Unfortunately we learned that the population had been lately to a great extent diminished by diseases. According to the chiefs a third of the inhabitants had died in the last few years. The great mortality is in the first place caused by dysentery which is probably due to the excessive consuming of sour toddy (the fermenting juice of the blossoms of the coconut palm); the natives are passionate drinkers of this toddy which they mix with salt water and cook in the hot sun at the beach in order to have it stronger. Sudden deaths occur often; the dying man feels a burning pain which starts in his feet and spreads over the entire body until it reaches the heart. Another malady which is also fatal starts with swellings on the neck and breast. Eye-disease and elephantiasis also occur and I saw a man inflicted with severe paralysis.

14: Born et al--573
116, 165, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

In all 225 people lost their lives on Ifaluk and Oleai [MR: in the typhoon of March 1907]. No Europeans perished.

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 167, 262 Ifalik

"During the war many Woleai people came to Ifalik because the Japanese were using Woleai for an airfield, which not only crowded the natives but subjected them to American bombing. Our interpreter put the number who came to Ifalik at 375. Even if we discount liberally--for his figures could never be trusted--it seems likely that the population of Ifalik was at least doubled then, rather suddenly. Tom assured us that there was plenty of taro for all, and plenty left over; and on information of that kind he was generally dependable."

2: Damm et al. --78 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 167, 175 Ifaluk

Ifaluk played a special role in the history of the Caroline archipelago, partly because of its wars against Oleai, Lamutrik and Elato, and then also because it colonized anew the islands, which it had depopulated, as well as Sorol and Faraulip. The following facts illustrate the dependency on Yap. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, two men from Ifaluk, the only ocean captains left, had taken their boats, and 85 men and 6 women had gone with the steamer to Yap and Ngulu. Nobody knew when they would come back, because the king of Gatšapar kept these tribute payers on Yap for a long time; they had to work for him. So the suzerainty of Yap was still very powerful.

2; Damm et al. --141 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 167 Aurupik

The Hamburg South Sea Expedition obtained the following list of chiefs: Baluelap was the successor of Ligowûw, the husband of the first mother, then Solán, Ellulué, Módj, Ärüdäl(Eridal); but the natives were unable to give any more exact information about them. However the son of Ärüdäl, Jadóa (Jädowuá) is remembered as a chief, because it was during his reign that a typhoon devastated the island. It did so much damage that the survivors went to Oleai to escape a famine, and they spent ten months there. When the Aurepik islanders returned home under Manelué, Jadóa remained in Oleai, where he died. His son Fagíl became chief of the people who went back home. He was succeeded by his son, Medák, who was still ruling in 1909.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ...Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, FalElâp, 99, while Elî, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wólea, Lámutrik... and Faraûlip had been settled from Ifaluk .... Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felâlâp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

4: Krämer--1
116, 161, 167, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Natives: Lámutrik has a population of no more than 200, who may be looked upon as new arrivals. Sixty years ago the tidal wave of a typhoon had in part destroyed the population and in part had forced it to emigrate to Truk, Jap, and Saipan; later on some of them returned to their home islands.

4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 167 Elato

At the time of Ilematip the first whites came to Elato.

In the old times chief Teiar came from Truk with his people subjected Elato and ruled over the island. When he was in office the natives of Ifaluk came over and killed all the inhabitants of Elato. Elato was settled anew by the people of Ifaluk. Möz was the chief. At that time all the natives of Nämeliaur were also slain and those of Lamütsik were greatly decimated. Elato is a colony of Ifaluk.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Lamotrek

This group of islands had formerly had a denser population; a typhoon together with a flood had destroyed almost everything about 60 years ago. A few men who had gone on the six remaining canoes to the Oleai Group at a distance of 150 nautical miles had brought a number of vessels on which the whole population emigrated to the Marianas, Truk, Yap, and other islands. Only after many years part of the population returned.

14: Born et al--576
116, 167, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

I [MR: district official Fritz] intend to move as many as possible of the population [MR: affected by typhoon of March 1907] to the Palau and Marianas Islands, and in fact, on the present trip of the "Germania," 200 to 300 from Ifaluk (in all over 400 inhabitants, 25 typhoon victims) to Palau, on the trip back 200 to 300 from Oleai (formerly a total of 1,000 inhabitants) to Saipan. The "Seestern" expected in July is then to visit the other islands in the east, which presumably were also struck by the typhoon, and bring as many people as possible to the Marianas.

22: German Government--184
116, 167, 731

(1909-10) 1911

Woleaians
Woleai

[AN: In the Western Carolines, West Central Carolines, and Marianas] . . . the peace was not disturbed in the year covered by the report [ER: 1909-10]; relations with the natives remained untroubled.

The typhoons of the last years [AN: 1905 and 1907] had necessitated resettlement of supernumerary persons from the most devastated islands of the Oleai and Mortlock groups [UMR: Nomoi], and from Pingelap and the atolls south of Palau, on the thinly populated islands of Ponape, Palau, and the Marianas; on the latter there was more than sufficient food available for them, and they were to be settled there permanently as an economically valuable addition. Disturbances on Ponape and the danger that they might become enslaved, about the end of 1908 required removal of the Mortlock natives to Saipan. Unfortunately, this transplantation did not prove successful. In contrast to the people of Oleai who are closely related to the Saipan Carolinians, the people of Mortlock could not feel at home on Saipan. In April 1910, together with their companions in misfortune on Truk, they were sent back to their own islands, which in the meantime had recovered from the damage wrought by the typhoon. Earlier the inhabitants of the southern atolls, that had been destroyed in 1905, had been resettled on Saipan; they, too, returned to Sonserol. 129 of them remain on Palau; on the Marianas there are 200 people from Oleai, 60 from Pingelap, and 64 from Samoa, who, in 1909, had to be removed from their home lands for political reasons.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

1: Burrows--1
116, 131, 101, 171

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the

sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--160 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 171 Ifalik

"Satawal

As a sequel to the Lamotrek legend, Tom said 'Satawal all same.' In those early days, he explained, that island was uninhabited. Some of the Ifalik people who had settled on Lamotrek went on to Satawal and began the population of that atoll.

As already noted in the discussion of clans, the virtual identity in culture among the other islands named in these legends begins to diminish at Satawal. This was perceptible even in my few hours ashore there. The sound pronounced on Ifalik as a lingual trill, sometimes attacked by way of a stop like our 't', is replaced on Satawal by a sound identical, or nearly so, with our 'ch'. Thus 'Lamotrek' becomes 'Lamochek'; SauvelārIk, 'SauvelāckIk. Moreover, some of the clan names did not resemble those of Ifalik clans. The notes I took there were lost in reboarding the Navy government ship, and I cannot recall whether I asked the Satawal people about this story of first settlement. Probably not, as the difference in dialect made it more difficult to talk with them."

1: Burrows--831 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

is presumably ancient. A study of the distribution of the technique and the name would probably clear up this question."

2: Damm et al. --72
116, 171, 411

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The bitter struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik show that the Ifaluk natives were a war-like people. However, they did not have a large array of weapons; they used:

1. The spear (dīlēk) from 1 1/2 to 2 meters long; occasionally it was equipped with a barbed hook, and then it was called rumu dīlēk. [AN: see drawings 161-163 in source]. The natives apparently never used sharks teeth on their spears.
2. The club (liwueïjéï) was a cutting and stabbing weapon in a simple spade shape [AN: see drawings 165-168 in source] or it may be a two-sided weapon, like the ones on Truk (drawing 164). The natives knew nothing about the former customary practice of studding them with sharks teeth.
3. Knuckle-dusters (rasirás) with horn-fish stings, [AN: see drawings 170, 171 of source]. Drawing 169 shows an interesting form, where the simple knuckle-duster is combined with an aṅipuṅipū.
4. The natives learned about stone slings (gaûl) from Truk.
5. Bows (dawír) and arrows were just childrens' toys.

2: Damm et al. --217
116, 171, 191

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal.

5: Kittlitz--148
116, 131, 171

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Lamotrek

...we sighted the so-called Swedish Islands, which consist of three coral groups: Namurrek, Elato and Namolia-ur. Early the next morning several canoes came from the most eastern one, Namurrek; they were built exactly like the boats, which we had already seen.

12: Lutke--145
116, 171

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The natives of this group, both by their appearance and their character, resemble the Lukunor natives although the latter have been influenced by their frequent contacts with Guahan.

28: Spiro--141
116, 764, 171, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 173 Ifalik

"Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island 'Modj', four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants."

"In beginning one of his greatest favors to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or 'talk for cap'n', Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
Farewai

He has also four sons: Paluelap
Farewai
Valur, later known as Sagol
Wëriëng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and LangorIk, whom Tom there called his 'nephews').

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no

longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap
LongorIk
and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names."

1: Burrows--87-88
116, 173, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The clans are not localized, --that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelāchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--98
116, 173, 611

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected--that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation--are both patrilineal."

1: Burrows--125
116, 463, 173, 304, 152

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods, --indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--151
116, 173, 609

(1947-48)

Woleaians 12
Ifalik

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik, --to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions: and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

about recent contact with foreigners."

1: Burrows--151-153 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 173 Ifalik

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands. [152]

On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two

from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelū clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwēl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwēl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimēng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today.

The first men's house was built at Iramai, in the Ievang district of Falālap. No building stands there now, but the site is still remembered. It was used by Tatar, Alovar, and the other early settlers. Another early chief of Kovalū clan was Filitamol. Another early chief of SauvelārIk clan was Maur. In dictating this story, it was said that Maur used the men's house at Iramai. But in the story of the war with Woleai, Maur is associated with the men's house Katēlū on FalārIk.

This was the story of first settlement as dictated by the chiefs. Bits of information from various other sources support it in some details, differ in others. Tom himself

made one change in the course of passing the story on to me; a very slight one, yet not insignificant. In his first version he named Ifalik before Woleai. This was later changed to conform to the order given as the chain of command. This seems to reflect an unresolved inconsistency about the relative rank of the two atolls. In the foregoing story, Woleai outranks Ifalik. In the account of the war with Woleai, to be given shortly, Ifalik outranks Woleai. Questioned about this, Tom said that the account of the war, giving Ifalik precedence over Woleai, is true; but that Wetegau in Woleai precedes Ifalik in the matter of relaying messages from the high chiefs in Yap. This could reconcile the two stories; yet it was my impression that in Tom's mind they remained unreconciled.

In one detail the story may seem self-contradictory. Iau is named both as sister of Tatar and as sister of Uelisoǫ́go. Asked about this, Tom said there were two women named Iau. Another possibility is that Tatar and Uelisogo were brothers. The name Ilimang or Ilimëng also occurs twice; once as the founder of the clan Kailangaluelea, once as the wife Maur took on Woleai.

Among the details in which other accounts vary are the names of the first settlers. In a brief account received from Fonachar in Yap, before we went to Ifalik, the name of the leader of the colonizing party was [153] recorded as Lipmerer. The only name at all like this in the story collected on Ifalik is Lemaregara (final 'a' silent), the woman of Kovalū clan. Sarfert names as the first settler Modj (recorded by me as Maur) said

to have come on a raft with his wife Filitamol. My informants insisted that Maur was a later chief of SauvelărIk clan, and Filitamol a later chief of Kovalū clan. Sarfert has Ilamai as the name of the house where Modj and Filitamol first lived, while my informants used it as the name of the site of the first men's house."

1: Burrows--153 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

"Lieut. Carrol identified the Kovalū clan of Ifalik with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifalik's Kovalū. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the SauvelārIk clan of Ifalik with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifalik, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must haye reached Ifalik indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifalik came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, mat sails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifalik, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifalik nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these

mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifalik did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of [154] sarcasm in an Ifalik song about a typhoon:

> The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this;
> There will be nothing left for them to take."

1: Burrows--154-157 (1947-48) Woleaians A-6
116, 173, 539 Ifalik

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimëng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimëng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and

cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifalik, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimëng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewau, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālus. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālus and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimëng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katēlū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangáluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raūr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungā, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungā.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katēlū. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man 'e savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wëtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wëtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungā on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its

men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wëtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in

canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the

same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tom translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwêl Ifalok, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a

denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

"Faraulep

Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other island made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Faraulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep

man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time. Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past.

Warfare, indeed, seems to have gone out of mind to some extent since the German expedition of 1909. Sarfert collected barbed spears and clubs with points or little blades at both ends. We saw nothing of the kind.

Tom need not have troubled to deny in advance a supposed Faraulep version attributing the massacre of the earlier population there to invaders from afar (presumably from Ifalik). At least Hambruch collected on Faraulep in 1909 a story about depopulation by civil war and repopulation from Ifalik, in essentials like the one just given, but with a number of additional details. The man whose name I recorded as Nagelimwara (final 'a' silent) is there called Nargetumar. He lived on 'Pix', evidently the islet called 'Pigue' on our charts (apparently from a French version.) I heard it as 'Pik', and the Japanese call it 'Piiku'. [162]

Hambruch's version begins as follows: During a visit on the neighboring islet called (like the whole atoll) Faraulep, Nargetumar insulted the people, then on his return to 'Pix' warned the people there of an impending attack from Faraulep. The men of both islets made spears. Those of Pix were the first to attack, invading Faraulep while the men were out fishing; killing women and children first, then the men--except for a few as they came ashore from their fishing.

The next incident in Hambruch's Faraulep version is lacking from my Ifalik one. The survivors on Faraulep are said to have asked a visiting Yap man to help them against Pix. He agree, and by magic raised a typhoon, which indeed destroyed all but 20 people on Pix, but on Faraulep killed all but one. This one, named Uerlipar, killed the survivors on Faraulep by the ruse of offering them fish, as in the Ifalik version. Then he went to Woleai, married a woman there, and at last returned to Faraulep. By that time people from Ifalik had taken over Faraulep, so Uerlipar went back to Pix and stayed there."

1:Burrows--162
116, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Eaurupik

By these three legends, the people of Woleai, Lamotrek, and Faraulep were accounted for as descendents [sic] of colonizers from Ifalik. Of the islands nearest to Ifalik, there remained only Eaurupik. I asked Tom if there was a legend about that.

'Eaurupik too', he replied. 'All same size' (a favorite expression of his for 'just the same'.) Ifalik more high.' But no further details were forthcoming."

"Interpretation

What these legends do, obviously, is to affirm and reinforce the sentiment of rank. The fact that the natives feel this to be the main point of the stories is plain in Tom's triumphant conclusion to the one about Lamotrek. He repeated this phrase in saying that the same was true of Eaurupik. 'Ifalik more high.' This significance is emphasized again by the penis of Maur, carved on the front post of the men's house and constituting a climax to the symbolism of rank that clusters about the site Katēlū. The same emphasis appears once more in the exultant little song about Lamotrek.

This general effect of the legends works out more specifically in two functions, one of them social, the other psychological. The social function is to strengthen the institution of government by validating the principle of rank on which the Ifalik system of government is based. The psychological function is to meet the human want of prestige by giving everyone in Ifalik the satisfaction of feeling himself superior to the people of surrounding atolls. This craving for prestige is sharpened among the people of Ifalik by their traditional subordination to the chiefs of Gatschapar in Yap. The legends help them to work off the sting of this by superordination over somebody else.

Within this general framework, still more specific use is made of two of the legends, those telling of the conquest of Woleai and Lamotrek. These supply an origin and validation for the high status of the two chiefs at the top of the local hierarchy of rank. Mailias, [163] it is said, was the first to receive the title of Kovalū, or paramount chief,

because of the military ability he showed in planning the attack on Lamotrek, with its smoke screen and ambush. Ever after, succession to the highest chieftainship has remained in his clan, which has taken its name, Kovalu, from his title. Similarly, Maur became second-ranking chief because he instigated the successful attack on Woleai.

In general, Maur is a more prominent traditional figure than Mailias. He is celebrated, not only in the Woleai legend, but in the carving on the front post of the men's house, and in another tale or myth which ascribes to him the invention of the torch and dip-net technique of catching flying-fish (p. 83J-K). In the stories collected by Sarfert, Maur was even named as the first settler of the island. In spite of Maur's prominence, the title descending from Mailias outranks that descending from Maur. Tom explained why. Mailias won glory as a warrior, Maur as an orator, and prowess in war is greater than prowess in talk."

1: Burrows-173A
116, 776, 173

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-3

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

(1947-48)

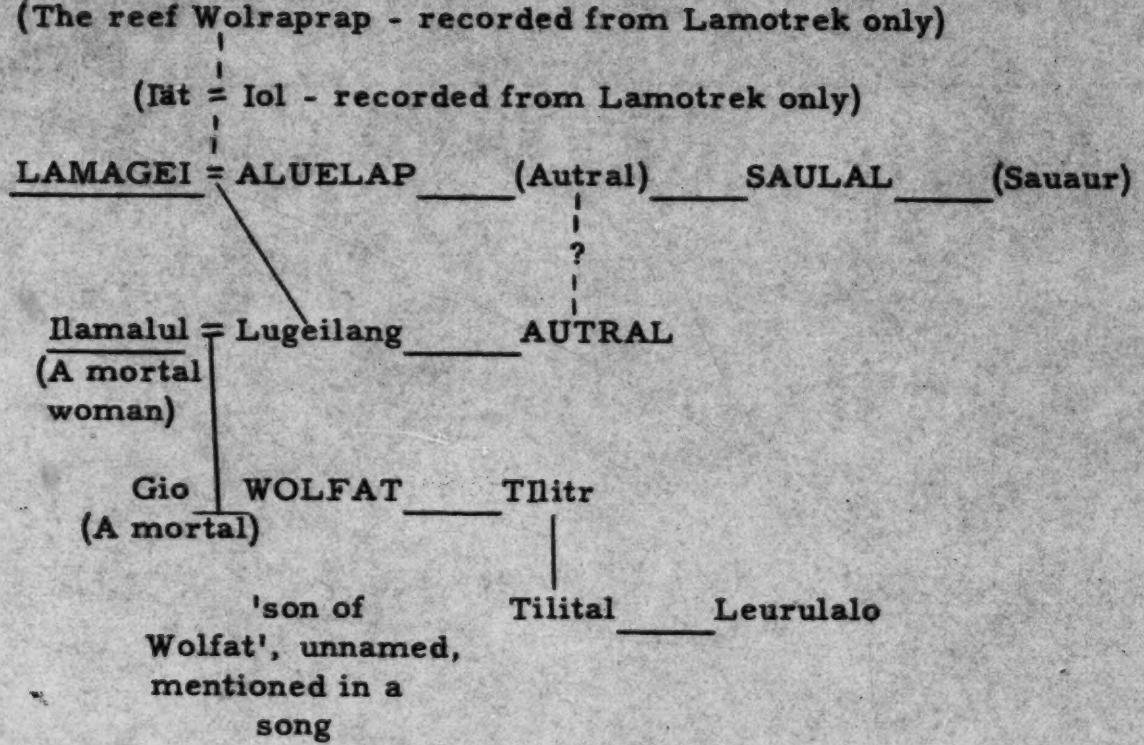
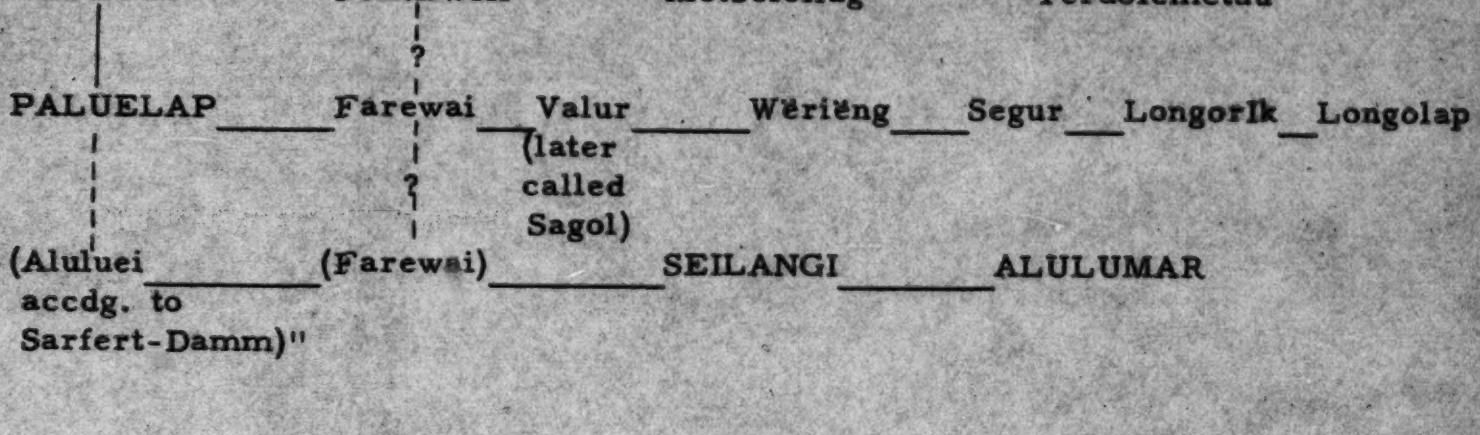

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP (Autral) SAULAL (Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang AUTRAL
(A mortal woman)
Gio WOLFAT TIlitr
(A mortal)
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.



1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 173 Ifalik 1-14

"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I can not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people!'

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIIltr, with TIIltr's son TIIltal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeon-

fish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or Lugweilang) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said
'Let him be called Dung!'
'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'
Other names were suggested by the fela fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.
Finally the star Mailap suggested the name Lugeilang.
'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.
Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the account given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara-
[176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIIItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIIItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengililalo or

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIIItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented - or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIIItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.
Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
The god TIIItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIIItr as Aluelap's representative.

TIIItal or TIIIalo - son of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of
Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wĕriĕng to kill him.

Wĕriĕng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wĕriĕng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerĕp - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten

the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a

personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi. Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____.

Alulevalū or Alus falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti - Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIIItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIIItr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alusiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falālap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alus, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the sur perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk sur perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) sur perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIIItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

Urumwaretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laũra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangule -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laũra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungã in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians
173, 198 Ifalik

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning."

2; Damm et al. --17 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
173 Ifaluk

Tattooing was probably borrowed from Mogemog. But the natives believe that mankind learned about it through Lugeilān, a heavenly being, who is tattooed himself. They do not know from whom he acquired the art, but they assume that it was from Äluelöb, the highest god of all. When Lugeilān wanted a wife, he went down to earth, and at this time men saw the strange decoration, and learned the various patterns.

The natives trace their knowledge of boat building back to a mythological origin. Sēlān constructed the first canoe; he brought this art to the men on Mŏdj Island, which lies a four days journey south from Truk. It is not known who taught the people of Ifaluk how to make canoes. The first settlers of Ifaluk were a man named Mŏ́dj and his wife, and they came to their new homeland on a raft. But soon after that time, and even while Mŏ́dj was living, canoes were constructed.

The canoes are made out of bread-fruit wood. First the trees are felled with shell axes, and in this task the brothers and sons of the builder assist him. The king must give his permission for the construction of a large sailing canoe. No particular tabus are attached to this work. Other men help drag the trunks to the canoe house. All the workers sing in rhythm, so that the pulling will be in unison and most effective. [AN: for native text of this work song see source pp. 52 and 54] [54]

. . . the various planks of the boat are carefully joined together and bound tightly. The joints of the planks are caulked with pieces (bā́le) of coconut husk fiber (bējénne), which are mixed with bread-fruit resin (wīlis). Then the holes for the binding are smeared with a mixture of burned coconut fibers and burned coral stone (fā́u), which has been crushed. Drawing 147 shows how the planks are painted with red soil from Yap and black coloring, which comes from coconut hulls, that have been burned and then stirred in salt water.

2: Damm et al. --52-55 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 396, 173 Ifaluk

During the canoe building there are four banewan conjurations, and these are always when the lines are drawn in the customary manner. On these days all the workers are tapu. Then, when the boat is finished, there is another conjuration, and a trial trip; while this is going on the men sing a certain song. [55] Coconuts are placed beside the boat during these magic spells; there are always two or more, but never three, five or seven. The size of this sacrifice depends entirely upon the quantity of nuts available.

According to legend, Módj brought the art of house-building from Yap; it is not known who taught it to the inhabitants of that island.

1. The house design.

The frequent typhoons have often destroyed the houses; during the last one only four dwelling houses escaped, (3 on Feladjik, 1 on Fafalap). Then they were not rebuilt with the same care, which had been used before. Formerly there were more houses than there are today, and they were also larger; they had a six-sided plan, and were made of wooden planks. But the natives did not know how to construct houses without using supporting pillars on the four corners. The deceased brother of an old man, who was still alive in 1909, saw this for the first time in Aurepik, in the house of a man from Yap, named Gamelái; and he died on this island away from home. Since that time houses have been built in Ifaluk without any súle. It seems that the natives have never erected any stone foundations, like the ones that are used on Aurepik, but they use the same name for them, bái.

ím is the family dwelling. It is the ordinary rectangular house with a gable roof, that slopes forward, and no special stone foundation. Drawing 155 shows the old form. There are side posts (djúne) set in the framework of the floor (gorás, number 1 of drawing 155), which is made of four beams, and the walls (dibáb, no. 4) stand between them. The ceiling beams (gabilibín, no. 6) rest on the 4 corner-djúne, and then they

carry the purlins, (falidibáb, no. 1 of drawing 156) into which the djúne are inserted. Girders and empty trusses (no. 2), both of which are called wóu, are stuck part way into the purlins. Just as on Polowat and Satowal, the ridge purlin is úni. The others (no. 3) have various names, according to whether they are attached to the empty truss or to the rafters; [58] in the first case they are kabaniák, in the other: kabílal; both are interchangeable. The rafters (no. 4) are called gáto.

The gable walls are arranged in a special fashion. A central post (wadábáo) stands on the gabilibín, beneath which a áudánilálo beam is braced between the side posts. A roof (dábáu) projects over one gable wall; (no. 3 in drawing 155); its empty truss is called kabaniák di bín, its rafters gáto di bín. This dábáu overshadows a veranda (bín), which lies at the level of the purlins, and has a pot-board (fáne di bín) in front. A special kind of beam support is not always available for it, as on Hok; the corner posts are šúle, the two long beams lying on them are dalíelób , the diagonal one is áudán-ilálo. This porch was evidently devised to protect the householder from the rain, if by chance he wanted to sit in front of his door. The mats used for covering the roof are jáso.

2; Damm et al. --79 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

A native of Yap, Mōdj, is said to have been the first high chief; and he settled on Falalap in legendary times. Several of his children then went to Feladjik. . . . Mōdj had two sons; the elder became the high chief, and the younger the lesser chief. The natives say that this is the origin of the great and the minor chiefs. In addition to these two important chiefs, (tamōl solōb), there are also two chiefs of a lower rank (tamōl igidigit), who also come from the chief's family, and live in Lawuāū; they are the men, who execute the commands of the chief, and give his orders to the people. Their position is reminiscent of that of the pūlepūle and kōkōa of Luangiua and Nukumanu, who also belonged to the ruling families.

The names of the high chiefs were:

1. Mŏdj
2. Ällofăs [80]
3. Dădar
4. Aŭăp
5. Maĭliăs
6. Moŭraĭ
7. Soră̆l
8. Gŏrigar; he is supposed to have lived at the time of the first great typhoon.
9. Modurŏk
10. Jalorăk
11. Gawŭrŏk
12. Malŭdjŏm
13. Idălŭb; he lived at the time of the third typhoon.
14. Ärŭllŭmăn
15. Dibădău; he lived at the time of the fourth typhoon.
16. Soligŏu
17. Gilălobăk
18. Olaĭdiŭ, he lived at the time of the fifth typhoon (1907) and disappeared on the trip

to Lamutrik.

19. Daoreligär was head chief of the island group at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition (1909); the second chief was Sairū, lesser chiefs were Duwälior and Älewūdj.

Formerly Ifaluk was uninhabited. The first settlers were Mŏdj and his wife Filidamŏl, who came from Yap. Originally, they came from Kárebar. * The parents of these first inhabitants are unknown on Ifaluk.

Mŏdj and Filidamŏl did not have a canoe, so they came on a raft (fŏfát); they travelled over the already settled islands of Mogemog, Fais and Oleai. The natives believe, that they steered by the stars. After they landed, Mŏdj built a house, Ilamái on Falalap, in the northern district, Jiwán; this is no longer standing. He dug for drinking water, and planted coconuts, bread-fruit, etc. which he had brought from Yap.

Occasionally, men and women from Oleai and Faraulip came and settled, and some Ifaluk people went to those islands to stay. The most exciting event was the arrival of some very large devils in human form. These giants were so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.

Under Mŏdj's administration the Ifaluk natives became very warlike.

Battle with Oleai.

Mŏdj went to Oleai, and he liked it so much that he married a woman on this island. But the natives of Oleai did not like him. A quarrel started, and Mŏdj was wounded. He

* This is probably the same as Gatŏapar, which is the site of the cult of the god Yonalav.

fled in his canoe, and went back to Ifaluk. Here he called his followers together, they returned to Oleai, and made arrangements for a long stay on the main island. After a while the Oleai people did not have anything more to eat, and so they moved over to Ráur Island. At once the Ifaluk men followed them, and there again they devoured everything. Then the Oleai inhabitants sailed to Bǎliáu, but once again they were molested by their enemies. The same thing occurred in Otárau and finally in Falālús. Eventually some of the Oleai natives died of hunger, and the others were weakened. That was the moment for which Oleai had been waiting; he and his companions attacked the enemies, and killed all of them (except his wife and his son). This son became the chief of Oleai. [84]

Hambruch, in his notes about Faraulip, gives another version of a struggle between Ifaluk and Oleai. Móis * was king of Ifaluk, and a guest in Oleai. While an Oleai resident was out fishing, Móis raped his wife. He did this on numerous occasions, until the husband finally surprised him, beat him, and threw him out of the house for dead. About sunrise the rain wakened Móis. He got a piece of wood out of the bushes, and used it to swim back to Ifaluk, as he did not have a canoe. When he got home, some of

---

* probably identical with Módj.

his people took care of him, and after a long time he was well again. Then he went into the men's house, called all the inhabitants together, took off his apron and said: "We will sail and fight the people who live in the direction, where my organ points." His penis pointed toward Oleai. Then the men made a great many spears, took a vast number of canoes and went to Oleai; there they slew everybody, except the maidens. Later there was a

War with Lamutrik

Since there was not much to eat in Ifaluk, Mŏdj ordered his men to go to Lamutrik and take possession of this island. As Mŏdj was very old himself, he named Ällofás, his future successor, as general of the warriors. Some of the Elato natives had already perished from hunger, and the others went to Lamutrik. Ällofás followed them, and started a battle at once; he was wounded, and there were dead on both sides. Then Ällofás returned to Elato, and remained there.

Meanwhile, two months had elapsed, and the expedition had not yet come back to Ifaluk. Mŏdj was anxious about the fate of his soldiers, so he took a few men and went to Elato. When he found Ällofás there, he inquired why they had not slain all the Lamutrik inhabitants. Ällofás said that it was because they were too strong. Then Mŏdj ordered his men to make a lot of torches of coconut leaves, and once again the Ifaluk people sailed with the southwest wind to Lamutrik. They made a secret landing on the

uninhabited side of the island, and then attacked the unsuspecting natives. It so happened that the wind blew the biting smoke of the torches into the eyes of the Lamutrik men, and so they could not see. They were all destroyed. Later Mōdj sent a man and two women to Lamutrik, to settle the island again.

Later, the chief Mâilias sent people from Ifaluk to colonize two islands of the Faraulip atoll, which had formerly been inhabited. They had fought each other until only one man, Uēliwā [85] was left. When Mâilias heard about this, he sent a woman, Nīman, so that Faraulip might be populated again. This kind of civil war was unknown on Ifaluk; the two struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik are supposed to be the only warlike developments of any significance....

2: Damm et al. --140 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173 Aurupik

The history of the Eauripik Island Group is closely related to that of Yap. Miklucho-Maclay heard that Aurepik owes a large number of its inhabitants to Jap Island. This is also preserved in the legend that the Yap native Choiss came to Aurepik, and then created men and women out of a spondylus shell....Accordingly we can perhaps regard Choiss (Chos) as the first chief (damol), and if so, his son Raigumen, who is revered as a deity today, was certainly his successor. Lütke named Rooua as the ruler over Aurepik and some islands lying to the east.

2; Damm et al. --141 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 167 Aurupik

The Hamburg South Sea Expedition obtained the following list of chiefs: Baluelap was the successor of Ligowûw, the husband of the first mother, then Solán, Ellulué, Módj, Ärüdäl(Eridal); but the natives were unable to give any more exact information about them. However the son of Ärüdäl, Jadóa (Jädowuá) is remembered as a chief, because it was during his reign that a typhoon devastated the island. It did so much damage that the survivors went to Oleai to escape a famine, and they spent ten months there. When the Aurepik islanders returned home under Manelua, Jadóa remained in Oleai, where he died. His son Fagíl became chief of the people who went back home. He was succeeded by his son, Medák, who was still ruling in 1909.

2; Damm et al, --169-170 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 286 Faraulep

As on all the Caroline Islands, there is little weaving being done today; this is very unfortunate, because the women had developed their skill to an astonishing level of craftsmanship. [170] According to the native legends, there were no woven mats in olden days; and people ran around naked. Then incest occurred at rather frequent intervals, because men could not tell their sisters, children and wives apart. So the god Lugulen told Aifath to bring men a loom, so that they might weave mats, and be able to tell themselves apart. *

Hibiscus bast and banana fibers are woven, but the latter are preferred on account of their superior quality.

"* It seems that the various clans also had certain weaving patterns."

2: Damm et al. --191 [2]
116, 173, 643

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The rank of high chief is hereditary, and it is traced back to the first settlers. The first tamol was on Ead, and in olden days there was one on Faraulip and on Pix. The high chief takes charge of the "big" house, orders men to start the community enterprises, keeps an eye on the soil and the fishing, acts as a judge, and watches over the peace in his village. If anyone refuses obedience, he is deprived of his field. If the high chief dies, his brothers inherit the title according to age, and it is only then that the sons of the deceased become chief. Women can never rule, and if there are no direct male successors, the male children of the high chief's family take the office.

Should the high chief be a minor, the poirím acts as regent until the child is adolescent. In case of his death, the poirím no. 2 takes his place, in case there are no sons of the first poirím. In the event of the decease of the young chief, the first poirím becomes high chief.

The lesser chiefs are the spokesmen; they transmit the commands of the high chief, and see to it that they are executed.

The large fishing expeditions are arranged, work is discussed and justice promulgated in the assemblies (xopái), which take place in the "big" house.

2: Damm et al. --193-194 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-13
116, 173, 731 Faraulep

We know nothing about the history of the first settlement of this island group. We only know that the inhabitants were very warlike, that they destroyed each other in one battle after another, and that the island was resettled at a later time by natives from Ifaluk. This was during the reign of the high chief Thamolrás, and so he is considered to be the first chief. This story gives some information about his epoch:

War between Faraulip and Pix

Nargetumár, who was a native of Pix, had insulted the people of Faraulip, and they threatened him dreadfully when he left their island. So when he got home, he said to his men: "Get ready! Tomorrow the Faraulip islanders will come to fight us!" Accordingly, the Pix inhabitants made spears for themselves, and the Faraulip men also got ready, but neither side had the courage to start the battle. One night the Faraulip men went fishing, and only a small group remained with the women and children in the village. Then the Pix natives made a surprise attack on them, and killed a large number of people. At dawn the canoes returned and found the massacre. Then the Pix men suddenly overwhelmed the defenseless fishermen in their boats, and only a few managed to escape in the open sea or in the thicket. The Pix islanders remained for a time on Faraulip, and then departed.

At that time a Yap native was staying on Faraulip, so the few survivors went to him, and inquired if he would be willing to help them against Pix. He agreed, and performed

2: Damm et al. --192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173 Faraulep

Reckoning backwards from 1909, the names of the chiefs are: Sauerd, Gavds (about 1885), Paroa, Mareroiisau, Neipol (about 1804; he is the historic Alberto), Ragetex, Thamolras. * At the time of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition, the two lesser chiefs were Sauwul and Maroijam.

---

* Lütke (1835, Vol. II, page 344) adds that a certain Kafalu was chief of Ifaluk and Faraulip; this man does not belong to the succession on Ifaluk or on Faraulip; but it is not impossible that he was speaking about a monairian.

a magic spell; then a high sea (probably a typhoon) came and destroyed many houses on Pix; and many people perished too, so that only twenty were left. But the ocean wreaked havoc on Faraulip too, and all the inhabitants died save one, who had fled into the jungle. The Yap islander died shortly after his conjuration.

The one Faraulip survivor, whose name was Uĕrlipár, went to the reef, caught 20 oméi fish in baskets, laid them in a úx basket, and took it to Pix. First he called for the chief. An old man crawled up to him, leaning on canes. "Here, do you want the fish? Come and get it!", said the Faraulip man. The old chief [194] came up, and then the fisherman took him into the canoe and cracked his skull open with the fish club. Then he summoned all of the people in turn, and killed them. Finally he was alone; he did not like that, and so he went to Unaneí (Oleai), and got married; then he returned home to Faraulip with his wife. But upon his arrival, he found a canoe from Ifaluk; the crew had taken possession of the island, and they forbade him to land. So he went to Pix, and settled there. For this reason many of the cultural advantages that are found on Faraulip did not originate there, but came from Ifaluk.

Under the reign of chief Ragetéx a great typhoon struck Faraulip, and it did an enormous amount of damage. It struck Oleai and Aurepik too, but did not do so much harm. This storm killed many people, and destroyed all the palm trees, so the natives did not have anything to eat. Fortunately a canoe appeared from Oleai, it took the survivors

back to that island, and saved them from the worst period of the famine. Then when the trees and plants had started to grow again, the people returned home. Shortly after this, a second typhoon blew across the island; it tore down some huts and a few palms, but did not do any greater damage.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aúrepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato

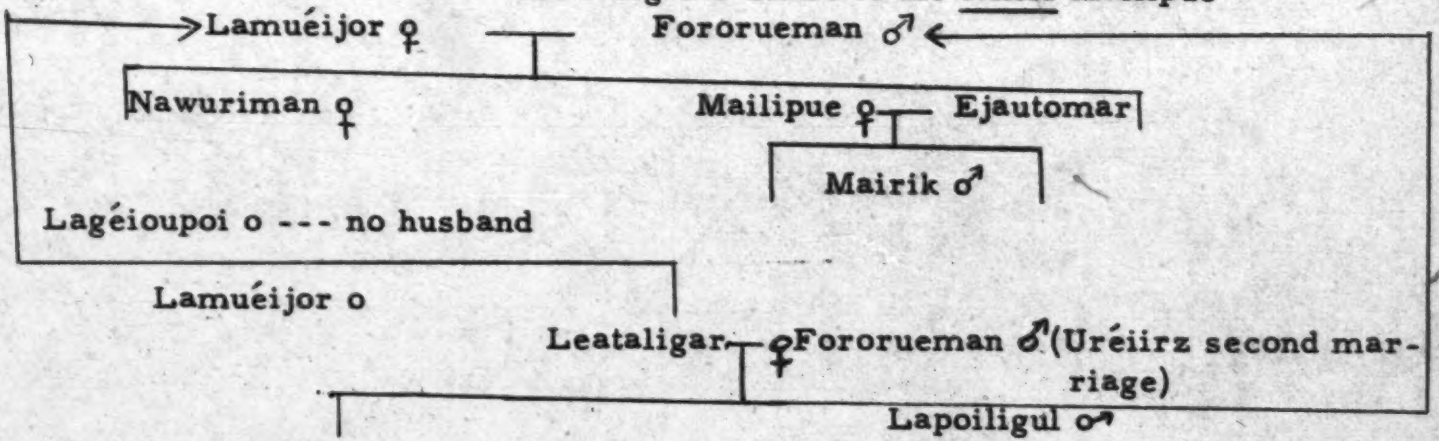
Motéijamâu ♂ and Hawŭm ♀ were the first to come to Elato. They came from Lamutse after having produced a boy and a girl on that island and in Pig, Pikelōt, and Setūān; the two children are looked upon as the predecessors of the people on the respective islands. On Elato Lóii ♂ and Lemau ŭ răle ♀ are thought of as the original ancestors; Lóii is the 1st chief. Ifalŭk, Faroilip, etc., were not settled by the same couple.

4: Krämer--32
116, 173

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Genealogical Chart of the tamol Mailipue



4: Kramer--143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173, 833 Elato

On Elato, Hambruch learned the following about the origin of coitus:

In olden times the people did not know anything about coitus. Then Lugeilĕn came and saw a man and a woman, the man Temŏnémŏn and the woman Liparáre. She was very beautiful. "Well, what are you doing? Where is your husband?" "He is out fishing." "All right, go and bathe and afterwards I shall show you something pleasant." "But first I have a question to ask you. Do you like to have intercourse?" "I don't know." "Then go into the house. I shall show you something." And then he instructed the woman in sexual intercourse. The woman was very pleased about it. Lugeilĕn said good-bye to her. Being most interested in what she had just learned the woman completely forgot about her cooking. She ran down to the beach and called loudly for her husband: "Come, come, quickly! Leave the canoe and the fish. I'll show you something new!" "Whatever is the matter?" "Come, come quickly," and the man had to go into the house. The woman showed him how he was to lie down, because he did not know anything at all. When he did not have an erection, the woman took his penis in her hand and rubbed it thoroughly and then he could sleep with her. This they practiced for days and weeks until finally they had lost all their flesh. Then Lugeilĕn returned and asked the two: "What are you doing?" And they told him. "Oh, stop! You should do it only once a week, otherwise you will die." And they followed his suggestion.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 173 Lamotrek

In Kotzebue, III, it is said that east of Mokemok no temples and sacrifices existed. But the Faletaipu allows the conclusion that a house for the worship of god was available.

In the beginning everything was dark and the sky lay over the water. In the water there was a large reef, Oledjapdjap* which became the mother of three gods, alus: [144]

Salual lived in Ilal, the lower world. (Polynesian; i lalo, below and from it also "ruler below"; cf. Muller, Yap, page 308.)

Sauaur (Hambruch Zauuor) or Souiaur**

Aluelap*** (Hambruch: Eluelap) "Great Spirit" (on Yap: Yalulop).

---

*Hambruch: from ole "very old" and zapzap "earlier, begin"; Hambruch learned of this thought of the reef as the ancestral mother on Elato; cf. Ifaluk where Hambruch was working. On Faraulip one talks of the growth of a rod which the woman planted on the reef and from which Eluelap rose.

**Aur, the master of the South Sea island... See also Fus, story 2.

***Kotzebue says that the god (tautup) of Elath and Lamurrec is called Fuss. As for details on this spirit, Cantova says on page 304 that his parents were Sabucour and Halmelul (Hammelu Elalamor?...) and that his daughter Ligobund, the creatoress, had three children.

4: Krämer--143-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 173 Lamotrek

Saulal was the master of the ocean who provided the fish, Sauaur was the ruler of Aur and provided the breadfruit, and Aluelap was the master of the universe, the oldest and the highest, comparable to Yongelap on Yap... Eluelap's wife was Limarauarau* whose name was the same as that of the great celestial vault, Eluelap lived with his wife in the great house Fadjamal.

He had three daughters (for the fourth see Hambruch, see below)**;

1. Ligóboub
2. Lisarërë, her sister came to Makuei (not in the Carolines)
3. Ligabú (r) ale aliali who was not supposed to do anything; for that reason she was tied into a bundle and hung from the roof-tree of Fadjamal.

They also had five sons (Hambruch):

1. Zemeruch, who helps the workman with the construction of houses and canoes (Truk: sou im is the word for carpenter).
2. Zelang (Truk: Silelap is the builder of a canoe)

*According to Cantova the woman was called Leteugieul and came from Oleai; since she only had one son, Lugeileng, he adopted the Reschahuileng of Lamotrek whose mother lived here.

**The descent from the couple is contested.

3. Zemalgoror (Truk: Semengŏror)
4. Legeileng
5. Ururulang, the pusher of the clouds and the messenger of Aluelap*

Hambruch names another daughter in addition to three forElato, she is Nimegei and Müller lists her in Yap...as Nimegai, which in translation means "I alone remain"; she married Lugëléng (see Lugeileng above under no. 4); but on Feis she is given as his daughter.

In addition to the above-mentioned three--Legoupap, Legaburalialial and Lidjarere--six more female spirits were mentioned to me on Lamotrek by another informant, but their origin as daughters of Aluelap is not sure. [145]

Their names are:

5. Litáfeo, who was given the threads of life.
6. Ilĕgúio who supervises 5, and sees to it that the threads do not become confused. If she has to cut one, the owner will die.
7. Ilatiu who comes down from heaven in order to find out what is going on

*Hambruch mentions the same three for Elato but by him Eluelap, the well-known Anulap is listed in second place while on Lamotrek he was named as the third. For Truk, 5 brothers and 5 sisters are named, and the above mentioned two brothers are lacking.

below; she takes good news up to heaven since Aluelap does not want to hear anything unpleasant.

8. Ledjóumes supports no. 7 in the good things, because nothing bad is to be reported in the house Fadjamal.
9. Legédjigedj took down the coconut. . . .
10. Aliulang, is the name for the month of gedj. . .for this reason the gedj fish (gudj?) was taboo and could not be caught and not even its name was to be pronounced for the sake of Legédjĕgedj (9). Aluelang suggested that men should die and be resurrected like the gods, but Ligedjegedj thought it would be better if they died once and for all, Aluelap was in agreement with the latter idea, because them men would not be able to spy in heaven and later imitate the gods in everything. . .

This story is given in Cantova, page 305, but here Erigiregers, the evil spirit, brings death to the people who previously had not died, but merely slept from the last moon to the first new crescent. There the evil spirits are called Elus Melabut and the good ones are called Elus Melafirs. The spirit Morogrog is considered the carrier of fire.

Eluelap in the house Fadjamal always sleeps on the floor (Hambruch: nifang) and when

they want to wake him they pull up his eyelids.... The sky, aidjal* is the medium for his speech; the earth is called sa̰lop.

*Audjal is the messenger of the gods. On Elato: the bird, bag, tells him about all the happenings on earth, whether the people are good or bad.... He lets the evil die and they go to the jaf (fire?) and stay there; but the good are admitted into the house of Fatsumān and they live in splendor with the gods.

4: Krämer--143-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
173 Elato

[VMM: For myths about the origin of the world, and the gods, see Lamotrek, 4: Krämer 143-148].

4: Krämer--144 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
173 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: The god Aur lives on an island in the south where only breadfruit grows. From there he has brought the fruit to the people. The quality of the fruit and the harvest depend on his mood. If he is dissatisfied with the people, the trees do not bear fruit.

4: Krämer--145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Lamotrek

On Lámotrek I heard another myth.... When the sky was above... a man by the name of Pelialu sat on a tree in Sätoal aitū (Sätoaleirek, called after the sea, veirek; Sätoal aitū named after the island of Tā on Saťoan (Volume 6, I, page 22); cf, also Dō the southern island of Pollap, etc. The word Sätoval is said to be derived from sät, ocean and oál, bush; one said for instance in the bush: leval, there , nival, here and began to catch gurugak=sea swallows. When he had caught one, it suddenly revealed itself as a spirit (alu) and pulled the man up to heaven with its net. Thus he came to Fadjumal and there noticed all the spirits of illnesses coming towards him with the intention of destroying him. For the guards of the path, Ileitiu and Lidjómas, had already announced his coming. In the house there was a bag hanging down from the roof tree. Ligabur ale aliali, who had power over all on earth, was in the house. And when the illnesses were about to fall over the man, she ordered the bird to seize him by his hair and to take him back down to earth. In this manner they learned in heaven of the presence of man on earth through Pelialu. For that reason, Pelialu is looked upon as a helpful alu. The word olsóbōl, "to protect, aid," with the final syllable bōl apparently has the same stem as Peli.)

4: Krämer--145-148 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-8
116, 173 Elato

On Elato the creation is represented in this manner: Olezapzap, the ancestral mother of the gods... planted a stick in the middle of the universe and it grew into a tree* and reached heaven itself, [146] which at that time was still located fairly close above the

---

* Probably a coconut palm, but one without fruit.... This is the creation of Elato (Hambruch): In olden times there was a stone from which grew a tree, ülelü, a fern with big leaves. That was the very beginning of the world. A bird, garĕgar, came and let its excrement fall on the stone; and in it was a drop of blood and from it originated the woman Legobu (see above... Ligoboub); she soon gave birth to two children, a girl Loi i falu and a boy Loi u pi; their names in translation mean "great place" and great sand." Loi i falu gathered the material from which the islands are made and Loi u pi helped his sister. Both of them were spirits, but their children were human beings. One daughter was Ligabu e aliali and it may be written in another manner: li=woman, malabus, dumb, and ali ali to fly (=the dumb fly to and fro); she completed the island which the others had begun. She did not want to do anything but sleep, drink, dream, and wish; thus she wished that the places she had made would be inhabited by human beings. She cut her hand until blood flowed forth and formed people, men and women. These people were distributed over the island....

earth. And she told her son Eluelap and his daughter Ligoboub to take some sand and to form the earth. They picked up coconut shells, filled them with sand, climbed up the tree, and formed the earth. Eluelap climbed even higher than to the top of the tree and lifted the heaven, lang, and spread it out over the tree and above it he formed the vault of the great blue firmament, limarauarau. He brought the sky to its present place, ueneng. (God Fus "Star"...)

On Iamotrek the story of the creation continues:

Thus Eluelap is the creator and has a daughter Leboupboup (Liboubup) or Legoupup who gave birth to Legaburs al le alual*)the flyer, see above sister no. 3. When she came

*Previously she was mentioned as the sister of Legoupup; upon order of Aluelap she made the earth and later on sent his messenger Eidjal (see above, aidjal, the celestial vault as the means of his speech) as a wind in order that he might enter into the nose of Ligoubub. Eidjal did as he was told and penetrated as far as her stomach where he established himself as breath and the being of Aluelap; and Ligoubub became pregnant and gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl. Eidjal then returned to heaven to bring the news to Aluelap. And Aluelap sent him back down to name the children, the boy Tipalalailog or Tip for short (from tipei, "my will, thought") and the girl Ilalaailog or Il for short (=deliberate, not unjust), and the two children became the cause of good thoughts everywhere...

down from heaven she could not find land anywhere. Therefore she had to fly around for some time and to gather sand and stones and she made the first firm ground. And with one hand full of sand she created all the other islands. Thereafter she made the plants and animals and the birds in the air and everything else. But there was no one around to admire her work. And she cut the tip of the finger of her right hand* and she let the blood drip down on the ground. And soon a woman was formed and a man and they were names Yat and Yol; and they lived together and had many children.

Yat and Yol... among others had the following children; three girls:

1. Lataaisean
2. Lemaugarertra
3. Elamalor, a name which sometimes sounded like Elamalaur (Hambruch for Elato mentions Ilamelul, Ilamulul story 1).

And they had a son, Oralvers. [147]

All of them lived carefree lives and did not know death. Legaburs al le alual even took them out to the ocean over which they could run. But the other spirits became jealous and angry and Ligoubub returned to heaven and left the people to take care of themselves. And they became subject to hunger, illness and death.

Aluelap had another reason for separating heaven and earth; he did not want the people to learn too much. For Lisarërë had taught the women to work and especially had

*On Truk... this was the method Aluelap used to create Ligoubub.

familiarized them with the art of weaving through her daughter, the spider Likesoburára whose web served as an example. In addition plaiting, and the manufacture of textiles, was shown to the women on earth.

The third sister Ligabut ale aliali did not do anything, but she sent the spirit of jealousy to dwell among the people. She flew about without purpose and was lazy.

One day Lugeileng* the son of Elaulap (above no. 4) came down to earth from heaven and he saw a leper. He felt such pity with the man and his deformation that he exchanged his skin for that of the sick man and he gave him everything except his gums. Lugeileng

*On Truk he is the son of Anulap (no. 4 above) who adopted him according to story 1, and the same is told for the island of Ku. Hambruch, in another place wrote that his father was Mezelang e gotu... and that Eluelap had adopted him and had come to love him dearly; see story 1. --According to Cantova, page 306, Lugeileng had a celestial wife, who gave birth to two sons, Carrer and Meliliau; the other was a mortal woman from Falalu, and she gave birth to Olefat.

came to Yol with his diseased skin but the women in this house did not want to give any food to the sick man until the daughter Elamalor took pity and handed him food and water. This pleased Lugeileng. He came to like her so much that he took her along with him after he had changed into a handsome young man.

It was Elamalor who bore him a son, the well-known Olifat.*

The native Urupo said in this connection that Elamalaur had been sent by Lugeileng to fetch a shell; when she brought it back he took it and with it cut her skull and Olifat jumped out (the same happening is related in story 1). Olifat was able to run about immediately after his birth and he himself removed all signs of his recent birth from his body. He looked up and when he saw his father Lugeileng in heaven he ascended on him. One day Olifat observed some children in heaven playing with a shark, and they had tied the shark to a line and let him swim about. Olifat said to the children: "Give me the line and let me play for a little while." But they all refused him, with the exception of one of the children, who indeed was the one to be spared the bites of the shark.

Other children played with the marafas fish, which they also had tied to a line. Once

*On Fanany it was a native woman, Tarisso, who was named as the mother. Much has been written about Olifat including the early reports of Freycinet. . . . According to the Nautical Magazine of 1866 there were three sons in the family: Alutap, Lungalen, and the giver of food. . . Olofat.

more Olifat wanted to join in their play, but all except one refused to let him, and the child was the only one whose arm was not cut by the fish. [148]

Another group of children was playing with toy canoes and when Olifat wanted to join them he experienced the same attitude as in the preceding cases; the one child that was in favor of letting Olifat join in the fun was the one to keep his canoe, while all the others drifted away. Finally Olifat observed some men cutting coconut fronds to cover some huts. He felt the desire to do his share in the work, but none of the men would give him a knife; finally one agreed to let him take his. Olefat returned it to him after use, whereas all the other men lost their knives. In addition the man who had shown interest in Olifat was the only one able to climb down from the top of the tree, for all the others were struck up high and could not return to the ground. When the unhappy men lamented their fate Olifat took pity on them and he ordered Kalung (?Kulung...) to free them. But their unfriendliness did not remain without consequences. When the inhabitants of heaven distributed large quantities of coconuts as reward for the cutting of fronds, Olifat was not given anything because they did not know him; no one knew him except his father Lugeileng. And because they did not know him they made fun of him and laughed at him and when they were building a house and were digging holes for the supports they pushed him into one of these holes and drove a post in after him, because they wanted to kill him. But Olifat quickly changed into an ant and climbed up; he changed back to his

human figure and he sat down on one of the beams of the framework of the house. And the men recognized him. When Aluelap called him he went up to him and complained about the behavior of the men. And Olifat changed once more and he became air. The sister of Lugeileng (Lisarere) became pregnant and she bore a coconut, which was placed in front of the house Fadjamal. During a single night a palm tree grew from this nut and it began to show fruit which increased in number at an amazing rate. But Aluelap made the fruit taboo because they had descended from the sister of Lugeileng. When one of his brothers stole a nut, Lugeileng became angry and chased him out of heaven because he wanted to eat the eye of the gods* He came to Gadjau and went mad and tried to kill all the people whom Ligoubub had created by order of Aluelap.... He felled four palm trees and cut them up to make spears from their wood. But the chief observed everything from the great house and recognized his tricks. He put all his people on gabeibei, driftwood, and let it drift out to the open sea; and thus they reached Truk and later Poloat, etc.

It was this discord among the brothers that brought war into the world and especially

*See the story of the coconut eye. Taro, too, came to earth by theft; a spirit stole a tuber in heaven and ran away with it, but he fell and broke through the floor of heaven and dropped down to earth. He died from this serious fall but the taro fell into the swamp and grew.

to the volcanic islands where there is so much hostility. Lamotrek believes that he is descended from Gadjau.

4: Krämer--148-149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173 Elato

On Elato one tells that Olifat introduced the fire, iaf, to the people and taught them how to cook. [149]

Concerning Lugeileng (cf. Ugélianged, the same word on Palau) it is to be reported from Elato that he is looked upon as the bringer of the canoe. His workmaster is Zelang ...who is thought of as the patron of the carpenters but who is not given recognition in heaven. Alúelap himself instructed him in all the details of canoe construction. The boat ends, the forked tail figurehead for that reason, are also called mónu (Hambruch) ...In connection with the construction of canoes the boat builder was mentioned.

Hambruch was told on Elato that the following are children of Paliulăp and Ilisagŏrŭ:

Farouâi (a boy)	he controls the weather and gives out warnings in case of bad weather
Alului (a boy)	see below
Rongerik (a boy)	he guides the canoes back home; see Pollap
Xaligi (a boy)	he takes care of the canoes and their construction on land
Rongelap (a boy)	he takes the canoes out to the open seas; [150]
Zemal (a girl)	
Mangear (a girl)	she is in charge of the food and sees to it that the dishes prepared for the drew of a canoe turn out well
Ilegafaz (a girl)	she takes care of the fire on board

It is said of Alulei* that under the name of Aluelap he is the navigator; on Pollap too he is the expert on canoes. In Muller 313 he is called Paloolop, or his father is known by that name. It is really of no importance whether Alului is the son of Paluelap or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical. He is best known as the god of the oracles.** Thus he is thought of as the god of navigation and has four eyes, two in

* On Oleai the word equals alu levei the spirit of the voyage...

**inopui or boe

front and two in back. . . Hambruch learned on Elato that Alului went out with the canoes on its voyages and safely guided it. His place, parang, is on the outrigger of every boat on which coconuts, begi, aromatic plants, etc. are placed before the start of any voyage. If the sea carries away the sacrificial offering, Alului is said to have called for them. He has a wife. His son is called Falus and he helps his father.

Lugeileng is also looked upon as the messenger of Aluelap. Hambruch learned on Elato that Lugeleng visited all islands and reported to Eluelap about their condition, about the inhabitants and their character, their behavior and their work; if they are industrious he helps them, but if they are lazy he sends them a typhoon. Zaulalu assists him in this work. Every day a report is made. Lugeleng gave the islanders the dance, and song, and medicine.

4: Krämer--279-280 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-4
116, 173 Woleai

Some records of 100 years ago are still available and are discussed below. The following ought to be mentioned here: Aluelap lived in the house called Fatsomal (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, ngol, go there, whereas the bad are sent to the im aliáf* the "house of fire." Temples and sacrifices are not known (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise ... Vol. III., page 129). Aluelap, the alus ecelap** is credited with the creation of Oleai. Down below in the depth known as i lāl he spoke to his brother Saulal: "Make a reef come up. Make some large and some small." And he also told him to make the ocean and the fish. Saulal is the god of the sea in the shape of a siren, with a human body and a fish tail.

Limagei is the mother of both. Litóbeo, their sister, sat above in heaven and tore the threads of life of the humans so that they had to die. These threads*** extended from heaven down to earth to the people who breathed through them. Their life did not stop until Litóbeo cut their thread.

*Unknown on Lamotrek.

**Kotzebue, page 128: the god (tautup) of Ulea is called Engalap; Eóngelap is the spirit of Volea.

***melovai, my thread of life; eōli mélovas, our threads of life.

Aluelap married Ilamalun. Their children were Lugeileng* (=lugelleng) and Simëlegoror who made all things, the sun, the moon, the stars, canoes, houses, wooden bowls, tattoos, etc. His name is said to mean "all things" but Simë is probably to be explained as simes "death" as can be seen below in connection with Simëlegëreger.

Ligereger was a quarrelsome goddess of unknown origin. At one time she had an argument with the moon and she called to him:

simë Ligereger, simë serël!
dead Ligereger dead thou! (simes, dead)

i.e., when I die everyone shall die!

The moon replied: it is better if it is the way it is with me.
The young moon (ëluelang) is the youth,
and the waning moon (togovei) old age! [280]

Lugeileng, the oldest son of Aluelap came to Veisalop* and married a woman

*According to Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: His mother is Leteugieul from Ulea; page 56: God, tautup, the same term that is used on Yap. The invocation on the occasion of sacrifices was wareganam gure tautup. People, tautup.
**from solop, earth.

of whose origin nothing was known.* She bore Olefat. Lugeileng had gone away for some time but he returned when she was still pregnant. She was very big but could not give birth. Lugeileng told this to his father Aluelap and the latter sent him back to Veisalop with the suggestion that he place a bellik shell on her head when she felt pains and was frightened. He did as he was told, and suddenly Olefat rose from the head of the woman. The baby cried a great deal. When his mother worried what might be the matter with him, he said: Give me a coconut. His mother immediately went and fetched one and wanted to crack it. But the child said that all he needed was a hole in it. When his mother had made a hole in it, Olefat sucked at it and, bending his head back to do so, he noticed his father Lugeileng in heaven. Then Olifat told his mother to light a fire and when smoke rose from it he got into the cloud and went up to heaven on it. Thus he came to Lugeileng. Olifat was evil; he was never satisfied and changed his appearance continuously. At one time he came with a swollen leg, then with an inflamed testicle, sometimes tattooed and sometimes handsome and sometimes ugly but never changing.

* Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 129: Lugeleng had two wives, one in heaven and one on earth, Hamulul and Tarisso (Elamalor, page 146 and Tarisso page 147). The latter was unequalled for bearty and other gifts; she gave birth to Olifat. Cantova earlier wrote that Tarisso came from Falalu (Fananu).

Whatever he had just taken on, he threw off very quickly.

He went to Mores in Melanesia, and it is said that there he devoured some human beings.

Finally Olefat was killed in a strange place. When Lugeileng brought this news to Aluelap the latter said: "Let everything come up that is of any value; I shall destroy the place." As a punishment he dispatched flies, mosquitoes, sharks, etc.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1
116, 173 Woleai

The origin [VMM: of the three gods of the Carolines] is explained in the following manner: since eternity there existed a goddess Ligopoup, the creatoress of the universe. She made Aluelap* the inventor of the sciences. His son is Lugeileng** whose mother is unknown (Ilamalun). He had two wives, the divine Ilamoulong (Ilamalun), and the mortal Tariso who was of a rare beauty (the same is said by Kotzebue, page 129, and also the following is presented there); she gave birth to Olefat four days after the beginning of pregnancy. The child was completely covered with blood, bit off his umbilical cord and started walking immediately after he was born; but he would not allow anyone to touch him and when someone wanted to help him to get cleaned up he said that he would take care of himself. He rubbed his body against coconut trees and that is the reason why they are often so red. When his mother gave him a young coconut to drink, and he bent his head back and looked up he noticed his father Lugeileng, [282] and he addressed

*The same in Kotzebue, Vol III, page 129: according to Cantova (Freycinet, page 115 Eliulup) he is the son of Sabukur and Hamelul and his sister is Ligobuud. Eliulup married Letöhiöl of Guliai and they had a son Lugheileng, whose name has the meaning of "center of heaven;" then he adopted Reschahuileng (Krämer: who is he?) a youth from Lamotrek. Ligobuud had three children.

**Lugeileng had two wives (according to Cantova) a divine one who gave birth to Karrer and Meliliau; the other came from Falalu. The reference is to Tarisso.

him right away. And immediately he and his mother climbed up to heaven. When Olifat entered heaven, he came upon children who were playing with a shark which they had tied by its tail.* The fish pretended to be paralyzed in order that he might remain unnoticed and for that reason the children were afraid of it.** Olefat wanted the fish but none of the children would let him have it, with the exception of the boy who was holding the line. He gave the line to the stranger and thus Olefat could play with the animal. After some time, he returned the line to the boy and told him not to be afraid in case the fish should become wild, for he would not do him any harm. Olefat made magic as a punishment for the other children who had refused his request. And the shark suddenly got big teeth and he bit the unobliging children.

And Olefat thus punished all those who did not give in to his wishes and they were many in number since they did not know the god.*** Once he asked the workmen engaged in

---

* In Kotzebue we find the statement that they were afraid of him and did not touch him because they thought him leprous.

**Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 130: "in order to remain unrecognized it pretended to be leprous. The children thus kept away and did not touch it."

***Kotzebue adds here: "Since no one knew him, and he had not yet come to his father who was the only individual who recognized him, they threatened his life."

the construction of a house for a knife with which to cut the coconut fronds that were to be used to cover the roof. Only one of the men listened to his request, and all the others were transformed into statues.

Lugeileng and Aluelap knew that Olefat had gone to heaven. When they learned of the transformation of the workmen, they asked the man who had been spared this fate whether he had met anyone. His reply was that he had got met anyone but a kandoura bird (and that was the shape Olefat had assumed). They told him to call the bird. But the bird was frightened by the voice and escaped. Lugeileng told the workman to call once more, but without saying that the bird should come to him as he had done before. As a matter of fact he was to order the bird to stay away because its presence would be most unwelcome to the chiefs. The man obeyed the order and forbade the kandoura to enter the house and to occupy the place of the more important people. But the kandoura acted counter to the command. When the kandoura had come, Lugeileng called all the metamorphosed people. They all came much to the surprise of all those present. For only Aluelap and Lugeileng knew that the child was Olefat.

The construction of the house was continued. When holes were to be dug for wall posts, Olefat took this task upon himself. This pleased the other men greatly because they hoped that that would give them a chance to kill him in revenge for what he had done to them and for fear of what he might think up for the future. But olefat guessed their intentions [283] and supplied himself with red earth and with coal and coconut leaf ribs,

which he hid carefully. Then he dug the holes but he included niches in order that he would be able to hide. When he had finished his work, he announced it. And the men took one of the posts and dropped it on him and filled the pit with sand and believed they had suffocated Olefat. But Olefat escaped into the niche at the side, and chewed the red earth, and threw it out. His murderers thought that what they saw was his blood. And when they observed the coal which was chewed in the same careful manner, they thought that it was gall and jumped to the conclusion that their victim was dead. In the meantime Olefat was busy drilling a passage through the post with the rib of his coconut leaf. And he climbed up through this channel and sat down on top without being noticed. It is since this time that the trees have hearts. (This sentence is omitted by Kotzebue).

When the work was completed, the workmen got together to eat. Olefat asked an ant* to pick up a little piece of coconut for him. The ant did what it could. Olefat with his divine powers, changed this very tiny piece into a whole nut and spoke loudly: "Look, I shall crack my coconut." At these words the men turned and were surprised at the fact that they had not killed the speaker. Now they realized that he was an alu (Kotzebue: alus) Thus they abandoned their murderous scheme and told him to take food to Thunder. Olefat happily walked off, but as a precaution he took a stick with him. When he entered the house of Thunder he said: "Stop, I am tired from carrying food for your crooked

*In Kubary, the ant has another task, and not that of bringing food.

mouth!" Thereupon the thunder was about to fall over him but Olefat slipped into his bamboo stick and thus saved himself.* Thus he executed his order without harm to himself which greatly surprised his companions. They sent him out once more with fish food of the botete de espinas** as the Spaniards call it. Olefat left once more armed with nothing but a shell. When he entered the house of the fish, the latter held the door and wanted to prevent him from going out. But when night fell, he placed the shell on the upper jaw of the fish and walked over him. That is the reason why this fish has an indention in that part of the body.

Finally he was given food for the long-mouthed fish, which was called fela. When Olefat did not find him at home he handed the food to those who happened to be around and left. They told it to the fela when he returned and asked who had brought him the food; but the others did not know him. Then he took a hook on a long line and [284] threw it in all directions. Thus he caught Olefat in the north and managed to kill him.

When Olefat did not return the workmen celebrated. But Lugeileng went to search for his son and when he found him lifeless and full of worms, he woke him and asked him who had killed him. Olefat answered that he was not actually dead but merely asleep.

---

*Kotzebue adds here: "The Thunder could not find him and thus stopped pursuing him."

** bote, blow; espina, sting; probably the synanceia which had an indention for the stings. The ray is called raya; this is omitted in Kotzebue.

4: Krämer--281-284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-6
116, 173 Woleai

Lugeileng called the fela fish before him and with a stick beat its upper jaw. That is the explanation why the upper jaws are shorter than the lower ones. Thus the three gods brought justice into the lives of the people.

11: Born--176
116, 621, 173

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

All the natives have their houses along the coast, on that side of the islands which faces the inner lagoon. There are no visible boundaries, although there are separate communities. There are about three or four villages, each with its own chieftain, on each island. There is no head chief within the atoll, not even a "first among equals". The actual head chief is the chieftain Follebu, or rather his father Bugolrau, in Gatschbar on Jap.

There are several legends concerning the origin of this political dependence on Jap. One of the most common variants is the following: Once a woman from Oleaï lost her course and was stranded at Gatschbar. She was received hospitably, and, when the winds changed, some people from Jap provided her with the necessary supplies and took her safely to her native island. The peaceful people of Oleaï recognized their superiors in these armed, warlike men who had saved the woman, and accepted them as their masters. The consciousness of their dependence is deeply ingrained in the natives of Oleaï. They believe that if they should secede from Jap and break faith with their head chief, a huge tidal wave would wash away their island.

14: Born et al--570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 173 Woleai

As to the question of the cause of this horrible catastrophe [MR: typhoon, March 1907] I should like to impart some observations which I made after the typhoon, but without the intention of drawing conclusions from them. It seems to me that it is not out of the question that volcanic, undersea eruptions had something to do with it. During the typhoon at 10 in the morning earthquakes could be felt; many pumice stones were washed ashore, which competent people said were lava. The whole atoll seemed even to the natives to have lifted since the high water mark had receded considerably. A new island emerged between Falalis and Motogosu, where, to be sure, there had already been a reef. This island is called Met and is supposed to have been inhabited long ago in the dim past. The native legend relates that a tidal wave washed it away in those days. Between the islands of Paliau and Oleai there used to be only a small passage, which was almost dry at low tide. Now, after the typhoon, this passage is very considerably widened and deepened. The reef bank between these two islands was cracked like a marble slab thrown on the floor; great pieces were split out of it. The ground on the islands of Paliau and Raur also looked as if shattered. On the outer reef of Raur, where the tidal wave had broken over it, there were three longish piles of coral rubble like little lonely islands. The outer reef side of the same two islands, formerly grown with thick bush, was a flat surface strewn with coral gravel, smooth and even as a table, where it had been exposed to the tidal wave. The direction of the tidal wave was presumably from east-northeast to west-southwest; its height cannot be given with certainty.

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 721, 174 Lamotrek

War is said to have been introduced by Olifat.

Warfare is rare among the natives of the island group, and therefore weapons...are most limited. But it must have been different in the past, at least as far as outside affairs were concerned, when the king of Lamotrek...ruled over extensive territories. We heard that not too longago Ifaluk had attacked the people of Lamotrek because the latter had killed the crews of two of their canoes.

7: Senfft--194-195 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 162, 174 Aurupik

The total population consists of a single family, 48 people in all. They are all attractive, healthy people. [195] There are 17 men, 18 women, and 13 children. The head of the family, a native of Jap by the name of Malai, told me the story of their origin. About 45 years ago, he and two other men from his island had gone to Palau; they lost their course and were stranded on Aurepik, a distance of five hundred nautical miles. Aurepik at that time had a large population. One of the two men with him died and the other made an attempt to sail back to Jap but was never heard from again. He himself remained on the island and married there. Once the entire population went on the customary expedition to Oleaĭ; his wife had just given birth to a child so that he and his mother-in-law remained behind to stay with her. The expedition never arrived in Oleaĭ and was never heard from again. About a year later a tidal wave swept over the entire island of Aurepik and destroyed all the vegetation so that for a long time he lived only on crabs and shells. His wife had born him nine more children who, when they were older, married natives from Ileaĭ and brought them back to the island.

28: Spiro--2
116, 174

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Very little is known of the origin of the Carolinians, (1) The evidence seems to indicate that the islands were originally inhabited by a wave of migration from Indonesia at an unknown date. It is believed that the Polynesians moved into the Pacific about 1200 A.D. via Micronesia, but it is still a moot point as to whether the Micronesians preceeded or succeeded them. Diego da Rocha, a Portuguese captain, seems to have been the discoverer of the Western Carolines. He sighted Yap and Ulithi in 1526, five years after Magellan's discovery of the Marianas. Except for a voyage by Sir Francis Drake in 1588, the only visitors to the area for the next century and a half were Spaniards. Nevertheless, Spain made no attempt to establish trade, colonies, or missions in the area during either the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries traders and explorers of various nationalities added information to the growing stock of knowledge concerning the islands."

"1. Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands, 1944. Davidson, Sutherland D., Oceania, 1947. Krieger, Herbert W. Island Peoples of the Western Pacific, 1943."

28: Spiro--5
116, 144, 174

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Ifaluk are members of the so-called Micronesian race, which is closely related to the Polynesian. Their features definitely bespeak a racial admixture, but whether this contact was in historic or prehistoric times is still a moot point."

28: Spiro--26
116, 621, 174

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ifaluk social organization is simple, compared to other Pacific peoples. The two islands of Felarik and Falalap have eight matrilineal and strictly exogamous clans, (ailang). The clans are not localized, and vary considerably in numerical strength, as is shown in the following table.

District	Kovalu	Sauvelarik	Mangau Ievar	Rape velu	Sauwel	Kailan gailuk	Kailangai Bwol	luelea	Total
Felarik	4	8	21	0	8	10	0	0	51
Rauau	29	17	11	13	16	13	0	0	99
Falalap	19	23	24	6	4	2	13	3	94
Totals	52	48	56	19	28	25	13	3	224

The origin of the clans is accounted for by the same two traditions mentioned in connection with the origin of chieftanship. One tradition has it that these clans constituted the original colonizers from Yap. The other maintains that the clans were instituted by Autran when she created the people on Ifaluk."

32: Brown--89-90
116, 212, 174

(1913) 1914

Woleaians-1-3
Woleai

"In July, 1913, I paid a visit to the small reef island, Oleai, or Uleai, or Wolea, of one of the most westerly of the Caroline group. One of the chiefs squatted, at the suggestion of Herr Runge, the only European on the islet, and wrote a sentence in the script of the island. A few week [sic] ago I received from Mr. Runge a full list of the characters written by the chief, Egilimar. There are fifty-one, and evidently each represents a syllable, as will be seen by the accompanying copy of the list. Alongside he has also written Runge, Brun, and Egilimar in the script; and it will be seen that two, if not three, of those employed to write the last name are not given in the list. It is manifestly a syllabary, as is the Katukana of Japan, and a script that was invented in Korea some centuries ago, but never drove out the Chinese ideographs. But none of the characters have any resemblance to these. Nor do they resemble in any respect any of the alphabets we know, European, Levantine, Arabic, or Devanagari. The only other script known in the groups or islands of the Pacific is that of the Easter Island tablets. But they are ideographic; many of them according to the interpretation of them supplied to Bishop Jaussen, of Tahiti, by one of the learned men of the Easter Islands, bear resemblance to the form of the thing they represent, though it is affirmed also that they were but mnemonic suggestions of the beginning of a word or line of the hymns or lyrics sung at the annual festivals. They are but one stage beyond the ideographic hieroglyphs on the one hand, and serve the same purpose as the knots in the quipus of ancient Peru and of

the Pelew Islands.

This Oleai syllabic script is one stage further on in development towards an alphabet. Most of the characters are highly conventionalised, but some retain a resemblance to the thing to which their name or sound corresponds. In the [90] second column, the seventh from the bottom, schrü means in the language of the islet 'a fishbone,' and the character has manifestly originated in a representation of a fish; the fifth from the bottom, lö, means 'a bottle,' and evidently the character retains something of the form of the coconut water-vessel. In the first column, the sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second from the bottom have a hint of what their syllable indicates; ngä meaning 'bamboo,' boa 'ulcer,' warr 'canoe,' raa 'mast,' uh 'sail.' So in the third column, the first, rä, means 'a saw'; the second, lüh, 'a young coconut'; the third, sthah, 'a knife.' In a few others there might be found by stretching the imagination a hint of the thing indicated by the syllable. But the majority of the characters can be connected by no possibility with the meaning of the sound indicated.

The script is now known only to five men on the islet; but it is probably a relic of a wide usage in the archipelago. There is no possibility of any one of the five having invented it, and if invented by them since Europeans arrived it would have taken the forms either of the European alphabet or of the things bought or sold, of whose names and

numbers they wished to keep a record. If anyone wishes to compare this with such a script invented for commercial purposes, he should look up Furness's The Island of Stone Money; on page 138 is given a copy of an account kept by a native of Yap for trade purposes; and this native Fatamak, a sorcerer, I can personally testify, is a man of keen intelligence. A comparison will bring out the gulf that separates the two scripts. This Oleai script is manifestly the product of long ages for the use of the organisers of a highly-organised community of considerable size. In other words, it must have belonged to the ruling class of an empire of some extent, that needed constant record of the facts of intercourse and organisation."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were surely as mixed up racially as the Europeans (none of us can afford to be stuffy about purity of race) but the mixture in the Ifalukians must have contained some of the same elements as the European mixture. But how did they get so far away?

Most anthropologists believe that the Pacific islanders moved out from southeast Asia, perhaps around the beginning of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of southeast Asia may have had a larger "Caucasian" component in their racial mixture than now. Despite his daring feat with the Kon-Tiki, few experts have much faith in Thor Heyerdahl's theory of American origin: he certainly proved that cross-Pacific contact is possible, but the evidence of language, culture and race points overwhelmingly to a Malayasian origin. One of the more probable migration routes for the Polynesians is from southeast Asia to the Philippines and through the Caroline islands to the central and south Pacific.

One gets the feeling, in this Polynesian-Micronesian area, of dealing with cultures far more complex than the technology would indicate: of dealing with the remnants of a high culture, of a "civilization." One feels that these same people, with the resources of a continent, could have built Angkor Vat or Copan: and they did produce some spectacular carving and building in places like Ponape and Easter Island. It is easy to understand the lure of the search for some "lost civilization" to account for these cultures; to understand the desire to create a mid-Pacific "continent of Mu" after the fashion of Atlantis. Maybe there is a general human tendency to explain the fascinating with the fabulous. Certainly the Pacific islanders are fascinating enough; but they have given us very few clear clues to either their origin or their history, and the few clues that we have are in part conflicting. Probably we shall never arrive at a clear and unequivocal reconstruction of their past.

But we were absorbed with the Present on Ifaluk. We had not yet acquired a proper Ifalukian shade of brown when we finally managed to finish our census of the people: but even with our strange color, we had already begun to feel at home, to feel "Micronesian" ourselves, a part of the island.

"Dann, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifalik to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifalik during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodãu (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifalik in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house Ilamai or Iramai, which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj (recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falālap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelū on Falārik. The site of the ancient Katelū was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifalik would be anomalous.

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear. [49]

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifalik. The men's house is not built on

one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falārik and Falālap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time."

(1947-48)

"Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifalik, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. My work with census and legends, and Spiro's with genealogies, provide so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifalik come first.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwalei	Called on Ifalik Saufalasik.	Apparently Sauvelērlk. Other name unknown on Ifalik.
Monaulifer	From Yap.	Mangaulevār. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947.
Bwol	From Pulap.	Bwēl. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for pulax, the commonest kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with taro cultivation.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwol	From Woleai.	Sauwēl. Origin incorrect. 'E talk lie', said Tom; Sauwēl like all the other clans, went to Woleai from Ifalik, not the other way. (See legends and discussion, pp. 139 ff.).
Saupolowat	From Puluwat.	Once represented on Ifalik. Died out long ago.
Wisusu	From Puluwat.	A clan of Puluwat and Truk. Never represented on Ifalik. [92]
Fanimei) Gadaman) Wolei)	From Yap.	Never represented on Ifalik.
Wuido	Called Djak.	Never represented on Ifalik."

(1947-48)

"Foreign vessels, as they came to replace native canoes for such long voyages as that between Ifalik and Yap, continued to foster the old relationship by carrying passengers both ways. Maintenance of the traditional chain of command has been a policy of the U.S. Naval government, though some officers disapprove of it. In 1947-48 the American ships, on their tours of these 'outer islands', took along the Yap chiefs who were regarded as overlords of the atolls. The highest-ranking of them, Fithingmau, who was old and partly paralyzed, was represented by his heir-apparent. He claims no special jurisdiction over Ifalik. Foneg of Gatschapar village (Gagil district, Yap) was considered the overlord of Ifalik. On these trips he would always meet with the chiefs, receive gifts, particularly of cloths, and pray. Lieut. Carroll said that the prayers were for good crops, an abundance of fish, and fair weather. Lieut. Carroll considered the ascendancy of the Yap chiefs mainly a religious matter. Some other Naval government officials, who disapproved of encouraging this old relationship, said that the Yap chiefs maintained their ascendancy mainly by threats of inflicting disaster through their supernatural power. During our stay, the Yap people brought to those of the atolls many baskets of food, particularly boi nuts (Tahitian chestnut), bananas, watermelons and pineapples.

Return gifts were meager: hospitality-but nothing lavish-while the visiting chiefs were ashore; a cloth or two on each trip; perhaps other bits of handicraft; young coconuts to drink. Some other atolls contributed a canoe or two. The people of Ifalik seemed to

accept their subordination. I heard no grumbling about it. No more did I see any signs of enthusiasm."

Islanders blown off their course discovered a large number of the Carolines, and described them to Europeans long before the latter actually visited them themselves. In this way the Jesuit father Paul Clain learned about 32 islands between 1678 and 1696, and among them was Yfaluc. However, this is not mentioned on the map, which Clain made, and where he located the position of each island as the natives had shown them to him with little stones, which they stuck in the sand. In 1710 Somera drew another map, following the directions of the Sonserol inhabitants, and again we find the archipelago Faloc. For the sake of completeness, let us refer to Krämer's hint that the island "ban" on Somera's pilot chart (1710) can probably be traced back to Lezcano, and may refer to Ifaluk. On Cantova's native map (1721) we find Ifeluc again. And it is certain that James Wilson discovered it on October 27th, 1797. Wilson first sighted a single island, but when he approached, he saw that there were two narrow islands, which lay very close together; they must have been Feladjik and Moai. He exchanged some things with the natives, but did not make any ethnographical observations.

On the 3rd of April 1828, Lütke found the Wilson Islands again, and identified them as Ifaluk. [2] In 1844 Cheyne visited the island, and observed some fine holothurians on the reefs; that was the extent of his interest in the oceanic island world.

On the 31st of March 1875, the commercial and fishing schooner "Rupak," under B. E. Gall, touched the island, but did not stay there.

2: Damm et al. --1-2 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 175 Ifaluk

On the 5th of November, 1909, the Hamburg South Sea Expedition left Sarfert on the largest island, and picked him up again on the 17th of November.

2: Damm et al. --78 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 167, 175 Ifaluk

Ifaluk played a special role in the history of the Caroline archipelago, partly because of its wars against Oleai, Lamutrik and Elato, and then also because it colonized anew the islands, which it had depopulated, as well as Sorol and Faraulip. The following facts illustrate the dependency on Yap. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, two men from Ifaluk, the only ocean captains left, had taken their boats, and 85 men and 6 women had gone with the steamer to Yap and Ngulu. Nobody knew when they would come back, because the king of Gatšapar kept these tribute payers on Yap for a long time; they had to work for him. So the suzerainty of Yap was still very powerful.

2: Damm et al. --85
116, 175

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The head chief Olaidiu lived at the time of the great typhoon of 1907, but he disappeared on a trip to Lamutrik. Under his administration the white merchant Sau left the island, and that was prior to the typhoon, while three Japanese, who were residing on Feladjik in Lawuau, left immediately after the disaster.

The high chief Daoreligar ruled in 1909, and Sarfert's Faraulip interpreter declared that he was a very great king. After the last typhoon, which devastated the island under his predecessor, many Ifaluk natives went to Lamutrik, Yap and Palau, in order to avoid a famine. When the island population was assured that it would have enough nourishment, the chief begged Sarfert to see to it that no more people would be removed. He had a similar experience on Aurepik; the natives, who came to Yap, were brought to Nauru.

2: Damm et al, --109-110 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 175, 131 Aurupik

Like the majority of the Central Caroline Islands, Aurepik was introduced to Europe through the letter which Father Clain wrote on the 10th of June, 1697; he called the island Yaropie, but it is not mentioned on the map that was included with his letter. If we accept the statement of Krämer, who has made a critical study of the history of the discovery of Micronesia, we find that our island appeared for the first time on the chart of Pilot Somera, who was under Captain Don Francisco de Padilla in 1710. And Krämer believes that his Isla de Casa (House Island) is the same as Aurepik, on account of the peculiar houses on stone terraces, which give the island its characteristic cachet, and make an indelible impression on the visitor. On Cantova's native chart (1721) the atoll is called Eurrupuc, and it reappears under this name on Vaugondys's map (1756).

The information that we find in the Kolonial Lexicon (Vol. I, page 98): "Aurepik was discovered by Hunter in 1791," is not correct, and it probably goes back to Gulick (1867, page 59). It is doubtless explained by a misunderstanding of Chamisso (Bemerkungen und Ansichten, page 104), who writes: "Compare the Phillip Islands of Captain Hunter, 1791 and the two islands of 1791, to which we have already referred as Eurüpük." However, he did not want to identify it with this group, for on page 98 he mentions it as a separate cluster, which joins Aurepik. I think that Brigham (page 148) is much more exact, when he identifies the Phillips Islands with Sorol. [110]

On the 12th of April 1828, Lütke sighted the Island Eourypyg from the west (Kittlitz:

Eurupyk), but he did not land, and continued his northern route. Although there were a number of boats on the beach, the natives did not come to the ship. Von Kittlitz explains this by attributing it to a tabu laid on the boats, during a yearly festival. In September 1844, Andrew Cheyne visited the island, and on the 25th of March 1876, von Miklucho-Maclay touched the group as he came north on the little trading vessel "Sea Bird," but he did not go on shore.

On the 31st of October, 1909, the expedition ship, the "Peiho" of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, put Sarfert on land, and he stayed here until the second of November. At that time the "Scott" came from Yap to the island occasionally, and then the Japanese also called here once in a while.

2; Damm et al. --116 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Aurupik

The population is small; the following table lists them together:

Year	Population	Source
1791	about 50	Hunter (according to Gulick, page 59)
1828	about 30	Lütke, 1835, Vol. II, p. 326
1844	about 150	Cheyne, 1852, page 138
1900	50	Brigham, 1900, page 62
1903	48	Sievers, Vol. II, p. 364, 347; More information Deutsch Schutzgeb. Vol. 17, p. 194-196. Deutsches Kolonialblatt Vol. 15, p. 12-14.
1909	60-80	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1914	about 50	Finsch, 1914, page 64
1930	113	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 501.

2: Damm et al. --133 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Aurupik

The natives had nothing to say about people, who had been blown off their course and drifted. But we can read about them. The missionary Snelling was adrift for 93 days in a native boat which he had taken from Piherar; he finally reached Aurepik and then went on to Oleai. Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 108, tell about a canoe from Aurepik, that was blown to Hok.

2: Damm et al. --151-152 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 175 Faraulep

It is not known when this island group was discovered. Krämer says that the island which Francisco Lezcano sighted in 1686, and which he called Carolina, is probably Fároilap, or our Faraulip; the pilot Somera was the first to ascertain its position on his compass chart, 1710. Meinicke attributes the discovery to the Spaniard Rodriguez, 1696. Some Fais islanders, who were blown to Guam in 1696, brought some definite information about this island group, and Father Clain gave an account of them on the 10th of June, 1697. These natives called the large island Piraulop, and a second one, that lay to the northwest in the reef circle, was Pic.

In 1804 Luis de Torres * came from the Marianas to the group. Then the islands disappeared again from the horizon of the navigators, and Lütke had to make a real search for them. This explains why a good many people even today regard Lütke as the real discoverer. On the morning of the 28th of March 1828, Lütke found the atoll Farroilap, as the natives called it. But he also calls it Fattoilap. This spelling is

---

" * According to Krämer, 1917, Book I, page 132, Anm. 1. He was the second governor of the Marianas; Chamisso, in the third part of Kotzebue's work has translated into German his important ethnographic notes on the Carolines (compare v. Kotzebue, 1821 Book II, page 130).

probably due to Kadu, who was a native of Ulle (possibly Oleai); he wrote Fatoilep. On the 16th of December of the same year he visited the island group for the second time, but he was not able to [152] make any ethnographic observations, because his authority Alberto, whom he had met on his first visit, was not there.

Hambruch, one of the members of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, stayed on the island from the 4th to the 18th of November, 1909.

It is not known when the first merchants came; in 1909 some Japanese copra merchants had a station on Pik, and they were building a cutter.

2: Damm et al. --155-156 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2-
116, 161, 175 Faraulep

The population has never been large, but we can not discover on what grounds Gulick and Meinicke state that the islands are uninhabited. As a matter of fact, only the smallest island Eäd is uninhabited, and it is [156] quite probable that this situation is fairly recent. The following figures are given:

Year	Total	Faraulip	Pix	Observations	Source
1828	about 60				Lütke, 1835 Vol. 2, p. 326
1903-4	121			1 native merchant	Sievers, 1910, Bk. 2, p. 347, 364. Finsch, 1914, page 64.
1909	155	96	59	14 of them on Yap	Hamburg South Sea Expedition
1912	80				Kolonial-Lexicon Bk. 1, p. 600.
1930	145			10 Japanese are included	Pacific Islands Pilot, 1933, page 503.

2: Damm et al. --155-156 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 161, 175 Faraulep

There is a decline of nearly 50% in the population between 1909 and 1912. This can scarcely be attributed to the islanders' fondness for travel. It seems to be due to the progressive decay which Sievers noted, and which Hambruch said was formerly traced to the constant civil wars.

Chief Néipöl is the historical Alberto, whom Lütke and v. Kittlitz met in 1828, and who impressed them with his European manners and his knowledge of Spanish; he had spent two years on the Marianas.

The natives told Hambruch that the first white men came about this time; they did not land, but just stayed in the lagoon. They must have been Spaniards, and Luis de Torres may have been in the group, for he visited the islands in 1804. The natives gave him coconuts and other things, and they received European products from the Spaniards in exchange. They already knew about iron (parán) *, for they had seen it on Lamutrik, which got it from Guam; it is possible that some of the Faraulip men had gone to Guam themselves.

While Mareröï isaú was chief, the natives undertook fishing expeditions to an extent that they have not equalled since. During this same period whalers appeared twice (whale - rás); they were American three-masted schooners. Then a German merchant came to Oleai for the first time; this is important because it is a means of determining the date of the chief's rule.

---

* This word throws a good deal of light on the origin of this new kind of material, for parán is the Malay word for bush knife, or for a sword with a straight blade.

2; Damm et al. --194-195 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 175 Faraulep

During the reign of chief Gavŭs, a German ship "Karerein" (probably Kathrine) was shipwrecked one night in the channel; its Captain was named [195] Becker. He and his crew (two white men, some Sandwich islanders, and a Samoan)remained for a year and a half on the island. Becker had a weakness for rum; in fact, the disaster was due to his drunkenness; he was later taken to Ponape. One of the white men had a son, who was 25 years old in 1909; so the wreck must have occurred in 1885.

Sauerŭ was the chief in 1909; he had travelled extensively, and was very enterprising. It was under his regime that the merchant O'Keefe and the Japanese settled on the island; one of the latter died on Faraulip. While Hambruch was on the island, he lay at home with influenza. He hoped that a magician could cure him; the magician didn't help him but Hambruch's quinine did.

Meinicke, on page 358 says: "Lamotrek (Lamurec, Namurek) was discovered in 1797 by Wilson and was called Swede, Haweis and Lew." (Krusenstern, Haweio).

In my book Palau I, pages 14, 15, and 180 it is related that the names of the islands of the Lamotrek group had been told as early as 1696 to Peter Clain on Samal (Philippines); some Carolinians had been cast adrift, who had used the names of Puc and Falait...for Lamurrec and Ylatu (Elato) and Lamuliur. On Clain's map (Palau I, page 17) of 1706 Falú or Lamuirec is given with Taramit (Falait?) and at the top of the map, separated from it, there are the two islands of Olutil (Oletel) and Falipe (Falipi) instead of Elato, and for Lamolior the two islands of Tauas (Toas) and Olor (Olor), and next to them in the west is Olimarau (Olimarau). At the same time it is claimed that Lamurrec was the largest of the islands and that the king of all the islands lived on it (Palau I, page 15). Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, III, page 99 states that in 1800 the sovereignty had been passed on to king Toua of Oleai....

Wilson's report indicated that the group was known to whites before 1797; Wilson was received here as capitaine. Thus it is possible that French ships had called previously. One of them under Capitaine Le Gentil de la Barbinais had visited Guam in 1715 on the way from Peru to the Marianas. When the French ship took its course WNW after its voyage through the Ralik-Ratak north of the Carolines it had reached Guam. Most of the Spaniards who sailed around the globe took the same course (see Palau) and that is the reason why the Central Carolines were discovered so late.

After Le Géntil Bougainville 1766-69, La Pereuse 1780-90, and d'Entrecasteaux 1791-93 sailed through the Pacific; but they kept their course south of the equator. It was not until 1780-81 that Maurelle once more reached Guam, and he was followed by Marchank 1790-92 on his voyage from Hawaii (1828). There is no mention or indication in their reports that they went southward into the region of Lamotrek and Oleai. It is probable that on Guam they met some Central Carolinians; the latter in any case must have been well informed about the whites due to the fact that they had drifted ashore on the Philippines. But they should really have used the word capitano and thus the French use of the term remains unexplained. [6]

Captain James Wilson of the ship Duff was coming from the south and reports as follows (page 293ff.): October 1797: "On the 25th we sighted a shallow boat in W to N and soon afterwards observed some boats taking their course towards us. About 8 A. M. one pulled up alongside without the slightest fear or hesitation which led us to the assumption that they must previously have had some contact with Europeans; their frequent mention of the "capitaine" substantiated that idea. This first group was followed by several others who exchanged their fishhooks(made of shell) and their fishing lines and coconut fibers for anything that we chose to give them. When several of them were allowed to come on board they showed inclination to refrain from stealing for a considerable length of time. But the natives in the canoes soon gave us reason to change out good impression since

they stole the rowing rings, which the skillful Tonga islanders had tried in vain. One boy was caught as he was trying to pass a pump into his own canoe. Since we were used to this sort of thing we merely drove them off the deck for these first plunderings; but when we were busy in the cabin eating we heard them at work trying to chop the belt-head off the rowing ring; when the captain noticed this activity he fired a few little shots in the direction of the islanders whereupon they immediately fled. At this very time William Tucker and John Connelly were discovered swimming under the stern of the boat with the intention of escaping to the boats; their hesitation proved that they were afraid that they might also become the objects of the shots. The captain, as in the past was furious at their ingratitude and their attempt at deception, but was willing to put an end to the latter and told them that if they wanted to leave they should go ahead and do so; he would not fire on them. Connelly answered: "Thank you, Sir" and both swam to the boats and were received by wild shouts of the natives. Soon afterwards when a breeze from northeast arose, we continued on our course and left the two men behind. (On Elato the natives told Hambruch that they remembered Anari because he had always quarreled when he was the helmsman.) Connelly we had removed by force from Tongatabu because he threatened the missionaries. During his stay on board he had been quiet and in the ship's reports was listed as a good seaman who was satisfied with his position until his last action proved him to have been a pretender.....[7]

The spot in which the two men had chosen to spend their last days is a small island

at the bosom of the deep; it has a circumference of no more than 2 to 3 miles. The comforts and necessities of life are so scant that we must assume that their means of subsistence were limited to fish and roots, coconuts and possibly some breadfruit.

The natives do not belong to a strong race. The color of their skin is dark copper, and they are lively. We did not see any women. Their boats were different from all those we had hitherto seen, because they rose high at both ends and were painted red. They have outriggers and may sail with either of their two ends in front. Their sails are made almost in the same fashion as the sailing canoes of the Tonga Islands. The location of the island is at Lat. 7° 22'N. and Long. 146° 48' E. We called it Tucker's Island after the member of the crew who had run off.

Carried by light winds from the northeast we continued on our course having left Tucker and his companion behind to think about the poor choice they had made. . . .

October 26, 1797. When we had advanced approximately 10 leagues westward we sighted another island* in the north and at 4 A. M. two more appeared in the NW; soon after that, at daybreak, we could count six of these small islands, their extreme tips oriented from NW to N to NE to E: we took our course towards the southernmost of these islands (Lamolier) and soon the boat was surrounded by a large number of

*Lamotrek group

canoes. [ER: Here one of the members of the crew went ashore to live among the natives.] [8]... The natives of this island group, their boats, utensils and their desire for iron are the same as on Tucker Island. The afternoon was cloudy and rainy, but this was by no means of concern to the canoes; many of them followed us until their island was out of sight. When we noticed them stopping in a bay in the north we came to the conclusion that they wanted to visit a village in that part of the island region.

27. At 10 A. M. we sighted another low island in the southwest and changed our course in order to sail south of it. When it was to the west of us it appeared as if there were two islands. Once more many natives approached us and traded with us just as the others had done. One peculiar and noteworthy thing we had observed on our voyage through this island region was that we had not seen any women; this fact led us to believe that either the men were more jealous than their eastern neighbors or that they held their women in higher esteem. Possibly some time ago they may have had to protect them against some over-anxious visitors. The latitude of these sister islands is 7° 14' N and Long. 144° 50' E (Ifaluk). At 4 P. M. the latter lay E to N at a distance of 2 leagues. Just before dark we saw another island WNW at a distance of 3 or 4 leagues. We took our course with the intention of sailing south of it and thus more easily to avoid all danger along the route; around midnight the island lay to the NNE.

28. At 4:00 A. M. on the 28th we discovered other islands and by means of our night instruments we could distinguish the ones closest to us from WNW to N to W. At this

time a calm prevailed which continued for some time. At daybreak we counted six areas of land which according to their size deserved to be called [9] islands and 7 islets or keyes; all of them together we called by the name of "13 Islands" (Oleai).

4: Krämer--9 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175 Lamotrek

In line with the procedure of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius on October 26, 1797, Lamotrek was called Swede Island,....At that time Ilematip...seemed to have been chief of Elato, as Hambruch learned.

According to Espinosa (see Palau I, page 175) an American frigate, "La Lidia," in 1801 came to the Carolines and passed Iselook (Ifaluk) and Lamursek. But the discovery does not seem absolutely sure and nothing was reported on the islands as far as it is known.

In 1828 Dumont d'Urville passed the location of "Lamoursek," but did not see anything. Cheyne (see Palau II, page 364) gives Swede Island (6 islands)...

The English warship H. M. S. "Espiegle" under Captain Ryle is said to have visited the group. For unknown reasons this man is said to have felled the breadfruit trees on Elato.

On April 5, 1880 the Englishman Lewis, after adventurous voyages around Australia and Samoa reached the group and became the first trader. He lived on Lamotrek for about 11 years and married a Chamorro woman (daughter see source Plate 3d), whose sister was married to the trader Friedländer on Yap; Lewis himself later went to Yap but there lost all his money so that he returned to Lamotrek around 1900.

4: Krämer--10
116, 161, 175

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

We heard that no more than 220 natives were left on Lamotrek; it is said that in 1890 they still numbered 300 and that in former times the figure was a high as 1000. These statements are in line with the information received by the shipwrecked who reached the shores of the island in 1787 and who gave the population as 1400. Freycinet on page 101 says that Lamoursek had 2000, Elato 1200 and Ulor 180 inhabitants, and that 170 people lived on Puk and 130 on Falati; his figures would apply to the time around 1800. Even on Goulimarao (Olimarau) the natives were supposed to have numbered 225. During our stay on the island there were many cases of influenza and dysentery so that we may assume a further decrese in the population figures. The Pacific Islands Pilot (page 4) says that in 1930 there were no more than 165 inhabitants on Lamotrek and 72 on Elato.

Accordingly in 1800 when the king of Lamotrek ruled over almost all the coral islands, the population was undoubtedly very large and possibly we were dealing with overpopulation which later was reversed (see Oleai).

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Hambruch lists 9 chiefs (pimóon tamŏl) for Elato. It has been impossible to establish how far the ninth of the series dated back.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Lamotrek

List of chiefs

Lámotrek

1. Súkurang...
2. Angareisuk "the hair of Sukurang made curly by extensive fishing"
3. Teliméra or Itelimé́ra...
4. Uamop
5. Gogoiaim

Elato (Hambruch)

1. Mailipue 1909
2. Fetal·e tauuo
3. Lóngarăle
4. Mangiléi
5. Laremā̃t
6. Molī̃t
7. Laliigŭ̃r
8. Ilematĭ̃p [MR: Hambruch learned that he was chief at the time of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius in 1797]
9. Feiemelâu* or Oroéihâu

* At this time the first whites are said to have come (probably 1797 on the "Duff")

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 175, 643 Lamotrek

Lamotrek: Since the first three of the chiefs are brothers we are dealing only with approximately three generations and no more than 100 years. Nothing more was reported than that in the past the chiefs had been very powerful, which is quite in line with the information by Clain [4: Kramer 5-9, p. 5] It is possible that at the time of Lütke Gogoiaim was in office. Cantova mentions Mattuson as head chief in 1722.

4: Krämer--125-126 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175 Elato

The knowledge concerning the islands is supplemented by the following: According to Espinosa, II, page 15, 13 natives of the island of Lamursek (Lamotrek) on May 26, 1787 arrived at Cape Oroto on their way to Guam; and the captain of the boat Umal-Luyto, told them that Lamursek was one of the twenty-six islands of an archipelago. [126] In Kotzebue Endeckungsreise, page 93, it is said: In 1788 Luito, a navigator from the islands located south of Guajan whose fame lives on among his fellow-islanders, was able to retrace the route from Waghal or Guajan with two canoes, of which a song from olden times had spoken. Encouraged by the success of the first voyage and the reception accorded him, he returned in 1789 with four boats and asked leave from the governor in order that he might return every year. As they were about to set out on the return voyage the four helmsmen disagreed as to the rhumb by which they were to steer and they separated. The ocean did not allow any of them to return to his native island. This led to an interruption of the service recently established. Concerning the renewal, see Oleai.

4: Krämer--126-127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Lamotrek

In the London Nautical Magazine of 1862, the well-known report of Rev. L. H. Gulick on Micronesia (page 174, Ulie-Wolea) was published and in the year 1866 (beginning the preceding year) there appeared a report of Captain B. Eugenio Senchas y Zayas of the corvette "Narwaez (Viaje de la corbeta de guerra Narwaez desde Manila a dichas islas), of the first steam-boat which was seen out on the high seas. In it he also reports on the settlement of the Carolinians.... In Garapan on Saipan they formed a colony of 415 heads (in January 1864, 433 were counted). At the very time when the captain and his ship were in Tinian Carolinians arrived from Elato-Lamotrek; they came aboard to see him and related their surprise at what they had seen. They were very muscular people, their entire bodies oiled and almost naked; in their ears they wore shell ornaments. On Saipan, where the captain visited the colony in Garapan, he heard a great deal about the navigation of these [p.127] courageous people. They first had come to Agaña in search of new land, because their own had been devastated by the typhoon. For all their islands, with the exception of Ilap, were very low. Arumiat was considered their best navigator who knew all the stars and that the Polar Star does not change its position and that the rising and setting of Orion's Belt indicated east and west. He rejected the compass claiming that it was dispensable for navigation. For the stars in the zenith, a bamboo stick filled with water was used.*

*Cf. Samoa, where one goes all the way down into the hull of the ship in order to observe three stars.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

Vanished Islands: The islands of Pial, Komol, and Falulap have been washed away according to the report of S. M. S. "Cormoran" of 1912.

4: Krämer--185-186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 132, 175, 731 Woleai

Tagaulap. About fifteen to twenty years ago at the time of the southwestern monsoon a tidal wave tore away the entire southern end of the island of Tagaulap with all its houses, coconut palms and breadfruit trees but without the loss of human life. Today the tip of the island is completely covered by sand and only the bare skeletons of dead trees rise above the dry sand. [186]

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe. The former island at the present time is a reef covered with a sandbank. During the typhoon, the government schooner "Ponape" happened to lie at anchor south of Flalap. When the winds were northeasterly to westnortheasterly she lost both her anchors and with the tidal wave that had destroyed Raur, she was carried southwest across the reefs and out to sea.

4: Krämer--188-189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 133, 175, 103 Woleai

The true shape of the atoll has finally become known through the new English map. [189] The name Voleai appeared for the first time in 1608 in a letter of Pater Clain who gave it as Valayay; in 1706 it was given as Ulier,* in 1710 as Olie, and 1721 as Ulee according to Cantova.

*On Clain's map the names of the islands are: Parivu (Paliau), Raor (Raur), Ulier (Volea), Marioc (Mariong), Tacaylap (Tagaulap), Alingaray (Votagai) and Farilies (Falalis).

4: Krämer--189 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson of the "Duff" estimated the population of the Woleai Group as 3150, in 1797.]

The Spanish apparently had not sighted the atolls of Lamotrek and Oleai before 1700; the first was James Wilson who sailed in these waters in 1797 on the "Duff"... Even though Oleai was sighted at this late date, the white people on Guam had learned earlier of the existence of various groups of atolls in the Central Carolines. In 1722 Cantova collected information about Ulea and Lamotrek on Guam, and it is published in his letters (see Kozebue Entdeckungsreise... page 85)

Here we give the continuation of the story of the island of Lamotrek which, like Oleai, was truly discovered by James Wilson:

"At a distance of one mile we sounded the two ends in NW 1/2 W to W to N 1/2 E from which we were able to arrive at an estimate of their extent. The latitude of their southern part is 7° 16' and 144° 30' E. At first about 60 canoes came towards us, and later our crew counted 150 sighted. Since each one of them was manned by seven persons on the average, that would give us a total of 1050. If we add to that figure one half that number who were left behind ashore and twice that number to account for the women and children then the population of this group alone amounts to 3150 heads. To judge from the appearance of the islands, so large a group must often be subject to severe famine. For the first time we saw native women of this island region, and about one dozen of them sailed towards us in three canoes; two of these canoes were accompanied by men but the third was filled with women exclusively. They remained on the weatherside for a considerable length of time while the men seemed to watch them zealously. When they

noticed that we did not seem to pay them a great deal of attention, they were allowed to approach within a few yards of our ship. They looked us and the ship over with apparent pleasure. Some of them had pretty faces and had neither thick lips nor broad faces although they were inclined towards both. Their hair is black and long. The color of their skin is somewhat different from that of the men in that a sickish looking whiteness[190] is mixed with a natural olive color. Since we saw them almost nude their greatest credit and most important impression was the modesty of their behaviour. Most of the men were nude as were the women, whereas some wore a decorative belt around their bodies, near the navel; these belts are about one inch in width and composed of pieces of black and white shells which are perforated and strung in the manner of beads. Some of the natives wore a wide, brimmed, conical hat, somewhat reminiscent of the hats of the Chinese. The islands seemed alike in every respect not allowing one any advantage except perhaps the possibility of greater luxuries afforded through their neighbors; and perhaps more extensive shoals and calm waters offer a protection and a shelter for fish before the storm. It is possible that here they find more natural aid than on the deserted islands. But to judge from their trade goods they had the same possessions. Their goods included coconut fiber rope, of which we were able to buy thirty fathoms for a six-inch long piece of an old iron wheel. This rope of the islanders is generally one inch thick and in quality equals our hempen rope or is superior to it. At no time did the

natives make any secret out of their great desire for iron and we might have filled our ship with ropes for almost the price mentioned if we had spent a few hours near the island. We would indeed have taken the time for it if we had known--as we discovered later on--that they often bring a good price in China. The fishing utensils of the islanders are little different from those we had seen on the eastern islands. But their mats were striking with their fine weave and were made in the form of Spanish sashes with a fantastic border at both ends and with black threads worked into the material. The natural color of these sashes is white but many of them are dyed a beautiful yellow with the color substance of the curcuma. It is impossible to see these exquisitely made sashes and the primitive people who made them without wondering how they have arrived at the practice of this art. It is not impossible that they have been instructed by Jesuit missionaries, for two of them were sent out to the island group in 1710 by the Spanish government in Manila; but the ship that was to take them to their destination was cast adrift by the currents, and the Jesuits were shipwrecked. Later another group was sent which continued its efforts for some years until its members had become convinced of the general poverty prevailing on the islands and had come to the conclusion that they could not be of any use to the Spanish Kingdom. Thus they left the islands, and since that time (around 1720) they have been completely neglected. These happenings make it so much more remarkable that this useful art has been maintained for this length of time. Since it reflects the merit of the original teachers and wins them praise, it has been an

inspiration to our missionaries who [191] try everything in their power to introduce the mechanical arts and who have not failed completely in their efforts,*

Turtles are included amont the things of their subsistence, since we were able to buy one--weighing about 20 pounds--for a piece of iron about 2 meters long.

They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling. Their language is different from all we had heard hitherto; with the exception of a few words such as lulu (iron), capitaine, etc. we could understand little of what they were saying....

After having passed these thirteen islands, which undoubtedly comprise the group of Oleai, Wilson did not sight any other small islands, and continued in a straight course towards Palau...

After the discovery of the island group by Wilson, it was Don Luis de Torres--as far as we know.... who was the first to visit Oleai and to give us more detailed information about it. Kotzebue, III, page 93, reports that in 1804 the ship "Maria" of Boston--Captain of the ship Samuel W. Bell, Supercargo Thomas Bormann--sailed from Guajan on a

*This latter assumption is, of course, erroneous.

voyage of discovery and to look for trepang on the Caroline Islands. Don Luis de Torres was on board because he wanted to see the islanders who had drifted to Guam (S. Luito) and to whom he had taken a liking. He wanted to do them some favors, and was eager to know why they had not come to Guajan for a visit, and wanted to induce them to return to that island. According to the diary of Don Luis, the following were determined on the voyage: a shoal of 24 fathoms at Lat. 8° 20' N and Long.* 149° E, the wild island of Piguelao, according to Kadu, [192]called Bigelle at 8° 6' and 147° 17'** and the sandbank of Oraitilipu with a depth of 12 fathoms at the same latitude***; besides there was the uninhabited island of Fallao which according to Torres is called Fahueu, (Cantova: Fayo) and which is located at 8° 5' and 146° 45'****; Farruelap*****(Torres: Fatoilep)

*According to map 97, the Gray Feather Bank with a depth of 9 meters is located at 8° 10' and 148° 43' and the Hitchfield Bank with 20 meters of water at 7° 50' and 149° 40', and there are no other sandbanks in the region.

**Map 97 has Pidelot at 8° 9' and 147° 42'.

***On map 97 a bank by this name is charted at 8° 6' and 147° 15' with a question mark and a depth of 22 meters.

****The so-called West Faiĕu; East Faiĕu... and in Namoin. The meaning of the name is "Stone one", stone, fau and on Lamotrek: fai and from that Fais has derived its name with the meaning of "rocky." Map 97, 8° 5' and 146° 52'.

*****Map 97: Faraulip

is at 8° 3' and 144° 30' and Guliai (Torres: Ulee; Cantova: Ulea, Kadu: Oli) is at 7° and 144°.

For his map, see Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 85.

One English passenger of the Maris, De Luis Juan, remained on Oleai. Kadu said that he knew him by the name of Lisol and that he had a wife and child. He is said to have died on the island. Don Luis left cattle and pigs, but since his time they have become extinct again.

Torres has become very well known through A, V. Chamisso, who reports so much on Ulea, although his ship, the "Ruruik" under captain v. Kotzebue, did not visit the atoll. He received a great deal of information from Don Luis de Torres and especially from Kadu, about whom he writes as follows....:

"At the beginning of 1817, we had come to know and made friends with the islanders of the group of Otidia and Kaben of the island chain of Radack in the extreme east of this province and we had come to recognize the natives as very likeable people. When we sailed to Aur later, islands of the same group, the natives came towards us in their canoes and climbed aboard as soon as we had dropped anchor; among them was a man who in many ways was distinguished from the rest of the islanders. His tattooing was not of the regular patterns of the Radack natives, but indistinct figures of fishes and birds could be seen singly and in rows around his knees and on his arms and shoulders.

He was of a stouter build and lighter color then the others and his hair was more curly. He addressed us in a language which sounded different to us from that of Radack, and completely unfamiliar, and we immediately tried in vain to talk to him of the Sandwich Islands. He made it understood that he was inclined to stay on our ship and to accompany us on our future voyages. His request was willingly accepted... Kadu is a native of the island group of Ulea south of Guajan; although he was not of noble birth he was a confident of his king Toua, who had him execute his wishes and orders on other islands; accordingly on former voyages he had come to know the chain of islands which had contact with Ulea and westward knew the region as far as Pelew and eastward as far as Setoan."....

The next and most important visitor of Oleai was Lütke, who came to the island in 1828..... He arrived at Namourrek on March 25 and made [193] a rapid survey which later formed the basis for the map of the Reichsmarineamt, tells that early in the morning of the 26th, several canoes sailed towards the ship and that the crews of the boats were distinguished by an outstandingly elegant system of tattooing which covered their entire body with the exception of the head. They did not bring us any fish, but instead asked us for food. Whatever we gave them they devoured greedily so that we came to the conclusion that there was a famine on land; according to Floyd [AN: an Englishman who had stayed on Murilo for 18 months] there is indeed a severe shortage of food on the coral islands almost every year in the fall, and it lasts for a month or two. During that

time, the natives live almost exclusively on breadfruit dough (Krämer: mar). Some of the natives of the island sailed with us to Elato where they went ashore by canoe. Lively traffic is maintained with Guaham (Guam) and it is said that Spanich ships often call at the island in their search for trepang. In Guam Lütke met chief Orolitau of Elato whom the governor had put in control of trade in the Marianas. I learned a great deal from him about the Caroline Islands. He is said to have had three wives: Letaururu, Laguol, and Lamoarup; his assistants Sepa named Mairuk and Mesauro, and another assistant, Orotak, one wife: Namoarimet, Lütke did not find an entrance on the west side of the island group. Kittlitz observed shrubs of scaevola on land.

By March 28, Lütke had reached a position off Faroilap where he met a tamol who spoke Spanish fluently and who called himself Alberto, probably due to a former stay in the Marianas. On this island, too, a shortage of food was obvious. During the following days, April 1, Olimarao was sighted after some search and was charted. A canoe with three men approached the ship and one of the crew was very hungry. On April 3, Lütke reached Ifaluk and that same evening he sighted Uleai, with whith the crew of the Rurik had become familiar through the talk of Kadu. But in spite of repeated questions none knew the name of Kadu, which Chamisso spelled without the accent. Thus it was a name which was either assumed later on or was mispronounced. On April 4 it was possible to drop anchor in the east lagoon. Here fish in large quantities were offered for sale. The

islands in the east were called Ra-ur and Palliau and the northernmost Ulea or Uleai, and they were grouped in the form of a triangle with bent sides. The island of Marion was located on the north side of the bank and between it and Ulea a reef was half hidden in the water. It resembled the reef between Eunoar* and Lukunor, which is longer, however. The channels in the east, e.g., between Raur and Palaiu are shallow enough to allow wading across.

*It must be Piafa, although the latter, according to the German map, is at a distance of 1570 meters from Lukunor, whereas Mariong is no more than 470 meters from Oleai.

Captain Lütke bought a complete sailing vessel from Tapeligar, the head chief of the island of Ulea and paid no more than three axes for it.

On April 9 Lütke's ship set sail again and moved westward along the southern side of the reef barrier in order to survey the area. The limited land area on the leeside was striking. The reef itself was submerged and its location could only be recognized by the greenish color of the water. [195]

The voyage was contined to Eurupyk.

Andrew Cheyne visited the group of Ullieye in September 1844. He speaks of 13 islands nine of them inhabited by a total of 1500 natives. He reports that trade is carried on with the surrounding islands and Guam. The islanders are clever and treacherous and have weapons such as clubs, slings, and stones.

The schooner "Rupak" under the command of Captain Gall...according to Robertson, visited Ulleai on March 25, 1875. Gall met a trader by the name of Williams who reported that a short time ago a Spanish vessel had called at the island, and that the crew had felled almost all the breadfruit trees and that famine had been the consequence; 5-6 people died of starvation every single day. He said the English flag had been torn down and the Spanish hoisted in its stead, but that the Englishmen had exchanged them once more, immediately after the Spanish had continued on their voyage.

L. H. Gulik in the Nautical Magazine of 1862 speaks of Wolea--Ulie: he says that in 1788 a native had sailed to Guam, a distance of 600 nautical miles, and that the canoe

had arrived safely.

L. H. Gulik mentions a population of 600. In 1807 the head chief had visited Saipan (Seypan) and had been received so hospitably that consequently an entire colony of islanders had settled on Saipan; once a year they sailed back to their native land. They take care of the trade with the Spanish in a region which included Truk. Their language is different from that spoken on Eap and Truk.

Alfred Tetens... must have visited Oleai several times on his ship Vesta between 1865-68, as most of the commercial schooners did. He mentions a few interesting factors in his little booklet:

The inhabitants of the Uliei Islands are more peaceful than the natives of other groups; the men are handsome and of muscular physique and their entire body is tattooed in a very tasteful fashion. Their ears and necks exhibit all kinds of ornaments and their "woolly" hair is decorated by a bunch of tall feathers. Many of the young women and girls are very beautiful, but their appearance is impaired by ugly tattooing on the chest, mostly fish and bird heads.

On the occasion of the visit of King Jogelock, the latter showed very good manners, but the curiosity of the women around him proved bothersome. The Uliei natives have a reputation of being the experts of navigation in the Carolines; they visit, for instance, the Marianas.

The fresh water available on the island is bad and cannot be drunk; the juice of coconuts and palm-wine must serve as substitutes.

The dress of the natives resembles that of the islanders on Mokemok; their houses are built with some imagination and are clean. The natives seem well suited to become influenced by European culture. [196]

Nothing is known of the visit of Spanish ships.

S. M. S. "Albatross" called at Uleai (Kubary's designation) on September 30, 1885, anchor was dropped off Raur, where money was asked for every sip of brackish water.

During the German Colonial period ships called fairly frequently at Oleai and the "Germania" cruised through the island region once every four months.

Government ships and copra schooners also entered the lagoon. The district official on Yap... visited Oleai in November, 1905. He said that at that time the palms were growing normally and that the rat plague was moderate; the same was true of the consumption of toddy. But the death of a trader has aroused suspicion, and the testimony of witnesses finally revealed that he had been strangled and killed by blows of a hammer; the murderer was a Sonserol native who in the meantime had gone west. For that reason, a policeman was left behind on Oleai. It is said that all traders were killed in 1902.

Of importance for the island group were two visits of the government physician Dr. Born, who went there in 1903 and 1907. He reports on the first trip in the Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten 1904 (page 175-191) in which he gives special attention

to ethnography. The second visit was of special significance because Born was on the island at the time of the Good Friday typhoon of 1907 and we thus have an accurate account of such a violent storm on one of the coral islands; he reports on it in the Kolonialblatt of 1907 and we reprint excerpts [VMM: see 4: Krämer 196 ff.]

4: Krämer--196-200 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-8
116, 175, 731 Woleai

Typhoon 1907 in the Western Carolines

The devastation of the Oleai island group (with map)*

On March 27 the government schooner "Ponape" returned to Oleai from a voyage to Ifaluk... The weather had been fine for weeks; but now winds with thunder squalls arose so that the distance of 35 nautical miles took 42 hours. The difficult entrance to Ifaluk was successful; previously the ships dropped anchor outside the lagoon in 9-16 fathoms of water. The return voyage took 5 1/2 hours. (On March 27). The voyage to Yap was to be continued on the following day. In order to give medical attention to the islanders, some passengers of the ship went ashore in the afternoon. The evening was calm and the moon shone brightly and splendidly (one day before the full moon). Early on the 28th of March several strong thunderstorms came from the east and north and strong rain squalls were interrupted by calms. Striking was the current from east and south which became steadily stronger. Early in the morning many frigate birds could be observed above the atoll flying about aimlessly although normally they are seldom seen around the land. At noon, in the lagoon, high breakers hit the sandy beach. The barometer took a dive and the "Ponape" remained in port, because the captain thought it would be better if the ship were to await the threatening typhoon in the inland water. Born was

*The illustrations that go with it are found in Krämer, 1927: Die Entstehung und Besiedlung der Koralleninseln, photograph IV.

asked to stay on board but he could no longer manage to take his luggage through [197] the strong surf. At 2:30 in the afternoon the waves around the outer reef and the lagoon were extraordinarily high; the "Ponape" chose another anchorage. As Born was trying to go ashore there arose a sudden squall from NNE so that the canoe was flooded. Born had great trouble trying to reach the beach; his house on the island had been abandoned by that time, because high waves had passed over the sand dunes 80-1000 meters long and had advanced to the house. Within the next two hours and a half this dune on the eastern tip (SE) was washed away completely so that a wide passage (previously narrow) resulted between the main island of Flalap and Paliau; through it high waters poured into the lagoon where they met with the breakers from the SW, so that water surged up to amazing heights.

At five o'clock the waves became high again, after the wind had calmed for some time, and Born had been able to reach the house; he was sitting on the porch when the water reached him there and carried him several paces away...

At 5:15 Born sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape" with the advice,...of changing the anchorage of the ship once more and moving it to a more protected position at the N-W tip of the island near the island of Ifang. The answer he received was that the barometer was steady and that the wind was expected to die down but that the waves would run even higher than before.

Shortly before 6 o'clock Born was forced to leave the station; the buildings had already collapsed. He retired to the neighboring village of Leuleperik where he took up quarters in a new native house approximately 800-1000 meters from the northeast shore.

Late in the evening the NE wind gathered momentum and branches broke off trees. From one o'clock in the morning on, it was so violent that the noise sounded like the fire of small guns and was only interrupted by the somewhat different sound of cracking tree trunks. But both were hardly audible through the roaring of the wind and the breakers. But the houses were yet able to withstand the storm of the night.

At 5 o'clock in the morning the news came that the water had reached the nearby village and that the house in which Born and Villacon were staying was surrounded by water. The water rose so rapidly that it was hardly possible to gather the most important things and to take them to the Japanese station in the village of Jaur, located at the widest part of the island. The path was passable only with difficulty; but finally it could be managed without accident. From Jaur one can overlook the lagoon, where the "Ponape" was no longer visible. On the horizon in the west strong sheet lightning could be observed. The surf in the lagoon reached the very houses of the village. A stay in the station seemed dangerous, and everyone retired to the western canoe-house where all the natives of the island had assembled. They were completely confused and overwhelmed by the happenings and recalled an old oracle that at some time in the future their island would be washed away. They thought that the time had come. Soon

this group was joined by the Japanese who had to flee when their station was washed away by the high waves. But by now even the present shelter was no longer safe, and everybody moved on to the northwestern tip of the island near Ifang. This was the last escape...In a house on a low hill [198] large numbers of screaming and weeping natives had sought shelter. The lamentations increased when a man announced that presently the water was also coming from NNE. Born climbed a palm tree and from this position was able to observe the seas moving through the woods like white cats. When he came down from his lookout, the water stood up to his hips. Everyone tried to pick up planks and ropes and went down to the shore of the lagoon. Fortunately the water rose slowly and the wind became weaker. Born noticed a gigantic breadfruit tree which had been uprooted; its roots rose several meters into the air, and Born and several others climbed on it. They had barely reached their new position when the typhoon started to rage from ESE with an indescribable velocity. It seemed as if a thousand trains were rushing by. It was 9 o'clock in the morning and the wind continued in this manner until three in the afternoon. The air was so full of water and sand that one could only see a few steps ahead. Then the wind calmed down somewhat; for some moments the sun actually broke through and it became possible to recognize one's surroundings: fairly close to the shore of the lagoon at the NW corner of the island.

The water had fallen somewhat and the destruction could be viewed; the trees were

piled to a height of several meters. There was no sign of houses and human beings other than the remnants of the large canoe-houses visible on the beach. Moving through water that reached his hips, Born approached the village of Jaur and on his way he observed two youths, painted red, who were carrying a pig inland. Following them, he arrived at the center of the island where a large number of natives had come together and where all spent the first night. Apparently no one had come over from Oleai, but soon bad news came from the SE.

On Saturday, March 30, early in the morning, the wind had calmed down considerably but in the lagoon the waters continued to surge and boil high; there was no trace of the "Ponape". Some natives said that they had last seen her lights on the morning of the 29th, but by now she was considered lost. A walk along the beach proved the terrible havoc wrought by the typhoon; there was nothing left of the island of Raur except a sandbank with a few solitary palm trees. On the beach of Leuleperik, the body of a 5-year old boy was washed ashore. It soon became known that there were no more than two survivors from Raur, a man and a woman; that meant that 130 had lost their lives. Only 9 had been on other islands when the typhoon hit. On Paliau about 50 of the 90 natives had been victims of the storm. On Tagaulap a woman had been killed when a house collapsed. Four women of Saliap had been on Raur and 10 people from Utagal and 5 from Falalis so that the total loss of lives must have been about 200. The doctor was unable to give much aid to the numerous injured because all medicines and instruments had been

washed away by the waves. In the course of Saturday and Sunday, many bodies were washed ashore, most of them mutilated in a cruel fashion. Miraculous escapes were also recorded; several natives of Paliau drifted to Saliap, and four from Raur to Utagal; two children--a boy [199] of 5 and a girl of 8--landed safely on Marijong.

The survivors of Paliau and Raur reported the following: on the evening of March 28, some of the experienced men judged from the roar of the breakers that a tidal wave was moving in the direction of their island. Some preparations were made, e.g., many women and children were taken up high on breadfruit trees and were tied on. During the following night, the water on the island reached a height of 1 1/2 meters. But it was not until the following morning, the morning of March 29th at 8 o'clock, that the tidal wave really came. One could see it approach from the tops of the highest breadfruit trees; it appeared to be about 40 meters high and like a dark cloud with deafening noise it broke over the island like a gigantic stream of water. Everything withstood this onrush, but soon a second, even higher tidal wave swept over the island and carried along everything, trees, houses, and human beings. The lagoon was turned into a boiling kettle in which drifting tree trunks and boards ground up everything.

The entire island of Raur, with its total length of 1700 meters was washed away while a new island appeared between Falális and Motogosóu in the south; this island seems to have existed once in the past and was called Met (see map 4) [VMM: see 4: Krämer 184].

The narrow shallow entrance between Paliau and the main island (Figure 80) [VMM: see source] was greatly widened and deepened. The reef between the two islands had cracked like a marble block. And the ground of Paliau and Raur looked as if it had burst. On the outer reef of Raur through which the tidal wave had broken, three longish coral debris aggradations stood out like islets. The entire fundamental formation was as smooth as the top of a table and only some coral pebbles were scattered over it. The tidal wave must have come from ENE.

The mail streamer was not due until about May 25 and threatening starvation was a big problem.* The coconuts were picked and divers tried to salvage the taro of the fields which stood under 2-3 meters of water. The chiefs were in charge of the distribution of foodstuffs and did an excellent job of it.

The trading station O'Keefe-Yap was used to store the extra food. The water tank, with a capacity of 3 1/2 cubic meters had been carried off 100 meters in spite of the fact that it had been [200] cemented in. The scattered goods and food supplies could be saved in part. Most of them were distributed among the natives by the government physician and at government cost.

A great drought followed so that when the "Germania" arrived on April 11, she came as a saviour. The steamer also brought the news that the "Ponape" had arrived safely

*I learned that for that reason typhoons are also known as Lángeta "no food."

on Saipan on April 4.

Captain Martens reports that on Friday, March 29, from 7:30 P.M. the typhoon was raging. One squall followed upon another. No land was visible in spite of the full moon. [ER: The experiences of the ship during these days are described in the text, but are omitted here.] Since the current was definitely and violently NW it was impossible to take a course towards Yap and for that reason the ships sailed in the direction of Guam or Saipan; the latter was reached on April 4.

The destruction wrought by the typhoon was so considerable that at the instigation of the German government a large number of coconut palms were planted:1000 on Volea, 500 on Máriong, 500 on Tagaulap, 500 on Vótagai, and 1500 on Falális; on Raur which now belongs to Daruélimog as many as 4000 trees were planted and on Paliau 2000. SS Natuna picked up many people after the typhoon, 100 on Volea, 7 on Mariong, 8 on Tagulap, 1 on Soluap, and 110 on Falális. About 200 were taken to Saipan.

The soldier and supervisor Goru. . . --he could only write his name--asked me to give a message to the government on Yap and to inform it that he wanted to stay on Volea. Agupelior sent 20 woven mats as a gift with the information that now there was plenty of food on Oleai, and that the natives of that island who had been transplanted could well return. Goru saw to it that 20,000 new coconut palms were planted after the typhoon. The breadfruit trees did not bear fruit for a long time, and the taro swamps were covered by a salt crust.

4: Krämer--201-202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 175 Woleai

As on Lamotrek, a strong decrease of the population took place in the Oleai group. Freycinet (page 101) says that around 1800 the population figure for Guliay was 3,000. In addition, the following islands must be mentioned to give a true picture of the group: Raor (Raur) with a population of 110, Paliao (Paliau) 125, Mariog (Mariong) 90, Fagoun-lap (Tagaulap) 86, Soliap (Soluap) 70, Fallougla (Votagai?) 50, Harradies (Falalis) 50, Falouelap (Falulap) 36, Hanarisaray (Eangaligarail) 32. It is news that the latter was inhabited at all. On the other hand, the old main island of Votagai is missing. It is not clear whether these figures are included among the population of 3,000 given for Guliay, or whether they are to be added. In any case 3,000 would be much too high a figure for one coral island, since Volea or Falalap, the main island of Oleai, barely has an area of one square kilometer. Under very favorable conditions, 1000 people can subsist on the products of one square kilometer of tropical land, but 3000 is an utter im-possibility. Thus the figure is either wrong or it applies to the entire atoll with all its islands. [202]

I learned on the spot that Falalis, like Volea, in the past had a population of 300(cf. 3000 given above), but that in 1909 only 30 persons inhabited Falalis, 60 Tagaulap, 50 Mariong, 200 Raur before the typhoon, and 60 Paliau. Probably we might assume 300 each for Volea and Votagai in the past. Gulick, in the Nautical Magazine of 1862, page 174, states that the population numbers about 600. As mentioned above, the figure for 1904 was 661 and for 1930, 539.

4: Krämer--203 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 797, 175 Woleai

There is no white missionary on the island of Woleai.

On Oleai I learned more about the missionary Snelling, after he had been ordered to leave the island. He sailed to Onoun and Póloat but missed both and on his return voyage arrived on Aurepik after drifting on the high seas for three months in a native canoe; the crew of a boat from Oleai saw him on Aurepik. He had become so thin that he looked almost like a skeleton. The crew of the Oleai canoe reported the news at home, and the head chief Agupelióor set out to get Snelling. He actually brought him to Oleai and transported him to Vósavo to his house on a stretcher--he was too weak to walk--where he died after a short time. Agupelióor had promised him to take him to Truk as soon as his wife had given birth. It seemed as if the Japanese had interfered in a disagreeable fashion.

4: Krämer--220 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175 Woleai

The first map was the outcome of the surveys by Lütke in 1828; it was not until the new English map was published in 1927 that it was improved considerably. This English map is in the main based on Japanese work.

Miguel mentions the old English map of 1876 which he publishes in his atlas Hoja IV.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 131, 175

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

According to the information we secured from Don Luis de Torres and the Caroline Islanders, the Farollap group was located northwest of the Swedish Islands. On the morning of the 28th of March we sighted three islets in this area, and soon some canoes came to greet us; they answered our first question by crying Farollap.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175 Olimarao

Here [MR: Faraulep] we were forced to retrace our steps for several days, and this involved tacking against the wind. This was because the information that the captain had received, and according to which the island group Olimtrao lay near Farqllap, was absolutely false. Not until the first of April did we glimpse the two little islands, composing this group....

5: Kittlitz--152-53
116, 175

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

...we sighted the extensive coral group Uleai. It was of particular interest to us as the home land of Kadú, the man whose remarkable adventures... were described by Chamisso. The Russian Captian Kotzebue of the Rurik found him stranded on one of the Marschall Islands and [153] took him back north. Apparently he adopted the name Kadú while he was living there in Radak for this name was utterly unknown on Uleai, and we were unable to obtain any information about him whatsoever although it was barely fifteen years since he had left the island.

5: Kittlitz--163 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175, 609, 784 Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 101, 175, 133, 136 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it. We reached the island on December 5 after dark and could not find any anchor ground. The captain sent some of his men on land who during the night were to maintain a fire in order that the ship could stay close to the land. At dawn I rowed ashore. The map of the Admiralty characterizes Grimes as an elevated island, but in reality it is a flat sandbank which in some places rises up to an elevation of 2 meters. The only type of vegetation is a species of mangrove. Apparently a strong storm hit the island a few months ago for most of the trees had lost their branches and many---including the strongest---had been completely uprooted. The fauna consists of innumerable sea birds, which had their loose nests either in the trees or on the level ground; furthermore there were coconut crabs and--to judge from the traces--large turtles, which do not visit the island but at night. The birds were so tame that they could be seized by hand. Gaferut, including the reef, has a length of about 1300 meters; exclusive of the reef it is 600 paces long and 300 paces wide. We could not find anchor ground during the day either.

10: Miklucho-Maklai--295 (1876-1877) 1877 Woleaians
116, 175 Aurupik

The group of Auropik consists of three low islands. I did not go ashore...The people who approached us were not very dark (No. 37 of Broca's chart) and had wavy or frizzly hair arranged in high hairdresses. The bridge of their noses was pierced. Large numbers of tortoise shell rings and other ornaments of various types of white and red shells pulled the pierced earlobes down to considerable length. Tattoos could be seen above and below their elbows; they looked almost like bracelets and arm rings. In their thick hair they wore large combs with flying feathers and through the bridge of their noses they had put flowers and leaves. Their costume consisted of a tight cloth slung around the waist and pulled up between their legs.

12: Lutke--107-108 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175, 161 West Fayu

Following our way west on the next day (February 22) we saw Pyghella and Faleou islands which Don Louis Torrès had also seen, and which he called Pigouelao [AN: Pikelot] and Faliao [AN: Fayu]. The former [108] had already been seen by Captain Duperrey. Both of them are very small, not being more than a hundred and fifty meters long; they are almost at water level, surrounded by a reef forming a cove on Faliao, and both of them are uninhabited.

12: Lutke--127
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Lamotrek
Elato

I steered first for the islands which Wilson called Islands of the Swede (Swede's Islands), because a sailor on his boat, who was born in Sweden, remained there. We did not meet anything worthy of notice until the 25th, when we passed seven miles from the shore of Taïeou Island (western) [AN: West Fayu] which we had already surveyed. On the evening of that same day we saw the Swede's Islands at the west. At dawn on the 26th we had drawn near to them; then we were joined by several canoes and the natives informed us that the easternmost of the three separate groups which form these islands is called Namourrek (or Namouttek) [AN: Lamotrek]; the westernmost is Elato and the most southern, Namoliaour.

12: Lutke--128-129
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

After observing the latitude between the Elato and Namourrek groups, which are situated almost on the same parallel, we went to the western side of the former. This side consists of an open reef with several islets one of which is called Falipi. On Cantova's map, in almost this very spot you see Banc de Falipi. Could what was formerly a shoal have become an island in a hundred years time? There is a harbor in the Elato group the boats sent from the Marianas to get the trepang always stop there. However, we were not able fo find [129] the entrance to the lagoon which according to what we had been told is on the eastern side. This is contrary to the law generally observed in the coral atolls, where the openings of the reef are to be found on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--130
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

We steered north, to go in quest of the Farroïlap group (or Fattöilap) which was seen by Mr. Torrès. By following his indications and the statements of the Carolinians, we reached this small group on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March. It is only four miles in circumference, and is composed of three islets with a lagoon in the center. After sailing around them we hove to on the side under the wind.

12: Lutke--131-132 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 175, 593 Faraulep

I would have given a good deal to have had a man like him [AN: chief Alaberto] at my side at the beginning of the exploration of the Caroline Islands. Even now he could be very useful, and I suggested that he accompany us to [132] Ouleaf. He replied that his wife would be very upset. When I offered to take her too, he shrugged his shoulders and said that they had better stay in Farrollap in spite of the dreadful conditions.

12: Lutke--133 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Ifalik

Having run south to latitude 7° 20', we now steered west. The two Wilson islands are situated in this latitude, and we now thought that they would prove to be the Ifalouk group; this surmise was correct. We surveyed it on the third of April. It consists not of two, but of four islands: Ifalouk, Moaï, Ella and Faraik; they lie, as usual, on a reef which forms a lagoon about five miles in circumference.

12: Lutke--134-135 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Ifalik

One impudent fellow seized a belaying-pin, and plunged with it into the sea. At that time the big chief of the group was on the boat; I told him that I should detain him on board until the stolen object had been returned. The old man was very frightened; but all the others remained calm, and promised me that the belaying-pin would be brought back instantly. And in fact, one of the chiefs found it on the canoes and brought it back, demanding an ax for the service he had just rendered. While all this was taking place, and while I was trying to reassure the old tamol by giving him some presents, another man repeated the same performance, and jumped in the water from the top of the stern. But after a few minutes the same chiefs forced him to restore the stolen object himself. For the sake of example, I was strongly tempted to give this rascal several lashes, but the poor devil was so frightened [135] that I let him go, and he fled in his canoe lest we change our minds.

12: Lutke--135-136 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
175 Woleai

We ran west toward the Oulea or Ouleaf group (Wilson's Thirteen Islands.)...

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torres, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--142-143 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Woleai

The Ouleai group is fifteen miles in circumference; on the old maps it appeared twenty or thirty times larger. It is composed of twenty-two islands, whose names are given with a fair degree of exactitude both by Mr. Chamisso, and on Captain Freycinet's map. According to our observations the [143] southern tip of Raour island, the most eastern one of the group, lies latitude 7°20' 7" north, and at longitude 216°3' west.

12: Lutke--148-149
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Aurupik

After surveying the southern side of the Ouleaï group, we steered south to hunt for the Eourypyg group about whose location I had obtained some information at Ouleaï. Acting on these advices on the twelfth we found this little group which is made up of only two islands. While sailing along its northern side we saw some men on the beach but to our great regret they did not launch their canoes which were on the bank. We did not see any in the lagoon either; so we never learned [149] the names of the islands which form this group.

12: Lutke--299
116, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

When we left Farroïlap we headed S one quarter SW at full sail during the whole night; this is not dangerous in the larger part of this archipelago, and in the morning we saw Ouleaï. After sailing around this group to the east, we hove to in front of the harbor.

12: Lutke--300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Woleai

Among other natives, we met a tamol whom we had seen in the spring at Elato and he told us that the tamol Oralitaou, whom we had met at Guahan, had returned from there to his own country. During our absence the old Rooua had died; his brother Rooua-meun, who was now in Namourrek, had succeeded him. Tapeligar had gone to Fáls and to Mogmog, and Aman to Farroflap.

Tapeligar assured us that after our departure he was so bored that he had started to travel, and that he had done so in the hope of finding me somewhere. He declared that when our ship had appeared, his wife had begged him with tears in her eyes to take her to capital Litské, for he would surely give her some lujeuche (pieces of glass, trinkets, etc.) Among the other Caroline natives we did not see such trickery which was clearly designed to make us give him presents. In general you see more envy and spite here than in the other places; if you give a gift to one you may be sure that all the others will ask for the same thing.

12: Lutke--318
116, 131, 175

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

On the old maps the Ouleaf group occupied a space of two or three degrees in longitude. Captain Freycinet reduced it to seventy miles; while in reality it is only six Italian miles long in this direction.

12: Lutke--344
116, 175, 643

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The most important chief [AN: of the Caroline Islands], the one of the Ouleaf group is not nearly as significant a personage as Doctor Chamisso depicted him in his Memoires.

14: Born et al--567 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 175 Ifalik

On March 27 the government schooner "Ponape" returned to Oleai from a trip to Ifaluk, where it had gone on Sunday, March 24, because I [MR: Dr. Born] wished to investigate alleged excesses of foreign sailors against the natives of this atoll. The weather, which until then had been fine for weeks, was already beginning to change when we departed; contrary winds and squalls made the journey to the group, 35 miles from Oleai, take forty-two hours...After I had fulfilled my official obligations on the island, which I was visiting for the first time, the "Ponape,"...returned on the morning of Wednesday, March 27, to Oleai, arriving there in the afternoon, with a favorable wind, after a five and a half hour trip.

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--502-503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Ifalik

"Ulloa reef, over which there is a depth of 9 3/4 fathoms (17^m8), was discovered in 1894 by the Spanish man-of-war Don Antonio de Ulloa; it lies about 20 miles south-westward of the Ifalik islands, and about a mile westward of the reef is another, with a depth of about 12 fathoms (21^m9) over it.

Gamen reef, over the south-western end of which there is a depth of about 2 3/4 fathoms (5^m0), was discovered in 1885, by the Swedish barque Gamen; it lies from 9 to 21 miles north-eastward of Ifalik islands. The reef, is from 2 to 4 miles wide, and has depths of from 2 3/4 to 13 1/2 fathoms (5^m0 to 24^m1) over it, with over 100 fathoms (182^m9) close-to.

Ianthe shoal, over which there is a depth of 3 3/4 fathoms (6^m9), was discovered in 1845 by the American ship Ianthe; it lies about 100 miles south-eastward of Ifalik islands, and is about 1 3/4 miles [503] long east and west, and three-quarters of a mile wide. About 5 1/2 miles westward of Ianthe shoal is a shoal with a depth of 3 fathoms (5^m5) over it, which is much discolored and plainly visible. Between these two shoals there are two 7-fathom (12^m8) patches."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --503 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Faraulep

"Faraulep islands, about 80 miles northward of Ifalik islands, consist of three islets on a circular reef forming an atoll, the largest of which is Faraulep islet, 78 feet (23^m8) high; they lie on the northern and eastern sides of the reef of an atoll and are covered with coconut palms and other trees.

There are three passages into the lagoon on the southern side of the atoll, all narrow and unsuitable for large vessels to pass through but boats may enter the lagoon and obtain a landing on any of the islets.

....There are many turtles in the vicinity of this group.

Earl Dalhousie bank, with depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7) over it, lies about 56 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Tarang bank, over which there are depths of from 14 to 25 fathoms (25^m6 to 45^m7), was discovered by the schooner Tarang in 1910; it lies with its shoalest part, which is near the middle of the bank, about 83 miles north-north-eastward of Ifalik islands. Between Earl Dalhousie bank and Tarang bank is Akashi shō, a bank with a depth of 14 fathoms (25^m6) over it."

17: Meinicke--357
116, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
West Fayu

West fayeu (West faiu) was discovered by Boll in 1804.

17: Meinicke--358
116, 175, 101

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Faraulep

Faraulep (Faroilap) was discovered by the Spaniard Rodriguez in 1696 (a more modern mariner called it Gardner Island).

17: Meinicke--358
116, 175, 101

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Ifalik

Ifalik (Ifaluk) was discovered by Wilson in 1797 and called by him Wilson Island (others called it Two Sisters Island).

17: Meinicke--358
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Lamotrek (Lamurek, Namurek) were discovered in 1797 by Wilson and named Swede, Haweis and Low;

17: Meinicke--358 (Prior to 1875) 1876 Woleaians
116, 131, 175 Lamotrek

Lamotrek is the common name for a group of 3 small lagoon islands West of Satawal. The easterly one, Lamotrek, is 1 miles long in a northwesterly direction; on the reef which surrounds the approachable lagoon are 3 larger and 7 small islands. The southern one, Lamoliork (Lamoliaur) is the smallest; the westerly one, Elato (7°30' N., 146°19' E.) is the same size as Lamotrek and has numerous reefs on the east sode of the reef; the west side is almost completely bare; on both sides a channel leads to a good harbor in the lagoon. SW from this island lies the dangerous sandbank Janthe (5°32' N., 145°40' E.); it was given this name after the ship which discovered it in 1845 and is perhaps the same sandbank that the people of the Carolines call Falipi.

17: Meinicke--359
116, 103, 175

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Aurupik

Eauripik was discovered early and called Low islands (Horsburgh's Kama).

34: Lesson--122 (1824) 1839 Woleaians
116, 101, 175 Lamotrek

[MC: alternative names for Lamotrek]
Kadu's Lamurrec and Cantova's Lamurrec, Torres' Mugnak, Krusenstein's Lamoursec, the Lamourca, Lamouirec or Falou of Father Legobien. Wilson called it Sweede Island.

37: Keiyosei--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

40: Robertson--50
116, 142, 304, 175

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Ifalik

"On the 31st March the schooner hove to off Evalouk and several canoes came alongside. There is nothing to remark about these islands; they are low and of coral formation, producing nothing but the cocoanut. The natives traded off flying fish against tobacco. They are a tall, handsome race, of light colour, their bodies being closely tattoed all over, their dress being the same as that of the Oulleai people."

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 175 Woleai

"On the 28th March the schooner called at Ulleai, which is a group of low coral islands almost surrounded by reefs. There is an Englishman living on this group who informed those on board the schooner that a Spanish man-of-war had been there shortly before, the crew of which had cut down half the bread-fruit trees and a large number of cocoanut trees, and that the people were consequently starving and dying at the rate of five and six a day. The commander of the vessel also ordered Williams, the Englishman above referred to, to haul down a flag that he kept hoisted there, and on his refusing to do so a boat's crew was sent on shore to pull the flag down. The commander then gave the natives a Spanish flag and told them to allow no other to be hoisted, but on the departure of the vessel the natives killed the man who had piloted her in and burnt the Spanish flag."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 176 Ifalik

"This environment, rather inhospitable as far as supply of raw materials is concerned, decidedly limits the development of native crafts and industries. The same effect is produced by the climate, a matter in which the environment is, most of the time, anything but severe. There is no need for elaborate development of shelter or clothing. Industry, particularly in building, is still further discouraged by the worst feature of the climate, the typhoons. They do not come often, but when they do, they destroy almost everything that men can make. Two more geographic factors make for simplicity in human works and ways. One, that so small an island can support but few people. The other, that stretches of sea isolate these few from other peoples. These factors keep to a minimum the stimulus of contact with other minds and their inventions."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 176 Ifalik

"TECHNOLOGY

This section deals with the natives' ways of putting to use the material resources outloned [sic] in preceding pages. Apparently the people of Ifalik, like most peoples, have invented very little of their technology themselves. Virtually all of it is shared with neighboring islands, and its fundamentals are known far and wide over the Pacific. No evidence of local invention was discovered, unless songs locally composed, or the custom of sea-burial which seems to be confined to Ifalik, can be attributed to local invention. Comparative study may indicate that this atoll has made come[sic] other contribution to the common stock of technology. Whether or no, this can not be determined by data from Ifalik alone. Here it is only possible to sum up the cultural resources or traditional techniques which enable the natives to make a living out of the rather slim stock of raw materials which their island affords them."

2: Damm et al. --212-216 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 212, 176, 802 Faraulep

The Faraulip natives use a peculiar script (see Figs. 279, 280) which is very similar [213] to the Polowat writing; they also have their own numerals, which the chief Saueeru invented. He teaches them to the young men, who put them to practical use in their copra dealings with the Japanese. The signs were derived from tattoo patterns and Japanese characters which the chief had taken from Japanese newspapers. [CS: Omission of illustrations of writing, and of the numerals, pages 212, 213, 214, 215, 216].

"For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed, Most of them look like

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

I: Burrows--46-47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Ifalik 1-2

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians/Ifalik
116, 226, 177

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mät:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li geru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getriou.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trū eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

Go tai ninge mware ru e pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

1: Burrows--129
116, 436, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is noteworthy that the people of Ifalik do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifalik; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what seemed to be this material was seen on Ifalik--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifalik illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifalik (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy."

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by WolpaitIk, which Tom

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the ÓngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise, --to hang my placard on the ÓngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

"Eastern Influence

The only story attributing important influence on Ifalik to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 67). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, ehich, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that troublt; but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; wIrIs Truk, Truk banana, and wIrIs Valupē. Valupē is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifalik in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, rang, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'. Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as

---

"* The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifalik and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifalik and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik

"Spiro came upon one bit of Christian tradition when questioning Gargeligar, who might be called a native priest, about sickness and healing. Gargeligar said that at one time there was no sickness. When asked further, he gave a fairly full version of the story of Adam and Eve, applied to ancestors of the Ifalik people, --whether on Ifalik or not, he was not certain. The account of an original state of blissful ignorance, replaced by suffering as punishment for eating forbidden fruit, seemed little changed. Indeed, it fits readily into the native ideology, with its concept of punishment for violation of a taboo. The serpent was omitted from the first version, but remembered overnight. Gargeligar said he learned the story from his grandmother, which makes a Spanish source more likely than any other."

1: Burrows--164
116, 177, 212, 797

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

1: Burrows--164-165 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 177 Ifalik

"Islands more or less closely resembling Ifalik in name and position appear on several charts of the early 18th century. These charts were drawn partly on the basis of names and sailing directions obtained from native informants. The first European vessel to sight the island appears to have been the missionary ship 'Duff', Captain James Wilson, which reached there on the 27th of October, 1797. The 'Duff' did some trading with the natives, but Wilson's account of the voyage has nothing further to say about them.

Some whalers and perhaps other foreign ships called at Ifalik between the visit of Wilson and the next one on record, that of Captain Frederick Lutke. He called at the 'Wilson Islands' on April 3d, 1828, and noted the native name, 'Ifalouc'.

Lutke noted that the natives differed from all other Caroline Islanders he had seen in their 'boisterous spirit' (humeur criarde). Two of them went overboard with loose pieces of ironware. Others tried to detach pieces that were fastened. Lutke recovered the stolen pieces by notifying the chief, who was aboard, that he would not be allowed to leave the ship until the iron was returned. Von Kittlitz, who called about a generation later, was told by whalers that the natives of this island demanded exhorbitant prices for their wares. At least one other visit is recorded during the 19th century, that of the English trader [165] Cheyne, and presumably there were several that never got into print. My informants recalled that an American named Keefe used to put in at Ifalik before the German times. He was in partnership, they said, with another American

named Louis or Luis, who kept a trading post on Lamotrek. A daughter of his, supposed to be enormously rich, was said to be still living on Woleai. Keefe is pretty surely D. D. O'Keefe, celebrated for importing stone money to Yap from the Palaus. (He claimed American citizenship.)"

"For short periods during the latter part of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, foreign traders lived on Ifalik. Damm mentions a white trader whom the natives called 'Sau'. He was there while Olaitiu was paramount chief, but left before the typhoon of 1907, when Olaitiu was lost at sea. During the typhoon, Damm reports, there were three Japanese on the island; but they left immediately after. However, these traders can not have had very much to sell. The best proof is that when the German expedition visited the island in 1909, all the adzes in use were of shell, though some of the drills had iron points.

A decided change came after the Germans, who took over the whole area at the turn of the century, brought in more transportation. They developed a fairly regular trade in copra. They also took natives as laborers on copra plantations as far away as Samoa, and as phosphate diggers, not only on nearby Fais but, if my information is correct, on Angaur.

German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon

And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.
The first mate takes them aboard.

German influence, though decidedly stronger than any that had preceded it, still left few traces by 1947. Tom used to say 'deutsch' for German, and had a memory of Germans as men with very white skins and knotty muscles. Perhaps the greatest change was in wider knowledge of the outside world, and in replacing the 'boisterous spirit' of Lutke's day by a more submissive one."

1: Burrows--166
116, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Damm's mention of three Japanese on Ifalik in 1907 has already been noted. My informants told a somewhat different story. They remembered only one Japanese, a little old man married to a woman from Woleai. Tom told me, after consulting others, that this Japanese lived on Ifalik for 10 years; but since they do not keep track of years, this means only that he was there for a considerable time. During the typhoon of 1907, he had to swim for his life, but with native help, succeeded in getting to higher ground. He worked for the Germans--presumably the Jaluit Company, which is said to have maintained a station on Ifalik.

The Japanese took over the islands in 1914. After World War I, when the area was mandated to them by the League of Nations, they resumed the copra trade. They had a trading store in Rauau district, but kept it closed except when their ship was in port. The most conspicuous effect of their regime on native life is in cooking. The native earth oven is now used only for cooking the meat of fairly large animals; pig, turtle, and such large fish as bonito and tuna. As these are not part of everyday diet it may be said that the earth oven is used only for festive occasions. Ordinarily household cooking is done mostly in Japanese iron pots or mess-kits, many of them fitted with tight covers for cooking rice.

A few other Japanese articles are in fairly general use: small fish nets of cotton cord, fish-hooks, tools, cloth, and dyes for cloth of native weave. A little shrine in the men's house has a Shinto look, though used for divination of a native sort."

1: Burrows--166
116, 159, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs." '

"The first American contact during World War II was unfortunate. The Japanese had a landing strip on Woleai, 30 miles away. During the period when the Americans, without attempting to land in the Carolines, were neutralizing Japanese bases there and leaving their garrisons to 'wither on the vine', while Americans by-passed on both sides, Woleai was bombed often enough to keep the air-strip out of use most of the time. Americans flew now and then over Ifalik; and one of them sprayed the atoll--or at least Rauau district--with a machine-gun. I believe the native account of this because they said they could hear the bullets cutting through the leaves, a detail they would not be likely to invent. No damage was done. The chief WolpaitIk was in the lagoon, tending a fish-trap. The natives now make a funny story of his frantic scramble ashore. Yet they were sufficiently afraid of American planes so that when the first of several passed over at night during our stay, and flashed a spot-light on Falālap, they were rather panicky, and we were suspected of getting information to be used for their destruction, and of communicating with the plane with a flash-light. (I had gone out on a stone pier to watch it pass, and called to Spiro, who was in the lighted tent; but I had no flash-light.) We assured them that American planes, the only ones in the area, would do them no harm; and after they found that the first one had passed over peaceably, they were little disturbed by the others.

This machine-gunning may have been a mistake, for the aerial photograph of Ifalik used to illustrate this report was labelled 'Woleai'. Or it may have been intended to

intimidate any Japanese or supporters of theirs who happened to be on Ifalik. Or, finally, it may have been a case of trigger-happiness. In any case, the terror it inspired seems not to be insuperable."

1: Burrows--167-168
116, 787, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-5
Ifalik

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--168-169 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

1: Burrows--189-190 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 771, 177 Ifalik

"One ritual that was never seen can not be classified for lack of clear understanding of its purpose. It was a specialty of the second-ranking chief, Maroligar, and involved apparatus kept in the men's house, Katēlū. On one of the middle posts, just below the tie-beams or about 6 feet from the floor, hangs a bag of sennit cord, subconical in shape. A slender wooden rod, about 2 feet in length and 1/4 inch in diameter, is threaded in and out across the top of the bag. Below, about a foot from the floor, is a platform approximately 5 feet square with vertical side-boards. The poles that support the corners continue upward to a height of about 4 feet, where they are connected by cross-pieces. These form a kind of rack, on which are hung cloths as offerings. Other offerings--garlands, tobacco--are sometimes left on the platform. The whole suggests a rude Shinto 'god-shelf' and its form decidedly suggests Japanese influence.

[190] Tom, when asked what this apparatus was and how it was used, said that inside the sennit bag are 12 shells of a mollusc called livou rór, that lives under stones by day, and comes out at night. Ordinary specimens of this creature are eaten. A shell that he brought to show what they are like is a flat spiral 2 or 3 inches in diameter and about 3/8 of an inch thick, with an elaborate pattern of brown markings on a white background. Each of the shells in the bag has a name of its own.

From time to time, Tom explained, people bring an offering to Maroligar, and ask him to perform the ritual. He takes down the bag, opens it, lays the shells on a fine pandanus mat, touches each of them with the stick, and names it. The names are known

only to a few, and Tom was either unable or unwilling to reveal them. He gave no more details about the ceremony, but said that after it is performed there is a taboo on work, for the whole population, for four days. Thereafter 'there is plenty of food of all kinds, both sea food and vegetables.' People bring food from all parts of the atoll, and consume it in a communal feast at the men's house. Obviously Tom's description was minimal. The obvious next step, questioning of Maroligar, was postponed, in the hope that we would have an opportunity to see the ritual performed. But this never happened during our stay, and the interview with Maroligar was still pending when the ship returned and took us away. From Tom's description, the ceremony seems to be a form of invocation. Yet the touching and naming of the shells has the look of divination."

2: Damm et al. --27 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 177 Ifaluk

There is a small selection of edible plants and fruit trees; three kinds of taro (wűlak, wőd, file), bananas (widj), coconut palms (lű) and bread-fruit trees (mái). Sugar-cane (wőu) and pumpkins (galawás) were introduced by white men.

2: Damm et al. --32-33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372, 177 Ifaluk

According to the natives, Mòdj brought the art of fire-making from Yap. In olden days people did not know how to produce fire (jáf; buleliáf [33] the flame); so they ate everything raw, even meat. Today there are two methods of making fire:

a) the fire drill (liák), síne liák- flat stick, lâu liák- vertical and rotating stick.

b) the fire plane or fire groove (lâulít), síne lâulít - flat stick, lâunâulít- grooving stick.

The fire saw is unknown.

To kindle the flame they use the ordinary type of woven fan (sâlbo), which is common throughout the Carolines.

felâri - hearth, fire place, wurak - smoke, marodj - ash, fafi - firewood.

2: Damm et al. --45 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 437 Ifaluk

In olden days there was more commercial activity than in 1909; however, the Ifaluk natives never equalled the skill of the Polowat people in this respect. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition they still purchased the fine spondylus shells on Aurepik and Truk, and paid for them with loin aprons and knives. The tribute voyages for Yanelap are not so important as they used to be either.

2: Damm et al. --59 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 344, 177 Ifaluk

Fenăp is the house for bachelors; the natives called it the "house belong king." These houses are public buildings. Usually women were not allowed to enter them. It was only when the king wanted to address all the inhabitants of the island to give orders or discuss laws, that women and children gathered here with their male relatives.

A long time ago there were no houses of this kind. Under the reign of Dibŏdăn a man from Yap, Fagil by name, was blown to Ifaluk, and he built the first fenăp. The natives built three others on this pattern. According to the Yap style, these all had a stone foundation in the water, and they were joined to the shore by a stone bridge. Two of them were on the main island (one on Ledjōurou and one on Lawuaū) and two on Falalap (one in the south and one is the northern district); the other parts of the village did not have any fenăp, so they had to be content with canoe houses. The typhoon destroyed all of them except one on Lawuaū, which is called Kadalū, and which served as an abode for Sarfert during his visit. It was 21 meters long, 5 1/2 meters wide and 5 meters high.

All of the men in one section of the village worked on the common canoe house, and when it was completed, they celebrated the event with a dance. Drawing 158 [AN: see source, p. 59] shows the floor plan of the only men's house still standing. The large supporting pillars on the sides (šūlefan) were made of big stones, and a platform was built on the central post; this was used when the king spoke to the people. Both the pillars and the platform were characteristic of these constructions...

2: Damm et al. --99
116, 177

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The following story tells how the Ifaluk natives learned to write [AN: see drawing 180 of source]. A Truk missionary, who was on his way from Olol to Truk, was blown off his course to Aurepik; several Truk natives were with him. He stayed in Aurepik for quite a while, until a boat came from Oleai with the chief. The latter asked the missionary to go home with him. So the missionary and his Truk inhabitants accompanied the hospitable chief to Oleai, and settled there. At that time there was a merchant on Oleai. The Truk men already knew how to write, and they taught their hosts. Finally they went back home by way of Ifaluk and Lamutrik, and so these islanders learned the letters too.

2: Damm et al. --111 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 177 Aurupik

Lütke made the first exact cartography of the island (1828), but he only saw the archipelago from a distance*, and so he could only give an approximate picture of it. The various Naval Staff charts of the seafaring powers do not give any exact picture of the group either; the first officer Lorenzen of the "Peiho" was the first to survey it and to make a map (see Fig. 183).

---

* Cheyne (1852, page 138) says that you can see the islands at a distance of 12-13 miles from the ship's deck.

Z: Damm et al. --118 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 141, 177 Aurupik

You realize how little contact these natives have had with civilization when you learn that Hambruch could not get any anthropological measurements because the natives were afraid of the instruments.

2; Damm et al. --168 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Faraulep

Aside from the foods, the natives have a few extras, and first on the list comes tobacco (tomáxo); it can not be strong enough to suit them. This plant was introduced from Guam, and now it is grown on the island, but the American twist tobacco is preferred.

2: Damm et al. --169 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412, 177 Faraulep

Formerly the most important tool was the shell ax (ɣapál); it had fallen into disuse in 1909, and only the "sacred axes" had preserved the old form. Shell blades of Tridacna or cassis - porugí or tará (the blade is kept sharp with a grindstone [uáre]), cutting edge -metád, upper side - lugúl, lower side - nán, handle for the hatchet - fm mé ím, wrapping - fórfór. Then finally, there were the tools for the finer work: files - (váim) of coral stone, awls (etáu), drills (purepúr).

2: Damm et al. --180 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789, 177 Faraulep

As on all the Carolines, the natives practice weather magic with carved wooden figures (xóós), equipped with ray stings (sting - pera, ray - fáix); occasionally they are hung with several coconut leaf knots (úwud) and with Seepocken to hold color to paint the statue. They are treated the same way as on Polowat. The much-traveled man Buimén brought this weather magic to Faraulip.

Before a long voyage the natives conjure Thelán in the following way: they blow a conch shell, and then hang it up in the big house where they return. Mats and coconuts are sacrificed to Alülue on the out-rigger. When they pull a sail boat on to the beach they sing a long song (báne), which really resembles a working song. [CS: Omission of the text of the song.]

2; Damm et al, --187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411, 721, 177 Faraulep

In former times there were a good many wars (fitéx), and today the natives fight with spears, sticks and knuckle dusters of sharks teeth (rajarás). They hurl stones with their hands. No bows and arrows are used. The victor orders the battle to cease. Declaration of war - máud, armistice - elamêle máud.

2: Damm et al. --190-191 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 764 Faraulep

Formerly the dead were buried, and stone pavements were laid over their graves (ʒétje). Then the Yap natives, who thus fulfilled the wish of the god Yónelaf, urged them [191] to bury the bodies in the sea. This applies to the inhabitants of Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik and Faraulip. This information of Hambruch is especially interesting because it connects the two types of burial in point of time, and it also shows that the sinking of the dead is tied up with the Yónelaf cult. If we consider that there were migrations to the Carolines from the east and the west on the basis of the spread of the aînan, Hambruch's statement shows the most important elements of the wave of culture that infiltrated from the west.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 177, 441 Woleai

[AN: Considerable increase of ethnographic material noted by Hellwig].... There were many similarities to Truk culture, and we found material proof of the earlier direct relations with the remote Truk group. Many ornaments had come from Aúrepik and the rather distant Ngulú and Poloot (Puluwat) groups. A Spanish and a Japanese merchant, who before the typhoon had trade stations on the group, are said to have imported special ornaments of Spondyl shell. To this Japanese, the natives apparently owed the iron kitchen pots and the other European implements that could be found in every household.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ...Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--261-262 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 165, 177 Lamotrek

At present, many inhabitants are affected by influenza; in recent times 14 people died of it, and children may die within one day. [626] In addition, dysentery has killed victims. Thus the probability that diseases are spread by the voyages of the natives is much greater than the alleged importation of all kinds of diseases by the vessels of the whites. Only for venereal diseases the whites may be made responsible.....In earlier times the population of Lamutrik amounted to 1000 persons; twenty years ago there were only about 300 left, and now there are only ca. 220.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Prior to the typhoon the islanders had been in close contact with Wólea, Aúrepik, Poloot (Poloat), Sátuwal, and the near island of Lámutruk; with Truk, however, they stood only in loose contact.

4: Krämer--9-10 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177 Lamotrek

After 1900 government representatives have rarely visited the remote island. The Deutsche Kolonialblatt 1906, page 263, records one visit; the main reasons were the scale insects of the coconut palms and the prevention of the consumption of toddy. The visit lasted from December 1-3, 1905 (see Oleai).

A. and E. Krämer stayed here from November 21 to December 10, 1909; Hambruch was on Elato from November 20-25. [10]

The fact that, making the voyage with my wife, I did not use the ship of the expedition but the mail steamboat "Germania" for my crossing to Truk, indicates that Lamotrek at that very time was included in the main service lines. It is true that the boat only called for copra. The island was not yet visited by whites.

4: Krämer--14 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 797 Lamotrek

There is no [MR: mission] station on the island [MR: of Lamotrek] but influence is extended from Truk and from the west.

4: Krämer--32 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 167 Elato

At the time of Ilematip the first whites came to Elato.

In the old times chief Teiar came from Truk with his people subjected Elato and ruled over the island. When he was in office the natives of Ifaluk came over and killed all the inhabitants of Elato. Elato was settled anew by the people of Ifaluk. Möz was the chief. At that time all the natives of Nämeliaur were also slain and those of Lamütsik were greatly decimated. Elato is a colony of Ifaluk.

The following types of striped mats are known: marŭp made of gilifer with five or six stripes; it is a coarse, plain weave which is often dyed with traded dyes. The black, green or dark blue stripes are broken by white, red or other colors and the intervening sections appear uniformly light. I did not see these mats in the unfinished state while work was done on them; they occur identically on Sëtoval and thus it is possible that they have been traded on that island. They look very modern; I learned that on the surrounding islands of Sëtoval, Pollap and others no weaving had been done, because it was taboo. [77]

I shall now go on to describe the characteristic mats with three stripes; additional ornamentation of them are the black patterns which are produced by fibers introduced in the direction of the weft, which constitute the transverse bands at the beginning and the end of the mat. In the course of weaving black gilifer fibers are sent through the warp threads between every weft by means of a little wooden rod; they are fastened and held secure by the following weft. This is plait weaving known as dab.

Second Type of Mat.

The peig mats have three stripes and are woven of fine, white uidj fibers with narrow black marginal stripes and a wider black stripe in the center* and very narrow red threads may be used in the center; Plate 6a-f [VMM: see source].

*Plate 6b [VMM: see source] has three wide stripes peig na tas.

We must add in the case of the majority of the peig the dab pattern, latitudinal stripes at the beginning and the end of the mat, which are very delicate in these fine mats.

The black stripes in the longitudinal direction may either be weaves of uidj or gilifer; the dab patterns are always made of gilifer fibers, which in their dull blackness contrast very nicely with the glossy, light uidj.

My studies of native weaving were greatly aided by the assistance of Bessi (Plate 3d [VMM: see source]), the half-breed daughter of the English trader Lewis.... In order that I might become familiar with the various dab patterns, she wove for me an exceedingly beautiful, abundantly ornamented mat (Plate 7d [VMM: see source]) with a great variety of latitudinal designs (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). It has the name najile malugelep al--dab o fasch and belongs to the group of the three-striped peig alali pelach (with plain weave). The wide stripe in the center is broken by two white, and one red, lines. In the plaiting work, dab, red and green threads have been used in addition to black ones and this variety is a concession to modern times. The patterns however are of the true old type and have names and significance. Some of them are said to have originated on other islands. [VMM: see source Figure 47, for illustrations of the following designs.] When one begins at the upper end, one comes first to

1. A. uasstich — pattern for the beginning of the mat
2. B. Iangodab — a very narrow border which serves to outline a pattern

		and which appears immediately above C.
3.	C. sepasse iliuil	canoe sails of several boats that sail together.
4.	B. langodab	see B, directly underneath C.
5:	D. uadj	neck tattooing of a man
6.	B. langodab	see B. [78]
7.	E. fäsilümat	eye (from Faraulap)
8.	B. langodab	see 6. B.
9.	D. uadj	see 5. D.
10.	F. uägüpä	unexplained
11.	G. garrach	plant design from Ifaluk
12.	H. ngingi	neck tattooing of a man
13.	J. bub (pup)	a fish (see Truk, page 150 X) [79]
14.	K. päülümel	a flying bird
15.	J. bub	fish, see 13.
16.	C, kusae	pattern from Kusae
17.	M. fäülümat	eye, from Ifaluk (see 7)
18.	C, kusae	see 16
19.	N. gogotjub	see 12
20.	O. pöulul	"round thing"
21.	P. ngilipaggo	shark's tooth (Truk, page 188 b).

22. Q. ligongare Ifaluk pattern
23. R. B =Bessi, the plaiter
24. S. fatarigavŭong small animals of the sea lined up

The majority of these plaiting patterns definitely have a left side, but there are some among them which look alike on both sides. If the latter are used for a fine peig mat, and if the decorative stitches appear alike in the black longitudinal stripes on both sides, then we are dealing with a rare and valuable mat, which is called peig galut.

It has been mentioned above that peig also exist without dab patterns; they are shown on Plate 6d and f [VMM: see source]. Finally we want to refer to the lugŭllŭ uidj, mats of coarsely split banana fibers, which may be compared to the peig, except that they are much coarser. As in the case of the peig, there exist various sub-types: 1. completely white without any ornamentation, 2. with black stripes along both sides and with or without dab (Plate 6h [VMM: see source]) 3. with a central stripe in addition to the stripes along the edges, which makes the mat three striped, 4. three-striped and ornamented with dab, having at both ends coarse, simple patterns of black gilifer fibers (Plate 6c [VMM: see source]). All these mats have plain weaves. In addition to the local weaving products, one sees mats imported from Truk; especially men are fond of the plain, white banana fiber mat, which is called aliel; a yellowish type is known as garite. ngăremus and pagutiu are two types of mats for women that come from Truk.

4: Krämer--76-79
116, 285, 531, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-5
Lamotrek

Words:

fisudab	lattice weave (of dab pattern)
djuidab	needle used for the lattice weave
famalúdab	pattern of the dab

4: Krämer--189
116, 103, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The first visitor of Woleai was Torres, who went there in 1804 and who gave the name of Guliai and Ulea; Chamisso in 1817 gives Ulea, Lütke in 1828 Ouleyai, the Kolonialatlas of 1908 Oleai, Uleai and Woleai, and the report of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition in 1909 the atoll of Oleai and the island of Volea.

4: Krämer--254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Woleai

In our day the houses on Oleai did not have any stone foundations and the same was true of the buildings on Lámotrek.

4: Krämer--285 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 538, 177 Woleai

The repertoire of stories was meager and it seems that the tradition and relation are not furthered very much.

A certain substitute is the long story of Paluélap which was mentioned in connection with Pollap.

I heard it on Lámotrek and recorded it there and that fact ought to serve as some indication that it came from a region further east, from Bon'nap [VMM: see 4: Krämer 291]

5: Kittlitz--149 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Several inhabitants of Namurrek, the farthest east of the three neighboring groups, took advantage of our ship to sail with us to the most western one, Elato; a tamol happened to be there with his sailing canoe so he took them to shore.

5: Kittlitz--149-50 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 177, 438 Elato

Elato is more closely connected with Guaham than the other Caroline Islands; the Spanish ships which come from there generally stop at the harbor when they visit the Carolines to get holothurians, especially trepangs, which are used for their commerce with China. Then you usually find some of the Elato natives on Guaham; [150] they frequently spend years there and enter their canoes into the government service. They keep up a kind of regular communication between Guaham and the other islands of the Marianas and transport the local products to the main island. During our stay we got acquainted with a tamol from Elato, whose name was Orolitau; he and a considerable number of his countrymen took charge of this Spanish trade between Guaham and the neighboring islands, Seypan and Rota. They gave Captain Lütke a lot of valuable information about the situation of the various coral islands near Elato.

5: Kittlitz--151
116, 177

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Faraulep

Among our callers was a tamol, who spoke Spanish fluently, and who had charming manners. His name was Alberto, but he had probably adopted this during his two year sojourn on the Marianas.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaï natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaï immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

6: Senfft--54
116, 304, 177

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Men and women have different patterns of tattooing. The same method of tattooing is used here as on other islands; only adults are tattooed, and a small hammer together with some soot are the instruments used. In most cases only the arms and legs are tattooed. Those natives who have had the upper part of their body tattooed use the same designs found on Yap and Ululsi (Ugoi) and they go to one of these islands for this process.

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaf and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

12: Lutke--130-131
116, 177, 609

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

The natives came to us at once. One of them who had nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the rest, surprised us by his European manners, and we were even more astonished when he came on board and began to speak a very pure Spanish. He was the chief Alaberto*, he had spent two years in the Marianas islands where he had learned Spanish so perfectly that if [131] we could not carry on a fluent conversation with him, it was our fault, and not his. His polite and charming manners made him a very interesting guest.

---

* This name does not resemble a Carolinian name in the slightest; it may be that he received it in Guahan.

12: Lutke--131 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177 Faraulep

Alaberto [AN: chief] had dinner with me in the cabin; he had no difficulty in eating in our manner. . .

12: Lutke--132 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 431 Faraulep

I gave him [AN: chief Alaberto] everything that I thought he could use; among other items a cask to conserve water, and a pocket compass; he understood the use of this in a second, and he held it in his hands as if it were really a treasure.

12: Lutke--135-136
116, 177, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torrès, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--138-139 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 177 Woleai

Far from hindering, the natives tried to help us. The only thing to which they [AN: the natives] objected was the firing of our hunters. At the beginning [139] they trembled and screamed at each shot, even in the distance, and begged us not to make so much noise; they soon became accustomed to it, however; and they finally cried ouai! each time they heard a gun.

12: Lutke--300
116, 276, 177

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

Several of them asked for cigars, something that we had not noticed here before.

12: Lutke--301 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177 Woleai

Without being in favor of obscurantism, I can say that in general the more contact the savages have with civilized people, the more corrupted they become. These relations make them acquainted with luxury; then new needs, and the desire to satisfy them bring more vices. In this sense the natives of Ouleaï will soon attain the same degree of civilization as their compatriots of the Pelly islands (Palaos) * unless they are preserved from it by their small population.

---

* How far they are, the natives of these islands, from the simplicity and purity of customs in which Captain Wilson found them! Doctor Chamisso speaks of this change. Today they plunder and steal boats, just like the natives of New Zealand and the Marquise islands, and the only difference is that these men do not eat their prisoners.

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 177 Ifalik

"Ifaluk was discovered by the Englishman, John Wilson, in 1797, and was visited by the Russian scientist, Lutke, in 1828.

The contacts of the natives with the early Spanish and Portuguese explorers were very slight. Discouraged by early abortive attempts to establish missions in Sonsorol and Ulithi, the Spanish withdrew from all activity in the Western Carolines until the end of the nineteenth century. The British raised a flag on the Palaus in 1790, but did not pursue their interest any further.

The Western Carolines were first brought to the attention of the United States by the published reports of an American crew that was shipwrecked on the Palaus in 1832.

After 1840, western traders became interested in the Western Carolines. The natives at first welcomed them with cordial hospitality, despite some sporadic attacks. The westerners introduced livestock, firarms, small-pox, and syphillis into the area.

With the development of trade in the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany came into conflict over the sovereignty of the islands. The Spanish rule lasted from 1886 to 1899. Except for some missionary work, Spanish activity in the islands was slight. They established missons [sic] on Yap and Palau, and built military fortifications on Yap, but did not interfere with native life. [3]

At the close of the Spanish-American War, in 1899, Germany bought the Marianas

(except for Guam) and the Carolines from Spain. The Germans began their administration auspiciously. They established administrative headquarters for the Western Carolines on Yap, where they built a new administration building; constructed a hospital, with a resident physician, who trained native assistants, and made tours of the other islands; and established a police force composed of trained natives. The district officers visited the outlying islands and explained to the chiefs that Germany has assumed hegemony over the islands. But aside from depriving the chiefs of the power of inflicting the death penalty, they made little, if any, attempt to interfere with native culture. Only in the promotion of trade did the Germans use dictorial methods. They required an increase in coconut planting, and greater care in the maintenance of the groves. But on the while [sic], 'the German administration was moderate, enlightened, and efficient.' (4)

"4. Civil Affairs Handbook, p. 25"

28: Spiro--2-3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 177 Ifalik

In October, 1914, Japan acquired hegemony over the Carolines, when a Japanese naval squadron took possession of the islands. They were later ceded the islands as a mandate territory by the League of Nations. The primary aims of Japanese imperialism in the islands were political and military. Native rulers were deprived of much of their power, but, again, no concerted attempt was made to change native culture to any appreciable degree. However, the Japanese did establish schools on Yap, to which young boys from the outlying islands, including Ifaluk, were brought for instruction. Here they were taught to read, write, and speak Japanese; arithmetic, drawing, Japanese history, athletics, and political indoctrination. The Japanese also inducted young men from the outlying islands to mine phosphate on the Palaus and on Fais."

28: Spiro--3 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 177 Ifalik

"Despite this long period of contact with the west (and the east) the Western Carolines show little acculturation. This is particularly true of the smaller islands, such as Ifaluk, for the obvious reason that contact was very slight. Trade never became extensive, and what there was was confined pretty well to the larger islands. Missionary activity was restricted to the larger islands, with no attempt to enter the smaller ones. Nor did the islands attract colonists, except for Yap and the Palaus.

Ifaluk, being one of the smaller islands, is, therefore, relatively unacculturated. However, there are some indications of acculturations, particularly in material culture. Although most of the clothes worn by the natives is woven by the women on their looms, many loin cloths are made of cloth introduced by the Japanese. Furthermore, almost every household has some articles of western apparel, such as military coats, jackets, and pants, some shoes or sandals, and many rain coats are in evidence. In preparation of food, almost all the utensils in use are of foreign origin. The wooden bowls, formerly used, have almost completely disappeared. Iron pots and hettles [sic], and tin pans have taken their place. Coconut graters, made of shell, have all been replaced by iron graters. Rain water is collected in rain barrels; the palm wine is collected and kept

in Japanese beer bottles. Fire is made with flint and steel, rather than by means of the aboriginal fire plow. (5)"

"5. Note: As so often happens, a practical art when if [sic] falls into disuse, becomes a toy, game, or sport. Boys and young men attempt to light a fire by means of the fire plow in the same spirit that characterizes the attempt of boy scouts to do the same."

28: Spiro--4
116, 177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In technology, this erstwhile neolithic culture has lost all its stone implements. Steel knives, steel adzes, saws, and planes have replaced the native tools."

28: Spiro--4 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 262 Ifalik

"Food supply has also been effected by contact. Chickens and pigs, both in the smallest of quantities, have been introduced into the islands, as well as dogs. The latter are eaten under certain conditions. But more important than what has been introduced are those food products that the natives have tasted, and which have not been introduced, such as rice, milk, and beef, or 'carabou', as the natives call it. These, they tasted while on the larger islands, or when brought in occasionally by the Japanese, and they are very eager to obtain them again. The mothers, particularly, would like canned milk for their babies. One old man said that if he went to American he would do nothing but eat 'carabou'."

28: Spiro--4 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Ifalik

"One of the earliest of borrowed traits was tobacco, which the Spanish introduced into Guam, and which thereafter spread throughout the entire area. Ifaluk grows some tobacco, but not nearly enough for its needs, and, consequently, obtains its tobacco by trade with some of the other islands in the area, such as Faraulep and Lamotrek. The tobacco is smoked as a cigarette, being rolled in banana leaves."

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens' roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--20
576, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

28: Spiro--21
827, 514, 177, 636

(1947-48)1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--44 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 177, 421 Ifalik

"Economic acculturation, in that it provides certain individuals and not others with certain objects, has resulted in a desire for certain kinds of property, and confers upon their owners certain prestige. This merely illustrates the universal economic law of scarcity as a primary contributor to economic value. Western gadgets, and tools, introduced by the Japanese or by the Americans, including the anthropologists--and of necessity distributed to a few--incur the admiration and envy of the others. The knives we distributed among the chiefs were the envy and admiration of all the men. The playing cards we gave to our 'boys' were admired and longed for by the others. The perfume we gave to Tom's wife or to the chiefs' wives was desired by the other women. Thus one can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by any one with the requisite skills that property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Navy should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects, like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time, tensions will inevitably arise as they have in other colonial areas.

There are two factors, then, that have served to almost eliminate economic tensions on Ifaluk: The culturally ordained pattern of cooperation and generosity in the distribution of goods and their use, and the abundance of those things that are desired, so

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

28: Spiro--62
177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--105-106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--107-108
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1 3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs--speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

---

"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

29: Spiro--190
116, 159, 177

(1947-48) 1950

Woleaians
Ifalik-3

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--195-196 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-17

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?
A. In my stomach.
Q. Is it a male or female alus?
A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.
Q. Really?
A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.
Q. Where is that place?
A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.
Q. Where is the land of the alus?
A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.
Q. Are you dead now?
A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

---

"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: A native of Woleai (Carolines) who had been shipwrecked on Aur] was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time he learned several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak Islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Oulea, his home-land, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadou had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufal for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2]
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century—the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. 533 We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 178 Ifalik 12

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliār, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIIltr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIIltr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

2; Damm et al. --12 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164, 178 Ifaluk

You seldom find ringworm. However, Sarfert saw a good many large scars, decayed legs, etc. In contrast to the other Carolines (for example Polowat, Satowal) syphilis occurs here. According to the natives, the life span was formerly very long, but people now die in middle life. The health conditions alone can not be responsible for this situation; it is much more likely that the cultural decline plays just as important a part in the premature decease of the inhabitants.

2; Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaṅāi, (Oleai), Auripīk, Ifalūk, Ṙorōl (Sorol), Uejēī (Fais), Magemūx (Mogemog), Yap, Nōlu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsēx (Lamutrik), Setōuan (Satowal), Sōux (Hok), Unūon, (Onon), Piserīs, Tsūk (Truk), Magur, Moirāla (Murillo), Ratak, Magīl (Mokil), Ebon, Nutaū, Gātsaūe (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxū, Solnīs, Bahaū, Ānelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
[539] *They have given us a paper.*
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 181 Ifalik

"What follows is a summary of the sentiments that stand out in the foregoing account of the culture of Ifalik. The list can not pretend to be exhaustive. For example, the sentiment centered about sexual fulfilment is not included, because the sexual life of the people of Ifalik is not included in this study; though the importance of this sentiment was suggested in discussing the absence of a wedding ceremony. Quite unintentionally, the sentiments listed fit the classic formulation of four fundamental human wishes by Thomas and Znaniecki in 'The Polish Peasant in America.' [200]

Seafaring

Seafaring is the object of a sentiment whose strength varies according to sex--being mainly a man's concern--and according to individual character. The importance of this sentiment to the people of Ifalik is attested in most of the foregoing chapters.. Canoe-building and navigation are the unrivalled high points of native technology. The principal way for a man to achieve status, as distinguished from inheriting it, is to become a palū or navigator. Another way, of somewhat lower rating yet by no means to be despised, is to become a sennap or masterbuilder of canoes. Some of the most elaborate myths validate or dignify the lore of navigation and canoe-building. The gods of navigation form a distinct group, equal in number to what I have called the 'high gods', and more clearly differentiated in function. Safety at sea is the object of a relatively rich collection of rituals and incantations.

The fundamental positive value in this sentiment is that of adventure or as Thomas and Znaniecki call it, new experience. Presumably it is enhanced by the negative value of monotony or boredom involved in staying at home. The restricted range of experience available on a tiny atoll is oppressively apparent to a visitor from afar. How keenly the natives feel it is hard to make out. One indication, though, is that the youths who loaf in the canoe-houses never tired of hearing and talking about foreign countries. Conversations turned so incessantly to this subject that my patience soon wore out. Spiro's far outlasted mine, but eventually he, too, began to steer clear of chatting with the youths in the canoe-houses. Moreover, this interest motivates more than talk. Within the limits of their capacity these people still love to roam and see the world.

The most powerful negative value in this sentiment is the fear of death at sea. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for security. It is especially powerful in this culture because their vessels and knowledge of navigation, though admirable in a way, are far inferior to our matchless technology. The risk of seafaring is correspondingly greater. It is probably through fear of losing their menfolk, more than anything else, that women participate in this sentiment. The rituals and incantations for safety at sea are precautions that attest the strength of this fear among men, too. One of the great duties of beneficent gods is to roam the seas, looking for canoes that have gone astray, and bring them back to port."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1,2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114 of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The
123 cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a con-
178 stant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people
353 by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached
83 to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The
178 phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present com-
[181] pletely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur,
[173] the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too,"
[169] he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

132 The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [502] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

1: Burrows--147 (1947-48) Woleaians
183 Ifalik

"....the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song."

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husband's anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--88 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 183 Ifalik

"My informants said that unlike the ten days in the birth-hut, the baby is not wakened to be fed. My own observations, however, did not confirm this statement, which was probably a statement of a cultural norm, rather than an empirical description. For at least the first month, the mother will feed the infant often, and will wake it in order to do so. The baby is wakened by the stream of water in its mouth. Often, however, this does not wake the baby, and the mother will ease her nipple into its mouth, which automatically induces the sucking reflex, though to all appearances, the baby is still sleeping."

28: Spiro--91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 551, 851, 183 Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--24 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 537, 184 Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentery shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter,

who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

28: Spiro--45-46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-4
116, 772, 184 Ifalik

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--113
116, 858, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Wóleaians
Ifalik

"Socialization involves not only the introjection of the values of the culture, it means also learning to participate in the institutionalized activities of the culture. From the moment the child is taken from the confines of his home, there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, indeed, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, an economic activity, the child, from infancy on, is a witness to the proceedings, for he is carried by his parents, when an infant, and walks himself, when he can do so. In short, there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child. He begins to observe adults behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means, that in many instances, all that is lacking for his participation is the skill or strength, not the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a strange mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities that, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture, it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from child to adult, an abandonment of one and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological growth, is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concommittently with his biological maturation."

28: Spiro--114-115 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 883, 462, 226, 184 Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 186 Ifalik

"The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; 'all same one people', as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifalik. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. 'To talk like a Yap man' is one way of saying 'to lie.' And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifalik's solidarity."

1: Burrows--201 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 554, 186 Ifalik

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

28: Spiro--11 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--104 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 573, 186, 591 Ifalik

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

2; Damm et al. --217
116, 171, 191

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal.

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 192 Ifalik 1-18

"The following list contains mostly words of rather general application. Some more specific or technical bits of vocabulary, given in the text, are not repeated here: numerals, names of plants and animals, and of kinds of turtle meat under Geography (some of the commonest species are repeated below); names of the parts of canoe, house, and loom, and of stars (navigation), under Technology: kinship terms -- which have no exact English equivalents -- under Social Structure.

IFALIK TO ENGLISH

ai - you (2d person plural before verb)
al - sun
ăl - road
alax - talk, say, speak
aleal - spoon (of green coconut husk)
alus - god, demon
amann - finished
angi - wind
aramat - man, human being
aramatakaua - somebody
arot - finished
ăting - seine, fishing with seine

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

28: Spiro--62
177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--105-106
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--107-108 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3]
116, 291, 831, 827, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

29: Spiro--190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-1 3

"Tarev is a man in his early forties, an only child of parents who are dead. He had not only had a normal childhood, but his early adulthood, too, had been most exemplary. He had been both a good husband and a good father. He had been industrious in his work and cooperative and generous--highly esteemed values in Ifaluk--in his normal social interaction. Furthermore he had been acclaimed as an expert fisherman and was recognized as a skilled carpenter. In short, Tarev had enjoyed a position of respect and prestige in his society. The onset of his disease was not insidious, but was most precipitate. Shortly before the outbreak of war in the Pacific he had been inducted by the Japanese into a labor gang on Yap, and after his return the natives became aware of drastic changes in his behavior. He would not work but would spend many hours in isolation, engaging in private and seemingly meaningless conversations, songs, and dances. At other times, however, he would become violent, accusing people of wanting to kill him, and would resort to violent means of defending himself against these putative attackers. In short, his behavior exhibited the characteristics of the paranoid schizophrenic. These sporadic outbursts became so frequent that his wife and her family were afraid to live with him--residence in Ifaluk is matrilocal--and Tarev was moved to his maternal home where, it was thought, his own family would have greater control over him. This was

the situation when we arrived in Ifaluk in July 1947. (6)

Exactly what the experiences of the natives in the labor gangs were we do not know. One thing is fairly certain, however; the natives were not treated with great respect. On the contrary! Their treatment was often harsh and brutal. Some of the men informed me that the Japanese overseers did not hesitate to employ physical punishment, such as whipping, to enforce their demands. This characteristic of Japanese behavior left a deep impression on the natives, and they experienced it from the very beginning of their induction. The Japanese patrol would come to the island and demand a certain number of adult males from the chiefs. Their arrogant manner in dealing with the chiefs--speaking from raised platforms, shouting at them, and even beating them if they did not respond with alacrity--evoked both hatred and anxiety from the people. The men who were inducted were exposed to this treatment for the duration of their work-period. For people who had lived all their lives in a culture in which nonaggression was a

---

"6. The writer and Dr. Burrows studied this culture from July 1947 to February 1948, under a grant from the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as members of the CIMA expedition (Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology). Funds were made available by the Navy Department."

supreme value and in which the greatest emphasis is placed on 'good talk,' meaning kindliness in speech, the behavior of the Japanese constituted a profoundly disturbing experience. The natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder."

29: Spiro--195-196 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Ifalik-17

"November 14, 1947. Maroligar woke me last night, very disturbed, saying that Tarev was 'tonight no good.' It seems that he had been doing some kind of private dance inside his house, and was disturbing others with the noise he was making. I proceeded with Maroligar to Tarev's house, pulled back the door mat, and saw that he was standing in the center of the house, his back to me, holding a large pole in his hand. When I called his name, he turned towards me, looked at me long, and then gave a sigh of relief--as if some heavy burden had been lifted from his shoulders. He ran towards me, as if he were a little boy, grabbed my hands in his, and smelled both palms deeply. He talked to me, but his speech was entirely unintelligible. I gave him a cigarette and told him to try to sleep. I waited outside his house for a half-hour and, satisfied that he was sleeping, returned to my tent. This morning, Maroligar informed me that after I had left last night, Tarev became aggressive and threw rocks at his 'mother.'

This morning I went to interview him. He looked very depressed and did not greet me with his usual warmth. Throughout the interview, he would put his face in his hands, as if he were trying to forget something. As the interview continued, he warmed up to the situation, but not with the same warmth and intensity that characterized the other interviews.

Q. Why did you dance last night?
A. I did nothing. I only held the pole.

Q. What did you do with the pole?
A. I took it for that white man.
Q. But why did you dance?
A. It was for the white man. He has something in his clothes.
Q. What does he have in his clothes?
A. Just as in the movies. [He had seen movies on Yap.]
Q. What?
A. I saw it in the movies and was imitating it.
Q. What did you see?
A. I saw it in the movies. Yesterday afternoon I made that pole.
Q. Why did you throw a stone at your mother?
A. Metagiso [her husband] had a knife and struck the stone with it. [196]
Q. Why did he do that?
A. I didn't like it. I was angry and threw the stone at my mother.
Q. Why didn't you like it?
A. He hit one knife on top of another.
Q. But why did you throw the stone?
A. I was afraid.
Q. Why?

A. I remember yesterday afternoon I took coconuts to drink, and Metagiso and my mother said they would kill me tonight. [He laughs.] Metagiso went fishing and the fire in the house had gone out. I went to Maroligar's house to get a light for my cigarette. [At this point Tom interrupted him, and they engaged in a heated argument, which I lost completely.] Someone called me and I woke up.

Q. Who called you?

A. No one. Metagiso came in in the late afternoon. Then something like fire came down, circled my house a few times, and finally settled on the tree.

Q. What was it?

A. It wasn't fire. It settled on the tree, then came to the ground and circled around.

Q. But what was it?

A. [He took a blade of grass, and showed me a piece about a quarter of an inch long.] It came inside the house, and the fire became larger, and then it became smaller--larger and smaller. Metagiso caught it in his fish net. He put it by the side of my house.

Q. Were you afraid of it?

A. No.

Q. Did you like it?

A. [He did not answer, but placed his hands in a prayer-like pose, and bent his head.]

Q. Did you like it?

A. No. I said to it, 'Good morning, master.'

Q. Where is it now?

A. I lifted the door mat and it went away. [He then pointed to swarms of small flying insects that were visible only in the rays of the sun shining through the doorway.] They were just like them--many, many.

Q. Did you dream last night?

A. No.

Q. Why did you do that dance?

A. The Americans danced in those clothes.

Q. What clothes?

A. People walked in those clothes.

Q. What kind of clothes were they? Like my clothes?

A. They were soldier clothes [uniforms]. What the soldiers did, I did.

Q. What did you do?

A. There were many soldiers. What they did, I did.

Q. Were you afraid of the soldiers?

A. I fought with one of the soldiers. He knifed me in my stomach and my head. I removed the knife. He gave me much money, but I did not keep it. I threw it away.

Q. But I don't see any wounds on you.

A. The knife came through my head and back. I pulled it through, rubbed the wound, and it disappeared.

Q. Where did the soldiers go?

A. The knife came through my head and back, so I pulled it out, rubbed the place, and the wound disappeared. Then another one came to fight me.

Q. Why did the soldiers want to fight you?

A. Because I was very bad. I drank wine, and then I began to shout and break things. So they came to fight me.

Q. Why did you drink so much and break things?

A. Those men did not like it. Four men came to fight me. They threw me to the ground and I began to bleed. Then they began to fight with me. They gave me money.

Q. What kind of soldiers were they?

A. American soldiers. I did an American dance.

Q. How do you feel now?

A. I am always happy, for a dance comes to me, just like the wind.

Q. Do you like the dance?

A. I like.

Q. Has the alus come to you lately?

A. He is in me now. He never goes away.

Q. Where is he in you?

A. In my stomach.

Q. Is it a male or female alus?

A. Male. Last night I dance. Last night I danced, and there was a typhoon, and a tidal wave. I wanted my mother to see.

Q. Really?

A. I was at the land of the alus when it came.

Q. Where is that place?

A. The ocean came on top of me in huge waves.

Q. Where is the land of the alus?

A. I saw that paper, and I understood. A man came to me; he did not talk bad to me, he talked good. So I did not go to the land of the alus.

Q. Where is the land of the alus?

A. It is like the movies. An American man came to me. He said, 'Do you have any copras?' 'I have no more.' 'Why?' 'We need the coconuts to eat here.' 'Then I'll kill you.' 'No, don't kill me.' 'I'm going to kill all the people here.' 'No, don't kill them.' 'I'll kill you.' So he killed me.

Q. Are you dead now?

A. No, he killed me, but I was revived. Four American men gave me some whiskey. I drank one glass, and then threw away the bottle. I finished four bottles. The men gave

me money, but I told my children, 'You take the money.'

As usual, we were interrupted. A school of fish was sighted, and the men called Tom to join them in launching the canoes."

29: Spiro--203-204 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 177 Ifalik-1-2

"Tarev's cruel treatment at the hands of the Japanese was the first hostile experience he had encountered in his adult life. This experience was not only intrinsically alarming and frustrating but--what is even more important--it served to remobilize childhood traumata, reviving the anxieties, frustrations, and insecurities that until then had found cultural resolution. The result was psychosis, for the situation became overwhelming. To the first meaning of the cruelty--physical hurt--he could make no response: first, because the Japanese were the masters of the situation; and, second, because as a member of Ifaluk culture he was forced to inhibit his own aggression. To the [204] second meaning of the cruelty--the remobilization of his childhood traumata--there was no possible realistic--that is, cultural--response at all; for his culture had not provided for such a contingency. Since he could no longer live by means of his culture--'in his culturally constituted world,' to use Hallowell's phrase--he could live only by means of his own phantasies--his privately constituted world.

This theoretical analysis is substantiated by the facts. (24) As I stated earlier, the

---

"24. Similarly, J. C. Carothers has shown that the incidence of 'mental derangement' among African natives is correlated with their living away from their native homes. See 'A Study of Mental Derangement in Africans, and an Attempt to Explain its Peculiarities, More Especially in Relation to the African Attitude to Life,' Psychiatry (1948) 11:47-85."

natives know of no instance of this kind of malebush prior to the Japanese occupation; and since the occupation, the only cases of this type have been two men who had worked in the labor gangs--Tarev and one other. To the knowledge of the people no person who had not had this Japanese experience has ever become a victim of this disorder. That other men did not break down under this pressure does not invalidate this analysis, for the same objection could be raised with respect to any population. All individuals in a given culture or subculture are exposed to the same or similar strains; certain of these personalities break down and others do not. The attempts to understand this differential threshold of frustration-tolerance has led investigators to the study of those biogenic and psychogenic factors that may be operative. What those factors might be in the case of Tarev and Aneitin are unknown since their case histories are unavailable."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 177 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: A native of Woleai (Carolines) who had been shipwrecked on Aur] was not slow in getting used to us, and conducted himself like a true European. Being a natural mimic, he amused us a great deal. In a very little time he learned several Russian words, and as we had retained a large number of words from the Radak Islands, we came to understand each other.

He spoke a great deal about Oulea, his home-land, as well as adjacent islands, which we knew by the name of the Caroline Island archipelago. Kadou had travelled to all of them, even to the Pelew Islands. His accounts told us that his compatriots were hardy navigators, and often undertook long sea voyages.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip. 000

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food. 136 [000]

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.) 123 262 226 197 136

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap. 123 226

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 178 Ifalik 1-2

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliăr, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIlItr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIlItr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

2; Damm et al. --12 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 164, 178 Ifaluk

You seldom find ringworm. However, Sarfert saw a good many large scars, decayed legs, etc. In contrast to the other Carolines (for example Polowat, Satowal) syphilis occurs here. According to the natives, the life span was formerly very long, but people now die in middle life. The health conditions alone can not be responsible for this situation; it is much more likely that the cultural decline plays just as important a part in the premature decease of the inhabitants.

2: Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaaŋi, (Oleai), Auripik, Ifaluk, Soroŋ (Sorol), Uejeŋ (Fais), Magemuŋ (Mogemog), Yap, Nŏlu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsex (Lamutrik), Setouan (Satowal), Sŏux (Hok), Unŋon, (Onon), Piseras, Tsuk (Truk), Magur, Moiraila (Murillo), Ratak, Magil (Mokil), Ebon, Nutau, Gatsaue (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxu, Solnas, Bahau, Anelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 181 Ifalik

"What follows is a summary of the sentiments that stand out in the foregoing account of the culture of Ifalik. The list can not pretend to be exhaustive. For example, the sentiment centered about sexual fulfilment is not included, because the sexual life of the people of Ifalik is not included in this study; though the importance of this sentiment was suggested in discussing the absence of a wedding ceremony. Quite unintentionally, the sentiments listed fit the classic formulation of four fundamental human wishes by Thomas and Znaniecki in 'The Polish Peasant in America.' [200]

Seafaring

Seafaring is the object of a sentiment whose strength varies according to sex--being mainly a man's concern--and according to individual character. The importance of this sentiment to the people of Ifalik is attested in most of the foregoing chapters.. Canoe-building and navigation are the unrivalled high points of native technology. The principal way for a man to achieve status, as distinguished from inheriting it, is to become a palū or navigator. Another way, of somewhat lower rating yet by no means to be despised, is to become a sennap or masterbuilder of canoes. Some of the most elaborate myths validate or dignify the lore of navigation and canoe-building. The gods of navigation form a distinct group, equal in number to what I have called the 'high gods', and more clearly differentiated in function. Safety at sea is the object of a relatively rich collection of rituals and incantations.

The fundamental positive value in this sentiment is that of adventure or as Thomas and Znaniecki call it, new experience. Presumably it is enhanced by the negative value of monotony or boredom involved in staying at home. The restricted range of experience available on a tiny atoll is oppressively apparent to a visitor from afar. How keenly the natives feel it is hard to make out. One indication, though, is that the youths who loaf in the canoe-houses never tired of hearing and talking about foreign countries. Conversations turned so incessantly to this subject that my patience soon wore out. Spiro's far outlasted mine, but eventually he, too, began to steer clear of chatting with the youths in the canoe-houses. Moreover, this interest motivates more than talk. Within the limits of their capacity these people still love to roam and see the world.

The most powerful negative value in this sentiment is the fear of death at sea. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for security. It is especially powerful in this culture because their vessels and knowledge of navigation, though admirable in a way, are far inferior to our matchless technology. The risk of seafaring is correspondingly greater. It is probably through fear of losing their menfolk, more than anything else, that women participate in this sentiment. The rituals and incantations for safety at sea are precautions that attest the strength of this fear among men, too. One of the great duties of beneficent gods is to roam the seas, looking for canoes that have gone astray, and bring them back to port."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Wolesians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much. '). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i. e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

28: Spiro--19-20
116, 622, 182, 115, 554

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

1: Burrows--147 (1947-48) Woleaians
183 Ifalik

"....the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song."

28: Spiro--79
116, 535, 152, 183

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husbands anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--88 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 183 Ifalik

"My informants said that unlike the ten days in the birth-hut, the baby is not wakened to be fed. My own observations, however, did not confirm this statement, which was probably a statement of a cultural norm, rather than an empirical description. For at least the first month, the mother will feed the infant often, and will wake it in order to do so. The baby is wakened by the stream of water in its mouth. Often, however, this does not wake the baby, and the mother will ease her nipple into its mouth, which automatically induces the sucking reflex, though to all appearances, the baby is still sleeping."

28: Spiro--91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 551, 851, 183 Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--24 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 537, 184 Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter,

who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-5
Ifalik

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

28: Spiro--58-59
116, 753, 776, 184, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--113
116, 858, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Wóleaians
Ifalik

"Socialization involves not only the introjection of the values of the culture, it means also learning to participate in the institutionalized activities of the culture. From the moment the child is taken from the confines of his home, there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, indeed, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, an economic activity, the child, from infancy on, is a witness to the proceedings, for he is carried by his parents, when an infant, and walks himself, when he can do so. In short, there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child. He begins to observe adults behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means, that in many instances, all that is lacking for his participation is the skill or strength, not the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a strange mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities that, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture, it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from child to adult, an abandonment of one and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological growth, is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concommittently with his biological maturation."

28: Spiro--114-115 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 883, 462, 226, 184 Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 186 Ifalik

"The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; 'all same one people', as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifalik. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. 'To talk like a Yap man' is one way of saying 'to lie.' And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifalik's solidarity."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

28: Spiro--Il [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--104 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 573, 186, 591 Ifalik

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

2: Damm et al. --217
116, 171, 191

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

The vocabulary is very like the one on Satowal.

"The following list contains mostly words of rather general application. Some more specific or technical bits of vocabulary, given in the text, are not repeated here: numerals, names of plants and animals, and of kinds of turtle meat under Geography (some of the commonest species are repeated below); names of the parts of canoe, house, and loom, and of stars (navigation), under Technology: kinship terms -- which have no exact English equivalents -- under Social Structure.

IFALIK TO ENGLISH

ai - you (2d person plural before verb)
al - sun
ăl - road
alax - talk, say, speak
aleal - spoon (of green coconut husk)
alus - god, demon
amann - finished
angi - wind
aramat - man, human being
aramatakaua - somebody
arot - finished
ăting - seine, fishing with seine

6: Senfft--56
116, 197

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The sphere of their language lies between the 140th and 150th degree. It includes the islands to the south of Palau, Sonsol, Pui, Morir, and Tobi Islands. The language does not have a pleasing sound. The intonation is rough and the accent is broad, and is therefore somewhat reminiscent of that of the Chinese. According to my observation, all our letters are represented in the language, including the diphthongs a, o, u, as well as ch and the English th.

19: German Government--5302 (1901-1902) 1903 Woleaians
116, 197 Woleai

The language of Truk, which is spoken on all the island groups of the East [AN: Central] Carolines not previously mentioned, and extends as far as Woleai; hence, it is the means of intercourse between about 19,000 people in the East [AN: Central] Carolines.

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians
173, 198 Ifalik

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."

29: Spiro--199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 198, 158 Ifalik

"November 28, 1947. As we were finishing dinner yesterday, we saw Tarev walking towards our tent. He had chewed off his rope (which the people knew), and had then come to us (which they did not know). He was quite meek, and when I asked him to return to his house with me, he readily agreed. He told me that Maroligar, Tom, and Mageleisei had tried to kill him the night before. I tried to persuade him that this was not true, but he would not be convinced.

As I passed his house later in the evening he was singing, talking, and shouting in a number of different tones. Again the men informed me that they did not know what he was saying, that it all was strange to them."

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833, 201 Lamotrek

It is usual for the man to ask the woman whether she is willing to have sexual intercourse, ramoidjau. The woman expresses her consent by moving her hand over her face from the forehead down; this gesture is known as tŏfi (mat).

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 202 Ifalik

"Conch shells are used as trumpets (taui). In Ifalik the hole used for a mouthpiece is made, not by cutting off the pointed end, but by drilling in one side. The long-drawn monotone of such a trumpet summons the people to public meetings, and warns off evil in several rituals. One trumpet hangs from a branch of a small dead tree stuck in the ground beside the channel between the two inhabited islands. An obvious use there would be to summon a canoe from the other side for a ferry. But I never happened to see it so used. One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians
202 Ifalik

"There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings [KS: public meeting]. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. . He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers [142] projecting into the lagoon from Katelū, and blew repeated long blasts."

2: Damm et al. --208 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 534, 202, 524 Faraulep

The only musical instrument is the conch shell (tâui; mouthpiece - eoâl, sound hole - nân, to blow - xânum), and it is used for signalling and for religious invocations rather than for musical edification. Bull-roarers and leaf pipes are used for children's toys.

6: Senfft--57
116, 202, 321

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

As a horn for signalling they use a (Triton?) shell (tani) and punch a hole in it.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

28: Spiro--127 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 203, 839, 684 Ifalik

"The concept of rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occured on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occured on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. (6) Eight men working on a canoe in the bush fell upon a lone woman and all had intercourse with her.

A variation of rape, ganou, is found on Ifaluk. A man will enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awake and object to his behavior she awakens the household. (7) Again, the incidence is negligible."

"6. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

7. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this situation. The women does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house."

1: Burrows--164
116, 177, 212, 797

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

2: Damm et al. --212-216 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 212, 176, 802 Faraulep

The Faraulip natives use a peculiar script (see Figs. 279, 280) which is very similar [213] to the Polowat writing; they also have their own numerals, which the chief Saueeru invented. He teaches them to the young men, who put them to practical use in their copra dealings with the Japanese. The signs were derived from tattoo patterns and Japanese characters which the chief had taken from Japanese newspapers. [CS: Omission of illustrations of writing, and of the numerals, pages 212, 213, 214, 215, 216].

32: Brown--89-90
116, 212, 174

(1913) 1914

Woleaians-1-3
Woleai

"In July, 1913, I paid a visit to the small reef island, Oleai, or Uleai, or Wolea, of one of the most westerly of the Caroline group. One of the chiefs squatted, at the suggestion of Herr Runge, the only European on the islet, and wrote a sentence in the script of the island. A few week [sic] ago I received from Mr. Runge a full list of the characters written by the chief, Egilimar. There are fifty-one, and evidently each represents a syllable, as will be seen by the accompanying copy of the list. Alongside he has also written Runge, Brun, and Egilimar in the script; and it will be seen that two, if not three, of those employed to write the last name are not given in the list. It is manifestly a syllabary, as is the Katukana of Japan, and a script that was invented in Korea some centuries ago, but never drove out the Chinese ideographs. But none of the characters have any resemblance to these. Nor do they resemble in any respect any of the alphabets we know, European, Levantine, Arabic, or Devanagari. The only other script known in the groups or islands of the Pacific is that of the Easter Island tablets. But they are ideographic; many of them according to the interpretation of them supplied to Bishop Jaussen, of Tahiti, by one of the learned men of the Easter Islands, bear resemblance to the form of the thing they represent, though it is affirmed also that they were but mnemonic suggestions of the beginning of a word or line of the hymns or lyrics sung at the annual festivals. They are but one stage beyond the ideographic hieroglyphs on the one hand, and serve the same purpose as the knots in the quipus of ancient Peru and of

the Pelew Islands.

This Oleai syllabic script is one stage further on in development towards an alphabet. Most of the characters are highly conventionalised, but some retain a resemblance to the thing to which their name or sound corresponds. In the [90] second column, the seventh from the bottom, schrü means in the language of the islet 'a fishbone,' and the character has manifestly originated in a representation of a fish; the fifth from the bottom, lö, means 'a bottle,' and evidently the character retains something of the form of the coconut water-vessel. In the first column, the sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second from the bottom have a hint of what their syllable indicates; ngä meaning 'bamboo,' boa 'ulcer,' warr 'canoe,' raa 'mast,' uh 'sail.' So in the third column, the first, rã, means 'a saw'; the second, lüh, 'a young coconut'; the third, sthah, 'a knife.' In a few others there might be found by stretching the imagination a hint of the thing indicated by the syllable. But the majority of the characters can be connected by no possibility with the meaning of the sound indicated.

The script is now known only to five men on the islet; but it is probably a relic of a wide usage in the archipelago. There is no possibility of any one of the five having invented it, and if invented by them since Europeans arrived it would have taken the forms either of the European alphabet or of the things bought or sold, of whose names and

numbers they wished to keep a record. If anyone wishes to compare this with such a script invented for commercial purposes, he should look up Furness's The Island of Stone Money; on page 138 is given a copy of an account kept by a native of Yap for trade purposes; and this native Fatamak, a sorcerer, I can personally testify, is a man of keen intelligence. A comparison will bring out the gulf that separates the two scripts. This Oleai script is manifestly the product of long ages for the use of the organisers of a highly-organised community of considerable size. In other words, it must have belonged to the ruling class of an empire of some extent, that needed constant record of the facts of intercourse and organisation."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 253 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 221 Ifalik

"On the whole, raw materials to be found on Ifalik and nearby atolls, whether supplied by nature or introduced by man, add up to a decidedly meager offering. Among foodstuffs, only coconuts, taro--more exactly, pulax--and breadfruit are plentiful. (Breadfruit is a seasonal crop but, as will be shown, is available between bearing seasons in preserved form. Seafood is present in great variety. The quantity available varies with the seasons and with other factors.

Some of these, such as the movements of fish that travel in schools, are so uncontrollable and unpredictable that they can only be classified as 'fishermen's luck.' Others include fishing equipment and techniques. Because of their importance, this matter will be considered again at the close of the account of fishing technology."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--541-542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 221 Elato

"Elato Islands, 5 miles westward of Lamotrek Islands, consist of two atolls, the southern enclosing one lagoon and the northern two lagoons. Elato Island is the largest of four islets on the northern atoll, and Toas Island is the larger of the two on the [542] southern atoll. Elato Island is flat, sandy, and covered with trees; natives from neighboring islands come here to obtain material for canoes. Trees also grew on the islet of the southern atoll. . . .

Anchorage has been found in a depth of 11 fathoms in the northern lagoon and about 1/2 mile south of the western extremity of Elato Island. The sandy beach on the southwest side of this island is easily reached by small boats.

A narrow entrance, available only to small boats, leads into the lagoon of the southern atoll."

28: Spiro--34-35
116, 222, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Like the making of rope, the collection of toddy is, intrinsically, an individual process--only one man can climb a tree at one time. Yet this, too is done in a semi-communal fashion. The toddy is collected twice a day, and is collected at fairly regular times, so that a number of young men within a district collect their toddy [35] simultaneously, proceeding together to their individual groves, and returning together. This practice is even more marked in the afternoon than in the morning, so that we facetiously referred to this spectacle as the 'toddy parade', because the sight of eight or ten men walking single or double file through the village, was reminiscent of an American parade."

28: Spiro--147 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 222, 512, 515 Ifalik

"In the late afternoon the young men again collect their toddy. And at the same time, they take their afternoon bath. Everyone bathes in the late afternoon. The women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water, wearing their skirts. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and change loin cloths, which they keep in the canoe houses. Both sexes use grated coconut meat as soap."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

1: Burrows--83B-83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 223 Ifalik

"Methods of capturing animals for food are varied, though mostly simple. The extreme of crudity is catching a chicken. There are no coops, and while the birds stay near the houses, they roost in trees or on rooftops, and can fly for considerable distances when alarmed. When one is doomed to be eaten, young men and children, some of them armed with sticks or stones, try to surround it or run it down. No particular skill is shown, and the process often involves a lively hue and cry. This, like a good many native activities, rates very low on any scale of efficiency, but has a high yield of fun.

More ingenious, and demanding respectable acrobatic skill, is [83C] the method of catching noddy terns. They sometimes visit the island in great numbers. At such times the men hunt them by climbing at night the coconut trees in which the terns roost, and catching them in large, light nets with short handles and round wooden rims. During our stay on the island, the terns were not considered abundant enough to repay the effort of catching them. But during our last weeks there, when we were known to be short of meat, our faithful Tom--rather along in years to be scrambling in the treetops --twice caught a brace of terms, which his wife cooked for our breakfast. Unplucked and bedraggled, they were not appetizing to look at. But they proved to be surprisingly tender and well-flavored."

2; Damm et al. --125 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 223, 225, 252 Aurupik

Birds are caught either with the djŏu net, which does not have a diagonal stick, or with snares (nŭm). There are two varieties of the latter: a) little snares arranged in rows on a wooden stick; b) a noose fastened to a stick. If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 223 Gaferut

"Gaferut (Grimes) Island (9°14'N., 145°23'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 97 miles north-northwest of Olimarao Islands, is low, thickly covered with trees, and encircled by a reef. There are no coconut palms and no inhabitants, but natives from Faraulep Islands visit it to catch birds, which are numerous on it."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 224 Ifalik

"Dogs are not used in hunting. There is hardly anything to hunt except rats. The dogs hunt these on their own, but not very effectively. Apparently the cats do better at it. Rats are also caught in simple box traps with trap doors tripped by a tug on the bait. These are not much used. Spring traps bought in trade are preferred."

2: Damm et al. --32 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 224 Ifaluk

Hunting plays a very subordinate part in the life of the natives, as there are no large animals. Birds are caught

a) with the djóu net.

b) with snares (ním), like the ones used for fishing, only these are larger. The natives lay tubular traps (uligás or dáwis) for rats; they are woven, and not made of bamboo, as most of the ones on the Carolines are.

2: Damm et al. --125 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 224 Aurupik

Hunting is not important. There are not supposed to be any rats on the island group, and accordingly the Carolinian rat traps (dawis) do not exist, although the natives know them by name.

2: Damm et al. --167 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 224 Faraulep

Hunting is not important, since there are few large land animals which can be eaten. Rats are captured in a trap (tǎwiš), that is similar in form to the one on Polowat; drawing 242 gives the terms for the various parts. Dogs are eaten too.

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225 Ifalik

"The easiest and most favored way of catching turtle is on land at night, when they come ashore to lay their eggs. They leave easily recognizable tracks on the beach. When found on shore, they are turned over on their backs. Then they are helpless and can be dragged at the end of a line or, with manpower enough, carried. Three of the four caught during our stay were taken in this way. The fourth was speared, we were told, by the chief WolpaitIk. How he managed to drive a spear through the shell, or whether he speared the head or a flipper, I was unable to make out. After WolpaitIk had speared it, I was told, another man dived and speared it from beneath. It is said that turtles are sometimes caught by running a noose of rope about the head and one of the fore-flippers. Tom--apparently as much for fun as anything else--once attempted to catch a turtle in the lagoon by riding it ashore. He could not guide it, and as it took him toward deep water, he gave up the attempt."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225, 262, 565 Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

2: Damm et al. --125 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 225, 252 Aurupik

If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

2; Damm et al. --125 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 223, 225, 252 Aurupik

Birds are caught either with the djóu net, which does not have a diagonal stick, or with snares (núm). There are two varieties of the latter: a) little snares arranged in rows on a wooden stick; b) a noose fastened to a stick. If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 225 Woleai

Cantova, page 316, tells us about whale (dolphin?) fishing according to the information of a native of Oleai: when a whale enters the lagoon, some canoes immediately paddle to the entrance and attempt to drive the frightened animal into shallow water. The crew jumps out of the boat into the water and spears the fish, and some throw lines around him which are fastened on land. In this manner it is possible to haul the animal ashore. A big banquet is held to celebrate such a catch.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--542 1938 Woleaians
116, 161, 225 Olimarao

"There are no permanent inhabitants but natives from Elato Islands come here occasionally to gather tortoise shell."

28: Spiro--40 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 225, 373 Ifalik

"If turtle eggs are discovered the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from another person for four days. A pregnant woman and her husband may not eat turtle eggs at all during her pregnancy."

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
226 Ifalik

"Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 372 Ifalik

"Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing. Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later."

"Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called uelueliōp, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called bogo li le pā is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the āroma tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
226 Ifalik

"One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Men's kinds of fishing are so numerous that probably this account does not include all that are known and occasionally practised. The list of fishing methods noted by Sarfert during his short stay on Ifalik includes several I did not hear of, --as my list includes several not in his. Having learned elsewhere about fishing with a baited hook attached to a kite flown over the water, he asked the people of Ifalik about it, and was told it was known and practised there. But we saw none of it. He was also told of catching shark with a noose, which is spread out, while a separate line run across it holds a smaller fish used for bait. No shark were caught during our stay, except for small sand-shark occasionally rounded up in seines or caught on a hook. He also lists fishing with poison as a technique learned from Yap. My question about this was answered in the negative. Ifalik has a few Barringtonia trees, whose crushed fruit is used elsewhere for fish poison. The people told me they knew of this method being practised elsewhere, but did not use it themselves. And indeed, in the absence of fresh-water streams, which make narrow channels in the fringing reef, I know of no suitable enclosed spaces in the water where the poison could be effectively concentrated."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik 12

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mät:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li geru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getriou.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trū eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

Go tai ninge mware ru ŋ pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83F-83G (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 226 Ifalik

"The native composite trolling hook is still in use. Wooden boxes with fitted lids (sawe le pā) with one or more hooks in them, were hanging up in all the canoe-houses.

Trolling for bonito has the greatest emotional appeal of any kind of fishing, to judge by the fact that 5 out of 16 fishing songs collected celebrated feats of bonito trolling. No other kind of fishing had more than two songs. Yet this kind of fishing was not once undertaken during our stay. Weather may account for this. Trolling has to be done in small canoes outside the lagoon, and is only feasible during fairly calm weather; and a good deal of the dalmest weather comes during the part of the year when we were absent. Yet the people did not say that this was a seasonal kind of fishing; only that wind and sea had to be just right. Having worked in two Polynesian islands where this strenuous kind of fishing had gone out of use, I wonder whether it is on the decline in Ifalik.

Enough was learned about it to indicate that it follows the same general pattern as in Polynesia. The poles are of bamboo, most of which has to be imported. The lines, said to have been made of hibiscus bast before foreign lines were available, are about the same length as the pole. The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds--in Ifalik the white fairy tern and the black noddy--hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito. The canoe paddles over the [83G] school, and the fisherman--one in the stern of each canoe--lets out his line astern, resting the pole in the forked head of the canoe or sometimes against his body. The pole is tilted at such an angle that the hook skitters along the surface of the water.

As he lets out the hook, the fisherman holds the pole with one hand, while with the other he splashes water over the lure. This throws a screen of water between the hook and the boat, so that the bonito which sees the hook will not see the boat just beyond it and be scared away. The fisherman keeps up this splashing while he is in the school, when not too busy hauling in fish.

When a fish strikes the hook, it is hauled in with one motion. The tip of the pole is raised, lifting the fish out of water, then swung around slowly, in order not to frighten away the other fish--until the fisherman is facing the bow, when he lets the fish strike against his chest, which knocks it off the barbless hook into the bottom of the boat. Failing this, the sailor sitting nearest him may remove the fish from the hook. It must be done quickly, for the canoe is only in the middle of the school for a short time, and the fisherman must make the most of that time.

Several bits of religious or magical procedure accompany this kind of fishing. Before they set out, the fishermen must bathe carefully, to remove any odor of the body or perfume of their wives or sweethearts. Once a fisherman takes a pearl-shell out of its box, he must have no contact with a woman until he has returned from fishing. As he sets out, he waves a branch of aro, and sings a prayer to a god, to vouchsafe him a good catch. No one god has power over bonito-trolling, but each fisherman sings to a god whom he considers favorable to him. Leaves of aro may be rubbed over the body and on the

lure. The fisherman[sic] may adorn themselves--as men do on any social occasion--with strips of white young coconut leaf. This leaf is also displayed on the return trip as a sign of success. As will be seen later, some of these precautions and bits of ritual also accompany other kinds of fishing.

A similar kind of trolling is practised from large sailing canoes over reefs within sailing distance of Ifalik. The most frequented, called Vasulos, lies about an overnight sail from Ifalik, a little west of north. This reef is also called Faiaulap or Great Faiau. One trip there was made during our stay on the island. The catch consisted of one yellow-fin tuna, weighing perhaps 100 lbs. This was the only tuna caught during our stay, and its flesh is highly prized; yet one fish was considered hardly worth the effort of the long trip. It was also reported that the seas were breaking over the reef, so the expedition was not repeated during our stay. The time was December 6, early in the trade-wind season. Calmer seas are to be expected near the end of that season, and such expeditions may be more frequent at that time. Species commonly caught by this kind of fishing, besides yellow-fin tuna are albacore, pompano (Hawaiian ulua), and wahoo (Hawaiian ono)."

1: Burrows--83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Hook and line are also used for angling about coral heads in the lagoon, a method practised mostly by solitary fishermen who expect no greater catch than will make a family meal. Casting along the shore, with small hooks, is another minor kind of fishing. Occasionally, at low tide, men will cast into the surf at the outer edge of the fringing reef on the eastern side of the atoll. However, as they have no reels, and use lines not much longer than the poles, the casts are short."

1: Burrows--83H (1947-48) Woleaians 1.1
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fish traps, (ul), are made of wattle. The frames are of light withes. Coconut leaflet midrib, commonly doubled, is used to fill in the walls. The pieces are lashed together with light sennit cord. There are two distinct sizes, differing in name and use.

The smaller traps, ul pam, average 2 or 3 feet long and 1 or 2 feet high. The general shape is diagrammed in Fig. 16a and b. These are set on the bottom in the shallow water near shore on the lagoon side. They are weighted down by pouring sand over them. Most of it sifts through, but some stays on the bottom of the trap and some on the top. It also gives the trap a natural appearance, like that of the surrounding bottom. These traps are baited with crushed crab of the small kind called ragūm. The fish most commonly caught in them is the oerIk, a fish averaging four to six inches long, schools of which appear suddenly in the lagoon, stay for a time, and then as suddenly vanish. The fish are cooked whole on green leaves laid over the usual light fire of rubbish. Before eating, they are cleaned by removing the heads, tails, skins, and the spine with entrails. Thus it takes several fish to make a mouthful. In spite of their small size they make very good eating. For over a month, beginning in mid-November and continuing through December into January, they constituted the main supply of fish. Occasionally other fish are caught in these traps. The best catch seen numbered a dozen or more fish of fairly good size; up to about a foot long. They were reef fish of various kinds, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.

The larger traps, ul merouā or merouel, run about six feet long, three feet wide,

and two feet high (Fig. 19, c and d). They are carried out to sea in sailing canoes to search for drifting logs, which attract certain kinds of fish. When a log is sighted, the men dive overboard and fasten the trap to it. It is said that huge catches are sometimes made in this way, but during our stay the canoes went out day after day without so much as finding a log; and only twice did they have fair success. The largest catch reported was '200'. The largest seen numbered about 100, rather small fish, mostly of the kind called rel, with a few larger fōfō. Fish caught in this way are laid directly on the coals and broiled whole. We were warned not to put them in our frying-pan, for if we did there would be no more driftwood.

These large traps are also sometimes set on the seaward side of the reef. Tom described a bit of ritual accompanying their use. When driftwood is sighted, a half coconut shell is attached to a stick called merouel, and an incantation sung over it. Then stick and shell are put inside the trap. Nothing was said about bait being put in the shell."

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 226 Ifalik

"The most important fishing done with dip-nets, and the technique [83J] attended with more formality and ceremony than any other, is catching flying-fish by torchlight. This kind of fishing, with all its institutional elaboration, is called turu.

When the trade-wind season, called vang or seu e vang, has about three months to go, the chiefs may order the observance of turu. This is not done every year. The only consideration mentioned as determining whether it should be done or not was that turu is observed 'when there is plenty of food.' Since there is always plenty of taro and coconuts--except after a typhoon--and since breadfruit is out of season at this time, I could not make out the meaning of this statement. It might refer to an observed abundance of flying-fish. But the same factor--abundance of food --is also said to determine the time when men's dances are performed. It seems to be a conventional explanation for a decision made 'on impulse'--that is, based on an indefinite variety of factors.

During the observance of turu [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (mar). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both pulax and the scarcer wot--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons.

The technique of fishing principally associated with turu involves preparation of many torches of dried coconut leaves, which are rolled into bundles and fastened by wrapping and tucking in the leaflets. Canoes, each supplied with plenty of these torches, go out of the lagoon on calm nights, fishing in the open sea, mostly not far from the seaward side of the reef. They light the torches, which have given their name, turu, to the whole observance. The light attracts the flying-fish. While some of the men handle the torches, and others manage the canoes, the most skillful wielders of dip-nets catch the fish as they swim about the boat. An occasional one may be caught in mid-air, as it flies over the boat or strikes against a sail; but the main supply is dipped out of the water."

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the Sauvelārlk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupīk), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Coconut-leaf torches are also used for fishing in shallow water without canoes; either wading in the lagoon near the beach, or walking at low tide on the exposed reef, where fish may be impounded in shallow pools. Usually three to six people accompany each light. Only men and boys were seen when the fishing was in the lagoon. For scouring the reef, some of the groups were also made up entirely of men, but others were household parties including women. The torch is usually carried in the left hand of the most expert fisherman. In his right hand he carries a dip-net. One of the others carries a basket to hold the fish; another a bundle of spare torches. Some kinds of fish, especially limen, may be struck with bush knives. Spears are not used in this kind of fishing. One of the fish most commonly taken with the dip-net in the lagoon is the needle-fish, which swims near the surface. Scouring the reef yields a greater variety. Crabs and molluscs may also be picked up there."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 262 Ifalik

"Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangeri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, 'a big, fat one', probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

E. Burrows--83K-83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Seines (äting) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifalik. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoe-houses. Sennit cord of the common size called golgol is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (zäp) of a form widespread in the Pacific. [83L] Most of those on Ifalik are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord (Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (äf). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked."

1: Burrows--83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"The length of a seine can be extended indefinitely. Two sizes are recognized. The longer ones, called ausepā, measured by pacing off a number of them spread on the ground to dry, average a little less than 200 feet. The shorter ones, called ăting e sau, run less than half that long, with considerable variation among them. The people make the distinction that an ăting e sau can be cast several times in a day; while one cast of an ausepā is a day's work. For the largest operations, such as rounding up a school of bonito, a number of seines are stretched end to end, and further extended by lines of rope at both ends and across any gaps between seines in the middle. The length of such a barrier is limited rather by available manpower than by material. We never saw all the seines of Ifalik in use at one time. Judging by the two bonito drives seen, a total length of half a mile for seines and rope is not uncommon.

For shorter casts, single seines may be used in the same way as the leaf-fringed lines in rop fishing. Or two seines, usually of the shorter size, may be used to extend the sides of a short section of net which is doubled and then sewed along the lower edge to form a pocket. When stretched straight, these form a V-shaped barrier with the pocket-shaped piece at the apex. An enclosure is formed by bringing together the outer ends of the seines which form the arms of the V. This is then narrowed by hauling in the seines in the usual way. When all the fish are driven into a small space near the apex, they are taken out, first by dip-nets, and finally lifting the pocket-shaped net out of water and dumping the fish into a canoe."

1: Burrows--83L-83M (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 226 Ifalik

"The climax of seine fishing comes when a school of bonito enters the lagoon. Indeed, though less celebrated in songs than trolling (which better displays individual prowess), and less attended with myth and ritual than torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, such an occasion involves more people (virtually all able-bodied individuals), and when successful yields a greater quantity of food than any other fishing. We saw two such drives. The first ended in failure, but the second was a success, capturing the whole school. That worked up a higher pitch of public excitement than any other event of our six months' stay on the island. [83M]

Except for the outcome, the course of events was much the same during the two drives, one August 1, the other August 9. The following account is pieced together from notes taken on the two days. The actual catch and succeeding activities were witnessed, of course, only once.

Both times the fish were sighted early in the morning. It takes a skilled eye to distinguish the little ripple or swirl made by a school of bonito from all the other surface movements of the water; but the difference is so important that the male population has life-long practise at it. Months later, a false alarm had the men out on the beach or in canoes for a while, until the disturbance was found to be made by small fry. The first time, the announcement was made by boys, who sped by in three canoes, shouting the glad tidings. Tom said afterward that the cry is Garangap ē! (Bonito ho!) The second time, it was Maroligar, No. 2 chief, always an early riser, who first saw the school of

fish. It is one of his functions to take charge of a bonito drive. He hurried to the nearest canoe-house and bellowed at the top of his voice to call out the men. To us, in our tent close beside the same canoe-house, it seemed that they took their time about getting there. Certainly they showed no such amazing speed as did the immediate neighbors on the one occasion when I saw a thatched roof catch fire. Still, they probably turned out as fast as they well could for what was apt to be a long day's work.

The first task was strenuous: hauling canoes from the canoe-houses into the water; unrolling seines, which are stowed on the tie-beams in balls some three feet in diameter; dragging them to the water--with men strung a few yards apart along them--and piling them into the boats; then heading for the rendezvous where they hoped to surround the school.

Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)

Later inquiry about the purpose of this performance brought only the usual answer that it was an ancient custom. My guess is that the song and dance were addressed to the men, to cheer them on, rather than with any magic purpose in mind. The words may be those of any well-known love song. Once when I passed close to a group as they sang, their giggles and sidelong glances suggested that they were improvising words about me."

"There are four places about the edge of the lagoon where the impounding of a school of bonito is said to be feasible. One is a little bay off the beach of Falārlk district. The second is the bay called Le, opposite the men's house in Rauau district. The third is the shallow water next to the beach on Falālap, just north of the largest canoe-house on that island called Gavilea. The fourth is a bay near the northernmost point of the uninhabited islet Ellā. The one used on both occasions during our stay was that off the shore of Falālap. It is nearer the pass [83N] than the sites off Falārlk; the line of seines when fully extended there nearly shuts off the pass. It is nearer the canoe-houses than the site of Ellā. Whether these were the reasons for using it I could not make sure. It seems not to be a matter of where the school is first sighted, for the fish swim fast, and on both occasions made the circuit of the lagoon more than once.

The men stretched a line of seines, with intervals of rope, from one canoe to another, forming a barrier that extended from the shore nearly due west to the pass. At this stage on the first day there were 22 canoes in the line, ranging in size from the smallest to big sailing canoes. The number increased later to 33, then 37, but some of these were in other parts of the lagoon, trying to round up the school of fish, which escaped at least twice. The largest number of canoes counted in action at one time was 46; 26 of them in the line of seines and rope, the others driving the fish toward the barrier.

The next step, that of bringing the ends of the line of nets around the school of fish, is slow and hazardous. Towing or hauling the nets is hard work and can not be hurried.

At this stage the women take a more active part, wading out to help pull the nets. This interferes with the dance, but they go on singing. Partly towed by canoes, partly hauled by lines of men and women, the nets were swung around and their ends hauled in until they formed a crescent with its points toward shore. By the time this was accomplished on the first day, it was too late to complete the catch before dark. So the ends of the net were pulled together, leaving the fish impounded. All night canoes moved about the circle of nets. Conch trumpets and boatswain's whistles were blown, apparently to keep them from escaping. But they did escape, not only from the nets but from the lagoon, into the open sea.

On the afternoon of the second day, after several escapes, the school was herded into the space between the crescent of nets and the beach, and kept there while the two ends of the crescent were hauled ashore. The hauling continued, bringing the fish into shallower water, closer and closer to shore. Soon they could be plainly seen whirling about within the narrowing barrier. The top of the net was sometimes lifted where they came near, or they were frightened back by shouts and splashing.

The excitement mounted. All the men were shouting orders at each other. Many of the men had managed to deck themselves with young white coconut leaf during the slow hours earlier in the day. The women who were not hauling on the line came dancing down to the beach, swinging their hips in wider circles than ever. The ranking chief and

the foreign observer, as they stood on the beach, were ardently wooed behind their backs.

Some of the big blue fish began to flop ashore. Men and women ran down, seized them by the tail with one hand and ran a finger of the other under a gill-cover, then tossed them up on the bank. Others were seized and thrown from the water. Sometimes the chiefs order the use of spears at this stage; but this time they decided that the catch could be managed better without them.

The whole catch was carried, some in canoes and some by hand to the space in front of the men's house, and laid in a great heap. People took [830] time out to breathe and bathe, and eat a hasty snack.

After dark, by the light of a fire of dry coconut leaves, the catch was counted and distributed. The total number was 311 (at least one had previously been given away, to the anthropologists). Garegeligar, priest and healer, seemed to be in charge of the distribution, though he is not a chief. (He never missed a chance of being the center of attention.) The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toroman. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on.

The first distribution was made by districts: Falālap, then Rauau, then Falārlk. Within each district there seemed to be a count of heads, by households; at any rate, it

was said that one fish was allotted to each person. As the pile for each district was finished, young men came up, bowing low in deference to the authority represented by the occasion (though only the lowest-ranking chief was taking part), and carried the fish away.

There were plenty of fish left, so the distribution continued. First five small piles were counted out, one for each of the chiefs. Then three larger piles, one for each of the most populous and highest-ranking clans: Kovalū, Sauvelārlk, Mangaulevār. The other five clans were ignored in this allottment, though the lowest chiefly title belongs in one of them. However, that clan, Rapevelū, has less than half as many members as any of the ranking three.

Still a few fish were left. I did not make out on what basis they were allotted, but they were divided into little piles, and taken away by young men, like the others."

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Some indication of the relative importance of different kinds of communal fishing is given by journal entries of expeditions noted during our stay. It applies mainly to Rauau district, partly to Rauau and FalārIk together. (Falālap had a different schedule, though on the same general pattern.) The long gaps during the early months may mean that fishing was less noticed at first. Yet it is also possible that during that time most of the fishing was done individually or in small groups. That was a daily undertaking. The journal entries take no account of it, except for the use of small traps, which was a general response to the appearance of the little OerIk in the lagoon."

1: Burrows--83P-83S (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fluctuations that appear in the list are not necessarily seasonal, as some kinds of fish come and go at irregular intervals. Indeed, the kind of fishing that is most strictly seasonal, torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, is not noted at all, as it was never witnessed. It comes at the end of the trade-wind season, when we were not there.

The entries follow:

Aug. 1. -Bonito in lagoon. Left in the circle of nets overnight.
Aug. 2. -The school of bonito got away during the night.
Aug. 9. -Bonito in lagoon again. All caught late in the day.
September 6. -One turtle caught.
September 20. -Men of all districts fished night and morning for feast in connection with religious ceremony. (The kind of fishing was not noted because of concentration on the ceremony.)
Oct. 6 -Big rop fishing, 8 to 10 canoes. Small catch. [83Q]
Oct. 11. -Rop fishing by men of Rauau. Good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish, many of them parrot-fish.
Oct. 13. -Three sailing canoes put out with traps, looking for driftwood. Found none.
Oct. 14. -One canoe put out with trap; driven back by strong wind.
Oct. 15. -Canoes continue to go out at dawn every day. No luck so far.
Oct. 19. -Daily sorties with traps abandoned. Twelve canoes from Rauau, 8 from Falārlk, went out today for rop fishing. Came back early in the afternoon

with a good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish of many kinds, parrot fish predominating. Large black ulua presented to us.

Oct. 22. -Canoes from Falālap out rop fishing. Good catch; provided a feast for the men who had recently replaced a corner-post on one of the canoe-houses.

Oct. 28. -Rop fishing by Rauau men. Fair catch; '20-odd big ones and a few shovelfuls of little ones.'

Oct. 30. -For several days men in all the canoe-houses have been making big seines for Falālap.

Nov. 6. -Rather large party from Rauau and Falārlk; 22 canoes counted. (Fishing probably rop.) Poor luck; reported at 50-60 fish. In the afternoon, Rauau men swept the reef near the men's house with seines. Good catch, reported at 300.

Nov. 14. -The little Oerlk (Anchoviella?) has appeared in large numbers in the lagoon. People are setting out small traps for them. First catch noted this day. (For some time after this, use of small traps for oerlk was a general daily practise. It seemed to go by bursts and only conspicuous activity is noted.)

Nov. 16. -One canoe from Rauau, one from Falārlk, went out with large traps looking for driftwood. No luck.

Nov. 18. -Everybody setting out small traps, catching oerlk.

Nov. 19. -At last a good catch with a big trap, around driftwood at sea. Number reported at 200, which seems a standard figure for a good haul.

Nov. 20-22. -Canoes out daily after driftwood. The usual poor luck. Fish are scarce.

Nov. 24. -An unusual catch in one of the small traps, of fish bigger than oerIk, about a dozen, mostly parrot -fish and goat-fish.

Nov. 26. -A turtle came ashore at night and was caught.

Nov. 27. -Another turtle speared in the lagoon.

Nov. 28. -A third turtle caught; this one came ashore.

Nov. 29. -Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, butchered the three turtles. [83R]

Dec. 4. -Scarcity of fish continues.
Canoes have been going out pretty regularly, looking for driftwood. One of them made another good catch in the big trap; about 100.

Dec. 6. -A canoe went trolling over the district reef Vasulos. Caught one yellow-fin tuna perhaps 4 feet long; but this was not considered enough for the long, hard trip. High seas reported over the reef.

Dec. 12. -The boys went out still-fishing over the fringing roof on the eastern side of Falālap, to get fish for a feast celebrating completion of canoe-house repairs in Rauau. Used small canoes, as in solitary fishing; but went out in a body, and to an unusual place. Catch rather small, mostly the red toothy lipwaix.

Supplemented at feast by a clam-like bivalve.

Dec. 13. -At least two sailing canoes out this morning after driftwood. Caught nothing. Maroligar ordered a scouring of the reef by torchlight at low tide, which came in the middle of the night. Five lights counted on the western barrier reef. Others fished the fringing reef on the eastern side. Catch reported small.

Dec. 15. -First and only considerable catch in a coral weir. Number estimated at 100. Commonest species looked to me like horse macherel, [sic] but identification is not certain.

Dec. 16. -19. Shortage of fish continues. Canoes go out nearly every day with big traps, but find no drifting logs, though many are coming ashore on the eastern beach. Small traps are not set out along the lagoon beach for oerIk; some are caught, but not many.

Dec. 20-26. -Small traps set out daily for oerIk. No communal fishing. High seas, --a near-hurricane on the 21st. Men busy in the canoe-houses making small traps.

Jan. 2. -Young men of Rauau out rop fishing. Moderate catch. Estimated at 100. This was for a feast following a ceremony on behalf of a sick woman.

Jan. 15-19. -Seas calmer, some angling even on eastern fringing reef; but the

daily trapping of oerIk seems still to furnish the main supply.

Jan. 24. -No more catches of oerIk. They seem to have left the lagoon. Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day making several casts of small seine along lagoon shore. Catch small while I was watching, but later we were brought two fish big enough to make a good dinner for the two of us.

Jan. 26. -Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day on one cast with the big seine on the lagoon shore. One end anchored to a stone pier. Catch moderate, but again we were brought two fish, one of which was enough for us. [83S]

Jan. 29. -Disappearance of oerIk seems confirmed. None have been caught for some days now, and the people have given up setting out traps for them.

Feb. 2. -Men and boys of Rauau went torchlight fishing on the eastward fringing reef. Catch reported small.

Feb. 3. -Another torchlight expedition on the eastward reef."

(1947-48)

"While this list has some value for illustration, it is obviously too slight a foundation for any general statement as to which kinds of fishing are most in favor or most successful. With this limitation in mind, its showing can be roughly summarized in tabular form. Only communal methods are included, which leaves out the use of small traps for oerIk, casting, and most of the angling.

Fishing Technique	Number of Mentions	Large Catches	Small Catches	Failures
large traps	9	2	0	7
rop	5	2	3	0
seines	4	1	2	1
torchlight (on the reef)	3	0	3	0
trolling	1	0	1	0
angling (communal)	1	0	1	0

This review of fishing methods makes it clear that the people of Ifalik are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to

furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifalik are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong."

1: Burrows--117
116, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was GauaisIg, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117
116, 396, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--120
116, 226, 476, 286

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost Falārlk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is Falārlk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm or a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

The following varieties of fish are caught: mṓs, jalṓń, debắr, baligắli, ētắm, igeliwṓdj, mắl, moguḗïm, gamädjṻ́gid, rä́li, balijalaṅáb, mắṅar (flying fish), in addition to sharks and turtles. [29]

There are different methods of catching fish:

I. by angling:

a) gāwṓdj: the fish hook is made of tortoise shell (see illustrations 88-90); this is used to get the mṓs, jalṓń and debắr outside the reef.

b) bắ: composite fish hooks; they consist of a shell lure of various kinds (made of white tawấi, violet bajṓk, black Meleagrina, yellowish mäắl, shining mother-of-pearl jä́rr, black wấi, plus hooks of tortoise shell, tufts of frigate bird feathers, and the necessary lashings. There are two types of these bắ hooks:

1. with the mother-of-pearl side inside, to catch the balijalaṅáb.
2. with the mother-of-pearl side outside, for the baligắli and ētắm.

c) gōlimắt or djṻ́: a hook of coconut shell for the flying fish (mắṅar); it is fastened to an empty coconut, which has been plugged. Several of these fishing contrivances are thrown into the water, and when they jerk or disappear the fisherman knows that he has a bite. The canoe goes out at once, and brings them in with the floats.

d) goraîniï: a large wooden hook, used to catch sharks; the shark is also caught with the snare.

The hooks are kept in coconut or bamboo boxes; the cover and bottom are made of wood.

II. Net fishing. Various kinds of nets are made of kalekǎl, a kind of coconut string, and they are all tied with wugawŭg knots.

a) djŏu net with a composite frame; the two parts of the frame have special names; the lower section with the handle is the ŭb; the upper portion the kadŭl. There are two forms of this net:

1. with a broken frame (as on Sorol); this is used to take flying fish at night outside the reef, with a torch-light illumination. The following story tells how this night fishing started: in early times the natives did not know how to capture the flying fish at night. One day Módj was in Oleai, and about sunset he started for Fanalur. As he intended to stay there for a couple of days, he took his sleeping mat along. He left for home at twilight, and the sea was so choppy that his mat went over board. [30] He did not discover this misfortune until he arrived in Oleai. He got several men to take coconut torches, and to hunt for his mat. When the canoe was on the open sea, the flying fish appeared and sprang into the boat. Finally the men found the mat, and returned home with a good supply of fish. This was the origin of the night fishing with torches.

2. With a straight frame, for the igeliwŏdj, măl etc.

b) fă̈u is a large net with a circular wooden frame and no handle. It is used to take the moguĕ̈m and gamädjŭ̈gid inside and outside the reef.

c) ä̈dĭ̈n is the ordinary net with floats (uabä̈s) and sinkers (fa͡ulĭ̈m). It is used to catch various kinds of fish inside the reef at ebb-tide.

d) ŭ̈g is a large, almost square net, which is folded on one side, and closed on one of the narrow sides, that are formed in this way. It is fastened to a stone with a string, and two ä̈dĭ̈n nets lengthen the opening; these are attached to the two vertical sides of the ŭ̈g, and laid out in such a way that they widen out on the sea side in a funnel shape. (See drawings 100-101). [31]

III. The smooth mesafär or goba͡i spear, which may be three meters long, is used for spear fishing. This type of fishing is combined with the use of the ä̈dĭ̈n nets. Several canoes make a circle of these nets; the fish are driven together, and then speared from the boats.

IV. Fishing with traps is called ŭ̈.

a) ulubä̈m: traps like the one shown in drawing 2 on the third plate [AN: see source].

The names for the different parts are:

entrance - mä̈d
bottom - badjebä̈dj
side wall - bĕ̈ïg
roof over the entrance - rŭ̈gu

back wall - gă̄bi raised pointed part of the roof - ŭ̄ń.
These traps are laid on the sandy ocean floor, and then sand is heaped around them, so that they can not swim away. Lă̄gum (crabs) are used for bait.

b) ŭ̄limerouwŏ̄li is the same kind of basket that is used on Sorol; it is used to get the rā̄li. The terms for the various parts of the trap are the same as in a).

This basket is fastened on one side to a wooden float, and then attached by a rope to the canoe, which has to proceed very slowly.

V. Kite fishing is known. The kite (djŏ̄ligodjā̄luk) is made out of bread-fruit leaves; a bait (kāulŭ̄lu) of cob-webs hangs on the string; [32] elsewhere Sarfert says that the epidermal tissue of the shark is used as a bait.

VI. The natives engage in snare fishing (nĭ̄m) at different times, and also use various kinds of snares.

a) the lă̄wud, the bait-fish for the shark, is caught with a snare, just as it is on Polowat.

b) Drawing 102 shows the contrivance, used to catch the shark; the central vertical string (karigă̄n) has the bait, which may be one of several different kinds of fish....

c) When the natives want to capture a turtle, they take an ordinary rope, make a noose, and slip it over the head and front feet of the animal. In this way it is easier to haul the prey into the boat. On land, they simply turn the turtle over on its back.

2; Damm et al. --27-32 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-5
116, 226 Ifaluk

VII. Fishing with poison was formerly unknown; later the natives learned about it through the Yap inhabitants. There is no name for this kind of fishing.

For fishing the natives had:

a) a fish spear (kowuâi); it is an ordinary pole;

b) fish hooks (angling rod is wău, Hellwig: wahâu); these are to catch the xăli, large čŏp, mādi, small ätám. (Hellwig). 1. hooks that are fastened together (bă, Hellwig: pă) of many shapes; bait of Meleagrina (Hellwig: săr), less frequently wâi shells or spondylus, tortoise-shell hooks (wŏad), light flies of the feathers of the frigate bird (xatáf), string of ăromă fibers. 2. simple tortoise-shell hooks (gāuŏdj). 3. simple coconut hooks to catch flying fish (măñar) in the daytime; an empty coconut serves as a float. 4. wooden hooks (gŏ) for sharks.

The hooks are kept in the familiar covered baskets (Hellwig: săvo, saûwo, saûb, săp, săob) of bread-fruit wood (Hellwig: kalaûv, xalaû).

c) Nets (djōu, Hellwig: srŏu) in the shape that was described in the Polowat volume; Hellwig adds: frame - katté, wood - ŭŭ, tying - vaûva. The handle (ĭb or ĭboli măñar) is fastened on shortly before the net is used. These nets are used to catch flying fish (măñar) at night in torch light. [125]

d) fish kite (djoligodjaûk) to take the dăx (Hellwig) with a bait of fish (?); this is attached to a line between three and four meters long.

e) snares (nŭm) to catch sharks; the same method is used on Polowat. Râigumeń is invoked before each fishing expedition, and sacrifices are brought to him.

[CS: Omission of the various kinds of fish, that are caught, page 164]
mănar the flying fish, appears four times each year.
1. Angling (angling rod - bâû, the wrapped handle is tigŏ́u); it is equipped with the following kinds of fish hooks: [165]

a) bắ is the hook, that is fastened together; its bait consists of Meleagrina or spondylus, and its hook is made of tortoise shell; the "fly" is made of clipped frigate bird feathers. Terms for the various parts: angling line of hibiscus fibre - eŏr or eŏl, bait - năm, point of the hook - matắl, base of the hook - ramŭ́m, fly - igŭ́d. These hooks are kept in wooden chests (sâûp).

b) tfu is the plain wooden hook, used to catch sharks. Hambruch obtained a rare example; it was a double hook made of a piece of Pteroceras shell.

c) tarăń are the newer angling hooks, made of a piece of bent iron wire.

d) porăli mătś is a simple fish hook of coconut husk, which is suspended on a coconut, that serves as a buoy (for its use see Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 49). This type of fishing is rarely used today.

2. The natives fish with etfń nets on the reef. The terms for the various parts are xoloxŏ́l (number 1), tanŭapip (no. 2), eăń (no. 3), bugebŭx (no. 4), metắt (no. 5), net sinkers-fâû u lŭ́m, net floats - xuapĕ́s: the latter are often carved in the shape of fish. The large net does not belong to an individual, but to the men's house. [166]

3. For weir fishing they use the following weirs:
   a) a substantial one made of coconut strings (ulipăm of the same form as those on Ifaluk. The terms are: floor - bŏxebox, back wall - xapĭt, side wall - pĕigil, roof - xuluxŭl, raised and pointed portion of the roof - unăl.
   b) weirs (ule mŏurŏuĕd) with a barrel-shaped roof of strong coconut leaf nerves. The names for the various parts are: projecting part of the roof - xromăre, cover - unăre, side wall - xobăr, floor - ĭră, door in the rear wall - irĭ ŋ, handle - tanĭn.
   c) like b) but rectangular.
4. For kite fishing they use a kite (kapĕs) made of a bread-fruit leaf, which has been stiffened with a coconut leaf nerve. A tarăn hook hangs on the string.
5. Snare fishing is done with a snare (nŏm) fastened to a wooden stick; the bait hangs from another short string.

Special Customs. The chief's permission is required before groups of men can fish together in the large canoes. The "first counsel" oversees the canoes and fishing, and then the chief divides the catch according to certain rules. Loud calling and trumpeting on the conch shells summon the population to come together. The fish are spread out on the beach, and they are tabu until the division is made. Hambruch watched the natives divide 45 large fish (faŭfaŭ and takŭ'u); a sick old woman received the largest takŭ'u, Hambruch had two faŭfaŭ, five takŭ'u and two faŭfaŭ were given to seven guests from

Ifaluk, two takŭ'u to the chief, one takŭ'u to the "first counsel," one takŭ'u to the "second counsel," one takŭ'u to the Oleai native Olapĭl eighteen takŭ'u to the nine houses, ten little cuttlefish (Tinte?) to the crews and the "first counsel," two takŭ'u and the small fish to the boys.

On the second expedition that Hambruch saw, eleven large and 390 small fish were taken (the latter were chiefly caught in the drift wood weirs). They were divided in the following manner: Hambruch got two large fish, the chief two, the "first counsel" one, the "second counsel" one, the Oleai native Olapĭl two large ones and ten little ones, the seven Ifaluk men had three large and sixteen small fish, the nine houses 270 little ones (thirty for each), the canoe superintendent fifteen little ones, eighteen small ones for the eight houses in Pix, fifteen little ones for a man, who had helped build the boat. If the catch is not so large as they had expected, the fisherman goes to the "big house" or to Ponijŏu's spirit house, lays down a sacrifice, and asks for a good haul.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aurepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

The alu Saulal* is responsible for many of the fishing taboos. He has close contact with the ocean into which, deep down, he was banned because of his evilness; to him come the souls of the evil after their death. He has three servants: Alusitét, who is thought of as his son, who comes whenever someone breaks a taboo and Pónerol and Lepériperúodj (from périper "to cut"=falafal see the discussion of boat construction, and uodj "reef" which would give it the meaning of "reef cutter"); they are sent to help the humane beings. Soulal gave mankind the turtle which he made hard and strong. But if men want to get the benefit of his deeds they must obey his taboos; e.g., a man must wait for 10-20 days after having had sexual intercourse before he is again allowed to go out fishing; he must not touch the lure pa which is used for bonito fishing during one month, and by no means before the next new moon; in the case of the flying fox fishing, the fisherman must wait for two to three months before he may return to his house.

The fisherman must not touch the water holes in which coconut fibers are soaked; if he does he must wait for 4 days and for the same length of time may not eat any bonito in case he has beaten coconut fibers; the same taboo applies to any person who has touched excrement. The regulations apply also to women; they may not eat any bonito at all as long as they are in the imatamai, nor for three months after they leave. When a woman has been in the imafatiu she must wait for ten days.

*He is thought of as the elder of the two brothers of Aluelap.

We have reported on the taboos west of the sósor boundary; sósor is the word for the fishing ground in the inland water mainly west of the mentioned boundary. If one wants to go fishing in that area no fire may be lit in the village after 10:00 o'clock at night [48] and no food may be eaten at that time. The boats that sail to the spot must first call at the islands of Puik (Búiüg) and Faleit before they may get started on the actual fishing trip. If the taboo is broken, legs and abdomen are believed to swell.

Among the sacred activities is the killing of fish with the ceremonial axe tellé i lolomai which is also used for the boat construction.... Taboo for women on Elato are the gorurĩãp, sonmalot sóu (mackeral) and the skipiia which is held sacred on Satoan and before whom the natives must bow.

4: Krämer--48-50
116, 226

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1 -4
Lamotrek

Reef Fishing; guis Catch.

The holes on the reef are marked by pebbles that lie next to their entrance. By means of a long, thick stick two to three meters in length one investigates whether anything has been caught in the hole. The octopus comes out and is speared. The following are some of the native terms used in connection with this form of fishing: bow--liketáfedj, arrow--eâuten which is a very simple instrument; fishspear Hellwig: tolig, wood--vas, prongs--rumul, obailitóto lig of coconut wood, tip--metale obai, end--sabille.

Hook fishing.

The fishhooks used in the west have previously been discussed in connection with fishing on Lukunor. A few illustrations 23a, b, c, [VMM: see source] show big lures and hooks that are pressed down; hooks used on Lukunor on the other hand, like those of Ralik (see there) are turned up more (cf. Hambruch: Nauru); the length of the hooks used in this area is about six centimeters.

Keeping of the hooks in boxes--sóp. The original hook was cut from a piece of coconut shell as it is pictured in connection with Feis, which is said to have been pulled up with a hook of this type.

Fishing lines are mainly made of fibers of coconut husks....Hellwig's catalogue has some from the island of Elato and calls them by the name of djaluig....Also fishing rods are known and used.

For kite fishing gedjeg, a thin line known as dja luga and made of aroma fibers is

necessary; new kites are always made of an artocarpus leaf; [49] for bait goilul lu baggo is used and the garfish locks its teeth into it. *

Fishing with a Hand Line from a Boat

The best bait on the hook is octopus. The hook with its bait is tied to a stone with a slip knot and the stone is carefully dropped into the water. When it has fallen to the bottom of the ocean, the fish gradually push down in order to get at the bait. When the first stirring of the line is felt, it must be pulled in with one sudden movement. If the hook has caught the fish, the fish is pulled up, although it frequently happens that sharks catch it as it is on its way up to the surface of the water; there seem to be sharks in the waters around Lamotrek. If that is the case, the sharks must be caught first if the fishermen want to get their prey and to recover their fish hook. But after no more than half an hour, the fish has been digested in the stomach of the shark to such a degree that

*Catching is also done with the loop lóma pãgo with the purpose of later making strings, gúiluil, from the skin and of using them for tag fishing (Belone); the lines made from this skin are as thick as pencils and are often one to two feet long.

it can hardly be recognized. For that reason a black shark modjog, is feared greatly.

lukapá hooks (Hellwig: pa sar, see figure 23a of source) are used for fishing of gali and etam which are principally caught at night. The etam red surmullet swims around the region where the waves run high in the calm water of the reef opening at night; at low tide it stays inside and at high tide it goes out. Lure of pearlshell is called a passär, faipar, or sárrurod. Hellwig has a pearlshell lure with an iron hook without barbs; Krämer has nine hooks of tortoise shell, one of which has a barb rom, near the tip on the outside; the lures were black or reddish of meleagrina. The paluk (Figure 23b [VMM: see source]) is used for etam fishing which is done during the night. Figure 23c [VMM: see source] is used for the same purpose with a brown shiny lure of cowrie shell (cypraia), which is called upuil. For flies, the feathers of chickens or frigate birds are used (Elato) or else grass, búgor, as is the case with the pa wai hook of black mother-of-pearl, wai.

Hooks of tortoise shell are called gõbodj, and one specimen is given in Figure 24 [VMM: see source], (Hellwig: ā bors, alü daidjau). They are used for larger fish, daidjau, and have a width of about five centimeters. The tips are strongly bent inward and are called lámagap. In the year 1910 they were no longer in use.

Fishing of flying fish, mangar, is done with an angle hook (see Krämer, Palau, III, page 77, Figure 62) in the month of December. On Sëtowal it is continued later in the season when the boats have returned from Poloat. Then the fishermen go into the

canoe-house and the sorcerers begin to sing their songs. [50] [ER: some of the songs are given in the German text, but are omitted here.]

The fishing line with float called pil which is similar to the one pictured for Onoun, is now made ready ... The angle shaped hook is cut from coconut shell and tied as float to the coconut bottle that is stopped up. Of course, it is a piece of a young coconut kernel, which is scratched out of the shell with a spatula and which is given the shape of an octopus by means of a bamboo knife; the bait is tied to one end with a fine banana fiber. Then the angle with the float is laid out and observed from the direction of the sun.

Customs in Fishing

Later on there followed further taboos and magic and fishing at night to the illumination of torches.

Fishing of flying-fox starts in December and continues almost through the entire season of the trade winds. When the fishing period is finally over, the fisherman, after an additional waiting period of four days, may return to his house.

Fishing (búil) of bonito, garangap is still practiced. The fish is considered sacred only if it is caught with the lure pa (bã) on sea; this is quite in line with the Polynesian customs. We have already discussed the taboos; they are exceedingly strict.

Soon after a fish is caught, it is cleaned of all dirt with an ear branch. The catch is greeted with a special exclamation. A fisherman, who comes home feeling cold is the object of mockery. The men who have not caught anything are not in favor with the women. Fasts are prescribed for the time of the trade winds but are not necessarily observed from March to September. With reference to the banquet, iles...

After reaching the shore one carefully lays down the fish with their heads facing inland. They are seized by the tail and carried. Fish may not be swung to the sides as they are carried. If the person who carries them meets someone on his way he must not stop. When the fish is laid down by a house, it must be placed alongside the building with the head pointing in the direction of the sea. Then the stove, um, is started. When the fire is lit and the stove is getting hot, the fish may be cut. The animal is laid on its back and

the bamboo knife (not an iron knife) is held in the right hand. The stalk of a coconut frond may be used. One cut each is made lengthwise and across and then the fish is peeled out with the first finger and the skin of the belly together with that of the throat is removed, is whirled in the smoke of a fire that is lit on a coconut frond róurou, wrapt in breadfruit leaves, magárigar, and put in the stove. [51] The insides of the fish and particularly the roe are eaten raw, after they have been waved through the smoke for just a little while; the heart is given a similar treatment. The other insides are cooked. The head which is cut off, the shoulder pieces, the tail without bones and the back pieces are all laid out on leaves, wrapped and cooked on hot stones. The dress for the karangap fish is called magárigar. That finishes the taboos.

If a fisherman has broken the taboo and been near women and is taken sick after his fishing trip, Alusitét is thought of as the originator of illness and a sorcerer addresses a prayer to him while he stands holding two bunches of coconut leaves in his hands.

4: Krämer--59-60
116, 226, 286

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-3
Lamotrek

Nets djauo, djrou.
Float--úgopēs, sinker--faurem.

The nets are made in the usual manner (according to Hellwig) with the netting needle, djaf, which must have the width of the mesh metal ("his eye") which is held secure by the knot búgabug. The yarn is wound around the shuttle kadjap; the split ends of the shuttle are known as ewále or kadjap.

The netting needle is generally of arur wood, but the shuttle is of bamboo, buái, which comes from the west (Yap).

The yarn, gologól, is made of the husk fibers of young coconuts, which must soak in water for three to four months before they may be treated with the fiber beater, the pelai or komang. Then they are twisted into thin cords, mut, on the thigh (or by a special mechanical device); [60] two or, more rarely, three or four mut constitute the gologól.

Made from coconut yarn.

garom	mesh is as thick as a pencil and is square; the net is approximately two meters long and one meter wide and is held by two men.
ugali vomei	the mesh is as thick as a finger (vómei--deep water)

ugalei — mesh of the thickness of four fingers.
ieting (aating) — mesh of the thickness of six fingers.
gal — a net made in the Ifaluk manner. It is a net bag attached to three handle cords, by which it is hauled in. Into the netting, at the bottom, a live fish is placed. The diameter of the net is two to two and a half feet. For bait, ro and gidjegidj are used. The fish caught are mainly scarus species; often five to ten varying in length from a half to one foot are hauled in at a time.

swimmer above
uápes
sinker below
baurem

ū til (tin) is used for catching the small (5-8 centimeters long) til fish which resemble our sardine. gosi met a til is to be translated as "catching the eye of the til" and is the name of a song, which the women start singing on the fourth day after fishing has begun, and which ends with a general scream; for the first four days no til may be eaten, especially since at the start the returns are rather poor. til is eaten with its bones; the head is put into the mouth first; otherwise fishing will be unsuccessful. The net is a long sack held open by two parallel rods. A third stick lies across the two like a handle. Counts up to one billion (see Feis at the end) indicate the nature of catches of this fish.

ugalei (like garom above) serves as a net sack which comes handy when by means of rul lines--which are called rob here--a funnel is set up on the reef platform at low tide; through it the fish are driven into the net. The ugalei net is often laid out in a semicircle. In place of a second net often a basket u le moróuel (see above) is added; in the

case of garom they are mainly modj, márafas, etc.

A frame net, djrou soiloile is shown on Plate 5a [VMM: see source].

The frame is called atil, the fork ekan, the wooden section underneath the lashing básebas, the lashing vövò, the mesh metál, the knot bugabug, the tips of the net fangál, and the handle komásu.

Hellwig calls the fishing net djrauŏ, the front part of the frame gatille, and the back part viabále.

Hellwig: fishing net djrauŏ, frame atil.

Plate 5b [VMM: see source] is a net for catching the souls of Ikelur, which is called djrou i alus, because with it evil spirits may be caught that have been driven away.

A large fishing net was another specimen picked up.

4: Krämer--60-62 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1~2
116, 226 Lamotrek

Fish Baskets u ul marauel (moróuel)

Angular baskets are not emptied by being turned over, but by means of a bent rake, tangak. [61]

Driftwood with Fish Baskets (gabeibei).

In the past driftwood trunks were looked upon as the welcome bringers of fish, which gathered around them. When the natives are out searching for floating logs and when they find them the natives take off their hats; they must not stand up in the boat, because alu Tautup might resent it. Before they tie the baskets to the logs they sing a song to Tautup. [ER: one of the songs sung on this occasion is given in the original text, but is omitted here.]

When the singing is finished, the fish baskets, ū le morouel, are tied to the side of the tree trunk. A few of them are in one line, with the bottom of the baskets up and the opening in the back on the leeside. The basket furthest aft is considered best. Then the tree trunk is fastened and taken in tow. The most common fish caught in this manner is the bream, rell.

Tying of the baskets to the drift wood is considered a task not without all danger, because sharks swarm around the logs. The natives tell that recently a shark bit a fisherman who had a fish in his mouth.

Fish baskets are submerged in the inland water, let down to a depth of 1-2 fathoms. The natives remember the distance from the land and then have no trouble recovering

their traps. Handing in of the baskets buë or pio, is done with the kafáigo lifter. The word pio has given the name to the basket ū lepio, which is otherwise known as ū le fato. (Then there is a rake tangak in Hellwig's catalogue with which the fish are taken out of the basket.)

At the entrance and further out towards the sea, baskets are dropped down to a depth of 7-8 fathoms and occasionally to a depth of 20 fathoms. The stones that weigh down the baskets, the faipăs, must be large and heavy. These depths are chosen only during the months of March and April when the current is slight and when the water is at low tide. Generally the natives know the exact spot where they have cast their baskets; they search for them with the hook, heave it up a little and let it drop back down so that the hook may find a secure position before the basket is hauled up. The following are additional types of baskets: [62]

ūs'sõ for catching the sand mullet. No bait is used to attract this fish but sand is piled up around the opening. In spots where seaweed, pom, floats around off the sandy beach, the baskets are placed in it instead of in the sand.

ū le pam is used to catch small sand barbels uorik, which are attracted by a bait pa (=pa lure) of rakum or raking le bëap; of land crabs. The opening is called úasig.

ulam are small baskets with which boys go fishing in shallow water, and which have bait in them. They are round in form.

4: Krämer--185
116, 226, 335, 462

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

The fishbaskets resemble those of Lugunor, but the instrument used to haul them in is not the same, for on this island divers go down to bring up the prey.

4: Krämer--233-237 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-6
116, 226 Woleai

Fishing

a. General Information

The fishing line, djal, is made of the fibers of áromē; the epiderm of the bark is removed, the fibers are scraped with shell pieces and dried in the sun.

Born: fishing, seloch; with the spear, koboi; fishing rod, bau; fish hook, cho; basket, boiau; net, jedeng; fishbank, kassutsch; catching of flying fish, tūlimingar (see above dulima...).

The following hooks, ba were collected: (angling stick Hellwig: tigo, wai, hook, wau lü vül) (Kotzebue: gau) (for ceremonial hook see above Figure 89 [VMM: see source]. Hellwig shows an open hook from Falalis).

Krämer enumerates the following hooks: bā lietam;
bā ligátaf, of black mother-of-pearl; djar used for fishing djep;
bā ligataf faibar of red spondylus used for fishing gali; [234]
bā levil for Bonito fishing, karangap

Hellwig enumerated the following hooks:
pā faipar from Votagai (Figure 102a) [VMM: see source] used for catching kalli, mol and dettivars;

pā fai, (Figure 102b)[VMM: see source] from Mariam, with barbs on the outer side;
pā ssär (Figure 102c, d) [VMM: see source] (Hellwig: ba garangap e ssër, of pearl shell) used for catching large ëtam;
fai wai, lures of black pearl shell, waü, used to attract matak' tra, moil, ëtam, and gali.

Krämer shows test hooks, gŏ, used to catch all types of fish (Lamotrek: gobodj); matalipa hooks for balug fishing which is done from the canoe and known as baligat'taf (from gat'taf to move up and down); done on the inner reef, ëllang. The containers for hooks is described in the section on vessels and containers.

Hellwig has a coconut box with fish hooks, wai teri pér.

According to Lütke, three types of fish hooks are used on the island: small and bow-shaped, made of wood, length of a thumb, shells, coffer-fish part, lure Gerres (Tinga). 2. Hook made of mother-of-pearl and used for moonlight fishing of Serranus, Bodianus, Labrus, Balistes, etc. 3. Larger hooks for Bonito fishing, taken in tow by the canoe, with coconut pinnae.

Hellwig: fishing kite made of a breadfruit tree leaf, srou e gataug (Lamotrek: gedjeg). It is shown in Figure 103 [VMM: see source] with a lure of shark skin, gëli boggo or koilül li boggo. Length 70 centimeters, width 35 centimeters.

For shark fishing, lomaliboggo, with the lure, tag.
Eel loops are non-existent.

b. Fish Spears

Hellwig: tau of coconut wood; Lütke: hattan a pointed stick.
Hellwig: gobai of areca wood from Yap.
Hellwig: small to lik of song wood; prongs, rumúl; point, metál. dúlimat, to fish on the reef by torch light (dul, torch); dulemangar the same as applied to flying fish.

c. Fish Baskets and Nets (Lütke, page 237).

Driftwood fishing, gabeibei i rēl. On November 6, 1909, it was announced that a large tree trunk had been sighted on the northern side of Wolea; we went out and saw it with Agupelior as our guide. The fishermen sailed over the surf at the reef and fastened the baskets to the flanks of the boats. [235] The natives of Mariong caught more than 100 small gray Brassen.

The opening is roofed, and the basket itself has a cupola-like form; this type is known as ulebam. Hellwig: ulepam; roof, rug; 2 chambers next to the opening, peg. Horizontal hoop at the opening, pögepög; bottom on the outside, bassebass; vault, ung; back wall, kab; frame forks in the interior, ula roi; inner side framework, sure; rings, talling lū u le pam.
ulebiou looks like an elongated box.

ulemoroval (...morouel) is club-shaped and thickened on one side.
Hellwig: ū le garer turning basket. It is placed in the water with the open side down. When fish swim into it, the basket is quickly turned up. The strong longitudinal poles, olol, are made of root wood, wogaralle giriau, and the thin ones are of wogarolle lū. Transverse plaiting, gobor; handle and frame, ū.
Hellwig shows another the same but with a hand-maneuvered stick; basket, tangag; wood of the plaited part, jaro.
util is longish and cylindrical, and is held between two canoes.
util is also the term for a net with a frame (Kotzebue: ueh) which was brought back as a model (see photo 19a) [VMM: see source].
Krämer shows a gajap, filet needle; uapes, swimmer; faorem, sinker, Handnet for flying fish, sou, Hellwig: srou; frame [ER: the original text reads Namen, misspelling for Rahmen?] aturtrou; handle, fouwo.
ëteng, net for fishing on the high seas.

According to Lütke, boschebok is the task of the women. They stand in the inland water forming a semi-circle in the direction of the beach, and they lay out the nets close to one another. The men stand on the beach with spears, and drive the fish into the baskets.

Born says that swimming boys arrange the nets in a semicircle. The ends are pulled

ashore and boats cruise around; there is much noise, but it is rare that much is caught. At one time, 1000 salmon-like skibijak were caught in one haul on Paliau.

Upon the arrival of a fishing canoe, all the people run from the beach into the bush and the fish are taken into the house. A fire is lit, the index finger is held over it and then the tongue is touched with it. Finally the distribution of fish takes place.

The fishermen, fita, tõfita, tõseilog, liap, after their return from fishing trips, must stay in the fallap for five months. If they were to act counter to this regulation, they would be eaten by sharks, or the sharks would devour their fish, and their wives would be stolen.

[ER: Some boat songs follow in the original text but are omitted here.][236] In Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 125, the following is said about dolphin catching: "In these waters three types of dolphins occur, those with white, red, and black bellies. When the natives of Ulea notice the animals near their shores, about 80 small canoes set out and surround the group and drive it in the direction of the shore. When they are fairly close to the beach, the men annoy the animals by throwing stones at them until they swim ashore. In this manner large numbers of them are caught. Their meat is very popular. When the bodies are cut up, special techniques must be observed, because the superstition prevails that a wrong cut keeps the animals from the island for a certain period of time. At Svilick (where?) there is only a narrow entrance in the reef; [237] through it the animals are driven into the lagoon but none of them are killed until their

number is fairly large (about 50). On the islands of Ulea, this type of fishing is practiced with especial success. On the other islands, achievements in this art are not quite so great.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...page 132, that children are taught when a frequently caught little fish (probably the sardine sennif of Truk) is on hand: "If it should happen that someone were to get hold of one of this type of fish by the tail and were to lift him in this position with the head hanging down, when the time for the next fishing expedition came, all the fish would seek the bottom of the sea in the same manner, with heads down and none of them could be caught."

Lütke, page 166, says that in October and November there is a shortage of fish and fruit. As a substitute, sea birds are eaten. Fishing is done from 2-4 in the morning and from 8-9. Preceding the fishing trips, sexual intercourse is taboo. Fish-baskets (of volcameria branches) are set out in such a manner that the opening faces the current of the tides; it is necessary to check every other day and for that reason the natives own two baskets at least. The women have small baskets, unababa, with crayfish lures, and without them, in the case of large ouh used in shallow waters and great depths; these are raised by means of weighted hook-sinkers. Oil (chewed from a kernel) is poured out on the water so as to see better. Fishing with a handnet is done by the light of the sun, or at night, when the fishermen hold three coconut fronds as torches in their left hand. Night fishing is known as eddoll.

5: Kittlitz--161 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 226 Woleai

We noticed fish baskets, similar to the ones at Lugunor, but no instruments to pull them out of the water; divers always brought up the ones which were sunk here inside the lagoon.

6: Senfft--57
116, 226

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

For fishing they use weir baskets, nets, spears, and fishhooks. There is one very practical method which I have not seen anywhere else. It is used to catch a type of fish which has a long mouth almost like a beak and strong teeth; it leaps out of the water with great force and is therefore quite dangerous. To catch this fish, the natives make a kite out of the ribs of coconut leaves. The kite has a rounded shape. Instead of cloth or paper, they wrap a leaf of the breadfruit tree around the framework. They take the kite into the canoe and fly it above the water. One line is attached to the kite which is held by the fisherman; the other is suspended into the water and the bait is attached to it. If the kite remains stationary, the fisherman can leave as much room between the boat and the bait as he likes so that he is safe from danger and only reaches the line on which the fish is caught when the fish has bitten into the bait.

Besides the construction of houses and canoes, the main task of the men is fishing, seloch. They go fishing both within and outside of the lagoon, and they use spears, koboi, fishhooks, bau, fish-traps, buiau, nets, jedeng, and weirs, kassutsch.

When they use fishhooks, the fishermen, most of them boys and young men, stand up to their chests in the water. The bait consists of pieces of coconut or marr. The hook, cho, is attached to a line which is tied to [185] sticks 1 or 1 1/2 meters long. Formerly the fishhooks were made of shells or tortoise shell. Today all the natives get both the hooks and the lines from traders.

The fish-traps vary considerably both in size and in shape. Divers place the baskets in the water and then take them up after two or three days.

Often, if nets are used for fishing, all the inhabitants of the island help. The net is spread out into a semi-circle, and men and boys swim along the periphery and hold it taut; I noticed that the oldest natives, including the local chieftain, were stationed at each end to pull it toward the land. All the rowing canoes which are available are posted around the net. The net is dragged slowly toward the shore with much noise and shouting. The result, however, usually does not correspond to the amount of time, labor, and noise that went into this work. I observed several occasions at which not more than 20 fish were caught. At other times there may be a large number of fish. I was told that one of the natives of Paliau Island had caught several thousand skibijaks (jaringab) at one time, this fish apparently is similar to the salmon and is large and tasty.

Weirs are seldom used. I saw only one, constructed like those used on Jap, which was made of large pieces of coral rock and had been placed in the outer lagoon by Tagaulap Island.

Flying fish, tülimingar, are caught at the same time and by the same method as on Jap. During the period from February to May, the men go out at night with their torches to catch large numbers of flying fish in circular nets. At this time, the same rules apply to the fishermen as on Jap; they may not have sexual intercourse or sleep in their own houses.

It is said that the custom of catching flying fish was introduced on Jap by Ululssi and Oleaï.

There is one kind of fish, the bright red bolé, which the natives of Oleaï never eat; it is taboo for them. The people of Jap eat this kind, although they do not consider it a delicacy.

When a canoe returns from a fishing expedition, everyone on the beach runs away and hides, [186] from the fishermen. After the men have landed by the large house, they go to the fireplace in the hall of the house, hold their finger into the flame, and touch their tongue. As soon as the people in the bushes see this, they emerge from their hiding place and the fish are then distributed.

12: Lutke —135
116, 226

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

All night long we could see fires in various places; the natives use them to help in their fishing.

24: Christian--239
116, 226, 784

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"'For four days before a fishing expedition the Lamotrek natives sleep apart from their wives. They go out fasting in order to ensure success. When they make their first haul they drink one green coco-nut apiece, and put in shore for the ceremony of Yaf-ilok--The Coming in of the Fire. A fire is made, each takes a fish, broils it, and eats it. Each fisherman then goes down to the sea, washes mouth and hands in the salt water, and invokes the blessing of Aliu-set and Sau-lal, gods of the sea. This ceremony over, the distribution of the heap of fish commences. If any women or children come near and break the taboo by helping themselves, the same will receive swelled ankles or elephantiasis as a punishment and visible token of the anger of the spirits.'"

28: Spiro--17
116, 622, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
226, 626 Ifalik

"When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity."

28: Spiro--39
116, 396, 226, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

28: Spiro--39 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 262 Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--39 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476 Ifalik

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrow-head, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large co-operative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone

dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable madhouse. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--43 [2]
116, 423, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Public property: This includes the seins, fighting traps, canoe-houses, and the Fanap. The seins and fishing traps are constructed by the men of a district, and remain in the canoe-houses. They are communal property, and are used by the men in their fishing expeditions. The Fanap is the 'town-hall', and though it is said that is 'belongs to the chiefs', it is actually used for all public meetings, and is repaired, in case of damage, by all the men of the district. The canoe houses, are theoretically owned by one individual, in that one of his ancestors is reputed to have built it. But, actually it is used by all the men, of the district, and is repaired by them. Any attempt on his part to prevent some one from using it would be unthinkable."

28: Spiro--114-115
116, 883, 462, 226, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

28: Spiro--147
116, 517, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Often, the young men will go fishing in the afternoon, and what they catch is eaten by them immediately. The playing of checkers or cards may take up an entire morning or afternoon."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2}
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 the fish and spear high out of the water, trying to avoid attracting
226 the shark with blood. Once more the shark swept by, this time with a second shark just behind. Bakal swam out to the reef, in response to Yani's yells, carrying one of the big, long spears, while Toroman rowed out with the BWUP to pick them all up.

Yani had fished around the coral heads of the lagoon all of his life, and said he had never before seen sharks come in so close to shore. He had a theory that the noise of the spear gun had attracted them. It seemed more likely to Don that they had followed the nice trail of blood from the speared moray, dragged all of the way across the lagoon from outside the pass (where sharks were common) to the area off the Fan Nap. The speared moray was still lying on the coral sand, so the one they had seen behaving so queerly in the lagoon was another.

[260] The day ended with a fine fish dinner.

Ted turned on the radio that evening to listen to some music and
123 presently accumulated an audience of several Ifalukians who had happened to drift by. The next evening people started accumulating on the temple grass behind the Fan Nap shortly after dinner, and it soon became apparent that they wanted another radio concert. The news, apparently, had spread that this was possible. We were a little appalled at the prospect of having to give a radio concert every evening, none of us being much addicted to radios. We explained that the battery would get tired if it were worked too hard. Then Don happened to think of the phonograph.

The expedition had been equipped with a portable, wind-up phonograph. No one knew whose idea this was—perhaps a hang-over from some previous atoll expedition with a juke-box addict among its members. The accompanying records mostly looked like juke-box material, though of uncertain vintage, along with a few records of Hawaiian music.

We pulled down the box of records, which had been stored away high on a beam in the Fan Nap, and set up the phonograph on the temple grass lawn back of the camp. Tony, eagerly helping, said he knew all about phonographs—that experience with the Coast Guard Station on Ulithi again—so we turned the machine and records over

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

after breakfast. All sorts of things went into that notebook (one of those waterproof engineer's books, carried in a case on the belt) and I had a chance to exercise my file-clerk instincts in keeping them straight. Numbers for plant notes had a square pencilled around them, so they caught the eye quickly. Pack and film numbers for photographs taken with the Crown Graphic had a circle around them; numbers for the Leica were double underlined; numbers for the Kodak Reflex were distinguished with a triangle.

The only marks for Thursday, July 9th, the day following the clean-up, were triangles, because the only notes were on photographs taken with the reflex. This was because the day was spent on a fishing expedition and I carried only the reflex. I never had liked that camera much, so I carried it whenever I thought there was danger of damage or loss—in this case, danger of salt-water damage.

Most of the men of Falarik were involved in this fishing expedition. Preparations started early in the morning. Great lengths of rope were hauled out of the canoe houses and wound spirally with strips of palm leaves, one after another, until the effect was that of a huge pile of monstrous green tinsel. The lengths of rope, as soon as they were prepared, were carried down to the lagoon shore and piled into the canoes.

By about ten o'clock everything was ready and the flotilla of canoes pushed off—a couple of dozen of them, the small one-man kind, and the medium-sized kind that carried four or five men. None of the big sea-voyaging canoes were launched. We went, with Bakal and Yani, in Bronson's rowboat, the BWUP, named for the ungainly trigger-fish. We felt awkward and sedate in this tub, but we were afraid of being a nuisance if we asked to go in one of the canoes. Anyway, Yani and Bakal were enamored of the BWUP, and it did make a steady base for observation and photography.

There was a row of about a mile across the still, bright lagoon. We took turns at rowing as a matter of principle, of sharing activities. But I am no athlete under any circumstances, and I was perhaps too obviously glad when I could stop the rowing and stretch out on the prow of the boat with head overside, staring into the mysterious sapphire

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in
● 906 the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows
[133] of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the
502 reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy
226 channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent
133 for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again.
[136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be
133 made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

● 226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 245 Ifalik

"The slender leaflet midribs (logto) some 1/8 inch in diameter, where the midrib of the whole leaf is several inches--are useful where lightness and flexibility are necessary. On a frame of stiffer withes, lengths of leaflet midrib are lashed criss-cross to make a fish trap (ul pam) of the smaller size. These are set on the bottom in shallow water, weighted down with sand and baited with crushed crabs, to catch small fish."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 301, 227 Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 227 Ifalik

"Wild animals, particularly sea creatures, are used in more varied and ingenious ways. The skin of the fish called rel, which has a silvery gleam in some lights, is wrapped around the shanks of fish hooks to serve as a lure, usually in connection with a tuft of feathers."

1: Burrows--83A-83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 227 Ifalik 1.2

"Pearl shell and turtle shell are combined in the bonito hook (pā). This is of a type widespread in Oceania. It is composed of two pieces, a pearl-shell shank and a turtle-shell point. In the thick end of the shank a hole is bored to attach the line. (As this end is nearer the fisherman when in use, it is convenient and customary to call it the proximal end.) Little grooves are cut in the sides of the distal end to hold the lashings which attach the turtle-shell point. There are two of these lashings. In a specimen collected on Ifalik, which is now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu, both lashings pass through holes in a proximal projection of the point. Damm illustrates both this type and another, which has only one hole, for the distal lashing. In this type the proximal lashing passes entirely around the projection of the point, which flares out at the [83B] end to keep the lashing from slipping off.

Local variations in attachment of point to shank on bonito-hooks have been studied by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck). Following his lead, the writer compared types in different parts of Polynesia (Burrows 1938), and came to the conclusion that the type with two holes in a proximal projection of the point was invented in western Polynesia. Its occurrence as far west as Ifalik throws doubt on that conclusion. Fuller data from Micronesia will probably make possible a clearer reconstruction of the invention and diffusion of bonito hooks in Oceania.

The shank is shaped like the body of a small fish. This, and its pearly gleam, quite

like that of a fish's skin and scales, make it a most effective lure. As Buck has pointed out, shanks can be made of different colors by grinding off more or less of the outer layers of the shell. This is done deliberately, and the fisherman chooses which hook to use according to the light at the moment, or the kind of small fry on which the bonito are feeding, or by trial and error. Three names for hooks of different colors were told to me on Ifalik: renifār, with yellowish lustre; alo, bluish; and reneverale, reddish or coppery. Damm lists four names collected by Sarfert, none of which corresponds to these. Probably both lists are correct as far as they go, but incomplete.

As an additional lure, many bonito hooks have, lashed to the distal end, a tuft of feathers or of white fibers from the roots of the plants called guan and bogo li le pā."

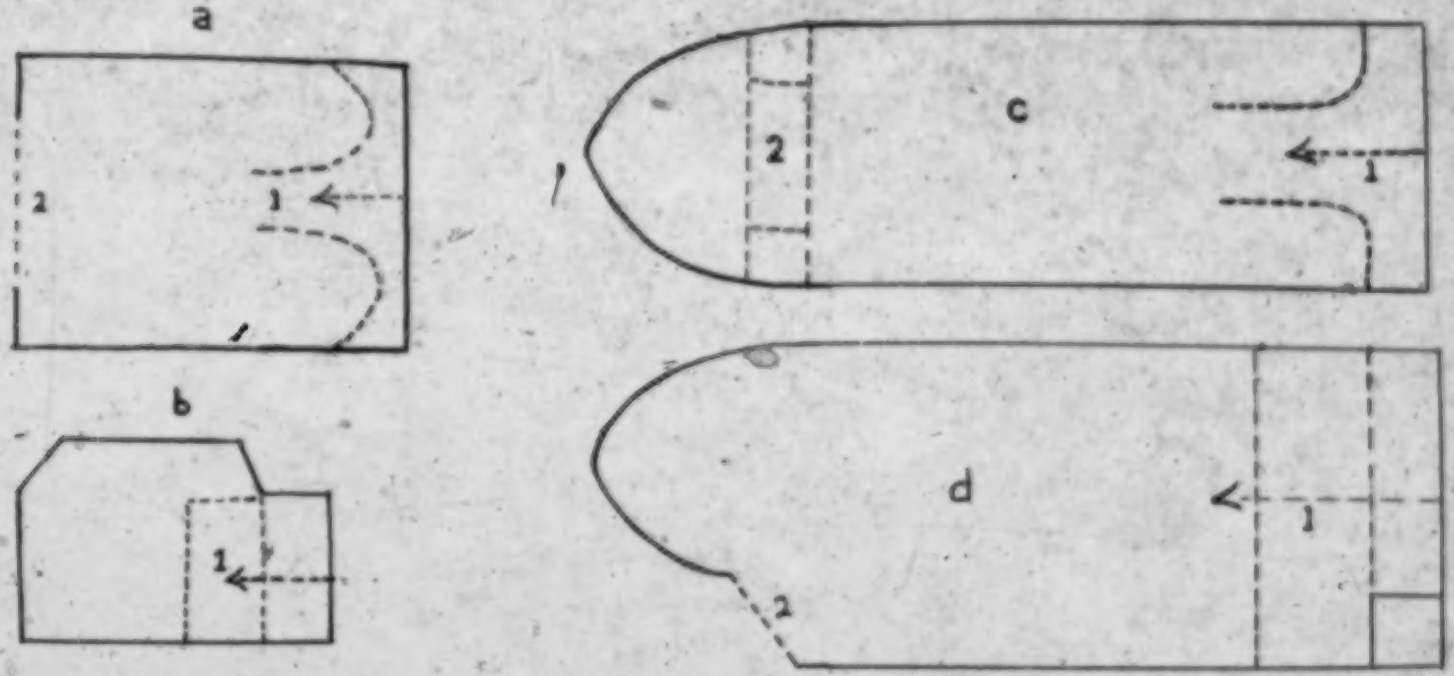
1: Burrows--83H-83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"The only kind of fishing device that is constantly in use is a permanent weir (gamei) built of blocks of coral. These are set up along the beach on the lagoon side of Falārik, --evidently the shore of Falālap is not considered suitable for them, perhaps because most of it, instead of sandy beach, is irregular, shelving more steeply, and of coarse gravel. The shape of a gamei as indicated in Fig. 20, is something like a broad arrowhead. They are made with their points away from shore. The single wall that would correspond to the shaft of the arrow extends out from approximately high water mark. The double walls, corresponding to barbs of an arrowhead, average 30 to 35 feet long. At high tide they are covered with a foot or two of water; at low tide they [83I] rise out of water from a few inches to about a foot. Fish that come close to shore at high tide, mostly by night, are expected to follow the single wall to seaward as the tide goes out, and so to be led into the V-shaped space between the double walls. When the water is below the top of the walls, they can not escape.

During our stay on Ifalik (late July to early February), there was only one catch of consequence in such a weir, and that in only one out of four of them. On the morning of December 15 we were given five fish out of a catch estimated by Maroligar at 100. The largest, somewhat less than a foot long but not improbably the best of the lot, was one of the several kinds that in Hawaii would be called [illegible]apio or--in a restaurant--'baby ulua.' The others seemed to me to be horse mackeral--in Hawaii akule; but Maroligar insisted they were not the same as the picture of akule in Hosaka's book.

1: Burrows--83H-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 19. -Fish traps. a, small trap, plan; b, small trap, side elevation. c, large trap, plan; d, large trap, elevation. 1, narrow entrance; 2, door for removing fish."



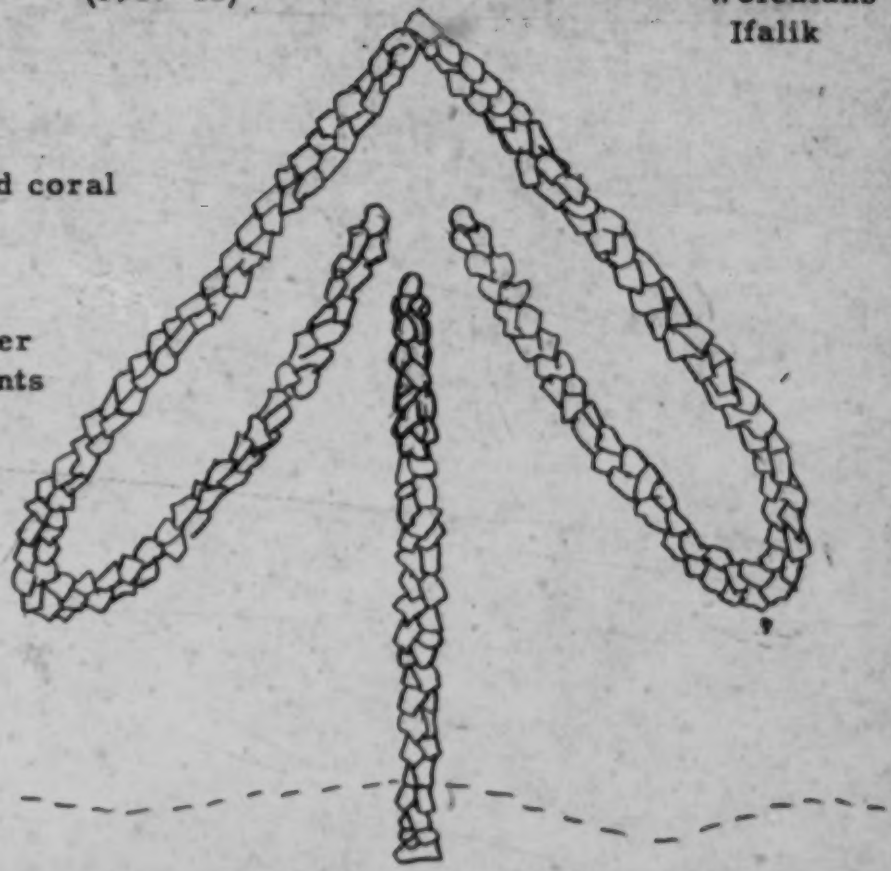
1: Burrows--83H-B
116, 227

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Fig. 20. -Fish weir (gamei) of piled coral blocks.

The dotted line indicates high water mark on the beach. The weir points into the lagoon. Its arms are perhaps 50 feet long."



Someone took a glance at each of the gamei every morning; but no one was disappointed to find them empty. It is only on rare occasions, when a run of small fish enters the lagoon, that the weirs are sometimes so full that the fish can be scooped out by the netful. However, the labor of building them has to be expended only once, after which a little repair work now and then will keep them in working condition indefinitely. Good catches, even though they come months apart, are worth that much trouble."

1: Burrows--83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik 1-2

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

is presumably ancient. A study of the distribution of the technique and the name would probably clear up this question."

1: Burrows--83K-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 21. -Shuttle used in making fish nets. Made of split bamboo.
(Shuttles of the same type, but usually of hard wood instead of bamboo, are used in weaving.)"

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 422, 227 → Ifalik

"The smaller fish-traps made by individual men are used, primarily by the maker, in small-scale fishing for his household. Any male member of the household--male, because women do not take part in this kind of fishing--would feel free to use such a trap, but would pretty surely ask the maker first, if there was any chance of his wanting to use it himself."

1: Burrows--111-112
116, 227, 422

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Larger fish-traps are made in the canoe-houses by groups of men, usually [112] of the same neighborhood but not necessarily of the same household. They are kept in the canoe-house, and taken out in large sailing canoes, on the order of a chief. As these are usually district expeditions, the traps are virtually district property."

6: Senfft--57
116, 227

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Besides weir baskets and nets (jateng), as well as the kite (sellegatschoik) mentioned above, the natives use spears for fishing (owai). These are made of coconut wood and have a barb. There are also fishbaskets (ulpam) which are very skilfully made, and fishhooks (go), which are kept in a small wooden box (saup) together with the fishing lines.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 206 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

● 227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

According to Mr. Takeshima, the black pearl shell is collected at the same time as the Takase shell, and May is the regular season. It costs 10 sen for each one. Most of the shells are 6-7 inches wide. There are three suspended trays of mother pearls. Each one contains about 2, 072 mother pearls. The ratio of formation of pearls is about 80%, and the regular one is 2. 3 bun [JW: . 2737 inches] in diameter. According to Mr. Takeshima, it is not profitable economically, but it seems that it is able to maintain a balanced budget. Originally Mr. Kataoka and Mr. Watanabe obtained the permit for this pearl nursery, but finally it came to Mr. Okimoto through a capitalist in Osaka, Japan. There are many young shells near the nursery, but their shells are so thin that they cannot be used for the mother pearls.

37: Keiyosei--47
116, 133, 228

(1929-30) 1930

Woleaians
Woleai

The Okimoto Pearl Nursery is located between Korror and the isolated islands. The factory and residences of the supervisors are on Korror Island. The mother pearl nursery is at the Sedo (sand ground with shallow water) between the two islands. The Sedo is about 100 ken wide [JW: approx. 600 ft.], the water is clear, and water circulation is very good.

1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed. Most of them look like

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

1: Burrows--18-19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 136

"The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; sirō, hog; malȯk, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifalik that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture. [19]

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifalik from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 492, 281 Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 152

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 301, 227 Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--110
116, 231, 423

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs --or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food."

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians, 1.4
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . .He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . . More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become

infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

2: Damm et al. --32 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Ifaluk

The only domestic animals that Sarfert saw were hens (mälůk); there were no pigs (sílo). He only found two dogs (gelágu), and all the cats (gadů) except one had been destroyed in the last typhoon.

2: Damm et al. --125 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 231 Aurupik

Hens are the only domestic animal; there were no dogs or pigs. However, the inhabitants seemed to take great delight in tamed animals. Sarfert saw a pair of herons and two sea-swallows which stayed in the boat house and were not disturbed by the islanders; then Hellwig saw another swallow tied in a boat in the midst of some tools.

28: Spiro--7-8 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 231 Ifalik

"The other animals on Ifaluk were introduced by the Japanese. These are the pigs, dogs, and chickens. The pigs are few, and their flesh--they are invariably roasted--is considered a rare delicacy. The hogs are tethered to trees, though the small pigs are allowed to roam in the courtyard, and are looked upon as pets, being freely handled and fondled by the natives, to the point of being suckled at times by the women.

The chickens, too, are scarce, though not as scarce as the hogs. Chickens are allowed to run free, and consequently are not entirely domesticated. It is quite an amusing sight to watch a chicken 'hunt'. A gang of boys will chase a chicken for a considerable length of time with sticks and stones until they finally catch one. Indeed to watch them stalking a chicken, one would think [8] that they were hunting big game. Because of their scarcity chickens are eaten infrequently, though many natives are not particularly fond of them. Eggs are eaten when they are found, and since the natives do not know the chickens' roosting places, they are not found as often as would be desired."

28: Spiro--8
116, 231, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At present there are only two dogs on Ifaluk, though there were five when we first arrived. The high mortality is a result of a succession of deliberate killings. Children would tease the dogs incessantly, pulling their tails, hitting them, etc.; nor were the adults innocent of such behavior. After exhibiting remarkable patience two of the dogs attacked their tormentors, and were consequently killed. One dog attacked me, for no apparent reason, and the chiefs immediately ordered him killed. In all three cases some of the natives cooked and ate the corpses. Since the two remaining dogs are of opposite sex, it is improbable that the canine population will become extinct."

28: Spiro--103 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 578, 865, 231 Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

"If we may use the word taro for a moment in a broader sense than the botanists would approve, there are three main types on Ifalik. The one that should not be called taro is the giant arum (filē; Alocasia macrorrhiza) sometimes called in English by the Polynesian name kape. A second is the coarse yellow-fleshed pulaka (pulax, Cyrtosperma chamissonis) grown on atolls far and wide over the Pacific, commonly in artificial pits. The third is true taro, of the type favored on high islands (wot, Colocasia esculenta). This is smaller than the other two, and its leaves are rounded where theirs come to three points. Its flesh is finer-grained, gray in color with a purplish cast.

The giant arum of filē is less exacting in the matter of soil than the others. It grows rankly about the edges of water-holes or, apparently, whereever it can get plenty of moisture from below. Though the natives plant it and weed around it, they eat it much less than the others. (Tom said this was a matter of individual taste, and possibly we did not happen to observe households particularly fond of filē.) Two reasons were given for this. One is that not all women know how to prepare filē properly. A good deal of the outside must be taken off, for one thing. If it is not properly prepared the minute spicules in it will bite the tongue and throat. The other reason is that 'If a man eats filē, he won't catch any fish.'

Pulax is the type grown in greatest quantity in the Falālāp taro swamp (nibwél--to

distinguish from niwel, which means forest or 'bush'.) Everybody on either island has a hereditary right to share in at least one patch in this swamp.

Wot is grown in smallest quantity, apparently because it requires most cultivation. Though highly esteemed, it does not seem to be preferred to pulax to any such extent as on high islands, where pulax may be considered fit only for areas where nothing better will grow. Young leaves of wot, tenderer than those of pulax and filē, are chopped up, stripped of their ribs and cooked for greens."

1: Burrows--37-38 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 462

"The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens) seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out. [38]

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and two feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water."

1: Burrows--38 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241 Ifalik

"A working day in the taro patch lasts from soon after daybreak until about noon. If a woman gets thirsty at her work, she may pause to drink a coconut; but must leave the taro patch to do it. If she were to drink on the patch, the plants would not grow.

The women are perfectly aware of the fertilizing effect of burying weeds under the plants. This, with an idealized view of a gardener's enthusiasm for her work, comes out in one of their songs:

Lovemaking would keep me from my garden.
I like to go there every day.
I don't like to waste time sleeping;
I like to see my taro grow tall.
I heap earth around the wot plants,
Bury leaves all about the wot,
To make it grow faster."

1: Burrows -39 (1947-48) Woleaians /-2
116, 262, 241, 824 Ifalik

"Though bananas (wir) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (mogmog; Tacca leontopetaloides) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (mwisi) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar-cane (wou; Saccharum officinarum) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is gop (Portulaca samoensis). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear very little, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I can not recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were avūs (Crataeva speciosa) and song (Bruguiera conjugata). The nuts of kazās

(Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the aroma (Pipturus argenteus) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"The first step in weaving is to set up the warp. This is done on a set of seven pegs stuck in holes on a board about 3 feet long. The pegs project from the board about 8 inches. The order in which fibers of different colors are wound on the pegs determines the succession of longitudinal stripes in the cloth, and the number of turns taken of each color determines the width of each stripe. On every other turn a short separate piece of fiber is passed about the warp and then tied in a small loop or leash around one of the pegs. This procedure is shown in Fig. 4.

The warp thus prepared is then transferred to the loom. The construction of this is shown in Fig. 3.

The weaver sits facing the frame, with her feet braced against it. She fastens the belt about her back, and by leaning back on it keeps the warp taut. The weft is wound on a shuttle shaped like the netting-needles used in making seines. Successive weft fibers are pressed together with a sword. Fringes are left at each end of the piece of cloth. The weaving is entirely in simple check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 386, 241 Ifalik

"Whichever plant [KS: banana or hibiscus] is used, some of the fibers are soaked in dye before weaving. Nearly all the dye in use in 1947-8 had been bought from the Japanese. Two native dyes are still remembered, though now rarely or never used. One is a black, obtained from a porous, floating mineral that sometimes drifts to Ifalik. It is ground into water by rubbing on a piece of iron. The other native dye is a red, made by mixing coral lime and lel bark in water. Turmeric paint, though not used to dye fibers before weaving, may be rubbed over finished cloth."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"Though the fruit of bananas is not esteemed, the fiber of the trunk is in great demand for weaving native cloth. Women remove the green outer layer, then peel off in thin strips the fiber of which most of the trunk is composed. They hang it in the sun for two or three days, soak it in salt water for four or five days, then hang it out again for a period that varies from five to ten days, depending on the sunshine. Then they split it to the width desired. Most of the cloths ran between 20 and 30 wefts to the inch. The fibers are not spun, but woven flat.

The bast of hau (gilivō; Hibiscus tiliaceus) is also used for weaving, but is considered inferior to banana fiber. Of the many uses to which this species of Hibiscus is put elsewhere in the Pacific, the only ones customary on Ifalik are for weaving and formerly, we were told, for fishing-lines. The plant is not abundant and does not grow to great size, perhaps because the women cut most of the shoots young. To prepare the bast for weaving, they scrape off the outer bark and soak the sticks in salt water, weighted down with coral, for four days. Then they strip off the bast, hang it in the sun to bleach and dry, and split it into wefts, most of them a little coarser than those of banana fiber. They are said to be good for women's skirts, but too stiff for men's loin cloths."

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwël clan.

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110
116, 241, 423, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting wot, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is tabw. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

2: Damm et al. --27 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 177 Ifaluk

There is a small selection of edible plants and fruit trees; three kinds of taro (wůlak, wǒd, fíle), bananas (wǐdj), coconut palms (lǖ) and bread-fruit trees (mǎi). Sugar-cane (wǒu) and pumpkins (galawǎs) were introduced by white men.

2: Damm et al. --27 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifaluk

The cultivation of taro is considered a feminine task; men only help occasionally, and quite unwillingly. Women plant the tuberous fruit in old ditches, (bóalü), and for this purpose they use a digging stick (gót), which is often sharpened at both ends. It is possible that the other pointed weapons may also be utilized in this fashion. Leaves serve for fertilizer (wáli). Women plant bananas inside and along the ditches too.

The men attend to the care of the coconut palms and the bread-fruit trees. The head chief superintends all the cultivation of the land.

2: Damm et al. --124 (1909) 1938 Wolea[illegible]s
116, 241 Aurupik

The fields of Eauripik were cultivated in the same manner as on the other low islands of the Caroline archipelago. They were planted with swamp taro, common taro and sweet potatoes. Coconut palms and bread-fruit supplied edible fruits. Hellwig also mentions jáxun and kŏpo as plants used for nourishment.

The following edible plants and fruit trees are planted or cultivated: different kinds of taro: file e lfaluk (very small) file e kŏl, uŏt, momŏiga, marĭn.
Colocasia: lăk, pulăk
sweet potatoes: kamŏti
sedum: anŭs, xŏp, eaugŭle.
pumpkins: ewŭrs
sugar-cane: uwâu
bananas: uĭ
Terminabia: fariŏp
Morinda citrifolia: nĕre.
pandanus: fă
figs: xoăn
a peach-like fruit, with a number of disk-like stones: xumŭr
bread-fruit: mâ; this fruit begins to grow in the uarĭx month; in maîrĭx it starts to ripen, and in mâilŏp it is mature; the whole process takes six months. The fruit of the breadfruit provides the natives favorite dish, mâra, which is prepared in the same way as the măr of the Polowat islanders.
coconut palm: nĭu
[CS: Omission of the various terms describing the coconut palm, page 163] There is no

systematic planting whatsoever. Bananas, sweet potatoes, coconut palms grow together, but the taro, on the other hand, is planted in fields that are specially prepared. The natives use large rectangular ditches [164] (poadĕ), which are surrounded by an earth wall (xatŭ) made of the soil that has been excavated. The men prepare the fields, but the women do the real cultivation; for the taro they use a wooden spade (xuotŏ; handle-erĕ, blade - xăroxăre). The men take care of the coconut palms, but the other fruit trees are left to the women. The chief superintends all the work in the fields; and he punishes anyone who is not doing his task properly. At certain times he also puts a tabu on the uninhabited island Eăd so that no one may go there. This is to protect the stands of coconut palms and tobacco plants; and it is also a means of safeguarding the turtles, which come on land to spawn.

2: Damm et al. :--198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776, 241 Faraulep

The ruler of the air (oiutjăr; the blue of the heaven - li ma râuerâú) is Thâuŭr, a brother of Solâl; he is the intermediary between the heavens and the underworld, and he communicates the wishes of Alŭelâp and Solâl to mankind. He takes care of the ripening of the bread-fruit, taro, sweet potatoes, and any other foods.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253-254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 262, 241 Woleai

On that point where, during the last typhoon (1907), the sea had flooded over the south coast, a pond was formed, 300 meters long; framed with woods, it offers now an idyllic sight. The surrounding swamp-taro plantations thrive quite well, just as on several humid places in the proximity of the houses. Two more taro varieties and sweet potato fields in the dry ground along the pathway and in the neighborhood of houses yield an ample supply. On the other hand, there are only a few papaw trees, and, at present, there is not a single fruit-bearing breadfruit tree on the whole island....[254] Coconuts, the chief article of food, are still in abundance for the small population. On each farmstead supplies of drinking and eating nuts can be seen. As it is customary on most of the Caroline Islands, the sap of the palmtrees is collected one to three times a day for the preparation of the favorite fermented drink. Many fruit trees have escaped the devastation... Three lizard varieties were so frequent that, standing still in the bush, one could sometimes find oneself surrounded by up to 10 lizards. Sometimes a plentitude of heavily populated formicaries could become a bother. In a saltwater hole (diameter: 1 1/2 m., depth: 1/3 meter) on the farmstead Mauxean, Hellwig was shown a fish of dark-green-bluish, almost black color; it was about 30-40 cm. long; its caudal fin was placed horizontally, and it also worked in this direction. Two years ago, the typhoon had thrown this fish into this waterhole, and since then, it was said, nobody had fed the animal. Never before had the natives seen such a fish, and we felt justified in assuming that it belonged to regions which are beyond the reach of fishermen...

4: Krämer--42 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241 Lamotrek

The cultivation of taro resembles that on Palau. Work in the field is called gelligel. Taro is usually grown in swamps, which are known as buorŭ. The general term for a field is bol, and a single unit is buonnŭ djemalū, whereas a complex is called bonnap. * When the taro is ripe, the following steps are taken: digging up--ŭiŭi (uot), gebuá (bullok), cutting, djarů, of the leaves (=shoot--bagŭ), scraping off the mud from the fruit --uiŭegarre, and washing--djiri. Fertilizing by means of green leaves (as on Palau) is called uállŭ uot, i.e., the leaves are spread out after they have been removed from the plant--go uallŭ--and are gathered in baskets--djuge; the mud (Leberkässchlamm?) is scraped off and this is known as djioie medjaro. Then the young shoots are planted. The best species of taro needs about 6 months; it grows lateral shoots--tŏallag o li uot; burak and fillë need longer; it is said that fillë is good even before the forest blossoming and still shortly after it, or about nine months after it has been planted.

*The following distinctions are also made: a field is composed of a large piece of land which is called djeadjŭval, a small piece of land ádjalo and eabellüngŭpei, and a very small one eagullung.

4: Krämer--46. (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 251 Lamotrek

When the breadfruit is ripe, it is picked; the bark is scraped off; it is placed in baskets and soaks for five to six hours in salt water; after that the salt water is left to evaporate. The fruit are put into shallow pits, lined with leaves and are covered with earth. They must stay in the pits for twenty-four hours until the fruit has become very soft. Then the soft mass is thoroughly kneaded together with leaves and packed into deep, lined pits; the holes are covered up with stones and the breadfruit preparation keeps in them for many months and years.

4: Krämer--200 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
241 Woleai

Goru [VMM: a native soldier and supervisor] saw to it that 20,000 new coconut palms were planted after the typhoon. The breadfruit trees did not bear fruit for a long time, and the taro swamps were covered by a salt crust.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Woleai

The men clear the bush; the clearings are known as táravol. The earth, módjor, is broken up with an oar-like instrument, the digging stick golálivol (Figure 97 [VMM: see source]). The women plant the taro, but occasionally men do the job if they know how to go about it. Leaf fertilizer is called vāl.

14: Born et al--576
116, 241, 262, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

According to my [MR: Fritz's] unfortunately extensive experience of typhoons, only a small number of the palms will recover [MR: following typhoon of March 1907], and will not bear fruit again for two or three years. On high islands (Saipan, Ponape, Jap) the natives are not so exclusively dependent on the coconut palm for food; large stretches are planted with tuberous plants and maize; in protected places breadfruit survives the storm, usually animal nourishment is available (Saipan). But on the low coral islands the life of the inhabitants depends almost entirely on the coconut palm, the breadfruit trees break down in the storm, the taro plants are washed away. For the next few months the fallen ripe and unripe nuts, the marrow of the fallen trees, can be used, but then threatens a state of emergency.

28: Spiro--8 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 271 Ifalik

"All other foods are starch in content--coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. Mention should be made of sugar cane, papaya, pineapple, and lime, all of which were introduced since contact, but which are so scarce as to be non-existent for all practical purposes.

The coconut tree yields three different kinds of food. The ripe coconut is eaten as is, or is grated and mixed into the various puddings that the women prepare. But the green coconut is much more important than the ripe, for it constitutes almost the entire liquid supply of the island. Coral atolls, obviously, have no natural water supply, and the rain water that is stored in pits or in tin garbage cans is usually unfit to drink, with the result that the green coconut water provides the one substitute for drinking water on the atoll."

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
841, 241 Ifalik

"He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits."

28: Spiro--42 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifalik

"The Taro is the only plant that needs expensive care-planting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, and this is the women's responsibility. It is hard, hot, labor, and usually all the women of a household, and sometimes two or three, work together on their own plots of land. As a result of this sexual specialization, the women are the botanical experts. When asked the names of different varieties of taro, Tom admitted his ignorance and referred us to his wife, saying that the women knew the names, but the men were ignorant of them, since horticulture was not their work. Despite the heat, a woman may not drink from a coconut while in the taro patch. Should she violate the taboo, the taro will not grow."

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245 Ifalik

"Human life on Ifalik depends on the coconut palm. The story of how much Pacific island peoples rely on this 'most useful of trees' has been told repeatedly. But this atoll culture can not be described without retelling their particular version.

The sandy strip around the lagoon side of the two larger islands, and on both sides of the channel between them, is virtually unbroken coconut grove. Old coconut plantings, more or less gone back to bush, run clear across the northern tip of Falārik, and extend southward beyond the houses on the eastern shore of Falālap. Coconut trees are mixed with the other vegetation everywhere except in the heart of the taro swamp that takes up the center of Falālap. Because of this mixture, no accurate estimate of the percentage of land taken up by coconuts seemed feasible. All that can be said is that the fraction must be large."

1: Burrows--34
116, 554, 245

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on ubwūt as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (palū) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear ubwūt ornaments as insignia of his new distinction."

1: Burrows--34
116, 789, 245

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with ubwūt, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 245 Ifalik

"The stout midribs of coconut leaves are laid crosswise in the path of a canoe being hauled to or from the canoe-house. As this green midrib does not burn readily, it also makes a good rack for smoking fish. Its perfectly straight grain adapts it to still other uses. A strip of it makes a flexible ruler, for measuring and drawing lines on the curved surface of a canoe hull during its construction. Smaller strips peeled off the surface make thongs for tying thatch to a roof. A strip thin as a thread, formed into a loop and held between a woman's fingers, is used to split pandanus leaf into strips of even width to make a mat or fine basket."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 322 Ifalik

"Coconut wood varies in quality from a hard, dense layer on the outside of the trunk to a comparatively pithy center. The wood rots rather quickly when exposed to moisture. For this reason none of it is used in canoes, and coconut trunks are not set in the ground as posts for houses except when nothing better is available. They are then put over a fire and scorched to harden them, but even so are said to last only a year or two.

Under a roof and clear of the ground, coconut wood escapes this disadvantage. It is in general use for the beams that form the superstructure of a house. Where thin, elastic strips are needed, the hard outer layer makes excellent material. So coconut is considered the best of wood for thatch rafters. The same qualities make it the only wood used for fish spears (kowai). On Ifalik these are not light lances but heavy pikes 15 to 20 feet long. They have simple points without barbs. They are used mainly in a bonito drive when the school of fish is not considered large enough to drive ashore."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 245 Ifalik

"Dry brown leaf makes kindling and fuel--for Ifalik, though well wooded, has such a small area that firewood is scarce. A bonfire of dry coconut leaf will illuminate a night gathering. Bundles of it make torches used in several kinds of night fishing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 524, 245 Ifalik

"Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 245 Ifalik

"The slender leaflet midribs (logto) some 1/8 inch in diameter, where the midrib of the whole leaf is several inches--are useful where lightness and flexibility are necessary. On a frame of stiffer withes, lengths of leaflet midrib are lashed criss-cross to make a fish trap (ul pam) of the smaller size. These are set on the bottom in shallow water, weighted down with sand and baited with crushed crabs, to catch small fish."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 245 Ifalik

"Tied around a wooden handle, strips of leaflet midrib become broomstraws."

1: Burrows--35
116, 245, 415

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Still other parts of the coconut tree are useful. The clothlike fabric (ʻulu or ʻulʻulu) that grows about the base of the leaves makes a strainer for toddy or medicine. Mothers make water-droppers of it for their babies. Folding a piece into the shape of a funnel, they put some fragrant herb into it, then dip it in water, hold it over the baby's mouth, and let the water drop in. Some of the herbs used for this purpose are listed on p. 43 (this ms.).

A dry fruit stalk makes a crude broom, when one of the better brooms of leaflet midrib tied to a handle is not available. Dry flower spathes, while less used for torches than in some Pacific islands, occasionally serve for fire-brands or kindling."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 105 Ifalik

"We have seen that the coconut is meat and drink to the people of Ifalik; supplies most of the material for their houses; provides the cordage used to hold all composite wooden articles together; makes baskets, mats, fuel, and has a multitude of other uses, even acting as a symbol and agent of supernatural power. The list above does not pretend to be complete. Whether human life could be sustained on such an atoll without this plant is open to question. If it could, it would have to be a radically different life from that which the people lead there now."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the principal starchy food, when it is bearing. Its wood is also the most in demand for timber. In season, breadfruit makes up more of the bulk of the diet than anything else. Its main season is the rag, the time of prevailing westerly winds, approximately June to November. The crop reaches it height about July, then dwindles until by November there is very little. A second but smaller crop comes in the trade-wind season. During our stay, breadfruit seemed to be coming in again in January. Mai vae made up most or all of it. We were told that it would have come earlier but for two near-hurricanes, one in November and the other late in December, that destroyed much of the young fruit."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit sap makes a gum (bwIIIs) used to glue the joints between canoe planks. This is collected by slashing the bark of the tree in several places and, after gum has gathered on the wound, scraping it off with a knife. The day after collecting, it is washed in salt water and bits of bark and other foreign matter taken out. Then it is soaked in fresh water for several days and kept in a bottle.

Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned, and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifalik at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)"

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 396, 245 Ifalik

"The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues (Calophyllum inophyllum), a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood."

7: Senfft--194
116, 245

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

A few of the palm trees had been attacked by coconut scales, and I ordered that the fronds of those trees be cut down and burned. There is a large number of rats on the island, which do considerable damage to the palms.

,8: Senfft--283
116, 245, 273

(1905) 1906

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Here [MR: Lamotrek] again I had occasion to observe that previously given orders for the protection of the palm trees and the prohibition of consumption of sour toddy had in several instances gone unheeded; it is indeed a sad fact that as far as drinking is concerned the white dealer serves as a very poor model to the natives. A walk through the island revealed the occurrence of cochineal insects on four palm trees; the trees were cleaned and in future the chief will be responsible for the burning of the leaves attacked by the insects.

9: Senfft--13
116, 245, 433

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The yearly production [MR: of copra] including that of Flato and Satuval amounts to approximately 45 tons. In spite of the assertion of the merchant, who is stationed with the firm of D. D. O'Keefe, that the scale insect disease does not exist on Lamutrik, I noticed a few young palm trees bearing the sign of this sickness. Another enemy of the palm tree are the numerous rats which eat the nuts from the trees. The leaves of the pandanus which have sharp thorns and wind around the palm trees serve as protection. Among the banana trees a disease could also be noticed that probably has its origin in a colorless worm of 1.5 to 2 cm. in length and which is to be found in the roots and the top of the tree. I, therefore, ordered one of my best policemen to take immediate measures for the protection of the plants.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 245, 262 Woleai

The cultivation is the same as on Lamutrik, partly more abundant, but here, too, yams and bamboo are lacking. Fowl, pigs and fish are numerous. The islands are planted to the highest density with coconut palms in luscious green. I noticed the disease caused by the presence of the scale insect on only two young palm trees each on the islands of Mariom and Taganlap, but here, too, the greatest damage to the palm trees was wrought by rats.

12: Lutke--137-138 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 245 Woleai

It seemed to us that coconuts are not as abundant here as on Lougounor and yet the wood is [138] bordered with coconut trees.

22: German Government--185
116, 245, 731

(1909-10) 1911

Woleaians
Woleai

Repeated trips of the district official and the Imperial Government physician. . . to the Central Carolines and the southern islands were undertaken to investigate the present condition of those atolls and their inhabitants after the typhoons of 1905 and 1907. It was ascertained that all islands had recovered almost completely. The coconut palms bore abundant fruit; on Oleai 20,000 new trees had been planted under the direction of a minor police officer. Only the breadfruit trees do not yet bear fruit again, and the washed-out and salt-soaked taro fields on the islands that had been hit by the tidal wave do not yield any crops.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

251 Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food [931] supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

262 There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished 139 by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

● 244 Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional
114 values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of
262 snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records
267 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that
136 there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

137 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and
[136] the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

137 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second,
262 smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

137 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to
245 Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

1: Burrows--35-36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the only food preserved for any great length of time. (Bonito are smoked, but only to keep them until they can be eaten, which takes two weeks or so with a big catch.) At the height of its bearing season there is more breadfruit than the people can eat. Every household preserves some of the surplus.

The fruit is cut up, mashed with coral pounders, and put into a net made for the purpose (trou li mare). When the net is full it is wrapped up, fastened, and carried--making, in most households, a load for three or four men--into the lagoon. There it is weighted down with blocks of coral and left overnight. In the morning it is brought ashore and put into a pit lined with leaves. After one night there the pit is opened and some of the breadfruit eaten at once. (We foreigners found this mashed and salted breadfruit about the most palatable form of all.) Next, the breadfruit is put back into the pits for the long wait. The pits are lined with big [36] glossy leaves of gul (Barringtonia asiatica). The breadfruit is wrapped up in separate lumps, most of them about half the size of a loaf of bread. The pit is filled with these breadfruit-leaf packages. When it is full, it is covered over with coconut leaves, and these are weighted down with coral. Laid down in this way, mare, as it is called, is said to keep for several years. During the time when there is no fresh breadfruit to be had mare is taken out now and then to vary the daily diet of taro. At this stage it has a penetrating and, to Americans, most offensive smell. But the natives seem to like it no less than their other starchy foods."

1: Burrows--830-83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik 1-2

"The people scattered to their homes [KS: after the bonito catch], but not to sleep. Those who had not taken part in the distribution had been busy preparing earth-ovens (um), not in the cook-sheds behind the dwellings, but on the foreshore near the beach. Shallow pits were hollowed in the sand. Piles of dry firewood were brought from the cook-sheds, and supplemented by dry coconut husks; and fires were laid and kindled in the pits. When the fires were going well, basketfuls of coral gravel were thrown over them to be heated. Meanwhile the bonito had been cleaned, cut into large pieces and made into bundles with wrappers of banana and breadfruit leaf. When fires were well burned down, the bundles were laid over the hot coral and the whole covered over with coconut leaf and earth. There they stayed for what was left of the night. (This traditional kind of cooking is no longer used to prepare ordinary meals in the cook-sheds, but only for special tasks like cooking large fish and turtles.)

Early next morning the pits were still covered, but the people were busy making racks (fang) to smoke the bonito. Four upright posts were set in the ground forming a rectangle. On top of them, at a height of about four feet, a horizontal frame was made of poles, either laid in forks on top of the posts or lashed in place with sinnet [sic] Pieces laid crisscross over this formed the rack. Most of them were of green coconut leaf midrib, which does not burn easily. The wrappers of cooked fish were laid on the rock, the top roofed over with plaited green coco- [83P] nut leaf, and the sides walled in with the same material, except for a low opening left on one side for feeding a smudgy fire,

mostly of coconut husks. This fire was kept going as long as the supply of fish held out. Some of it, cooked over an open fire, had been eaten the night before. (I did not see any eaten raw, but some may have been, as bonito commonly is in Japan, Hawaii, and other parts of the Pacific). From then on, smoked bonito was the daily fare for about two weeks. Gifts made to us would spoil overnight, until we asked our neighbor Maroligar to put them on his rack. Toward the end the fish was very hard and smoky, but as long as it was kept on the racks, no more tainted than smoked and salted fish eaten in the United States.

For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

2: Damm et al. --27 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifaluk

Von Kittlitz made some important comments about the famine, which he found among the natives in the spring and fall. This applied to Ifaluk as well as to Aurepik and Faraulip. It is a question of a shortage of food (including fish), which recurs at regular intervals, and which the natives seek to off-set by preserving bread-fruit.

4: Krämer--46.
116, 241, 251

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

When the breadfruit is ripe, it is picked; the bark is scraped off; it is placed in baskets and soaks for five to six hours in salt water; after that the salt water is left to evaporate. The fruit are put into shallow pits, lined with leaves and are covered with earth. They must stay in the pits for twenty-four hours until the fruit has become very soft. Then the soft mass is thoroughly kneaded together with leaves and packed into deep, lined pits; the holes are covered up with stones and the breadfruit preparation keeps in them for many months and years.

4: Krämer--232-233 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 251 Woleai

Lütke, page 176, describes what might be called a method of fish conservation: A fire is made in an earth pit and coral stones are placed in the hole. When they are glowing hot [233] they are covered with leaves, the fish are placed on them and, in turn, are covered up by another layer of leaves; hot stones are laid on top. Finally the hole is closed with sand. It is said that fish prepared in this manner remains fresh for a week.

Unlike the inhabitants of Lugunor and Anoun, however, they did not bring us any fish or other foods. On the contrary, they asked us for something to eat, and they devoured what we gave them. It was evident that there was a real famine on these islands, and apparently this situation occurs at least once during the year. According to the information, which Dr. Mertens obtained from W. Floyd, this hunger period comes in the fall; but here there was no doubt but that it is in March for we found the same thing on all the coral islands, which we visited during the latter part of this month. It is possible that there are several seasons during the year, when there is more or less hunger, depending on the circumstances; the greatest shortage is in the supply of fish, and they constitute the [p. 149] major part of the diet of the islanders. It may be too that W. Floyd was mistaken when he said that this famine lasts over two months. Unless it varies on the different islands, which seems highly improbable considering the fact that they are so similar, at the utmost it can last during the month of March; and this is assuming that what we saw was the regular yearly starvation period. For all during February we had seen an abundance of fish everywhere, and soon after the beginning of April we found quantities of them again on the Uleai group. If there is a short famine in March and a longer one in October and November, then W. Floyd is mistaken for he said that there is only one period in the year and that during that time there is a scarcity of edible fruits as well as of fish. The islanders have to fall back on their supplies of prepared breadfruit, and it seems that they get more of this from the high islands, than they can raise

themselves. During our stay the preservation of fish was utterly unknown on any of the islands.

6: Senfft--55
116, 251, 262

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The flesh diet of the natives consists of pork, chicken, fish, crabs, and sometimes turtles. The chief foods are coconuts and sweet toddy, the juice used for sour toddy before it is fermented; this seems to be a wholesome food because of its high sugar content. Few people eat eggs, and it is said that formerly no one ate them. Breadfruit is also an important food. The natives make breadfruit jam by kneading the fruit and then burying it in grooves which they seal hermetically with stones and leaves. They consume these during the time when the trees do not bear fruit. They also eat bananas, taro, Cystosperma, and sugar cane.

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--40-41
116, 261, 251

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The distribution of fish is usually the task of Taroman, the fifth ranking chief. Every person who participated, as well as those unable to participate because of debility or illness, shares in the catch. The remaining fish are divided equally among the clans, and any surplus is then divided among the chiefs. If the men catch more than can be consumed within twenty-four hours, the fish is preserved by being smoked on a wooden rack, and is smoked every day until it is consumed. In the drive referred to above, 301 large bonito were caught, which was much more than could be consumed, and the [41] smoked-fish lasted for about two weeks without spoiling, by which time it had all been consumed."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 252, 262 Ifalik

"To prepare for cooking with other vegetables, the flesh of the ripe nut is grated with a different instrument, the large grater in general use throughout the tropical Pacific. It consists of a toothed edge, curved to fit the inside of a coconut, and attached to a stick. The stick may be laid across a log, or may be cut from a bough or sapling near where two branches fork off. The butt of a main piece and short lengths of the branches form a tripod. The grating edge, lashed to the projecting end of the main piece, may be of coconut shell or even rough coral; but nowadays virtually every household has a grater with a cutting edge filed out of a piece of steel. The grater is straddled and a half coconut, held in both hands, rubbed over it by pushing away from the body. The grated meat is put in a bowl, water poured over it, and the creamy juice squeezed out with the hands. Wringers of coconut husk fiber, which make a richer cream, but take more muscle, are not used in Ifalik.

The starchy vegetables which make up the bulk of the diet are commonly cooked in this coconut cream. Rarely is a meal served without either taro or breadfruit enriched with it. Coconut cream supplies most of the oil in the diet, though supplemented by oil from fish.

It would be a sad day in an Ifalik household if the morning and evening meals lacked one more coconut product, --the fresh toddy (garī) extracted from the flower stalks. Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones."

"Perhaps the most important of all uses of coconut are drinking the juice of the young nuts and eating the meat, particularly of the ripe ones. Like most Pacific islanders, the Ifalik people have different names for the nut at different stages. A nut full-grown but green, full of good juice to drink, is called upu. When somewhat more mature, with sweeter juice but the flesh still soft, it is called seou. A ripe nut is mazou. A very ripe one, suitable for making copra, is trō; a sprouting nut, trō far.

Though some of the water in dug wells, or that collected in helmet shells or foreign metal drums, is used for drinking, the juice of young coconuts makes up far the greatest part of the drinking water. It is also used in a healing ritual which involves breaking open a young nut above the head of the patient, so that the juice pours over him.

The soft flesh of the young nut may be scooped out and eaten. Scoops are made, as generally in the tropical Pacific, by cutting off a bit of the green husk with a slanting blow of the knife, which gives it a sharp edge and a spoon-like shape. The hard flesh of the ripe nut may be split out of the shell and either eaten raw or roasted over an open fire. More commonly, though, it is removed by grating with an instrument like a spoon with a round bowl and a toothed edge where the point of one of our spoons would be. These are made of pieces of white metal like what used to be called 'German silver'. Making them is said to be an industry of many years' standing throughout the Carolines. Raw coconut eaten in this way is one of the main articles of diet Another is the spongy

body that fills the center of a sprouting nut. These are eaten without cooking or other preparation."

"Out of just three ingredients--taro, coconut cream, and fresh coconut toddy--the women prepare a considerable variety of dishes. Those that follow were noted down from gifts brought to us, and do not exhaust the resources of native cookery:

arongiumat-mashed taro with raw coconut cream

aronguvis-whole taro cooked in coconut cream

maigogo-mashed taro, cooked in coconut cream long enough to form a brown crust

malegefale-) big pieces, soaked for a long time in toddy before
pulax vauvau-) cooking. (These seem to be two names for the same preparation; at any rate, if there is a difference, it was not noted.)

pelopel-mashed taro, cooked with coconut cream, put in a bowl and moulded in little square mounds, the hollows between these filled by pouring in toddy.

[39]shewoshū-taro mashed, mixed with coconut cream and toddy, cooked long so that a brown crust forms on top.

(name not learned)-taro cut in small pieces and cooked in coconut cream without mashing. Varieties of rather open texture, among them pulax i sali and annIpenni, lend themselves better to this preparation than the gummier kinds favored for the preceding one.

(name not learned)-taro mashed and cooked with cream and grated coconut meat."

"Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's [83D] monopoly on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third,for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps

two or even three times that.

The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (witigo terag) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (ui) over the belly. The intestines (tal) were then hauled out

into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (shā), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all [83E] three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself."

1: Burrows--183
116, 372, 252, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

2: Damm et al. --32 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Ifaluk

Women prepare the food, and steam it in earth ovens (felăn); these are similar to the ones used throughout Micronesia and Polynesia; you seldom find dishes roasted over an open fire.

2: Damm et al. --125
116, 225, 252

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

2; Damm et al. --125 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 223, 225, 252 Aurupik

Birds are caught either with the djóu net, which does not have a diagonal stick, or with snares (nûm). There are two varieties of the latter: a) little snares arranged in rows on a wooden stick; b) a noose fastened to a stick. If the natives can seize a turtle on shore, they turn it over on its back; in the water they try to throw a snare over its front feet. The back shell is removed by fire.

2: Damm et al. --125 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252 Aurupik

The food is roasted over an open fire (jăf; fire-wood is uĕs, smoke-bulăk, ash - madjŏdj) or steamed in the ground oven (felăn).

2: Damm et al. --167 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 252 Faraulep

All the women prepare the food in the house; the men just cook in the large house; in every case the children are the most eager helpers.

4: Krämer--41
116, 252, 415

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

To cook--um. The container for flint and steel is called gaigers and is No. 2210 in Hellwig's catalogue; it is also known as gulegul.

4: Krämer--42
116, 252, 192

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

lū	coconut palm	figs	gouall
mei	breadfruit	crataeva	gavudj (Truk: abut)
uidj	banana	sugar-cane	uóu
uot	finest kind of taro	plant	fatógi
fille	big taro (Truk: forest taro) resembling burak, bullok (Truk: pula and and mulek).		

4: Krämer--44-45
116, 252, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians -1
Lamotrek 2

Hambruch mentions:
Edible plants

swamp taro	uŏt, file	papaya	papuâi	
mountain taro	bulăk	sugar-cane	uâu	
breadfruit	mai	sweet potato	gamŏti	
banana	uis	pandanus is not eaten		
fig	faliap	coconut palm	liu	
cucumber tree	awŭs (Krämer gavudj)	chicken	măluk	animals
		dog	gălăgo	animals
pumpkin	kălăvăs			

...[45]

The coconut palm claims first place as a source of food, but breadfruit, mai, is very important. For that reason, the taboos which the breadfruit god Sauaur imposes are of special importance. In September one tries to find magic and an oracle for the voyage to Guam and to discover which boats are good and lucky. Then the period of the breadfruit taboos sets in. During that period no trees may be felled, no bulis extracted, no wooden bowls and wooden boxes must be made and no nets may be woven (no handle nets may be made either). Cords must not be twisted, clay cannot be fired and sails must not be made of pandanus leaves. The end of the breadfruit harvest comes in July and is known as the eamóimai.

Then follows a solemn banquet, the iles, which is held in the evening and which is mainly given for returning fishermen and navigators who have fasted up to this time. At the banquet a prayer is said in order to avert evil.

On the island, breadfruit dough, mär, is prepared in the same manner as on Truk; it is said to be especially good when it is eaten together with tak, Belone fish.

Breadfruit dough is prepared for preservation on Elato and is known as mär (Hambruch)

For immediate consumption, one part mar is mixed with three to four parts of water and the resulting mass is thoroughly wrung out in an old dress mat; then it is baked or cooked and is said to be a nutritious, though not very delicious dish; in the main it is eaten together with fish.

Elisabeth Krämer studied the preparation on Lamotrek and reports on it in the following manner; unripe breadfruit is peeled and the pits are removed; it is filled into a basket which is placed in stagnant sea water for half a day. Then the fruit is changed into another basket which is lined with fillë leaves and which is hung up for twenty-four hours. Once more the fruit is changed into another basket, lined with breadfruit leaves, which is hung up for a week. A hole one meter deep is dug and lined with a thick layer of breadfruit leaves; on this foundation banana leaves are placed and on them the breadfruit; then there is another layer of breadfruit and banana leaves. Instead of breadfruit, gull leaves may be used which last even longer. But in the course of a year the leaves are renewed every three months. Too much rain makes the mar rot. When the dough is taken out it is washed in fresh water until most of the acid has gone out of it; it is cooked once more before it is eaten, but only as much as is needed for one meal is prepared at one time. One of the dishes is called lüggum melli mare: the water of two old coconuts is kneaded into the mar; half a nut is grated; one part of the dough is mixed with a little water and cooked and the other part is kneaded with more water and mixed

with the mar. The latter type of dough is placed in layers on piles of leaves; on every layer some of the first part, and cooked coconut milk are added, and altogether there are about three layers. Then it is tied with coconut fibers, filled into approximately four breadfruit leaves and one banana leaf and cooked in the oven.

Word List--Cooking

oven	um
to dig a hole for an oven	earüe um
fire wood	saffi
fire	eaf
stones for the oven	faiûl um [47]
hot	apuósch
lay out hot stones	ràggu puori
scraping of taro*	faletti uot
wrapping of taro	tüggutuggu uot, ifféri uot
leaf	drö (droa--ripe coconut)
cover leaves	üff el um

A large amount of taro is cooked with expressed coconut milk when special feasts are

*With the shell pelligelli eralet

held, e.g., on the occasion of food presentations, pailügogo to the people who have helped with a funeral.

rouari uidj, green bananas are peeled and cooked in a pot together with water and expressed coconut milk.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252 Woleai

Food Dishes

djél, crushed taro or breadfruit dough mixed with gadji or expressed milk.

Born: djarong, coconut with bulak pieces.

limelim: taro stems are skinned and cooked with expressed milk or gadji; the same may be done with mar.

4: Krämer--231 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Woleai

Cooking is the job of the women, who also weave in the cooking house (Lütke). A type of cooking school exists.

Kitchen utensils

Coconut shell (as drinking bowl), tagag e lúul; water bottle, baradjal.

Spoon, itit (Figure 98) [VMM: see source]. We also found tortoise shell spoons from Palau, and Hellwig found drinking tubes.

Eating spatula, Hellwig: gátik (fishtail: perál), atek from turtle bone, Figure 99 [VMM: see source], Krämer shows one 29 centimeters long. It is used for cracking a coconut, scraping it, and eating it.

4: Krämer--233 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252 Woleai

Green scarus is eaten raw in combination with breadfruit dough, mar.
According to Lütke, octopus is eaten after it has been cooked for 48 hours.

(1903) 1904

A favorite recipe of the Oleaï women consists of slices of Lack cooked together with coconut scrapings; this jarong keeps for one or two days.

Another staple food is breadfruit, mei. This is used for the marr recipe. The fruit is pared before it is quite ripe, sliced, and put into a basket made of coconut fronds together with the seeds. The basket is then placed in a shallow groove lined with the leaves of breadfruit trees and covered with large pieces of coral rock. They are left there for several months, and the leaves are changed several times. When they are taken out, the breadfruit pudding has a yellow color, a strong, unpleasant odor and is full of worms and larvae. The pudding may be left in the groove for as much as a year. The method of washing this marr is the criterion of a good cook. It is then placed in clean, woven mats and made into a paste with sweet toddy (the juice of the florescence of coconut blossoms) and coconut oil, and is then ready to be eaten.

28: Spiro--8 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 252 Ifalik

"The largest single source of protein food, quite obviously is fish, though the supply is not as abundant as one would expect. Fish are prepared by either men or women, and are invariably cooked by taking them, uncleaned over burning embers. There are no taboos on non-noxious fish, with the exception of sharks, and grown octopus. (10) There is, however, a discriminatory taboo on turtle flesh. Only the males of the lineage of Uluas, from whose line descend the paramount chiefs, are permitted to eat of the flesh. Visiting anthropologists, of course, are exempt from this taboo."

"10. Here again, a note on 'primitive logic' might be injected. One afternoon, Taroman, one of the chiefs, brought us a baby octopus, which he had caught in the lagoon, offering it to us as a rare delicacy. We decided to prepare it for dinner, but in the interim Dr. Burrows told Tom, our interpreter, that Taroman had given us a tayo, the native name for octopus. Tom replied angrily that we should not eat it, and said he would reprimand Taroman for offering us food, that the natives considered unfit. We followed his advice and discarded it. But that evening Tom came to visit us, and ribbed us good-naturedly for our ignorance. Taroman had not given us a tayo, he had given us an xyz, the latter being a rare delicacy. The point of this being that an adult octopus is considered a different species from a baby, so that tayo is one thing, but xyz is something entirely different."

28: Spiro--40 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 252 Ifalik

"Some fish may not be prepared in a frying pan. Dr. Burrows was about to fry some fish, when Maroligar told him that he would prepare them, for if they were cooked in a pan, the same species of fish would not enter the lagoon again."

28: Spiro--42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 252, 527 Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the um, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [252] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

.41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
262 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
731 island, and came out with a total of 280 people, five dogs, nineteen cats,
[161] thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebration of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of
[052] being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
[437] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
263, 257 Ifalik

"(The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.)"

2: Damm et al. --27 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifaluk

Von Kittlitz made some important comments about the famine, which he found among the natives in the spring and fall. This applied to Ifaluk as well as to Aurepik and Faraulip. It is a question of a shortage of food (including fish), which recurs at regular intervals, and which the natives seek to off-set by preserving bread-fruit.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--250-251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 731, 261 Woleai

Hellwig went over to the island of Wolea, the western part of which he visited first. The devastation caused by the typhoon (March 28, 1907) was to be seen everywhere.

....Several varieties of taro and sweet potatoes in well-kept fields showed that agriculture and food conditions had improved. Coconuts were scarce and swine were lacking completely so that the population will have to live on meager rations for years to come. As on Mogomog and Aurepik, here, too, the menu was made complete by a series of forest plants....several chickens had survived the typhoon flood, and their offsprings had increased considerably since....Hellwig was told...that the typhoon had not struck at night, otherwise the entire population would have been killed. When the waves had grown higher and higher and when the flood had become imminent, ropes had been fastened around the strongest trees, and the inhabitants had tried to cling to them.... Of the 6-700 inhabitants of the island group about 200 were said to have died. There was loud wailing, and it did not cease during the subsequent period of famine, when the fruits of the fields, with difficulties recovered from the mud- and stone-covered ground, were soon eaten up, and when the fish supply was low and had to be eaten raw, since the fishing implements had been lost and there was no dry wood around to make fire with. Even today when, on occasions, the women again become conscious of the consequences of the catastrophe, [251] a general loud lamenting sets in.

6: Senfft--55
116, 261

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

All the natives are very hearty eaters, and they consume as much food at one time as they possibly can. They do not cook every day. One family cooks one day, and friends and relatives come to partake of the food. The following day this family goes in search of food somewhere else...

28: Spiro--40-41 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 261, 251 Ifalik

"The distribution of fish is usually the task of Taroman, the fifth ranking chief. Every person who participated, as well as those unable to participate because of debility or illness, shares in the catch. The remaining fish are divided equally among the clans, and any surplus is then divided among the chiefs. If the men catch more than can be consumed within twenty-four hours, the fish is preserved by being smoked on a wooden rack, and is smoked every day until it is consumed. In the drive referred to above, 301 large bonito were caught, which was much more than could be consumed, and the [41] smoked-fish lasted for about two weeks without spoiling, by which time it had all been consumed."

28: Spiro--45 [2]
116, 771, 753, 261

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--145 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 261 Ifalik

"Furthermore, with respect to the sheer physical fact of eating, there is no compulsive ritual about eating in Ifaluk. People eat when hungry, there being no compulsion to eat at certain regular intervals or times. As already mentioned, any person is offered food whenever he enters a courtyard. This is true of children, as well. Ordinarily, therefore, people are not famished when 6:00 comes around. Furthermore, since no one has pressing appointments, it is not necessary that everyone eat at the same time, so as to enable the individual members of the family may get away on time for an evening engagement. There is nothing that cannot wait."

1: Burrows--21 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik 1-1

"Sea animals are far more important to the people than those of air or land. Nearly all varieties that are caught are eaten. Even the whale (ras), though never caught, is eaten on the rare and memorable occasions when one goes aground on the reef. Jaw-bones of several of them were kept behind the men's house as trophies.

Exceptions to the rule of eating everything are the shark (pagō) and octopus (sauevang? --name discussed next paragraph). This was explained as a mutual arrangement. The people do not eat shark and octopus, so that shark and octopus will not eat them. Once a small octopus-like creature, stuffed into a Japanese mess-kit so that its shape did not show, was brought to us as a gift. It had tentacles, and I now suppose it was a squid; but in asking Tom how to cook it I called it an octopus. With a contemptuous expression he told us to throw it away, saying that Japanese and Trukese eat octopus, but not the people of Ifalik. Later, after conferring with the chief who brought it, he said it was not an octopus but a gus, a rare delicacy. It was too late then for our gus to be cooked. I had not even looked at it carefully. Asked whether gus is the name for a small octopus, Tom said not. A gus, he explained, has no beak, and will not bite a hand thrust into a hole in the coral, as an octopus will. We never saw another gus.

Tom consistently gave the native name for octopus as sauevang. Some of his remarks about it, --for example, 'in the deep water they grow big, with arms like the roots of that tree'--indicated that he knew what the English word meant. Yet a group of natives

once identified as sauevang two pictures in Hosaka's 'Sport Fishing in Hawaii'; one of a conger or white eel, the other of a brown eel. They cannot have mistaken either for octopus, though they might for moray--not illustrated by Hosaka--which is common on the reef. This discrepancy was not noticed in time to clear it up.

Moray and sting-ray (fai) are apparently not eaten, though I have no verbal statement to that effect. A sting-ray brought ashore near our quarters was left hanging in a tree, then lying on the ground, for several days before it disappeared, presumably either eaten by dogs or thrown away.

In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish of many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-shails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--21-22 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

"Far the most important source of animal food is fish. The list of varieties to follow was obtained by two procedures. One was to collect native names of fish brought to us as gifts, or brought ashore in our presence, and of others said to be important. The other was to show groups of natives the pictures of fish in Hosaka's book, mentioned above. Size and color, not shown in the pictures, were indicated by gestures and words. The people were confident that they knew which of the fish shown in the pictures were familiar to them and which were not. They had names for most of those illustrated, -- sometimes more than one name for one picture, which may indicate [22] a difference of opinion, or more than one variety of similar form, or--what is not uncommon--one name for a species when young, another when full grown. Eliminating known cases of that kind and obvious variants of essentially the same name, the total number of names collected is 74. Names obtained in the two ways were compared. Twice the book was taken out to where a pile of fish lay waiting to be distributed. So far as the catch on those days allowed, the pictures were compared with actual specimens. The identifications that follow can probably be trusted as far as larger categories are concerned. Where a single species is widespread, even the specific identification is probably correct. In view of the rough and ready method, some mistakes must be expected. But at least the list will give an idea of the range and character of the fish taken for food."

1: Burrows--22-25 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik I·II

"Classification by habitat seemed useful, but is bound to involve some overlapping, possibly some definite errors.

OPEN SEA OR SURF FISH

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
albacore	aúle	Germo alalunga (Gmelin
barracuda	serau	Sphyraena barracuda (Walbaum
blue crevally	langu (when small, saritr)	Caranx stellatus
bonito, skipjack	galangap, garangap, garȳng	Euthynnus pelamis
bonito, little tunny	ajInnéu	Euthynnus alletteratus (Rafinesque

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
dolphin, mahimahi	teparo	Coryphaena hippurus (Linn.
flying fish ˇ	mĕngōr	Cypselurus simus
horse mackerel, akule‣	agumau?*, sep*	Selar crumenophthalmus (Bloch
omaku	trep	Caranx mate [23]
sailfish	marelatīo	Istiophorus orientalis (Schlegel
uoua	iau	Neomyxus chapitali (Eydoux and Souleyet

"* Native reports inconsistent.

‣ To me, a fish they called lipau looked very like what in Hawaii is called akule; but the chief Maroligar insisted it was not the same as the picture."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
wahoo, ono	ngeli	Acanthocybium (Cuvier
yellowfin tuna, ahi	tangēr, tangIri, (when small, tagū	Neothunnus macropterus (Schlegel
	LAGOON FISH	
flounder	lipēri	Platophrys mancus (Broussonet
milkfish	autā*	Chanos chanos
mullet	geraf, autā*	Mugil cephalos
needlefish	ewo,kang, ta'aku	Belone playura

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristis murdjan (Forstal
shiner (? silvery, with rosy blotches)	oerIk	(Anchoviella purpurea?)
threadfish, moi	rerepago*, 'absent'*	Polydactylus Sexfilis
	REEF FISH	
alaihi	gutr or kotr	Holocentrus diadema
balloon fish	taūsh	Chilomysturus affinis
balloon fish	lotr; when small, wat	Tetrodon hispidus (Linnaeus

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
banded damselfish	maze	Abudefduf (Quoy and Gaimard [24]
goatfish	'many kinds': fauligi, semarubwong, seuiarang (yellow), shou, sounalo, perhaps others.	Pseudupeneus
hawkfish, black-sided	galietr*, mwelialo*	Paracirrhites forsteri (Schneider
hawkfish, white-lined	lemware	Paracirrhites arcatus (Cuvier

"* Native reports inconsistent."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
Linalea, kala	ig valevale	Naso unicornis (Forskal
maiko	gemaruaga	Hepatus lineolatus
manini	limēn	Hepatus triostegus (Linnaeus
manini, yellow	llgarigari	Chaetodon unimaculatus (Bloch
mu	tralautr	Monotaxis grandoculis (Forskal
nenue	rel	Kyphosus fuscus (Lacepede

"# The rel of Ifalik is probably not fuscus; at least it has no brown or tawny tinge, but looks in different lights, black, gray, or gleaming silver. The scales are silver-white, outlined with black."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
scorpion fish, nohu	lōuʾ	Scorpaenopsis gibbosus (Schneider
opule	gago (luku	Anampses cuvier (Quoy and Gaimard
pao'o	limwale	Salarius zebra (Vaillant and Sauvage
papio	arong*, trep*	not given by Hosaka

"* Native reports inconsistent.
ʳ Asked if they eat this fish, which is sometimes poisonous, natives said they do."

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
parrot fish	'Many kinds': are (red), are kulong (black-spotted), fagilimat, gauagaua gIrigIri, kabwu, moguaimwe, ngItra uiɜ (blue), perhaps others [25]	Callyodon sp.
po'opa'a	lululau	Cirrhitus pinnulatus (Schneider
long-fin razorfish	petoura	Iniistius pave (Valenciennes
redfish, big-eye	nipau	Priacanthus cruentatus (Lacepede
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristus murdjan (Forskal

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
sandfish; a'awa	vatre	Lepidaplois bilunulatis (Lacepede
snapper	taiau	Aprion virescens (Valenciennes
spot pom	shonno	Abudefduf sordidus (Forskal
surgeon fish	evali	Hepatus bariene (Lesson
triggerfish	bwūp	Balistapus rectangulus (Schneider
triggerfish, black	perematr	Melichthys buniva (Lacepede
ulua, black	arong	Caranx sexfasciatus (Quoy and Gaimard
ulua, white	etām	Carangoides ajax (Snyder

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
ulua, silver	(when small) silalīo	Blepharis ciliaris (Bloch
upapalu	ligotro	Amia frenata (Valenciennes
wake pueo	merāp	Upeneus arge (Jordon and Evermann
wake ula	wōmei	Mulloidicthys auriflamma (Forskal
wrasse(?)[r]	pezap	not given by Hosaka
wrasse, green; hinalea	iōiō*	Thalassoma umbrostygma (Ruppell

[r] long, nearly tubular snout; about 10" long; rosy head, after parts darker.
* Native reports inconsistent."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-11
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
kihikihi	iwājōla	not given by Hosaka"

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

"Most prized of all animal foods is the meat of the sea turtle. Though the sight of one or two of them in the lagoon is not uncommon, they are not often taken. We knew of four being caught during our six months on Ifalik; three of them at one time. They are made still scarcer for most of the people by the fact that the highest chief has a right to all of them. He distributes first to his clan, Kovalū. Others get only what surplus he cares to distribute to them. For the lower orders, the taste of turtle is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 221 Ifalik

"On the whole, raw materials to be found on Ifalik and nearby atolls, whether supplied by nature or introduced by man, add up to a decidedly meager offering. Among foodstuffs, only coconuts, taro--more exactly, pulax--and breadfruit are plentiful. (Breadfruit is a seasonal crop but, as will be shown, is available between bearing seasons in preserved form. Seafood is present in great variety. The quantity available varies with the seasons and with other factors.

Some of these, such as the movements of fish that travel in schools, are so uncontrollable and unpredictable that they can only be classified as 'fishermen's luck.' Others include fishing equipment and techniques. Because of their importance, this matter will be considered again at the close of the account of fishing technology."

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 252, 262 Ifalik

"To prepare for cooking with other vegetables, the flesh of the ripe nut is grated with a different instrument, the large grater in general use throughout the tropical Pacific. It consists of a toothed edge, curved to fit the inside of a coconut, and attached to a stick. The stick may be laid across a log, or may be cut from a bough or sapling near where two branches fork off. The butt of a main piece and short lengths of the branches form a tripod. The grating edge, lashed to the projecting end of the main piece, may be of coconut shell or even rough coral; but nowadays virtually every household has a grater with a cutting edge filed out of a piece of steel. The grater is straddled and a half coconut, held in both hands, rubbed over it by pushing away from the body. The grated meat is put in a bowl, water poured over it, and the creamyjuice squeezed out with the hands. Wringers of coconut husk fiber, which make a richer cream, but take more muscle, are not used in Ifalik.

The starchy vegetables which make up the bulk of the diet are commonly cooked in this coconut cream. Rarely is a meal served without either taro or breadfruit enriched with it. Coconut cream supplies most of the oil in the diet, though supplemented by oil from fish.

It would be a sad day in an Ifalik household if the morning and evening meals lacked one more coconut product, --the fresh toddy (garī) extracted from the flower stalks. Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the principal starchy food, when it is bearing. Its wood is also the most in demand for timber. In season, breadfruit makes up more of the bulk of the diet than anything else. Its main season is the rag, the time of prevailing westerly winds, approximately June to November. The crop reaches it height about July, then dwindles until by November there is very little. A second but smaller crop comes in the trade-wind season. During our stay, breadfruit seemed to be coming in again in January. Mai vae made up most or all of it. We were told that it would have come earlier but for two near-hurricanes, one in November and the other late in December, that destroyed much of the young fruit."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 167, 262 Ifalik

"During the war many Woleai people came to Ifalik because the Japanese were using Woleai for an airfield, which not only crowded the natives but subjected them to American bombing. Our interpreter put the number who came to Ifalik at 375. Even if we discount liberally--for his figures could never be trusted--it seems likely that the population of Ifalik was at least doubled then, rather suddenly. Tom assured us that there was plenty of taro for all, and plenty left over; and on information of that kind he was generally dependable."

(Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the aroma (Pipturus argenteus) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream."

1: Burrows -39 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 241, 824 Ifalik

"Though bananas (wir) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (mogmog; Tacca leontopetaloides) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (mwisi) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar-cane (wou; Saccharum officinarum) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is gop (Portulaca samoensis). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear very little, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I can not recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were avūs (Crataeva speciosa) and song (Bruguiera conjugata). The nuts of kazās

1: Burrows--41
116, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Pandanus fruit is not eaten on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225, 262, 565 Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 262 Ifalik

"Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangĕri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, 'a big, fat one', probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu."

1: Burrows--83S (1947-48) Woleaians
262 Ifalik

"....the people of Ifalik are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifalik are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong."

1: Burrows--204-205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 262 Ifalik

"The object of the ritual which only Maroligar can perform is to ensure abundant food. Divination is more often to learn the outcome of sickness, or what evil spirit inflicted it--so that he can be exorcised-- than for anything else.

The high value of food is emphasized in the chiefs' talks to the people. A related value, industry, is prized mainly as a means to abundance of food; 'If you do not work, there will be no food.' The people are exhorted not to steal, --especially not to steal food. They are urged to share--share food especially--with those who lack it, and with the sick.

There is a positive side to the value placed on food. The custom of concluding every communal task, and every ceremony in which all the people take part, with a feast, is evidence of that. The offering to [205] the gods at the beginning of such feasts may be a precaution, but may well have a more positive tone, that of inviting the gods, in token of good will and thankfulness, to share the people's bounty. Tom was fond of saying that Ifalik has plenty of food. So it has, as far as coconuts and pulax go; but the supply of breadfruit depends upon the season, and that of fish is rather scanty."

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

2: Damm et al. --33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 262 Ifaluk

The ocean provides the natives with meat dishes; in the list of fish, that we have already given, only the shark is not eaten; this is because it eats men (lŏdj), because it is poisonous, fai, sauufan, maudjila, "because that is the custom."

The plant world supplies the natives with different varieties of taro, kodomŏlu, djaiwŏl, gŏb, waiwai, gawudj, gili, mŏgumog, gale, lale, faliob, jalomă, sugar-cane, and pumpkins, in addition to the fruits of the coconut palms, bread-fruit trees, pandanus and bananas. The fruits of the coconut palm are distinguished according to their condition:

lŭ mesŏ - nut with a very hard shell, and meat that is still soft, and easy to remove; the broken surface of the shell is black.

sau - lŭ mesŏ with a broken white husk, accordingly a very young nut.

šŏu - lŭ mesŏ with meat, which is already hard.

ŭb - lŭ mesŏ without meat.

The green husk of the nut is called bajenne lŭ; the brown husk is bajenne šŏu.

When they crack the nuts, the natives say: silŏu; on Faraulip: selŏu; on Yap and Sorol: serŭ.

2; Damm et al. --33 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 272, 262 Ifaluk

Palm wine (kári) is an important food. It is produced in the same way as on Polowat. And the natives prepare it in the morning, at noon and late in the afternoon. Cooked palm wine (lís) is mixed with water before it is drunk.

2: Damm et al. --163 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
262 Faraulep

The fruit of the breadfruit provides the natives favorite dish, mára, which is prepared in the same way as the mār of the Polowat islanders.

2: Damm et al. --168 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 262, 562 Faraulep

Certain food restrictions apply to the women, and they are never allowed to touch the following kinds of fish: bŭp, liwelŭ, faî, bă̆xo, nawŭt, mŏ̆ru, nŏ̆s, uă̆t.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253-254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 262, 241 Woleai

On that point where, during the last typhoon (1907), the sea had flooded over the south coast, a pond was formed, 300 meters long; framed with woods, it offers now an idyllic sight. The surrounding swamp-taro plantations thrive quite well, just as on several humid places in the proximity of the houses. Two more taro varieties and sweet potato fields in the dry ground along the pathway and in the neighborhood of houses yield an ample supply. On the other hand, there are only a few papaw trees, and, at present, there is not a single fruit-bearing breadfruit tree on the whole island....[254] Coconuts, the chief article of food, are still in abundance for the small population. On each farmstead supplies of drinking and eating nuts can be seen. As it is customary on most of the Caroline Islands, the sap of the palmtrees is collected one to three times a day for the preparation of the favorite fermented drink. Many fruit trees have escaped the devastation... Three lizard varieties were so frequent that, standing still in the bush, one could sometimes find oneself surrounded by up to 10 lizards. Sometimes a plentitude of heavily populated formicaries could become a bother. In a saltwater hole (diameter: 1 1/2 m., depth: 1/3 meter) on the farmstead Mauxean, Hellwig was shown a fish of dark-green-bluish, almost black color; it was about 30-40 cm. long; its caudal fin was placed horizontally, and it also worked in this direction. Two years ago, the typhoon had thrown this fish into this waterhole, and since then, it was said, nobody had fed the animal. Never before had the natives seen such a fish, and we felt justified in assuming that it belonged to regions which are beyond the reach of fishermen...

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

A few chickens are available [VMM: on the Woleai Islands]; fish is abundant. Breadfruit, taro, bananas, etc., grow on the islands.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

The most important food stuffs:

lu, the coconut (Born: nu; djan nelu coconut water; djal, water; bŏr bottle). To pick the coconuts, a seating stick or climbing stick is used, of the type shown in Figure 96 [VMM: see source]. Kotzebue: coconut, ni, taking off the husk, pajŏl.

uót, best species of taro (Kotzebue: eoth)

pulag, high growing taro (Kotzebue: wulach)

fillë, high growing taro (Kotzebue: villa)

uidj, bananas (Kotzebue: ut)

mei, breadfruit (Kotzebue: më)

e mamis, a sort of cucumber

uóu, sugar-cane

faliap, Eubenia malaccensis, favorite of children

gadji, palm juice (Born: gatschi mem, sour: faloba); the product is not good until 14 days after it has been cut.

Born: papaya, gatoruk; Crataeva, jabatsch. Kittlitz says that Tacca pinnatifida occurs in large quantities on the island of Raur (Kotzebue: mogemug).

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 262 Woleai

Animal food. Mainly fish, ig (Born: ik).

Unlike the inhabitants of Lugunor and Anoun, however, they did not bring us any fish or other foods. On the contrary, they asked us for something to eat, and they devoured what we gave them. It was evident that there was a real famine on these islands, and apparently this situation occurs at least once during the year. According to the information, which Dr. Mertens obtained from W. Floyd, this hunger period comes in the fall; but here there was no doubt but that it is in March for we found the same thing on all the coral islands, which we visited during the latter part of this month. It is possible that there are several seasons during the year, when there is more or less hunger, depending on the circumstances; the greatest shortage is in the supply of fish, and they constitute the [p. 149] major part of the diet of the islanders. It may be too that W. Floyd was mistaken when he said that this famine lasts over two months. Unless it varies on the different islands, which seems highly improbable considering the fact that they are so similar, at the utmost it can last during the month of March; and this is assuming that what we saw was the regular yearly starvation period. For all during February we had seen an abundance of fish everywhere, and soon after the beginning of April we found quantities of them again on the Uleai group. If there is a short famine in March and a longer one in October and November, then W. Floyd is mistaken for he said that there is only one period in the year and that during that time there is a scarcity of edible fruits as well as of fish. The islanders have to fall back on their supplies of prepared breadfruit, and it seems that they get more of this from the high islands, than they can raise

themselves. During our stay the preservation of fish was utterly unknown on any of the islands.

5: Kittlitz--151 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 262 Faraulep

This little island group was just as short of food as the others [MR: in March].

6: Senfft--55
116, 251, 262

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The flesh diet of the natives consists of pork, chicken, fish, crabs, and sometimes turtles. The chief foods are coconuts and sweet toddy, the juice used for sour toddy before it is fermented; this seems to be a wholesome food because of its high sugar content. Few people eat eggs, and it is said that formerly no one ate them. Breadfruit is also an important food. The natives make breadfruit jam by kneading the fruit and then burying it in grooves which they seal hermetically with stones and leaves. They consume these during the time when the trees do not bear fruit. They also eat bananas, taro, Cystosperma, and sugar cane.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 245, 262 Woleai

The cultivation is the same as on Lamutrik, partly more abundant, but here, too, yams and bamboo are lacking. Fowl, pigs and fish are numerous. The islands are planted to the highest density with coconut palms in luscious green. I noticed the disease caused by the presence of the scale insect on only two young palm trees each on the islands of Mariom and Taganlap, but here, too, the greatest damage to the palm trees was wrought by rats.

The diet of the natives is chiefly vegetarian. Coconuts, nu, are a staple food; during the long periods of cold at the time of the northeast monsoon when the winds are too strong for fishing expeditions, coconuts are often the only available food for two weeks or more. Next to the coconut in importance is Lack, here called bulak, which is not as abundant on these islands as on Jap. Only women may dig the hard, small root of this plant; they must do this before sunrise, and they must abstain from sexual intercourse and from smoking the night before. All the Lack fields of all the islands together (Tagaulap is the only island which does not have a Lack field)are not enough to yield a supply of this food for the entire population.

There are also bananas, wuitsch, pandanus fruits, wele-fatsch, papayas, gatoruk, and jabatsch (abiutsch on Jap) fruits, which have a very unpleasant odor: these are not consumed as much as the foods mentioned above as they are not found in such abundance. There is, however, a reddish fruit, somewhat like an apple, called arefas on Jap and faliap on Oleai; the season for this is December and January, and it is a favorite food, especially among children. These are stacked up on wooden poles by the dozen. They are said to cause digestive disturbances in older people, but they are believed to be very healthy for young people. I myself found that one of these fruits may cause a slight feeling of nausea when eaten on an empty stomach, but that after a meal a dozen may be consumed without any harmful effects. Judging from their taste, I should say that they have a high content of tannic acid. It should also be remembered that arefas plays an important part in Jap medicine.

In the consumption of animals, fish (ik here, nik on Jap) are, of course, one of the chief foods. If a large number is caught on a fishing expedition, there is a great rejoicing among all the natives and they hold large banquets. They dry those fish which they cannot eat. On calm nights, fires may be seen all along the beach; the fishermen and their families roast their fish and eat them immediately, whether they are hungry or not.

There are very few pigs, silo, and chicken, maluch, today; the former especially

are very scarce. Formerly they existed in [184] abundance. One reason for this is that more boats visited the island formerly and payed high prices for pigs and chicken, another that the pigs caused great damage to the Lack plantations and the marr grooves, and, finally, that a large number of chickens were consumed by patients during the epidemics. Today there are probably less than a dozen pigs in the entire atoll. Pork is sometimes cooked in large pots, as is customary on Jap, but more often large pieces are roasted over a fire.

Several varieties of clams and turtles, uong, are also popular.

There is one kind of fish, the bright red bolé, which the natives of Oleai never eat; it is taboo for them. The people of Jap eat this kind, although they do not consider it a delicacy.

12: Lutke--127-128 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 262 Lamotrek

Above all and before [128] anything else they asked for food: they all cried comi, comi (the Spanish come), and kept pointing to their empty stomachs. They ate everything that we gave them not only with gusto but with almost ravenous eagerness, and they even devoured our worm-eaten biscuit. It was evident that they had not had enough for a long time.

12: Lutke--134 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 262, 437 Ifalik

They all wanted something to eat; they all offered shell-fish, materials and even canoes for sale and they knew how to drive a keen bargain.

14: Born et al--576
116, 241, 262, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

According to my [MR: Fritz's] unfortunately extensive experience of typhoons, only a small number of the palms will recover [MR: following typhoon of March 1907], and will not bear fruit again for two or three years. On high islands (Saipan, Ponape, Jap) the natives are not so exclusively dependent on the coconut palm for food; large stretches are planted with tuberous plants and maize; in protected places breadfruit survives the storm, usually animal nourishment is available (Saipan). But on the low coral islands the life of the inhabitants depends almost entirely on the coconut palm, the breadfruit trees break down in the storm, the taro plants are washed away. For the next few months the fallen ripe and unripe nuts, the marrow of the fallen trees, can be used, but then threatens a state of emergency.

28: Spiro--4 [2]
116, 177, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Food supply has also been effected by contact. Chickens and pigs, both in the smallest of quantities, have been introduced into the islands, as well as dogs. The latter are eaten under certain conditions. But more important than what has been introduced are those food products that the natives have tasted, and which have not been introduced, such as rice, milk, and beef, or 'carabou', as the natives call it. These, they tasted while on the larger islands, or when brought in occasionally by the Japanese, and they are very eager to obtain them again. The mothers, particularly, would like canned milk for their babies. One old man said that if he went to American he would do nothing but eat 'carabou'."

28: Spiro--8
116, 231, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At present there are only two dogs on Ifaluk, though there were five when we first arrived. The high mortality is a result of a succession of deliberate killings. Children would tease the dogs incessantly, pulling their tails, hitting them, etc.; nor were the adults innocent of such behavior. After exhibiting remarkable patience two of the dogs attacked their tormentors, and were consequently killed. One dog attacked me, for no apparent reason, and the chiefs immediately ordered him killed. In all three cases some of the natives cooked and ate the corpses. Since the two remaining dogs are of opposite sex, it is improbable that the canine population will become extinct."

28: Spiro--8 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 252 Ifalik

"The largest single source of protein food, quite obviously is fish, though the supply is not as abundant as one would expect. Fish are prepared by either men or women, and are invariably cooked by taking them, uncleaned over burning embers. There are no taboos on non-noxious fish, with the exception of sharks, and grown octopus. (10) There is, however, a discriminatory taboo on turtle flesh. Only the males of the lineage of Uluas, from whose line descend the paramount chiefs, are permitted to eat of the flesh. Visiting anthropologists, of course, are exempt from this taboo."

"10. Here again, a note on 'primitive logic' might be injected. One afternoon, Taroman, one of the chiefs, brought us a baby octopus, which he had caught in the lagoon, offering it to us as a rare delicacy. We decided to prepare it for dinner, but in the interim Dr. Burrows told Tom, our interpreter, that Taroman had given us a tayo, the native name for octopus. Tom replied angrily that we should not eat it, and said he would reprimand Taroman for offering us food, that the natives considered unfit. We followed his advice and discarded it. But that evening Tom came to visit us, and ribbed us good-naturedly for our ignorance. Taroman had not given us a tayo, he had given us an xyz, the latter being a rare delicacy. The point of this being that an adult octopus is considered a different species from a baby, so that tayo is one thing, but xyz is something entirely different."

28: Spiro--8 [3]
116, 241, 262, 271

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All other foods are starch in content--coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. Mention should be made of sugar cane, papaya, pineapple, and lime, all of which were introduced since contact, but which are so scarce as to be non-existent for all practical purposes.

The coconut tree yields three different kinds of food. The ripe coconut is eaten as is, or is grated and mixed into the various puddings that the women prepare. But the green coconut is much more important than the ripe, for it constitutes almost the entire liquid supply of the island. Coral atolls, obviously, have no natural water supply, and the rain water that is stored in pits or in tin garbage cans is usually unfit to drink, with the result that the green coconut water provides the one substitute for drinking water on the atoll."

28: Spiro--8-9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 273 Ifalik

"The coconut tree is also the source of what is one of the most important foods, from the native point of view, gari. Gari is the sweet sap-like liquid [9] that is obtained by tapping the coconut frond, and permitting it to run into a container, the natives using an empty coconut shell for the purpose. The men collect their gari twice a day, morning and afternoon, in rain or shine. Indeed the collection of the gari is the first activity performed in the morning by the men, and its collection in the afternoon signals the end of the economic day. It is consumed in three forms: when freshly collected, it is a pleasant soft-drink, and is drunk copiously by all the natives, and is fed even to the babies. If allowed to ferment, it has a beer-like taste, and is drunk, at least to my observation, only by the adult men. It is called lis. This fermented form has a definite 'kick', and though I have seen men become quite 'high' by overindulgence, I have never seen a man become intoxicated. Finally, the fresh liquid is used by the women in the preparation of the various puddings they make."

28: Spiro--9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 251, 262 Ifalik

"The natives distinguish at least three major species of taro, and they are prepared in a number of ways. Taro plants grow the entire year, so that it is an ubiquitous food.

Breadfruit seems to be the favorite starch food, perhaps because it is not as abundant as the others, since it grows only during the prevailing westerlies, but it is absent during the Trade Wind season. It, too, is prepared in a number of ways. Breadfruit is preserved, by salting cooked breadfruit with water, patting it into balls, each wrapped in a separate leaf, and stored in underground pits. It is eaten during the off-season. I could not get myself to eat any because of the---to me--- extremely offensive odor it emits.

Bananas, though abundant, are not a favorite food, and are fed to the hogs and to visiting anthropologists, though the natives do eat them."

28: Spiro--39 [2]
116, 226, 476, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

28: Spiro--89 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 262 Ifalik

"In its third month, the infant's diet is increased, and in a sense, this is the beginning of its weaning, though the natives do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces it into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only the fresh toddy that had just been collected is given to the infant, and even it is first diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like the solid food, it is not forced to take it, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals, until it gets to like them."

40: Robertson--50
116, 164, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"At the time of the Rupak's visit to Oulleai, the [MR: influenza] epidemic above alluded to was raging. This, together with the scarcity of food, was making great havoc among the people, and Williams, the Englishman, stated that he did not expect more than half the natives would survive."

40: Robertson--50
116, 142, 291, 262

(1875-76) 1877

Woleaians
Woleai

"They are a fine, well made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellows. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoanuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 ●262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 226 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR2]
Ifaluk

Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

Fish were not too plentiful and all were small. In a short time Bakal got four small surgeon fish of two species and a small bright-colored reef fish. None were over five inches long—which showed that small fish were not scorned as food.

Don had taken his Arbalete spear gun—a complicated and lethal weapon that had as yet hardly been tried. Yani borrowed it, and Don was greatly cheered to see him miss a couple of shots—Don had been feeling sheepish about his own misses. Presently there were loud shouts from Bakal and Yani. Yani, for fun, had shot a big moray eel with the Arbalete gun. (For fun because the Ifalukians do not eat moray eels. Ted explained this as a sort of pact: the Ifalukians did not eat morays or sharks, with the idea that the morays and sharks would reciprocate. The pact was occasionally violated by both the morays and the sharks.)

The spear was deep in the neck of the big eel, but the eel was still lively enough so that we did not dare try to bring it into the boat, and it was impossible to get it off the spear. So we rowed all the way home towing the speared moray behind the boat. After dragging the eel up on the beach, we managed to get the spear out. Don, Bakal and Yani then started out again, swimming, to try for more fish among the coral heads of the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

Don got a fine chance at a blue crevelley about a foot long, and hit him right through the middle. Just then, Yani swam up and pointed to a big moray eel completely out of the rocks and swimming rather feebly along the sandy bottom twelve feet below. The eel was partly on its side and seemed to be looking up at them. The thought flashed through Don's mind that some fool had thrown the speared moray back into the lagoon, and there it was, out for revenge.

They had just started to get themselves out of there when a big shark shot by—a huge, grey torpedo. It made a swift circle around Don, Yani and the eel. Yani shouted and thrashed the water with his hands and feet, at the same time making for the nearest coral head, yelling for Don to come. Don was close behind, still with the speared fish. They clambered onto the platform of coral, where they were standing in water about halfway up their thighs, Don holding

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 the fish and spear high out of the water, trying to avoid attracting
226 the shark with blood. Once more the shark swept by, this time with a second shark just behind. Bakal swam out to the reef, in response to Yani's yells, carrying one of the big, long spears, while Toroman rowed out with the BWUP to pick them all up.

Yani had fished around the coral heads of the lagoon all of his life, and said he had never before seen sharks come in so close to shore. He had a theory that the noise of the spear gun had attracted them. It seemed more likely to Don that they had followed the nice trail of blood from the speared moray, dragged all of the way across the lagoon from outside the pass (where sharks were common) to the area off the Fan Nap. The speared moray was still lying on the coral sand, so the one they had seen behaving so queerly in the lagoon was another.

● [260] The day ended with a fine fish dinner.

Ted turned on the radio that evening to listen to some music and
123 presently accumulated an audience of several Ifalukians who had happened to drift by. The next evening people started accumulating on the temple grass behind the Fan Nap shortly after dinner, and it soon became apparent that they wanted another radio concert. The news, apparently, had spread that this was possible. We were a little appalled at the prospect of having to give a radio concert every evening, none of us being much addicted to radios. We explained that the battery would get tired if it were worked too hard. Then Don happened to think of the phonograph.

The expedition had been equipped with a portable, wind-up phonograph. No one knew whose idea this was—perhaps a hang-over from some previous atoll expedition with a juke-box addict among its members. The accompanying records mostly looked like juke-box material, though of uncertain vintage, along with a few records of Hawaiian music.

We pulled down the box of records, which had been stored away high on a beam in the Fan Nap, and set up the phonograph on the temple grass lawn back of the camp. Tony, eagerly helping, said he knew all about phonographs—that experience with the Coast Guard Station on Ulithi again—so we turned the machine and records over

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

862 364 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
585 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
● 262 in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

146 come to view with suspicion these tables giving comparative nutritional
114 values for different parts of the world. Truly, much of the world suffers from malnutrition as compared with the United States or Western Europe; but also, I think, our nutritionists have failed to give adequate attention to possibly varying needs. The food needs of man in Ifaluk and of man in New York are not necessarily the same.

121 One problem with diet studies is the difficulty of keeping track of
262 snacks, of occasional foods; yet such occasional or incidental food may be very important in relation to some vitamin or mineral requirement. We were very conscious of this problem, and Ted and Don made every effort to keep track of incidental food as well as of staples. Yani was particularly helpful in this, because he tried to remember and report all of the incidental things that he and his friends ate as they wandered about during the day. On this basis, there was considerable variety in the Ifalukian food. At least thirty kinds of plants were eaten in one way or another (not counting "medicines"). Don got records
267 of eighty-eight different kinds of fish that were eaten, and guesses that
136 there must be many more. For animals, there were also sea turtles, chickens and other birds, and occasionally pigs and dogs. Some seventeen kinds of molluscs were eaten, eight kinds of crustaceans, and a few other things like sea anemones and one kind of sea urchin.

137 We arrived at the height of the breadfruit season. Breadfruit trees grew everywhere, producing far more fruit than could be used; and
[136] the fallen, rotting fruits were probably the chief breeding places of the flies that so plagued us. As the breadfruit harvest dropped later in the summer, so did the numbers of flies.

137 Breadfruit in its season (June through September, with a second,
265 smaller crop in February and March) is the staple food, the chief source of starch, for the people of Ifaluk. It is a staple on most of the islands of the tropical Pacific—the "bread" of Polynesia and Micronesia.

137 The big, starchy fruits grow on a handsome tree, probably native to
245 Malaya. It may well be among the most anciently cultivated of plants and the main food varieties are seedless, completely dependent on man for reproduction. It is propagated from shoots which spring up around the base of the trunk, and the colonizers of the Pacific—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

251 Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food [131] supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

● 262 There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished 137 by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

244 Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
262 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
231 island, and came out with a total of 260 people, five dogs, nineteen cats,
[161] thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebra-
[052] tion of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
[437] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

529 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

unusual about the food except our corned beef. But always, after a communal activity of any kind, there was a communal meal. I drifted from group to group taking pictures and eating a snack of breadfruit with this friend, a hunk of taro with that, and letting them play the always-amusing game of peering at one another through the sights of my Graphic camera.

The day was shot as far as "work" for us was concerned. By the time we had got film and notes taken care of, we were ready for our afternoon swim in the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

From the beginning, we had formed a habit of going for a swim in the lagoon toward the end of the afternoon. Many people on Ifaluk bathed in the lagoon in late afternoon, so we were right in line with local custom. As an old Floridian, I really preferred swimming in the bright sun of mid-day and I tried to make our lagoon schedule as early in the afternoon as I could; but what with one thing or another, we often didn't get into the water until rather late.

We always wore goggles. I wonder now why anyone ever goes swimming without goggles. Man, under water, is blind without them. In many places, to be sure, there is little to see; but one can never be sure of this without trying. And in the lagoon at Ifaluk there were unending marvels to be looked at.

We were caught at first by the sheer pleasure of drifting around, exclaiming at the forms of the corals and of the colors of the fish. Then we got to thinking that if we were to spend an hour or so in the water every afternoon, we might as well be trying to make some systematic observations.

The fish, we noticed, paid very little attention to us. Apparently a large brown object of human shape plopped into their environment had no connotation of danger. The fish went on about their business as usual, indifferent to the observer. The contrast with the land, where birds and mammals clearly regard observing man as a potential enemy, was great. We didn't have to resort to field glasses or blinds—we could just float pleasantly on the surface and watch the fish. In coral seas, at least, fish watching seems to me to have it all over bird watching, though I doubt whether I would be so enthusiastic about fish watching in colder waters.

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
263, 257 Ifalik

"(The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.)"

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
515, 264 Ifalik

"A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal."

2; Damm et al.--168 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 264 Faraulep

The natives have no regular meals as we understand them. Children and women eat almost all the time, and the men eat morning, noon and in the evening. The members of the family have repasts together, and so there is no division according to the sexes.

4: Krämer--284
116, 264, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Kotzebue, Vol, III, page 132: "Several people may not eat fruit from the same cluster of bananas. Only the person who has eaten one of the bananas should eat the others."

24: Christian--238
116, 264, 776

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"It was not long before Lewis started with reminiscences of the ways of the Lamotrek islanders. 'These people,' said he, 'have a regular grace before meat like Christians. When the fish is taken cooked out of the oven, before they taste a solitary fragment, one of them takes a bit from the head and solemnly mutters, "Ka Toutop arai" -- "Do thou bless me, oh Toutop."' This Toutop is a Deity greatly honoured in the Lamotrek Pantheon. Then he throws away the bit, and the people immediately begin their meal. But if anyone were to partake of the food before the blessing was asked, the fishermen would have no luck any more, but storms and heavy gales. For Toutop, like the rest of the Caroline gods, is very jealous of any slight put upon him.'"

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--144 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 264 Ifalik

"People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, as they please, when they awaken. And they eat whatever happens to be at hand-- a coconut, or leftover food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about 9:00 by anyone who happens to be present."

28: Spiro--144 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 462 Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--144-145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 264 Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

28: Spiro--145 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 343 Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

28: Spiro--145 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 782 Ifalik

"Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent alus of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus were a poor protector, and illness had befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either agai-l'alus or maipi-l'alus."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [264]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [431]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tempt at understanding man's relations with the world around him. 121
With the census finished and the mapping well started, food study had 262
next priority.

Each of us had somewhat different ideas about how to approach 114
this difficult job. In the end, records were kept on four different households for a month each. Two of the studies were made by Ted and two by Don. I am not sure, looking back, why I stayed out of this, because food relations have long been one of my pet interests. I think it was chiefly a matter of economy of effort. Ted and Don had the matter well in hand and each had special advantages: Ted because of his familiarity with local customs and with the language, and Don because of his close association with the invaluable Yani. The daily record taking rapidly became routine, and a pattern formed very early by which each of us established his own special daily routines, thereby avoiding duplication of effort. When to collaborate and when to specialize is a nice problem in the team approach to scientific study. I think we handled the division of labor very well, though not always consciously.

Don and Ted have summarized the results of this food study. The details will be published in scientific papers, but perhaps I can give here a general summary.

The four households included a total of forty people, men, women 262
and children: the average weight per person being 95 lbs. The average 264
daily intake of staple food per person per day was: fresh breadfruit, 196
175 grams; ripe coconut meat, 130 grams; fish, 105 grams; taro, 70 grams; fermented breadfruit, 60 grams; fresh toddy (sap from coconut flower stalks), 415 cc.; milk from green coconuts, 75 cc.; green coconut meat, perhaps 35 grams.

Calculating food values for these materials is not easy, since most 146
detailed nutritional studies have been made with northern foods. The 114
foods of the tropical Pacific, however, have been studied in Hawaii, and there is a growing literature on nutrition in other parts of the Pacific. From this information, it appears that Ifaluk diet is inadequate in several respects, according to the usual dietary norms. The Ifalukians, however, gave every appearance of having an adequate diet—there were no obvious signs of their being undernourished. I have long

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians
271 Ifalik

"Though some of the water in dug wells, or that collected in helmet shells or foreign metal drums, is used for drinking, the juice of young coconuts makes up far the greatest part of the drinking water."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting wot, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is tabw. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

28: Spiro--8 [3]
116, 241, 262, 271

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All other foods are starch in content--coconuts, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. Mention should be made of sugar cane, papaya, pineapple, and lime, all of which were introduced since contact, but which are so scarce as to be non-existent for all practical purposes.

The coconut tree yields three different kinds of food. The ripe coconut is eaten as is, or is grated and mixed into the various puddings that the women prepare. But the green coconut is much more important than the ripe, for it constitutes almost the entire liquid supply of the island. Coral atolls, obviously, have no natural water supply, and the rain water that is stored in pits or in tin garbage cans is usually unfit to drink, with the result that the green coconut water provides the one substitute for drinking water on the atoll."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 272 Ifalik

"The process of making toddy is simple. A flower stalk is cut off squarely just short of the bud. It is then bound around with sinnet cord, taking turns about a half-inch apart. From this cord is slung a coconut shell, with a hole in the top, to catch the liquid that drips from the cut edge. This edge must be continually cut back, a narrow slice at a time, to keep the wound fresh. The toddy-maker must climb the tree, change shells, and freshen the cut, twice a day. The juice is strained through a funnel made of the fabric from around the base of the leaves. Toddy is carried and kept, nowadays, in glass bottles.

Some trees will not yield toddy at all. The people have no way of telling this in advance. An average tree, they say, yields about a quart a day; an especially good one, two or three quarts. One flower stalk will drip continuously for about two months. After that it is allowed to heal and the tree given a rest. The trees are not injured if treated in this way, the natives say.

Fresh toddy is considered especially good for children and old people, but all ages enjoy it. It is milky white in color, and has a sweet taste. Used with taro, in addition to coconut cream, it makes some of the few delicacies of Ifalik cooking."

2: Damm et al. --33 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 272, 262 Ifaluk

Palm wine (kări) is an important food. It is produced in the same way as on Polowat. And the natives prepare it in the morning, at noon and late in the afternoon. Cooked palm wine (lĭs) is mixed with water before it is drunk.

28: Spiro--144 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 272 Ifalik

"Everyone has his toddy in the morning. A person could no more begin his day without toddy than the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the 'national drink.' There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not make toddy, he is accused of violating one of the important marital and familial obligations. Since the toddy is one of the few sources of concentrated sweet or sugary foods the people have, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, I do not believe is a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice for toddy certain conveniences they would sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rainy and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But one activity that continues, however, no matter how bad the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the big blow, which the natives called a minor typhoon, was to collect their toddy."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 273 Ifalik

"The people know how to ferment the juice and make an alcoholic drink of it. All that is necessary is to abstain from washing the shells in which it is collected, and from straining it; and then to let it stand for four days. The chiefs forbid the practise. Their prohibition works about as well as that tried for some years by the United States. That is to say, those who enjoy drinking fermented toddy (called tubwa as in Yap) make it quietly and drink it without interference. Some of the men drink glass after glass in the course of an evening. A slightly bleary look about the eyes, and a tendency to be jovial or sentimentally friendly, were the only effects we noticed. Drunkenness to the point of a staggering gait or quarrelsome talk, let alone violence, was completely absent. Toddy is not the problem in Ifalik that it is said to be in some more populous islands."

2: Damm et al. --168 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 273 Faraulep

Then palm wine (xarī) is also very popular; it is prepared in the same way as on Polowat.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
273 Woleai

As is customary on most of the Caroline Islands, the sap of the palm trees is collected one to three times a day for the preparation of the favorite fermented drink.

6: Senfft--54
116, 164, 744, 273

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The state of health at the time of my stay there was still so bad that I sent the governmental physician to that island for a longer period. Dysentery seems to be one of the chief causes of death, and the prevalence of this disease can probably be explained by the use of sour toddy; this beverage is made from the axis of the inflorescence of coconut trees. It is very intoxicating and usually produces a desire to quarrel; it is also said to have the effect of an aphrodisiac. I was told that its effect is increased by placing the bottles on the beach in the hot sun and then mixing the juice with salt water.

The number of other diseases is also very high. There are many cases of elephantiasis, eye disease, and paralysis. The report of the governmental physician will treat of matters of health in more detail. Two military policemen have been stationed on the island, and they have been ordered to use all possible means to suppress the use of toddy.

.8: Senfft--283
116, 245, 273

(1905) 1906

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Here [MR: Lamotrek] again I had occasion to observe that previously given orders for the protection of the palm trees and the prohibition of consumption of sour toddy had in several instances gone unheeded; it is indeed a sad fact that as far as drinking is concerned the white dealer serves as a very poor model to the natives. A walk through the island revealed the occurrence of cochineal insects on four palm trees; the trees were cleaned and in future the chief will be responsible for the burning of the leaves attacked by the insects.

8: Senfft--283 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 273, 625, 681 Woleai

The coconut stocks on Oleei were normal. Two years ago extermination measures were taken against the rat plague and by now the trouble has decreased considerably. Since the recall of the police post who was in charge of enforcing these measures nothing had been done and the natives had started once more to drink sour toddy. In a condition of complete drunkenness a native had first threatened a dealer with a long knife and then with a spear. The man was taken to Jap and later sentenced on that island. A rumor circulated that three years ago an Australian dealer, who was old and feeble and who had been working on Oleei for a Jap firm, had died an unnatural death. I started extensive investigations on the spot which really produced incriminating material. It seems that a Sonsol native attacked the dealer in his bed, made him unconscious by blows of a hammer and then strangled him. It is said that the housekeeper of the dealer --a fellow islander of the murderer--had been an accomplice to the crime. Other witnesses are said to exist on the islands of Lamutrik and Satuwal. The main witnesses needed for the trial had to be called and set out on the voyage. At the present time the two accused are on Palau.

In a general meeting I discussed everything of importance and informed the population that once more I would leave behind a policeman with far-reaching powers. Fines in the form of naturalia were imposed for neglect of the tree protection law directed against destruction by rats and for the consumption of sour toddy.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
273 Woleai

The great mortality is in the first place caused by dysentery which is probably due to the excessive consuming of sour toddy (the fermenting juice of the blossoms of the coconut palm); the natives are passionate drinkers of this toddy which they mix with salt water and cook in the hot sun at the beach in order to have it stronger.

Besides water, the natives drink the juices of young coconuts, tschalelu, especially toddy, which may be sweet, gatschimem, or sour, faloba. The sweet kind is not intoxicating, the sour kind is very intoxicating and has an immediate effect. The men climb the toddy trees every morning and evening and take down the full bottles. After the first cut into the core of the tree, it takes about two weeks to accumulate a sufficient amount. There are many trees which never yield good juice; this is ascribed to the kind of cut used and to the sharpness of the knife. A coconut shell is suspended below the place where the tree has been cut. The shell has a hole in the bottom, and the juice runs through this into a bottle attached directly under the shell. Sour toddy is made of fermented sweet toddy. The juice drips into a coconut shell and is left thus for several days; from time to time the sediment is poured off. After three days the toddy has intoxicating properties, which are increased if the shell is not cleaned. Sour toddy causes intestinal disturbances and is one of the factors causing dysentery, a disease which is especially violent in Oleai. Although the preparation of this drink is now against the law, there are still many natives who drink it. One chieftain told me, "You white people have beer, wine, and rum to get intoxicated, we have toddy for that purpose."

28: Spiro--8-9 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 262, 273 Ifalik

"The coconut tree is also the source of what is one of the most important foods, from the native point of view, gari. Gari is the sweet sap-like liquid [9] that is obtained by tapping the coconut frond, and permitting it to run into a container, the natives using an empty coconut shell for the purpose. The men collect their gari twice a day, morning and afternoon, in rain or shine. Indeed the collection of the gari is the first activity performed in the morning by the men, and its collection in the afternoon signals the end of the economic day. It is consumed in three forms: when freshly collected, it is a pleasant soft-drink, and is drunk copiously by all the natives, and is fed even to the babies. If allowed to ferment, it has a beer-like taste, and is drunk, at least to my observation, only by the adult men. It is called lis. This fermented form has a definite 'kick', and though I have seen men become quite 'high' by overindulgence, I have never seen a man become intoxicated. Finally, the fresh liquid is used by the women in the preparation of the various puddings they make."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

l: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276 Ifalik

"Two kinds of pepper plant (gabwi) grow on the island. One of them is said to be the right kind (piper betle) to chew with betel nut. There are a very few, perhaps a half dozen, small betel palms (Areca catechu) on the island. But chewing betel is not a local custom. The other kind of pepper is not used as a drug, so far as is known.

The natives are fond, perhaps overfond, of tobacco. A few plants are coaxed up through the coral gravel on house platforms, but nearly all the tobacco is imported. Even neighboring atolls, as Faraulep and Ngulu, export 'Caroline smoke' to Ifalik."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276, 439 Ifalik

"Native tobacco is imported from several of the nearest atolls, which seem able to grow more of it than Ifalik, though the soil can not be very hospitable on any of them. Fareulep and (this from memory) Lamotrek were mentioned as sources of tobacco."

2: Damm et al. --33 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 276 Ifaluk

The natives enjoy tobacco (dămáko).

2: Damm et al. --168 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Faraulep

Aside from the foods, the natives have a few extras, and first on the list comes tobacco (tomáxo); it can not be strong enough to suit them. This plant was introduced from Guam, and now it is grown on the island, but the American twist tobacco is preferred.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--350 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 276, 438 Lamotrek

The natives almost begged for tobacco, and Krämer made high offers; but they rather denied themselves the pleasure of tobacco and kept their good articles for themselves. Krämer offered, for instance, 6 pounds of tobacco for a good Aurepik belt, but without success.

6: Senfft--55
116, 276

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The only stimulant used is tobacco which, before the natives had much contact with whites, was a great luxury since it had to be imported from the Marianas on canoes, an undertaking which took several months. Today even the children smoke. The cigarettes consist of twisted banana leaves.

12: Lutke--300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 276, 177 Woleai

Several of them asked for cigars, something that we had not noticed here before.

28: Spiro--4 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 276 Ifalik

"One of the earliest of borrowed traits was tobacco, which the Spanish introduced into Guam, and which thereafter spread throughout the entire area. Ifaluk grows some tobacco, but not nearly enough for its needs, and, consequently, obtains its tobacco by trade with some of the other islands in the area, such as Faraulep and Lamotrek. The tobacco is smoked as a cigarette, being rolled in banana leaves."

28: Spiro--22
622, 276, 522, 576

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district , and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight fnto the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--53
116, 787, 276

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Possession is called alusemar bwuter, literally, the benevolent alus has arrived. It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called zagogo or chato alus, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle, other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectuous so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. The become 'happy' and the entire group joins in the singing of a chapeng, a religious song, or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

I do not mean to examine the causes of possession at this time, but merely wish to point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed imeediately upon a major religious ceremony, their occurence at that time being, therefore no 'accident'. In other words, the influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are evoked, acted as a strong stimulant, in which suggestion played a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed

large quantities of toddy. The toddy, particularly the fermented kind, is a strong stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being 'high'. The persons possessed were all 'high', and very obviously under the influence of the toddy, as we shall see in a moment."

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Unless there is something special the men are doing in the way of communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special committments. Usually they go to the canoe houses, where they may make rope, or may just sit around talking, (5) gossiping, and smoking (6) or perhaps take a nap. Rope making is [146] probably the activity that consumes most of a man's time. While making rope, of course, the men continue their conversations. Often, however, they just sit in the canoe-houses,

---

"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered the real reason is much more prosaic. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

6. [See following sheet for footnote 6.]"

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"6. [Footnote p. 146] Smoking is a cooperative enterprise. When a person lights a cigarette, he invariably passes it to the person near him, after he has smoked a short time. That person, in turn, passes it on, so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed. When we first arrived on the island, I not only did not pass on my cigarette, but I would put out my cigarette butt, rather than pass it on. I soon noticed the questioning look on the faces of the people at this anti-social behavior. It was not till a few weeks had passed that I learned the native pattern, and conformed to it."

engaging in no activity at all, not even talking. This is quite strange from a western perspective, where a congregation of people always leads to conversation. The Ifaluk men, however, may sit for long periods of time, just staring into space. In any event, the canoe house is the place where men spend a great deal of their waking hours. It is really, as we have already indicated, the men's club house, as well as the locale for most economic activity. That the canoe-house serves a basic social need is indicated by the fact that men never make rope at home. The twisting of rope involves no great activity nor is it messy, and could very well be done at home, either in the house or alongside it. The reason for going to the canoe-house, therefore, is entirely for the purpose of conviviality."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

293 a small tube of yellow oxide of mercury out of that same purse, and ask me what it was for. When I explained, he graciously gave the tube to Tom, who had granulated eye-lids.

000 On Sunday (it was the 5th of July by then) I was just contemplating a siesta after a hard morning of mapping, when the peace of the island was broken by cries of "sail-ho" picked up and relayed from the windward side of Falalap across to Falarik in no time at all. Bakal arrived almost as fast as the cries, all out of breath, with Tony soon after, to report that it was a big Navy ship with the number "59" on the prow. The busy crossroads again.

We got out the walkie-talkies, but all we could hear was the "testing," "testing" of one another. The ship wasn't talking. Maroligar dragged a brand new American flag out of the chest by the Fan Nap altar, passing over two tattered ones that had been lying on top, and with Don's help tried to get it on the flagpole, which had been considerably damaged by the typhoon. They finally achieved a sort of half-mast effect—to the considerable puzzlement of the ship's captain, it turned out later.

Ted decided not to let anything as routine as a Navy visit to Ifaluk interfere with his siesta. Don and I, less blasé, haunted the beach until the grey hulk of a destroyer emerged from behind Falalap to anchor off the pass. A small boat put off immediately. When it beached, it turned out to have several cases of equipment identifiable as belonging to Bob Rofen. The crew said there was more cargo aboard. Don hardly dared believe that this might include his missing equipment. He and I went back to the ship with the boat and there, sure enough, were Don's drums, so carefully and lovingly packed in Pacific Grove months before.

We went into the wardroom and had coffee with the officers and told them all about Ifaluk. We borrowed paper, envelopes and stamps to surprise our wives with letters. When Ted came aboard, bringing money, we bought as many cartons of cigarettes as we could at the ship's stores, but this was the only thing we could think of that might be useful. The Ifalukian consumption of cigarettes was enormous—every adult on the island had the nicotine habit—and we were the

276
439

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 278, 824 Ifalik

"The following list of plants used for medicine was obtained during the general survey of plants and their uses. Many remedies are hereditary secrets, so the list is certainly not complete. As will appear in the list of rituals seen (p. 184-6), the main emphasis is not on herbal remedies, but on getting supernatural help.

angorIk-aromatic herb, put in medicine ritually prepared, blessed by the gods, and drunk as a preventive. Also considered healthful in drinking water for babies.

aro-a green leafy branch is waved over the medicine as part of the ritual, dipped in the bowl, and used to sprinkle these who are taking part.

bwogorewau-an aromatic sedge that grows in the taro swamp. Said to be very good for the stomach, if taken in coconut juice. Used in babies' drinking water.

korax-Herb. Used medicinally; no details obtained.

livalus-Tree. Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric, strained into water for babies to drink.

olu-Leaves wrapped in coconut fabric and soaked in water, which is then drunk to help stomach trouble and loss of appetite.

sol-Some men know (informant did not) how to make a medicine from this tree to cure a red eruption on the skin.

song-Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric and strained into water for babies to drink.

ualomax-A vine. Infusion of leaves drunk for stomach."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 492, 281 Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283 Ifalik

"Coconuts are husked in the way usual in tropical Pacific islands. A stake of hard wood, some 2 1/2 feet long, is pointed at both ends. One end is driven into the ground. The coconut, held with one hand at each end, is jammed against the other end of the stake where the point protrudes, and the husk pried off in strips.

This supplies another useful product. A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal. Dry coconut husks are important as fuel. One of them will hold fire until time for the next smoke, or while carrying borrowed fire from one house to another. Thin slices of coconut husk, with its rather spongy texture, are laid between the planks of a canoe before they are gummed and lashed together. They expand when wet, and keep the seams tight.

Charcoal from burnt coconut husks is mixed with coral lime to make the putty or mortar used to seal the holes in a canoe hull where the lashing runs through.

Short lengths of a crude kind of rope are twisted out of raw coconut husk fiber. They make wicks (atoliēf) to preserve fire. Such a wick is commonly kept alight during a sea voyage."

"The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falālap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them [32] in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands [KS: native word omitted] two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled

together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called golgaulIk. What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is golgol. A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is geref. A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called garotel. Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are taani, taliou rIk, and taliounap. Hawsers (tennap) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifalik from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton

netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the section on house-building, p. 46.)"

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine, --every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 565, 461 Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

2: Damm et al.--169 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 283 Faraulep

Coconut strings (mûts) were made in the customary manner; they were soaked in salt water - ni péli góth, then in fresh water - thúmu, dried - igapál, beaten (thûs) with a heavy wooden beater (péreix), and finally twisted - xóloxól. Coconut thread - tarikít, rope - tát.

Hibiscus strings (gilifói) for fish lines are made in the same way as on Polowat.

4: Kramer--72 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 283 Lamotrek

Rope Making.

The hand movement in twisting is a continuous change of up and down, with the right hand (gel) and the left hand golemong (mong--left). The gologol [VMM: twisted cord] elastic; a bunch of three loops called vóngalima is used to catch the float that is detached from the boat. The cord has a thickness of 3 millimeters. The native term for cord strand is mut, roll Hellwig 2108 baidjórro...

The golomong is a rope twisted from four strands that are turned to the left and is used for rigging; it is twisted by an up and down movement of the hand. The rope is called pelitél.

Rope spinner Hellwig 2140 5920 waitilidja from Elato, 2297 6067 bait; thus the first word is to be broken down into bait ili djo "twister for the ripe nut"; it was not used on Truk but on Póloat (Figure 44 [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2297 6067 shows the bait and its parts: stick--kalaniál, transverse beam--paile, of wood--nga, bamboo tube--ngat, knob at lower end--korodjol (Hellwig).

4: Krämer--72-76 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
283 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of rope making and preparation of fibers, see Lamotrek, 4: Kramer 72, 75-76.]

4: Krämer--246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 283 Woleai

Rope making is known, The strand is known as gologól and the ball as gassegül lü gologól. Fráme, méil, as on Lamotrek Figure 44, [VMM: see sourse].

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...III, page 62: rope, tal; thread, kologol.

28: Spiro--33 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 283, 556 Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--33-34
116, 592, 345, 283

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the malum, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

28: Spiro--34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 345, 283, 461, 156 Ifalik

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--34 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 283 Ifalik

"The manufacture of rope is simple, (1) and readily lends itself to conversation and conviviality. Rope is made from the coconut sennet. The coconut husk is allowed to seep in stagnant ponds--this is the women's task--until the fibres are loose, after which the women take it from the pond, separate the fibres, beat them soft with a wooden board, remove dirt and other grime, and then let them dry in the sun. The men store the sennet in baskets, until such time as they wish to use it. They manufacture the rope, by twisting the individual fibres, which they draw with great agility from a bunch held in the crook of their thigh and leg, while sitting, into cord, twisting it on the thigh. This is the basic process from which ropes of any size can be made, from thin cord, to very thick rope that could well be used as mooring rope, on a ship. The completed rope is either taken home, where it hangs from the rafters of the house, or is allowed to remain in the canoe-house, each man having his own peg, with the assurance that no one will abscond with it."

"1. Simple, if you know how. I tried a number of times, but with little success, for the twisting of the fibres requires an agility, and a motor set, that only comes from practice."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

"When each joint [KS: of a canoe] is made satisfactorily tight, holes are bored at corresponding points in the two surfaces. Then the two are sewed together, with sennit cord. The leading end of the cord is stiffened, for pushing through the hole, by tying it to a makeshift bodkin or eyeless needle, which consists of a slender strip or splinter cut off a coconut leaf midrib. The cord is passed round and round through each hole; but the technique is strictly sewing rather than lashing, as it is sometimes called, because the cord passes through the planks rather than around them."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
284, 381 Ifalik

"When all but the rigging [KS: of a canoe] is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

1: Burrows--32-33 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 285 Ifalik

"Baskets (wetau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women. [33]

One of the simplest of the baskets of open green leaf is called wëtau lugor, or in a large size trugulilugor. To make one of these, a leaf is split. The halves are laid with the trimmed half midribs on each side. The leaflets are plaited together in check, and their tips joined in a braid, which is finished off with a knot. This results in a flat sheet, which is folded over to hold sennit fiber for making rope. As the ends are left open, it is really a folder rather than a basket. A basket of similar construction, but with the plaiting continued around the ends to close or partly close them, is called wetau ruk (Truk basket). A round basket with a long braided handle, called gato, is used to carry food bowls. This type is illustrated in Plate I of Damm's report. The commonest type of finer basket, made of cured and doubled leaf, is called wetau tuk (see Pl. 3, d). Each side is made of two half leaves, with their half-midribs trimmed down to very thin strips. Alternate leaflets of each are first plaited to form a rim.

After one row, the two leaflets are plaited together in twill to form one side of the basket. The plaiting is only a few rows wide at the ends, at least twice that in the middle, giving the rim its characteristic convex shape. The other side is made in the same way. Then the two are joined by a braid that forms the bottom of the basket. Ends of doubled leaflet project from the braid, forming a fringe. A basket of generally similar construction, but more nearly circular, with the curved rim continued around both ends, is called auruēl. It is attributed to Yap. Both of these types may be of recent introduction. At any rate, Damm's illustration shows three variants of another type, similarly plaited in twill with doubled leaflets, but of a different shape. It does not show any with the convex brims now in fashion."

1::Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285, 396 Ifalik

"Leaves of the variety of pandanus called far en Nuta, cured but not bleached, are used for sails. Matting for sails is plaited in strips about a foot wide. These are sewed together with sinnet cord, using stitches several inches long. Seams are run both vertically and horizontally. The advantage of making the sail in strips is that it usually limits tearing to one strip. Thus a torn place can be repaired by replacing a single strip of matting."

"Sleeping mats are plaited from the leaves [KS: of the pandanus] of the variety which is called simply by the generic name far. The leaves are first laid out in the sun until thoroughly dry. They may then either be used as they are, or bleached by soaking in salt water, rinsing in fresh water, and sunning again.

The leaves are split to the desired width by pulling between the fibers a small loop of coconut leaf midrib attached to the right index finger. These strips are then plaited in simple check. The technique gives the mat a double thickness. Mats of plain color, the light brown of the unbleached leaf, are called faulap. The wefts used for this are about 3/8" wide. The other kind, the most prized, is called giegie. The name emphasizes their whiteness, as shown by the fact that giegie is also the name for the snowy-white fairytern. Giegie mats are made largely of sun-bleached leaf; but some wefts of unbleached brown leaf are commonly introduced to make simple, rather widely spaced plaid designs. The wefts of giegie are somewhat narrower than those of faulap. Those observed varied from about 1/4" to 1/8", averaging about 3/16". A small strip of matting of this kind is shown in Damm's Plate 2, No. 60.

Bleached pandanus leaf is also used for the smallest and finest baskets, in which men keep their flint-and-steel or tobacco. These average less than six inches in their longest dimension. One collected is 4 1/2" X 1 1/2"X1". They are plaited in check over wooded blocks that serve as forms. They are made in several shapes. One, like a little pouch,

is called geigas; another, a miniature box with fitted cover, sigurār. Damm (Plates I, II) shows one of these; also several larger pandanus baskets. The plaiting is similar, but in one the rim is bound with a fine cord, presumably of sinnet, while two have long braided handles. Such large pandanus baskets are not common now on Ifalik. The only one I remember seeing was given to Spiro as a farewell present."

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Wolesians
562, 285 Ifalik

"Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner."

1: Burrows--114
116, 462, 285

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of doubled coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea."

Braiding is women's work.

1. pandanus mats (giagi); there are four types:
   a) fausibeik is the sleeping mat; it is simply braided out of strips, which are usually about a centimeter wide, although they become narrower.
   b) folu is an unusual form of sleeping mat; it is double, and in the center there is a strip about 5 centimeters wide; it appears that the two sides of the mat are plaited together through this strip. Sarfert was not able to obtain one of these mats.
   c) jab is a simple mat for little children.
   d) djoub is the mat on which men sit, while they are being tattooed. At the present time these mats are no longer found.

   The pandanus tree (far) supplies the material for these mats. Women dry the green leaves for a while over the fire, and then spread them out in the open. They are exposed to the rain, but the leaves are not soaked more than three times. They are now put in the sun, and after four or five days they are ready to be worked. The leaves are smoothed with a piece of coconut shell, by drawing them through the hand, and then they are torn in narrow strips.
2. Coconut mats (gili) are all used for slumber; there are several kinds:
   a) dabarau is a mat of two coconut fronds, with the nerve running through the center. This is because the two were laid together in such a way that the point of one coincided with the twig end of the other.

b) ädólo like a), however, the pinnae are plaited into a braid on the long sides, running parallel to the nerve. [43]

c) gíli dáudáu is a mat made of two half coconut fronds, which are twisted together so that the nerves will form one side, and the braid the other.

d) gíli ebába is a mat like c) except that it is braided out of one whole frond.

The coconut mats are all worked in what we call "cross plaiting."

3. Basket weaving is a woman's task. Coconut and pandanus leaves furnish the material for it.

a) baskets of coconut leaves are gáto, dúgu, gabääš, wódáu, djúk.

b) baskets of pandanus strips are gágadj, sigilála, wódáu mán.

2: Damm et al, --129 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285 Aurupik

Aside from the baskets, the natives braid pouches (Hellwig: yâipáč) of pandanus strips for decoration, etc.; but above all, they make mats:
a) gíagi, of narrow pandanus strips; worked double for sleeping mats;
b) gili (Krämer: gerri, Hellwig: xedi) out of the two halves of a coconut frond; they serve as sleeping and door mats;
c) tabachau (Krämer) a mat made double with four frond halves;
d) jăs, roof mats of coconut fronds.

2: Damm et al. --170-171 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285 Faraulep

The "king's mat" is a real chart of the patterns, which are in use on Faraulip; in fact, it is really a masterpiece of native handicraft. The various designs (counting from the left) are: 1. šürübu, 2. foirimăt, 3. puriifăt, 4. boirŭd, 5. uvethitaŭb, 6. pairimŭru, 10. xolimăth, 11. pairŏnunŭ 13. mŏida, 16. šib, 17. xŏugŏuthip, 18. toiruăt. The mat design is called metarĕl; the terms for the different parts are:

lugurăl - broad black strips
nigawŏs - broad light fields between the black strips [171]
narĕde - narrow black border strip.
thaŭ u wŏl - the two diagonal strips (narrower and wider).

The upper diagonal strip in the design of mat no. 307 (plate 12) [VMM: see source] is called taŭb, the two narrow strips above and below it are pirepŭt. The parts of the diagonal strip of mat no. 308 are tanabŏ - a dark hour-glass design, taŭf - light rhomboid pattern.

2: Damm et al. --171 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285, 386 Faraulep

The dyeing of mats is done according to the Polowat process. Meerpocken are also used for dye pots, and the dye bowls (tăbbi enăp) are the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk. Red coloring (tśageŏx) to paint the canoes is purchased from Yap. Any piece of wood can be used for a brush.

Plaiting feifoi or feifeu
to split--gassiet

Pearlshell baura (?) used to smooth the pinnae and to scrape the fibers; Figure 40 [VMM: see source] (especially used for the treatment of banana fibers; the shell has not been pictured previously).

a. Mats

Mats, coconut fiber mat, girre, made of two parts (on Truk: kinni or kiri).

Hellwig 2278=6051 Figure 41 [VMM: see source] is called gilli and is a small mat of coconut pinnae which is used for water drainage; in rainy weather some of the ground maybe washed away at the wall of the house, and the water may enter the interior of the building. With one movement the mat is pushed into the breach at the house wall so that the water may be diverted. Hellwig observed its use in house 24a which is known as Imeilap (size of mat 30 centimeters).

Hellwig 2258=6033 is a mat of coconut pinnae, ülaf, for the protective huts on the canoe platform (Ifaluk man). Like all pandanus plaiting, the pandanus mat kiëki is made exceedingly well on the coral islands; this is also true of Truk although, in fact, it is only the population of the reef island of Pis that knows a great deal about this work.

b. Baskets

Some of the baskets from Lamotrek and Elato are here pictured on Plate 5 [VMM: see source]. First we shall mention the bags made of pandanus, the containers with lids

that look like our étuis, and the open bags.

Containers with lids.

Plate 5c: this container is called sigerára; the same term is used for the strips of pinnae of the measuring line tal i felefel.

c. Open Bags

Plate 5 l, illustrates gaigérs from Lamotrek; Hellwig collected an identical gaigérs from Elato. Plate 6 m gaigérs with handle. Hellwig lists [68] another bag of this type, gaigérs. The pandanus leaf strips that are plaited into it are known as faivoi; those pointed down are the ealle and those pointed up are the ifak. Hellwig, uses the word gaigerre* whereas I have noted gaigadj for Plate 6 [VMM: see source]. The r of Hellwig's points towards the dj sound, cf. Truk and Djuk.

Plate 6k gatofadj, is more coarsely plaited and is used to carry food. m. gaigérs, f. gaigadj and k. gatofadj have a handle; in the case of f. it has two legs on both sides at the point of joining. k, and m. have the handle joined to the basket at the corners of the bag-shaped basket, but the four legs of f. are in the middle of the sides, which, however, appear as if they are open.

The same is true of the baskets of coconut pinnae. Plate 5n, büro and 5e gad, which are used on the occasion of wedding banquets; and they seem to be somewhat coarse and

*Hellwig 2111 5888 gaisérse or gaigerre djelū with an inner compartment djelū; with a hair cord.

more careless work as compared with the pandanus plaiting. The word gad or gadŏ (Hellwig: kad) was not heard on Truk.

On Oleai, a basket is called gad or kaporro (Hellwig: kaporro, a small basket plaited from coconut pinnae coming from Lamotrek) gad-gado appears above (k) in the word gatofadj; the analysis of the word would give us a gato of pandanus fadj and indicates that the gad basket is made of pandanus and therefore is finer and better; it is probable that fadj is hidden in gaigadj in 6f.

A bag djotuárĕ (Hellwig: drottiare) from Elato has an opening ewálĕ and rings talinal.

No. 5e gad show the two ends of the bag pointed up whereas the three handleless coconut baskets g, h, and i are pointed exactly in the opposite direction, namely down.

These are the baskets which are called the wotau; one of them, plaited of pandanus, it resembles the one here given on Plate 6e [VMM: see source] which above was called gaigers (gaigadj). The coconut fiber basket is called hoddou (Hellwig bóatau and bodau); Hellwig has the same type from Lamotrek where it is known as watauro with the handle djale; that means that a basket of the form pictured both of coconut pinnae or fibers is called wotau or boatau.

In the collection the following baskets are included which are plaited from coconut pinnae: Plate 5g is called votau; Plate 5h also known as votau tied with a hair cord from which hang some snails. Plate 5i Hellwig 2267-6041 watau; also Hellwig 2202-2976 has a hair cord; in the latter instance the following comment is given: the basket can be

tied three times by [69] means of hair cords sīm and snails tígere (Elato). Hellwig 2321 6091 is such a hair cord, which is shown in Figure 42 [VMM: see source] and which occasionally may be seen worn as a bracelet; it is 75 centimeters long and the snails resemble dolia.

Since the process of plaiting a wotau basket was not included in the Truk volume it shall be treated here. The first four plaiting stages a-d are given in the Truk volume, page 172.

[ER: The discussion of the technique of basket making is omitted here.] [72] We should add that the round basket, Hellwig 2109-5883 which is called kapéas or apéase, occurs; it has been discussed in Kramer where it is known as abéas.

Finally there is the fan, saipe (Truk: áliba or saiba); the point is known as botili á lipe (Truk: áliba), and the handle as eráll (e). A gáliba fan (Truk: áliba) is used for magic practices (see Figure 68). [VMM: see source]

4: Krämer--67-72 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
285 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of the plaiting of mats, baskets, bags, and the types of mats, see Lamotrek, 4: Kramer 67-72, 76-79.]

4: Krämer--74-75 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 285 Lamotrek

a. Preparation of Hibiscus Fibers [VMM: for mats]

One takes switches of bush hibiscus or preferably some from the tree-like species which is rarer; the bark is removed in as big strips as possible. [75] For four to eight days these strips of bark are soaked in salt water or in the taro swamp; when they are taken out, the fibers are separated from the land, outer bark so that they become flexible. When these fibrous pieces have been washed in sweet water and all juice has been rinsed out, they are dried, cut, split into thin threads which are knotted together and thus provide the material for the warp. Their natural color is a light yellowish-grey but they are sometimes dyed black.

b. Banana Fibers.

The effect of these fibers [ER: as compared with hibiscus fibers] is lighter, finer and more silky and in the case of many of the mats of women they constitute an interesting contrast to the paler hibiscus fibers.

For use, the outer seven to eight leaf shafts are taken off a banana trunk; the ones that are left, the inner ones, are too soft to be useful. Each one of these meaty shafts is placed over a round piece of wood and is treated with a pearl shell which has been ground so as to have a concavity at one end (see Figure 40 [VMM: see source]). All the flesh of the leaf is scraped off, and the treatment is continued until most of the fibers appear; then the latter are washed, dried, cut in a certain length and thickness, knotted and thus give the banana yarn.

4: Krämer--74-75
116, 285

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-2
Lamotrek

uidj	banana yarn
gassäi uidj	separate banana shafts from the trunk
ligätang	side edge of every shaft
raruidji and ra ri uidji	scraping (of the shafts)
puai	pearl shell with ground edge
bigugal	banana yarn dyed black
gilifer	hibiscus fibers
tafä engang	split with a nail (hibiscus yarn)
litelli moei	loose material for knotting torn threads on the loom.

c. Dyeing [VMM: of fibers to be used in mats]

Both gilifer hibiscus fibers and uidj banana yarn are dyed black when special designs are to be brought out in the textile. The yarn is first dyed in a greenish juice which is brewed from crushed terminalia leaves and water. Then black pumice stone with water is scraped on iron and young coconut husks are thrown into the liquid; a special greasy type of soil that drifts ashore is added; the fibers are put in this liquid with its coloring substance for twenty-four hours. Then they are rinsed and dried. In more recent times occasionally red threads have appeared in mats; they have been dyed with artificial dyes --red, green, blue, and violet--that must have been acquired through trade and are not readily available on the island. [76]

An example is Krämer 518, a mat with three red stripes, which resemble Krämer 519 (najelle malu galapal with small stitches gukudj); Krämer 460 dŏr peig...has three green stripes and the same applies to Krämer 520; Krämer 521, paliälüf, has a red stripe along the edge and three stripe patterns--1 red between two green ones (similar to the mat on Plate 7e [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2272 along the edge has two green and, in the middle, three stripes--green, black, green--; Krämer 515 is similar; it has spotted stripes and red transverse ornaments which are known as galut ma dab.

First Type of Mat
(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

The following types of striped mats are known: marŭp made of gilifer with five or six stripes; it is a coarse, plain weave which is often dyed with traded dyes. The black, green or dark blue stripes are broken by white, red or other colors and the intervening sections appear uniformly light. I did not see these mats in the unfinished state while work was done on them; they occur identically on Sëtoval and thus it is possible that they have been traded on that island. They look very modern; I learned that on the surrounding islands of Sëtoval, Pollap and others no weaving had been done, because it was taboo. [77]

I shall now go on to describe the characteristic mats with three stripes; additional ornamentation of them are the black patterns which are produced by fibers introduced in the direction of the weft, which constitute the transverse bands at the beginning and the end of the mat. In the course of weaving black gilifer fibers are sent through the warp threads between every weft by means of a little wooden rod; they are fastened and held secure by the following weft. This is plait weaving known as dab.

Second Type of Mat.

The peig mats have three stripes and are woven of fine, white uidj fibers with narrow black marginal stripes and a wider black stripe in the center* and very narrow red threads may be used in the center; Plate 6a-f [VMM: see source].

*Plate 6b [VMM: see source] has three wide stripes peig na tas.

4: Krämer--76-79 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 285, 531, 177 Lamotrek

We must add in the case of the majority of the peig the dab pattern, latitudinal stripes at the beginning and the end of the mat, which are very delicate in these fine mats.

The black stripes in the longitudinal direction may either be weaves of uidj or gilifer; the dab patterns are always made of gilifer fibers, which in their dull blackness contrast very nicely with the glossy, light uidj.

My studies of native weaving were greatly aided by the assistance of Bessi (Plate 3d [VMM: see source]), the half-breed daughter of the English trader Lewis....In order that I might become familiar with the various dab patterns, she wove for me an exceedingly beautiful, abundantly ornamented mat (Plate 7d [VMM: see source]) with a great variety of latitudinal designs (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). It has the name najile malugelep al--dab o fasch and belongs to the group of the three-striped peig alali pelach (with plain weave). The wide stripe in the center is broken by two white, and one red, lines. In the plaiting work, dab, red and green threads have been used in addition to black ones and this variety is a concession to modern times. The patterns however are of the true old type and have names and significance. Some of them are said to have originated on other islands. [VMM: see source Figure 47, for illustrations of the following designs.] When one begins at the upper end, one comes first to

1. A. uasstich pattern for the beginning of the mat
2. B. langodab a very narrow border which serves to outline a pattern

		and which appears immediately above C.
3.	C. sepasse iliuil	canoe sails of several boats that sail together.
4.	B. langodab	see B, directly underneath C.
5:	D. uadj	neck tattooing of a man
6.	B. langodab	see B. [78]
7.	E. fäsilümat	eye (from Faraulap)
8.	B. langodab	see 6. B.
9.	D. uadj	see 5. D.
10.	F. uägüpä	unexplained
11.	G. garrach	plant design from Ifaluk
12.	H. ngingi	neck tattooing of a man
13.	J. bub (pup)	a fish (see Truk, page 150 X) [79]
14.	K. päülümel	a flying bird
15.	J. bub	fish, see 13.
16,	C, kusae	pattern from Kusae
17.	M. fätülümat	eye, from Ifaluk (see 7)
18.	C, kusae	see 16
19.	N. gogotjub	see 12
20.	O. pöulul	"round thing"
21.	P. ngilipaggo	shark's tooth (Truk, page 188 b).

22. Q. ligongare Ifaluk pattern
23. R. B =Bessi, the plaiter
24. S. fatarigavŭong small animals of the sea lined up

The majority of these plaiting patterns definitely have a left side, but there are some among them which look alike on both sides. If the latter are used for a fine peig mat, and if the decorative stitches appear alike in the black longitudinal stripes on both sides, then we are dealing with a rare and valuable mat, which is called peig galut.

It has been mentioned above that peig also exist without dab patterns; they are shown on Plate 6d and f [VMM: see source]. Finally we want to refer to the lugüllŭ uidj, mats of coarsely split banana fibers, which may be compared to the peig, except that they are much coarser. As in the case of the peig, there exist various sub-types: 1. completely white without any ornamentation, 2. with black stripes along both sides and with or without dab (Plate 6h [VMM: see source]) 3. with a central stripe in addition to the stripes along the edges, which makes the mat three striped, 4. three-striped and ornamented with dab, having at both ends coarse, simple patterns of black gilifer fibers (Plate 6c [VMM: see source]). All these mats have plain weaves. In addition to the local weaving products, one sees mats imported from Truk; especially men are fond of the plain, white banana fiber mat, which is called aliel; a yellowish type is known as garite. ngăremus and pagutiu are two types of mats for women that come from Truk.

4: Krämer--76-79
116, 285, 531, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-5
Lamotrek

Words:

fisudab	lattice weave (of dab pattern)
djuidab	needle used for the lattice weave
famalidab	pattern of the dab

4: Krämer--244-246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians - 4
116, 285 Woleai

Plaiting.

(cf. photo 19) [VMM: see source]

Kotzebue: to sew, thigi.

As is the case elsewhere, coconut fronds and pandanus leaves are used for plaiting. The latter become withered, mang, over the fire instead of being dried in the sun and wrapt into a roll. This roll, sabil lū mang, is preserved until it is needed.

For scraping the leaves or the stripes, mother-of-pearl shells are used. For plaiting, the wooden piece (wa sigerara) is used.

Mats.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise...III, page 62: mat of pandanus leaves, mang; sleeping mat, sagi; the raw materials are banana fibers, kou.

Hellwig shows a small pandanus mat, geagi, which lay in a child's cradle.

Hellwig shows a design of mat 113a [VMM: see source] and the plaiting style b from the Hamburger Museum. Plaiting, faije pe; beginning of the plait in the middle, fōlu; the work is done without a plaiting needle.

Hellwig: vaijepek (cf. above faijepe); stripes, geagi. [245]

Hellwig shows a square little bag, sigerara, of pandanus leaves with a lid, pilipilal; it is shown on photo 5m [VMM: see source]. It is made with the plaiting stick waisigerara (see above).

On oleai too the gaigers bags occur; they are frequently used for steels for striking

fire, and are plaited from pandanus leaves.
Hellwig shows a little bag of coconut pinnae, deibe.

Baskets Without Handles

Krämer: tjuk i le monga, "food basket" for fresh fruits of the fields; shown in Figure 19g [VMM: see source]. It is quickly made from two half fronds and has a braid on the bottom inside.

Otherwise these baskets are known as tug watau or more simply as watau. The long sides are called golongal watau, the upper edge jawale, the outer floor verëlle, the inner bottom lanne, the end sides tawole, the knots vugevug, the green coconut leaves balnu, and the dry leaves epal. A small basket carried by women is called woatau, and a basket for men, ware wotau.
Hellwig shows a watau with a loop at each of the corners, tied with a cord of human hair, tim, and decorated with a shell, tigere. (see photo 5h) [VMM: see source].

Roundweaving baskets occur here:
Hellwig: gabëes; Hellwig: gabedj; the bottom is square. Hellwig; ka'caul is a round high basket with a square bottom.

Baskets With Handles.

Krämer shows a basket known as gat and used for the preservation of food stuffs. Photo 19b [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--244-246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-3
116, 285 Woleai

Krämer: gappare; the handle inside is of coconut fiber and is called gappari; illustration photo 19c [VMM: see source], Hellwig: kapolo, kato; [246] kaporo. Hellwig: kaporo, kad; the type is shown on photo 19c [VMM: see source] and has a long handle in the middle.

Hellwig: tug e sari, a cradle; photo 19h [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: tuk ë sari, a basket for a newborn baby, photo 19f [VMM: see source].

The type of plaiting is known as faoagell. The basket has two handles one on each side; in the case of h it is plaited and on f it is twisted from cord (Mariam). Compare the cradles of Lamotrek.

Fans
for Fire, Wind, and Mosquitoes.

Krämer shows a firefan, galipo; the plaiting type is known as taraual and is done one up one down. Photo 19i [VMM: see source].

Krämer shows a firefan, galipo; the plaiting type taraual, 1 and 2. Photo 19k [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: a fan, saipe.

Plaiting patterns.

The pin-wheel, known from Truk, occurs.

Rope Baskets

Krämer: a rope basket, uotaudjo.

4: Krämer--244-246 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 285 Woleai

Hellwig: watau sou; this type of basket is no longer made although formerly it was very widespread.
Hellwig: triangular srotur bag of rope with rings, talling.
Hellwig: a small triangular weaving bag for women.
Hellwig: koman or komadle, coconut fiber beetle.

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-4
116, 285 Woleai

Matting for G-strings, karir, genurs.
black stripes ligoroe
light stripes ligawassa
fringes matë rëlle

The types of mats are best illustrated by Elisabeth Krämer's catalogue remarks:

Krämer: kenuj, seven-striped mat of banana fibers, red and green (imported). Weave: ligos, plain weave.

Krämer: kenuj ligadja, the same with 7 red stripes; weave: ligos.

Hellwig: stripes with red borders.

Krämer: kenuj, the same, black and white; weave: gasuitip. Three shed formation.

Hellwig: the first to fourth stripes are green, the selvedge red.

Krämer kenuj, is done in the same manner but more delicately and is trimmed with fringes, sük; materel braids take the place of the loose threads. [249]

Krämer: giligoi, a seven striped hibiscus mat typical for women; weave: gasuitip: three-shed formation with decorative banana fibers. These mats are old and today they are hard to get.

Krämer shows one made in the same manner but in the goilipat weave; see photo 20 [VMM: see source]. Width 49 centimeters, length 197 centimeters.

Hellwig: karir, genus; this mat is beautiful, seven-striped, and black and white in color.

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 285 Woleai

Hellwig: seven-striped, brownish and sprinkled with 6-7 fine white stripes.

Three-Striped Mats.

Krämer: balüelüf; it is a three-striped banana fiber mat white and green in color (bugarau); the nigos weave is used (plain weave).

Krämer: balüelüf etap is the same with tap, interwining pattern; designs: ngisum tridacna tooth, pub, fish. nigos weave.

Krämer: peig, three-striped of banana fibers. Stripes of red are broken, interwining pattern, tap. Weave gasuitip; three-shed formation.

Krämer: peig, the same as the last but more finely woven. It has three designs: 1. bailimal, birdclaw, 2. ngisum, tridacna tooth, 3. failimat, eye lid.

Krämer: peig ugo tal, the same. It has the designs 1. ngisum 2. failimat 3. bailimal ; the middle stripe is dissolved into three. The weave: gasuiup; see photo 20k [VMM: see source]. Width 48 centimeters, length 203 centimeters.

Krämer: maletilil, ngarevutelil, is a three-striped mat of hibiscus with decorative banana fibers. Weave: goilipat done with a four-shed formation. This type of mat is hard to get nowadays. . . .

Krämer: photo 20h [VMM: see source], 197 centimeters long and 49 centimeters wide.

Krämer: peig, a finely woven mat for women. Weave: gasuitieb; three-shed formation. Pictured on photo 20i [VMM: see source]. Width 47 1/2 centimeters, length 207 centimeters.

4: Krämer--247-250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-3
116, 285 Woleai

Krämer: Weave: galut. Four-shed formation see photo 20d [VMM: see source]. Length 193 centimeters, width 50 1/2 centimeters.
Krämer: gasuitieb weave, three-shed formation.
Krämer: is very finely woven in the manner of the Ifaluk mats. Length 210 centimeters, width 52 centimeters; photo 20e [VMM: see source].

On that page there are the following mats of Hellwig:

a. kab, gab. Width 61 centimeters, length 260 centimeters. Coarse weave. Photo 20a.

b. kab; banana fibers. Width 66 centimeters, length 252 centimeters. Wotagai, photo 20b.

c. kab. Width 56 1/2 centimeters, length 237 centimeters. Coarsely woven. Wotagai.

f. dorr, torr, pek. Width 45 1/2 centimeters, length 18. 7 centimeters, Mariam. Photo 20f. [250]

g. Width 47 1/2 centimeters, length 178 centimeters. Wolea. Photo 20 l.

Hellwig listed the following terms for a mat which was almost identical with f (see above):

wide black longitudinal stripes	nugurale
narrow longitudinal stripes (red)	nigotra
outer marginal stripe	naretol

inner marginal stripe neriwor
stripes across dabobo (see above tap)
[ER: A chart of patterns follows in the text, but is omitted here.]

6: Senfft--57
116, 285

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

1. A loom (wisul); this is used by the women for weaving clothing mats made of banana fiber. The mats (tor) are 20 to 40 centimeters wide and have borders and fringes at the ends. The mats for work, which they also weave, are coarse and plain (chap). They wind the warp on four pegs (malier) which are stuck into the ground.

11: Born--186 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 285, 142 Woleai

The women also plait all kinds of mats, handbags, and small pouches in which tobacco, tinderboxes, kindling implements, and all the other small articles which the natives carry about with them may be kept. Betel, however, and the articles that go with it are missing; the Oleaï natives do not chew betel and therefore have beautiful white teeth.

11: Born--186-187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 285, 462 Woleai

The most difficult task of the women is weaving, which they do with great skill and taste. This is very slow work and requires a great deal of patience. It may take months to weave a single mat. Even the preparation of [187] banana and hibiscus fibers, cleaning and dyeing them, takes a great deal of time and care. The loom, paap, is attached to a belt, talletói, worn by the weaver. The sword, which beats down the weft, is made of black jengi wood which has a high natural polish; the term for sword is gopóp (opóp on Ruck). The term for shuttle is gasáp (asáp on Ruck).

They make narrow belts for men, wide mats for women, and large plain mats which are made of hibiscus fiber; the mats used for clothing are made of banana fiber. These large mats are used as a protection against mosquitoes and as a cover for the marr paste after it has been washed.

The pattern most frequently used is black and white longitudinal stripes; there are seven black and six white stripes. There are more attractive mats, which have three narrow black vertical stripes in the center and horizontal stripes at the ends. There is a large variety of horizontal patterns; I have never seen two that were identical.

Recently, a few women have been using red aniline to dye the fiber.

The average price of a mat is approximately equivalent to one Mark.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

192
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
142

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
643
142
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

1: Burrows-40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"The first step in weaving is to set up the warp. This is done on a set of seven pegs stuck in holes on a board about 3 feet long. The pegs project from the board about 8 inches. The order in which fibers of different colors are wound on the pegs determines the succession of longitudinal stripes in the cloth, and the number of turns taken of each color determines the width of each stripe. On every other turn a short separate piece of fiber is passed about the warp and then tied in a small loop or leash around one of the pegs. This procedure is shown in Fig. 4.

The warp thus prepared is then transferred to the loom. The construction of this is shown in Fig. 3.

The weaver sits facing the frame, with her feet braced against it. She fastens the belt about her back, and by leaning back on it keeps the warp taut. The weft is wound on a shuttle shaped like the netting-needles used in making seines. Successive weft fibers are pressed together with a sword. Fringes are left at each end of the piece of cloth. The weaving is entirely in simple check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"Though the fruit of bananas is not esteemed, the fiber of the trunk is in great demand for weaving native cloth. Women remove the green outer layer, then peel off in thin strips the fiber of which most of the trunk is composed. They hang it in the sun for two or three days, soak it in salt water for four or five days, then hang it out again for a period that varies from five to ten days, depending on the sunshine. Then they split it to the width desired. Most of the cloths ran between 20 and 30 wefts to the inch. The fibers are not spun, but woven flat.

The bast of hau (gilivō; Hibiscus tiliaceus) is also used for weaving, but is considered inferior to banana fiber. Of the many uses to which this species of Hibiscus is put elsewhere in the Pacific, the only ones customary on Ifalik are for weaving and formerly, we were told, for fishing-lines. The plant is not abundant and does not grow to great size, perhaps because the women cut most of the shoots young. To prepare the bast for weaving, they scrape off the outer bark and soak the sticks in salt water, weighted down with coral, for four days. Then they strip off the bast, hang it in the sun to bleach and dry, and split it into wefts, most of them a little coarser than those of banana fiber. They are said to be good for women's skirts, but too stiff for men's loin cloths."

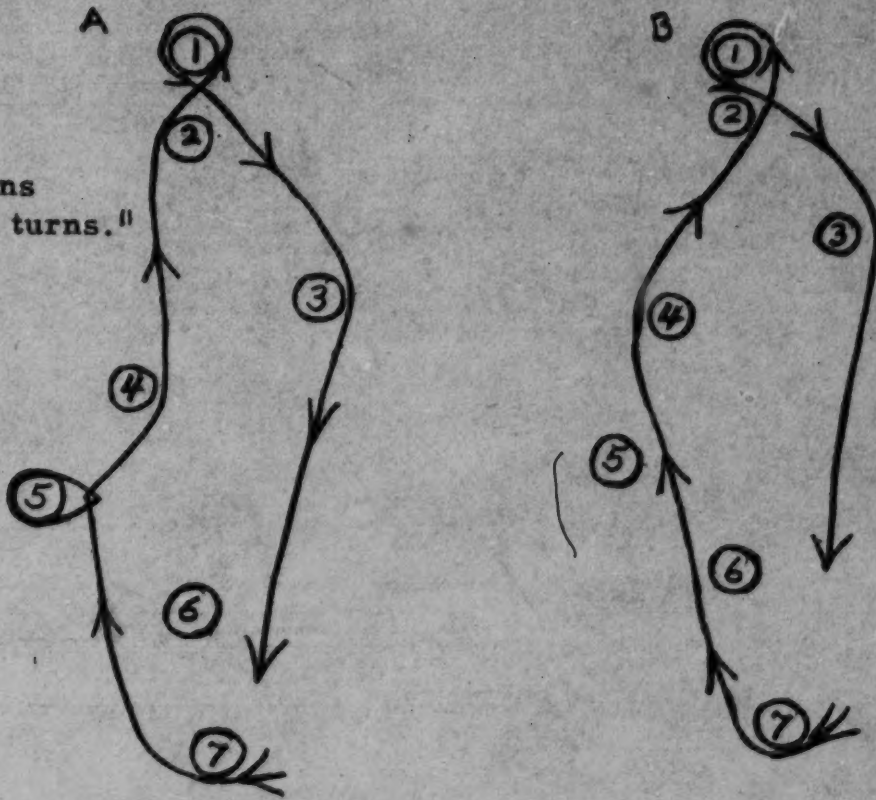
1: Burrows--40-A
116, 286

(1947-48)

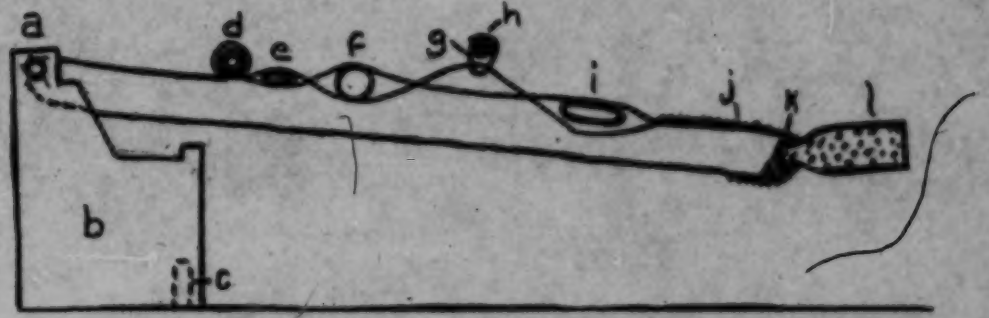
Woleaians
Ifalik

"Fig. 2. -Setting up the warp:

A, first and odd numbered turns
B, second and even-numbered turns."



"Fig. 3. -Diagram showing construction of loom:



A, warp beam; b, frame (wijalo); baseboard (pap), used as brace for weaver's feet; d, round laze rod (ulut); e, flat laze rod (tiwe); f, shed stick (tepang); g, leash; h, heddle rod (ngeng); i, sword (apop); j, finished fabric; k, cloth beam; l, belt (tali). "

1: Burrows--83I (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

is presumably ancient. A study of the distribution of the technique and the name would probably clear up this question."

1: Burrows--83K-83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Seines (äting) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifalik. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoe-houses. Sennit cord of the common size called golgol is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (zäp) of a form widespread in the Pacific. [83L] Most of those on Ifalik are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord (Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (äf). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 286 Ifalik

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost Falārlk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is Falārlk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

2: Damm et al. --43-44 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 286 Ifaluk

Weaving.

The materials are made of fine banana fibers (wüis) or compact hibiscus fibers (gulifāo); occasionally they are dyed black or red. A wooden needle entwines artistic borders.

The loom (dăl) is fastened to two poles (wīsăl) which are stamped down into the ground, and then attached to the wall of the house or the roof; the similar system is used on Kusae. The girdle for the weaver is tied on the notched board. The weaver is seated on a plank (fáwa). The parts of the loom are called [AN: compare drawing 142]: [44]

Number in the drawing	English term	Ifaluk
1	warp and breast beams	băb
2	sword	gabŏb
3	heald rod	nŭn
4	separating stick	dĕba
5	cross staff	olŭd
6, 7		dib
	warp threads	ănudŏlu

Weaving (to weave is dŏdor) formerly played an important role as a household craft, but today this is not so popular on account of the introduction of the European calico. In olden days the material was bananas (ɣemies) and hibiscus fibers (gulivă). Materials woven of the former are costly and, naturally, are preferred to the crude hibiscus fabrics. The fibers are scraped with a stick (Krämer: bäüro) in order to make them supple. The weaving material is kept in round baskets (gabăăi, Hellwig: xabăes) of coconut leaf strips.

The fabrics are placed on a horizontal loom, which has the same bracing box as the one on Satowal, for example. [130] The members of the expedition give the following terms for the various parts of the loom:

Numbers in the drawing	Hambruch	Krämer
1. bracing box	ûijă	buijallo
2. foot	bothell e ûijă	
3. upper ledge of the box	thumall e ûijă	
4. warp beams	berappă	
upper		babanügun
lower		babaripälam
5. bamboo lease rod	tepaṅŏ	

	thin wood stick	ollotó
6.	sword	c hapob
7.	shuttle	tibua
8.	box girdle of coconut string (xoloxăle)	dăle

2: Damm et al. --169-170 (1909) 1938 **Woleaians**
116, 173, 286 **Faraulep**

As on all the Caroline Islands, there is little weaving being done today; this is very unfortunate, because the women had developed their skill to an astonishing level of craftsmanship. [170] According to the native legends, there were no woven mats in olden days; and people ran around naked. Then incest occurred at rather frequent intervals, because men could not tell their sisters, children and wives apart. So the god Lugulen told Aifáth to bring men a loom, so that they might weave mats, and be able to tell themselves apart. *

Hibiscus bast and banana fibers are woven, but the latter are preferred on account of their superior quality.

"* It seems that the various clans also had certain weaving patterns."

2: Damm et al. --170 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 286 Faraulep

The weaving material is kept in a round basket (xápen), which is similar in form to the one on Aurepik. Plate 13 [VMM: See source] shows the structure of the loom, and Fig. 247 [VMM: See source] the form of the wooden frame. The various parts are called:

the front and back warp beam - páp
the sword - xabŏp
the heald rod - nŭn
the shuttle - thritŏp (it has the same form as the one used on Aurepik)
girdle of the bracing box - tádi.
box with warp beam - puijálf
decoration on the box in red and black - xâu iél iár
diagonal beam over the warp beam - nugŭd
beam which serves as a support for the feet - fafá.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
286 Elato

Thickets of Hibiscus provide the textile fibers for mats and waistcloths.

4: Krämer--59-60
116, 226, 286

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1·3
Lamotrek

Nets djauo, djrou.
Float--úgopẽs, sinker--faurem.

The nets are made in the usual manner (according to Hellwig) with the netting needle, djaf, which must have the width of the mesh metal ("his eye") which is held secure by the knot búgabug. The yarn is wound around the shuttle kadjap; the split ends of the shuttle are known as ewále or kadjap.

The netting needle is generally of arur wood, but the shuttle is of bamboo, buái, which comes from the west ('Yap).

The yarn, gologól, is made of the husk fibers of young coconuts, which must soak in water for three to four months before they may be treated with the fiber beater, the pelai or komang. Then they are twisted into thin cords, mut, on the thigh (or by a special mechanical device); [60] two or, more rarely, three or four mut constitute the gologól.

Made from coconut yarn.

garom	mesh is as thick as a pencil and is square; the net is approximately two meters long and one meter wide and is held by two men.
ugali vomei	the mesh is as thick as a finger (vómei--deep water)

ugalei mesh of the thickness of four fingers.
ieting (aating) mesh of the thickness of six fingers.
gal a net made in the Ifaluk manner. It is a net bag attached to three handle cords, by which it is hauled in. Into the netting, at the bottom, a live fish is placed. The diameter of the net is two to two and a half feet. For bait, ro and gidjegidj are used. The fish caught are mainly scarus species; often five to ten varying in length from a half to one foot are hauled in at a time.

swimmer above
uápes
sinker below
baurem

ū til (tin) is used for catching the small (5-8 centimeters long) til fish which resemble our sardine. gosi met a til is to be translated as "catching the eye of the til" and is the name of a song, which the women start singing on the fourth day after fishing has begun, and which ends with a general scream; for the first four days no til may be eaten, especially since at the start the returns are rather poor. til is eaten with its bones; the head is put into the mouth first; otherwise fishing will be unsuccessful. The net is a long sack held open by two parallel rods. A third stick lies across the two like a handle. Counts up to one billion (see Feis at the end) indicate the nature of catches of this fish.

ugalei (like garom above) serves as a net sack which comes handy when by means of rul lines--which are called rob here--a funnel is set up on the reef platform at low tide; through it the fish are driven into the net. The ugalei net is often laid out in a semi-circle. In place of a second net often a basket u le moróuel (see above) is added; in the

case of garom they are mainly modj, márafas, etc.

A frame net, djrou soiloile is shown on Plate 5a [VMM: see source].

The frame is called atil, the fork ekan, the wooden section underneath the lashing básebas, the lashing vövò, the mesh metál, the knot bugabug, the tips of the net fangál, and the handle kómásu.

Hellwig calls the fishing net djrauŏ, the front part of the frame gatille, and the back part viabále.

Hellwig: fishing net djrauŏ, frame atil.

Plate 5b [VMM: see source] is a net for catching the souls of Ikelur, which is called djrou i alus, because with it evil spirits may be caught that have been driven away.

A large fishing net was another specimen picked up.

4: Kramer--74 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 286 Lamotrek

That weaving is very important on the island is indicated by the many ornamented looms, or looms of types that we have not observed on other islands of the Carolines (Figure 45h-1). [VMM: see source]. Their wooden frame work serves to receive the warp and as a foot rest for the women weavers. Figure 46 [VMM: see source]. Setting up of the (continuous) warp is done, as on Truk and Tobi and most of the other islands, on pegs that have previously been described. They are driven into the ground at certain distances from each other and the continuous warp thread is wound around them in a prescribed manner. As everywhere in the South Seas mats are woven from Hibiscus and banana fibers.

The Technique of Weaving
Winding the Warp

Pegs are called maiuel. For winding the continuous warp, five pegs are used which, here, as everywhere in the region of the South Seas, are driven into the ground at a certain distance from one another. I measured 4 1/2 hand spans from the first to the fifth peg (Figure 48).

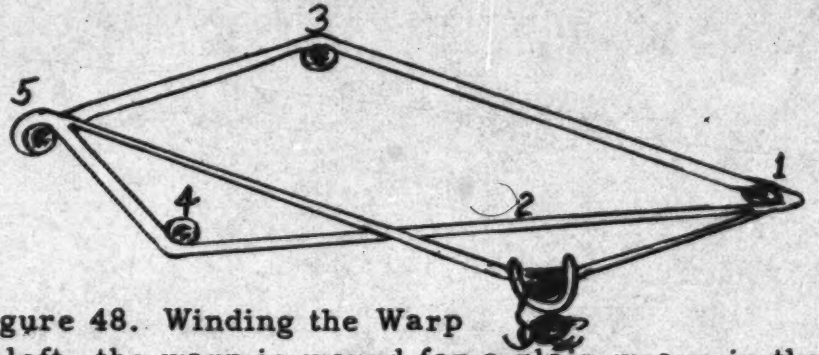


Figure 48. Winding the Warp

[80] Counted from right to left, the warp is wound for a plain weave in the normal manner so that the heddle threads are introduced at no. 2, no. 5 is the cross, no. 3 the cloth beam (transferred to the warp beam) and no. 4 the shedding stick.

The two sheds of the plain weave on the warp are prepared by a double tour. 1st half: the warp thread begins in front of 1 and runs in back of 2, in front of 4, and from behind

around 5; then it crosses and in back of 3 runs back to 1, 2nd half: in back of 2 (warp threads laid around it) and 4 and 5 and back to 3. These double tours always remain the same, with the one difference that the heddle threads hold the warp threads alternately right and left of peg 2.

Two double tours can be expressed in the following manner by numbers; only the peg which remains in front of the thread is mentioned. 1, 2, and 5 are always alike and therefore are not mentioned. Wound from right to left the system is:

2
4 L 2
2
4 2 L x

If the color of the thread is to be changed, for instance from white to black, then the old thread is cut immediately behind no. 1 and the black thread is knotted on at this point (x to the right of 2).

For the fine white uidj threads in the black stripe only one half double tour is needed; thus one winds 2 1/2 double tours in black, 1/2 in white uidj, and once more 2 1/2 black. In the finished textile, e.g. the striped mats of the men, white threads will appear in the black stripe.

In the women's mat described, first thin single threads in the black stripe alternate with decorative stitches; for this 2 white uidj threads are necessary and are wound in

one double tour. In order to produce this effect two more shed formations are necessary. They are not considered when the warp is wound, but are added later on when weaving has begun.

When the warp of the width of the mat to be has been wound around the pegs it is taken off by two women; they go about their job in the manner prescribed and very carefully transfer the warp to the loom and straighten it out. To straighten out the warp is known as gaporette. Two flat sticks and several thick fibers are woven in; they serve as shedding sticks and around them the warp threads are distributed and moved in such a fashion that they are finally arranged in the desired [81] width of the mat. Weaving is begun with a shed held open by the shedding stick and one produced by the heddle; both are maintained until the very finish of mats of plain weaves.

Then there are the gasuitiĕb mats with black decorative stitches. The sheds necessary to produce this pattern are formed after weaving the mat in a plain weave has progressed to about the width of a hand. The sword is sent through the shed of the heddle, most of the decorative threads of the warp (the black threads) are on top, whereas on the other side the black threads run under the sword and over the shedding stick that is moved back. A flat piece of bamboo, the gasuitiĕb is sent through the warp in back of the shedding stick in such a manner that it covers only the black threads that are meant to produce the decorative stitches (those that lie next to the white uidj threads) whereas all the others are over it. (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). After the stick has

been inserted it is used in the next shed together with the shedding stick, so that the threads which it covers up cannot come to lie on top, but must remain underneath where they produce the black stitches on the lower side of the textile. The next weft in the heddle shed leaves them again underneath and it is not until one comes to the third shed that the stick is pushed back so that the threads may reappear. That means that they have been covered up three times and thus formed the stitches on the back side of the mat.

Manner of treading:* shedding stick with gasuitiĕb
heddles
shedding stick
heddles
shedding stick with gasuitiĕb, etc.

In this manner weaving is continued until almost at the end, at a hand's width from it, one changes back to the plain weave used at the beginning. The final product is a mat with loose stitches on one side. The wrong side becomes the right side of the mat. It has three shed formations. If the mat is meant to look the same on both sides, a second heddle thread is added [82] which holds the same black threads as the former and lifts

*A technical expression taken from the plain weave loom; it denotes the sequence of shed formations.

them together with the heddles so that the decorative stitches are also brought out on the right side of the mat.

Treading method: shedding stick with gasuitieb
heddles
shedding stick
heddles with 2 heddles
shedding stick
heddles
shedding stick with gasuitieb, etc.

In this manner loose stitches result on both sides, and the threads which otherwise remain underneath because they belong to the shed are lifted so that for three turns they remain uncovered by the weft.

4; Krämer--79-82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
286 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of the technique of weaving, see 4: Krämer 79-82.]

Hellwig shows a forked netting frame, kasäb; gajab; open ends ĕwali.
Hellwig: netting pin, jäf.

knots, bugabug; meshes, metal; completed seine, ading; to place in the water by fathoms, kalligilŏgi; the upper line of the float is called tanuabess; the float; uabess is made of actocarpus wood and has a sinker of coral stone which is called vaurem. [247]

h. Weaving.

(Cf. photos 17 and 20) [VMM: see source].

Figure 114 is the drawing of a woman weaving, made from a photo [VMM: see source].

Photo 20 [VMM: see source]shows the identity of the mat with that of Lamotrek. This means that on Oleai, too, there exist three-striped mats with bands across and four-striped mats. The ornaments naturally vary locally. The designs are put in in the course of the weaving and with the weaving needles, dji dab, made from bone, dji, of the turtle or other fish. Figure 115a-c a. Hellwig: cil i daob "bone pattern"; fish bones, daoo rare. Length 17 centimeters.
b. Hellwig: druiitob; head, semel; point, tawol; wood, kaini. Length 27 centimeters.
Hellwig: cil däb, test bone cil le wong.
Krämer shows a weaving needle of wood that drifted ashore.
Born: weaving frame, pap; belting, talletoi; sword, gopop of jengi wood.
Krämer: mür, black pumice stone for dying yarn.

4: Krämer--246-247 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 286 Woleai

Hellwig: pumice stone with which old iron parts are scraped. The rust is put into salt water together with crushed kid leaves. In this liquid banana and hibiscus fibers are dyed black.

A bunch of hibiscus fibers, dallivörsik gulivä. Mosquito netting, márup.

28: Spiro--37-38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 286 Ifalik

"This concern for the people of another district, which is expressed in this kind of cooperative labor, is in some cases enjoined by the chiefs. For example the island of Falalap required additional seins. Now a sein is usually about sixty feet long and about nine feet wide, and its construction, is a long and arduous job, requiring a huge quantity of rope. The Falalap chiefs ordered their men to make seins, and the [38] Felerik men, at the order of their chiefs, also made seins for Falalap, with their own rope though they would receive no direct benefit from this work."

28: Spiro--42 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 291, 286 Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--80 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 286 Ifalik

"To be noted finally, are the women's skirts. These are woven on a true loom, though the origin of the loom is unknown, as far as I know. The threads are colored by natural dyes, coral being immersed in water, and the natural color of the coral dissolving in the water to form the dyes. The basic pattern of the skirts is the same, alternating bands of two basic colors."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

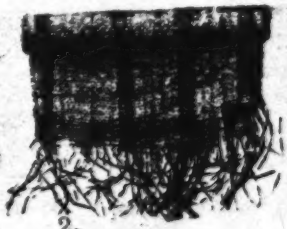
6: Müller--196 E-5 (1909-1910) 1917 OR22 Yap OR22
Woleai OR21
Truk OR19
Ulithi OR20

/Between pp. 114 and 115./

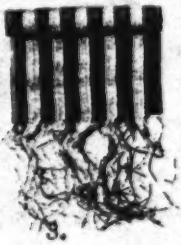
Plate 32

Y
286
531
184

1.



2.

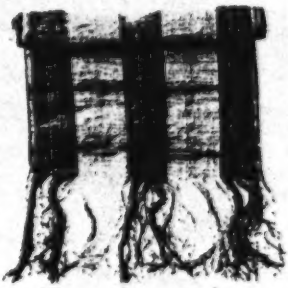


3.

Y
U
W
286
531

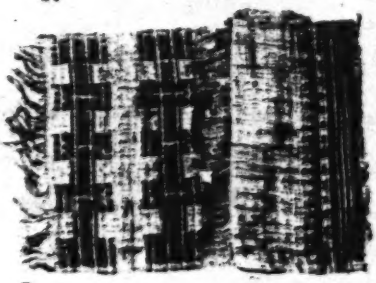
4.

5.

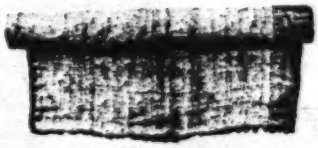


6.

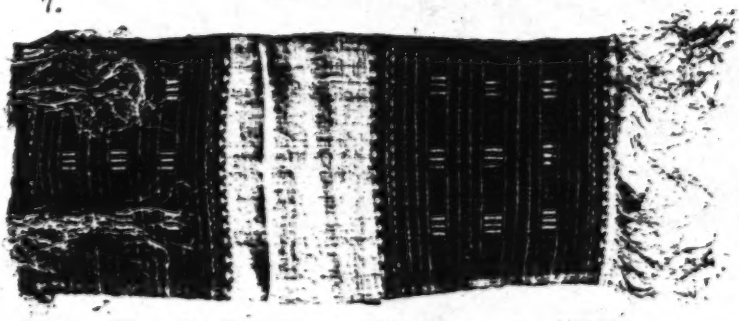
Y
T
W
286
531



7.



8.



9.

1. Old weaving, fāgă̆ĭl. Village of Māvŭ́, 102: 41 cm. Mü. Coll. 189.
2. Old weaving, fāgă̆ĭl. Village of Māvŭ́, 116: 43 cm. id. 308.
3. Weaving vāgĭ. Village of Gă̆tšălaŋ́. 132. 5:25 cm., id. 55.

(cont.)

6: Müller--197 E-5 (1909-1910) 1917 OR22 Yap OR22
Truk OR19
Woleai OR21
Uiithi OR20

Y W U /Captions for Pl. 32 cont./

286 531
4. Weaving from Mogĕmŏg. 134:37 cm., id. 194.
5. Weaving from Gătšălaju or the central Carolines, 125 cm., id. 53.
6. Mat from Fĕlŭg (Ifaluk), 150:51 cm., id. 162.
7. Old Lūĕtš weaving. Village of Lūĕtš, 44.5: 126.5 cm., id. 188.

T W 286 531
8. Mat from Truk, 205:54.5 cm., id. 193.
9. Mat from Ănănāj (Oleai), 129:35 cm., id. 39, 1/10 actual size.

U 286 192 /115 cont./

10. ĭlŏŏ: bamboo tube around which the whole warp runs, corresponding to the Yap vŏtšavŏts.

11. tăpăn: the bamboo tube separating the two primary warp-layers, corresponding to the tărăn.

12. vālŏnŏn and ńŏń: the lifter of the lower primary warp-layer, with its spiral thread. On the Mŏgĕmŏg loom this arrangement is doubled; the second raises individual threads of the other primary warp-layer, so that here another, but not equivalent shed is formed.

13. ŋĭv or ŋiŋ: little bamboo stick that divides this warp-layer in half.

14. ŋiv or ŋiŋ: four little sticks at the beginning of the weaving, corresponding to the two "mĭt."

U 286 The arrangement of the warp is also different and more complicated, although the woman doing the weaving contents herself with four sticks (Pl. 30, No. 2).[1] The separation of the warp-layers is done by the stick to the right of the woman, around the outer half of which the spiral thread is drawn. Despite the fact that the Yap people can observe this method every day, they have not imported it.

Y [177] 286 436 462 184 Mat-money Weaving. A little remains to be added about the technique of weaving the mat-money, which is done only

[1] [see page 188.--Analyst]

4: Krâmer--127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396, 502, 288 Lamotrek

In Garapan there was a shipyard where the Carolinians could learn the construction of boats; connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation. Anyone who wanted to be independent and in charge of a boat had to pass an exam before a council of pilots. Close by was a rope-making establishment. There the material for the ropes-to-be was hung high on a palm tree and the strands were twisted and each one had a circumference of 4-5 inches. Ropes were made up to a length of 100 fathoms.

"Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, riri, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, ènènux, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing."

2: Damm et al. --23-26 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Ifaluk

Both sexes wear woven loin mats (bălebal) of banana and hibiscus fibers *. Generally they are decorated with long black stripes (garĭl), and then red stripes (garĭl ligodjăl) are interspersed between them occasionally. All of the mats have fringes (Maderăl). The most prized loin mats are the ones with artistic diagonal black stripes (dăb), which have a wealth of different types of patterns (gaiăgi dawŏl). [26]

Young girls wear an apron (siwisĭf) of leaf strips, which can be made from various kinds of trees; it consists of a front and a back apron, and it is fastened under the gĭdi girdle.

The hat (bălŭń) is made out of pandanus leaf strips, which are sewed together.

---

* According to Robertson this clothing is similar to what the Oleai natives wear, and it consists of fine pandanus mats.

2; Damm et al, --123
116, 291

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Both men and women wear the woven loin aprons, which constitute their clothing. Little girls wore a grass skirt, while the boys were naked, or donned the woven loin apron of the men. a) Grass skirts (Hellwig: bánñ; Krämer: pánnñ) are worn by girls before they reach adolescence. They consist of pandanus leaf strips (Hellwig: vas), which are tied to a coconut fiber string. b) Woven loin aprons (dóle) are made of hibiscus or banana fibers (Hellwig: wuis, wüis); the latter are softer and have a silky sheen, so they are more expensive than the others. The designs on Eauripik clothing mats are as varied as they are on Ifaluk. Krämer made the following table of mats, but he observed that the notations came from a Faraulip man.

1) dór (Hellwig: dórr); a mat with two narrow black strips along the sides; the center has two broad black and two narrow red strips.

2) gáb; a mat with two narrow black border strips and a middle strip of equal width.

3) bülou; see plate 8, left center. [VMM: See source]

4) dóro kíti see plate 8 left below. [VMM: See source]

5) béig; a mat with two narrow red strips in a black middle field; see plate 8 upper left. [VMM: See source]

c) Hip girdles for women: 1) xrím (Hellwig) made out of human hair, as on Ifaluk.

2) Datár (Hellwig) of coconut disks, in three strands, and with tortoise-shell fillets. These girdles are characteristic of Aurepik; they were sold to Polowat.

d) Hats (dólivat) of pandanus leaves stitched together; these are for both men and women.

2: Damm et al. --162 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 291 Faraulep

The clothing varies according to the age and the sex of the wearer. The natives believe that Eluelap introduced it in order to prevent incest. Accordingly, a man cannot appear without his loin apron. This does not apply to boys and girls until they are four; they go naked. Then the girls begin to wear a modesty skirt (ṯiwísíf) of fragrant grasses, while the boys don the woven loin apron (xariur). The women's mat (béix) is also woven, but it is considerably wider. The men's loin cloth is in the T shape, but the women's is held on a string (śrím), that is plaited of hair; and over it they generally have a girdle of three to four strands of coconut beads; this girdle (mxramar) is divided into fields by shell fillets. While this is made on Faraulip, it does not apply to the rare girdle, (xídi) bought on Aurepik; it is very wide (up to eight strands) and it is also divided into fields by means of fillets.

Seafarers have clothing that affords better protection; they wear pointed caps, stitched together out of pandanus strips (párin), and when the weather is really inclement, they use rain caps (palúu), sailing jackets (nikót) and coconut dress mats (ua lulié).

4: Krämer--34 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

European dress is not seen [VMM: on Lamotrek]

The costume of both sexes is similar to that of the natives of Truk and the surrounding islands. The men wear the G-string and the boys go naked; women wear their plaited mats, and growing girls like to cover themselves in front and in the back with bunches of leaves. This protection is known as titi; it is the same word that is used on Samoa for the girls' apron.

Girls' skirts are made in the following manner: fern leaves are dried in the sun and then the stalks are chewed (Elisabeth Krämer: nürei) until they become soft. Then two of the leaves are tied with two others and two new ones are placed on them from both the right and the left and the stems are plaited into a braid while the tips are held between the knees. On Plate 3b [MR: see source] one can well see the stems sticking out on top and the picture shows very well the type of ornamentation that the girls put on. Parinarium nuts were named as scent; they had drifted ashore and were hung up on women's houses. Elato: aiss.

4: Krämer--37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Lamotrek

Belts are called gabidj (Hellwig: xapéss, worn--tetár) and are usually made up of three strands. I was told that the name for one of the three strand belts, which was said to have been imported, was tagágapaki; paki or pake are the little bridges that hold the strands apart and in place, and which have previously been discussed in Truk page 109, where they were called fëken. They are made of white shell or of leang (Truk: Leange-éo Pteroceras) or of mother-of-pearl or tortoise shell. The strand of the belt are generally made up of little pieces of coconut shell, or beads, and more rarely of tortoise-shell as is the case with the fine, precious and beautiful belts of the Western Carolines, the taral of Oleai.... Whenever these more elaborate belts are worn it is certain that they have been imported. Plate 3b [VMM: see text] shows such a belt, of seven strands, worn by the girl on the right, while plate 3c shows a woman wearing the more ordinary belt of three strands; see also Figure 8 [VMM: see source]. The girl on the left of Plate 3b has a single strand for holding up the titir...and another one of this type is shown on photo 372 (Plate 3c) [VMM: see source]. Usually they are twisted from human hair like the handles of the baskets in Fig. 42 [VMM: see source]. These hair belts are known as toradja djiem. (Hellwig: tetáre sim of Elato.)

First Type of Mat

(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

4: Krämer--190 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
291 Woleai

Most of the men were nude as were the women, whereas some wore a decorative belt around their bodies, near the navel; these belts are about one inch in width and composed of pieces of black and white shells which are perforated and strung in the manner of beads. Some of the natives wore a wide, brimmed, conical hat, somewhat reminiscent of the hats of the Chinese.

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 291 Woleai

Children usually go naked. Girls, after they have begun to menstruate, wear a grass belt, the sivisif (Born: siwesiw); Hellwig shows one made of coconut pinnae; another is made of hibiscus fibers. As elsewhere woven mats, gabalabal (Gabalei, . . . om, gaban) (Born: gapalepal, Kotzebue: gapellepel) are the predominant costume of the women. The workday mat is coarsely plaited from banana and hibiscus fibers (Hellwig: gabe); they often have black (lugural) and red (Ligotra European) stripes (see under bülo). The men wear loincloths (Hellwig: garrogiss) and a rain cloak, negau (nego), made from hibiscus fiber strips. The loincloth (Hellwig: kariri, genurs, gelurs) is woven from banana fibers. Born mentions men's mats, known as tor. Children may wear bunches of leaves which are often arranged in a fancy fashion as the girl on Figure 81 shows [VMM: see source]; this leaf protection is called erünnu or tivetio, Hellwig: jongjong vaifil, and is made of hibiscus fibers. Chains worn across the perineum are called chatiletach (Born). A loincloth for boys, with red and black hibiscus fibers (and banana fibers), is known as bülo; Hellwig shows a coarsely woven mat for women which is called by the same name.

Hat, barong (Hellwig: rarong, made of solivars pandanus). The brim is called narrête, the point ungale, the ring at the point ferigeli, the chinband gali and the seams dëdi.

5: Kittlitz--156
116, 291

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

We took this opportunity to observe the difference between the clothing of the married women and girls; the latter do not have the narrow woven skirt and instead they wear a circular apron of fresh leaves, which apparently has to be made fresh every day.

6: Senfft--55
116, 291

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Small children are naked. Young girls wear a short apron made of leaves or grasses which covers the abdomen and the seat and leaves the thighs bare. During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips. Although the clothing mats are too stiff to fit the figure properly, the women move so well that the mats are sufficient clothing, whether they are sitting or lying down. The men use the same type of mats, but somewhat narrower. They wear it between their legs and tie it around their hips so that the seat is not covered.

The men wear a narrow loincloth, tor, which is worn like that on Jap. Formerly this consisted of a narrow mat, but today most of the younger men use blue and red cloth; red cloth especially is very popular. When they wade in water that reaches above the hips [178] they remove the loincloth. Children of both sexes wear no clothes until they are about five years old.

The women's dress consists of a woven mat, [179] gapalepal, which they wind around their hips. When they sit down they push the front part of the mat between the upper legs. This garment encloses the hips and legs so tightly that the women all have a strange, stiff and mincing walk. The garment of the young girls is more comfortable. This siwesiw does not require as much labor as the mats of the women which have to be woven. A short apron, attached to a belt worn around the region of the navel, hangs down in front and back; this is made of fresh green leaves. They also wear a narrow strip of leafy material, chatiletach, between the legs. Today some of the young girls wear grass skirts, jungejung, similar to those worn by the Jap women, except that there they are wider and are made of several kinds of leaves and grass, while the skirts here are made of coconut fronds which have been cut into strips.

All the women wear a belt around the hips; this may consist of any kind of material. Often it is made of hairs which are plaited, tschiim, but usually it consists of three or four strands on which black beads made of coconut shells have been strung up, tartar. The strands are held together by small white disks made of shells, maijal shell. These disks are called pak and are made on Oleai. Several holes are drilled into them; they are inserted into the belt at regular intervals. There are usually nine disks in one belt. The belt is tied into a knot at the stomach; the strands, which consist of coconut yarn, are twisted together. I saw one beautiful belt of this type, more valuable than the type commonly worn. Rings made of polished tortoise shells had been substituted for the

coconut beads, and Gau disks which had been polished a dark red were inserted in place of the white shell disks. The jil is worn only at special occasions. This is not the property of one woman; it is a family heirloom, and may not pass out of the family without the permission of all its members. This ornament is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

11: Born--178-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians-3
116, 291 Woleai

Both men and women wear the hat made of pandanus leaves which is worn on Jap. Here it is called tscholifatsch.

28: Spiro--42 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 291, 286 Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--80 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 286 Ifalik

"To be noted finally, are the women's skirts. These are woven on a true loom, though the origin of the loom is unknown, as far as I know. The threads are colored by natural dyes, coral being immersed in water, and the natural color of the coral dissolving in the water to form the dyes. The basic pattern of the skirts is the same, alternating bands of two basic colors."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--116 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 864, 839 Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--118
116, 864, 291

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

37: Keiyosai--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 142, 291, 262 Woleai

"They are a fine, well made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellows. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoanuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

to him. This arrangement worked well, and soon the concert was in full swing. I watched for a while from the side lines, caught by the contrast of the brown, naked bodies sprawled on the smooth lawn, listening to jazz records on a portable phonograph.

Presently another aspect of the contrast was brought to our attention —which served also as an illumination of the pocket problem. Nudity, or the seminudity of a loin-cloth, has one great drawback—there are no pockets. Of course, pockets don't necessarily follow from clothing, as any woman in the modern West well knows. But the absence of clothing does necessarily result in an absence of pockets. The men of Ifaluk and the women of the West, for their different reasons, thus share the problem of how to carry small useful objects of the sort that the Western male so conveniently stuffs in his pockets. The solution, in both cases, has been the purse. The men of Ifaluk always carried their purses with them—capacious, neatly woven affairs, which they put beside them when they sat down and tucked under their arms as they walked. What, we often wondered, were the contents of such a purse?

We got some insight, on this occasion, from Tony. After three or four records, he remarked to me that he thought the needle should be changed. I remembered we had come across needles in our unpacking, but for the life of me I couldn't remember where we had put them.

"Oh, that's all right," said Tony.

And he started to fish around in the depths of his purse. Presently he emerged with a small package and started to peel off the layers of wrappings of dried banana leaf, to disclose, finally, a paper of phonograph needles.

The answer to our question about the contents of the Ifalukian purse was clear—it might contain anything. Which I suppose would also be the answer in the case of the female purse of the West. Only Tony, carting his precious packet of needles from Ulithi to phonographless Ifaluk, seemed to have attained a state of preparedness hardly equalled by the White Knight. And yet, as Tony so triumphantly demonstrated, you never can tell!

I was, then, in no way surprised, a few days later, to have Tony pull

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 292 Ifalik

"Either far or far en Nuta may be used for hats of flaring conical shape, which are sometimes used by men while fishing. These are called trelivar. Another name, parong, is used only among men. It refers to the under side of the penis, where the edge of the glans has an outline resembling the shape of these hats. A light hoop of gabwi wood forms the rim. To this are attached strips of coconut leaflet midrib which form ribs. They are gathered together in a point at the top. Pandanus leaves, whole except for trimmed edges, are laid vertically over this frame, overlapping and sewed on with horizontal seams of fine sennit cord. A band of the leaf, finely plaited like one of the small baskets, holds the leaves together at the top."

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 292 Woleai

Born calls the pointed hat tscholifadj.

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 ·2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

080 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

to him. This arrangement worked well, and soon the concert was in full swing. I watched for a while from the side lines, caught by the contrast of the brown, naked bodies sprawled on the smooth lawn, listening to jazz records on a portable phonograph.

Presently another aspect of the contrast was brought to our attention —which served also as an illumination of the pocket problem. Nudity, or the seminudity of a loin-cloth, has one great [illegible]back—there are no pockets. Of course, pockets don't necessarily follow from clothing, as any woman in the modern West well knows. But the absence of clothing does necessarily result in an absence of pockets. The men of Ifaluk and the women of the West, for their different reasons, thus share the problem of how to carry small useful objects of the sort that the Western male so conveniently stuffs in his pockets. The solution, in both cases, has been the purse. The men of Ifaluk always carried their purses with them—capacious, neatly woven affairs, which they put beside them when they sat down and tucked under their arms as they walked. What, we often wondered, were the contents of such a purse?

We got some insight, on this occasion, from Tony. After three or four records, he remarked to me that he thought the needle should be changed. I remembered we had come across needles in our unpacking, but for the life of me I couldn't remember where we had put them.

"Oh, that's all right," said Tony.

And he started to fish around in the depths of his purse. Presently he emerged with a small package and started to peel off the layers of wrappings of dried banana leaf, to disclose, finally, a paper of phonograph needles.

The answer to our question about the contents of the Ifalukian purse was clear—it might contain anything. Which I suppose would also be the answer in the case of the female purse of the West. Only Tony, carting his precious packet of needles from Ulithi to phonographless Ifaluk, seemed to have attained a state of preparedness hardly equalled by the White Knight. And yet, as Tony so triumphantly demonstrated, you never can tell!

I was, then, in no way surprised, a few days later, to have Tony pull

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

293 a small tube of yellow oxide of mercury out of that same purse, and ask me what it was for. When I explained, he graciously gave the tube to Tom, who had granulated eye-lids.

000 On Sunday (it was the 5th of July by then) I was just contemplating a siesta after a hard morning of mapping, when the peace of the island was broken by cries of "sail-ho" picked up and relayed from the windward side of Falalap across to Falarik in no time at all. Bakal arrived almost as fast as the cries, all out of breath, with Tony soon after, to report that it was a big Navy ship with the number "39" on the prow. The busy crossroads again.

We got out the walkie-talkies, but all we could hear was the "testing," "testing" of one another. The ship wasn't talking. Maroligar dragged a brand new American flag out of the chest by the Fan Nap altar, passing over two tattered ones that had been lying on top, and with Don's help tried to get it on the flagpole, which had been considerably damaged by the typhoon. They finally achieved a sort of half-mast effect—to the considerable puzzlement of the ship's captain, it turned out later.

Ted decided not to let anything as routine as a Navy visit to Ifaluk interfere with his siesta. Don and I, less blasé, haunted the beach until the grey hulk of a destroyer emerged from behind Falalap to anchor off the pass. A small boat put off immediately. When it beached, it turned out to have several cases of equipment identifiable as belonging to Bob Rofen. The crew said there was more cargo aboard. Don hardly dared believe that this might include his missing equipment. He and I went back to the ship with the boat and there, sure enough, were Don's drums, so carefully and lovingly packed in Pacific Grove months before.

We went into the wardroom and had coffee with the officers and told them all about Ifaluk. We borrowed paper, envelopes and stamps to surprise our wives with letters. When Ted came aboard, bringing money, we bought as many cartons of cigarettes as we could at the ship's stores, but this was the only thing we could think of that might be useful. The Ifalukian consumption of cigarettes was enormous—every adult on the island had the nicotine habit—and we were the

276
439

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"Young coconut leaves, before they open out, are prized for their color, which ranges from ivory to pale greenish yellow. Ornaments for the ankles, wrists, upper arms, neck and head, and bandoliers slung over one shoulder, are made of this nearly white young leaf (ubwut). There are many ways of tying the leaf to make the pointed ends stick out attractively. It may also be cut into zigzag or lacy patterns.

A man will put on a bit of this leaf when he turns out for any communal task, such as repairing a canoe-house. It appears in greatest profusion on men adorned for the dance. Women are not forbidden to wear it, but it is rarely seen on them. On Ifalik it is the males who wear the bright plumage."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"The fragrant petals of the pandanus flower, fastened together so that their pointed ends project like a crown, form a particularly effective garland for the head."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 301, 227

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 301 Ifalik

"Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments: bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifalik come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301, 431, 422 Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

2: Damm et al. --17 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Wooden combs (lõuwá) are favorite adornments for the hair; they are made of little sticks, which are pegged or fastened together [AN: see drawings 10-12 in source]. For dances they are also decorated with feathers.

2: Damm et al. --17-20 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 301 Ifaluk

The customary ear adornment (djûerú) consists of little coconut rings (darak) and of conus shell rings (madj: Hellwig: märće). Drawings 13-18, 25-27 show the multiplicity of the forms and arrangement of the rings. One piece (drawing 20) shows a combination with the precious fáubóbo decoration. Men and women do not wear the same kind of ear adornments. Men [18] have numerous little coconut rings strung like beads into dangling pendants; the women, on the öther hand, use larger coconut rings and white sea-shells; they are hung together like chains, and occasionally some tortoise-shell rings are added too; these also appear singly. Then there are even more unusual arrangements:

1. maregís (also unulánî) decoration (see drawing 35); formerly it had two Tridacna pearls attached to a tortoise-shell hoop; European glass beads are used today. (drawing 36)
2. sarún: spindle-shaped decoration for men, made of coconut and shell rings, arranged in various ways (see drawings 28-30). Most of them also have little chains, with spondylus disks attached.
3. legasirá consists of white shell and little black coconut sticks, which are arranged in rows on a coconut string. (see drawing 32) [20]
4. wódj is an old-fashioned triangular decoration for men, made of tortoise-shell; it is seldom used today. (drawing 33).

5. Men wear the wheel-shaped tortoise-shell decoration, that comes from Polowat; but it in no wise shows the variety of forms, that are found on that island. (see drawings 38-40)
6. fáu bóbo (also fáu djuerű) is a triangular little piece of spondylus (fáu is spondylus), which is generally attached to a little chain of shell and coconut disks, fastened to a ring of tortoise shell, and then attached to the lobe of the ear. (see drawings 19-23). Drawing 21 shows glass beads already in use.
7. Drawing 31 is a masculine adornment without any particular name; it consists of a small chain of sea-shell and coconut rings, with their ends held together by means of a strong spondylus disk.
8. Drawing 37 shows a unique type of ear pendant; a piece of tortoise-shell with white glass beads is hung from a coconut ring.

2: Damm et al. --20 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Nose decoration (djūeru-wṓt). The septum is pierced with a fish-bone, and fragrant flowers are placed in the opening; the blossom of the waróń is the most popular.

There are many types of decoration for the neck. Necklaces, which seldom have two strands, (mălamar, and măremar) are made of hibiscus threads.

1. they are combined with coconut rings in various arrangements; this is called biligŏlu (drawing 41); similar pieces are in the Berlin Museum.
2. with large coconut rings, which are carefully arranged in rows; dajebă (drawing 42)
3. of smaller coconut rings: dărak (drawing 43)
4. of shell rings: bŭl, but generally these are mixed with coconut rings, (drawings 44-49); often the edges of the small rings or disks are not smooth, but sharpened (drawing 48). These attractive chains are also worn as a loin cloth. They come from Aurepik, Sorol and Fais, and are very costly. One Ifaluk native obtained this kind of chain on Aurepik for a wooden club.
5. of fish teeth: niligŭ (drawing 50)
6. of tortoise-shell disks (drawing 51)
7. of coconut beads with a tortoise-shell fish hook attached: kabiligŏ: drawing 52 shows a spindle-shaped decoration of shell with coconut disks at each end.
8. of small white shell and black coconut disks with red spondylus disks in rows between them: fău mălamar [22] (see drawings 53, 54). This decoration was especially valuable, because the material first had to be bought on Aurepik, and then the things were fashioned on Ifaluk. When Sarfert was on the island of Ifaluk, he found that the king

had forbidden the natives to sell these decorations. He explained this by saying that this adornment belongs to the god Yanelap. It really belongs to the state, and has to be handed over for the tribute voyages to Yap. The king of Yap receives these chains. Broad rings of tortoise shell are frequently worn as pendants (see drawing 55); they are called borau. But Sarfert says that they are also used for arm decoration, and in this case they are named lārelāk.

2: Damm et al. --23 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Ifaluk

Fluted tall tortoise-shell rings are the most common kind of arm adornment [AN: see drawings 56-58 in source]; occasionally they are made of coconut (drawing 59). They are called wṓdj or dárak, according to the material used. They are frequently turned into ear rings. During the wṓdau dance the natives wear a garālibṓu; it is a peculiar decoration of locks of hair with white säle shells. (see drawing 60).

To decorate the hips there are:

1. gídi: girdles made of white shells and black coconut disks, which are also used as necklaces.
2. dáredar: girdles made of several rows of little shell rings (bṹl) and coconut disks (dárak); they are distinguished by the little fillets of mäál shells [drawings 61-64 in source]; this is a feminine adornment. Drawing 65 portrays a type that is unique in that two spondylus beads and a glass bead are used instead of the fillets.
3. dedár: loin cloth of women's hair, like the ones on Polowat.

2: Damm et al. --40 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321, 301, 415 Ifaluk

Coconut shells are used to fashion bowls, boxes, spoons, but above all, beads for decoration. These beads are made in the same way on Luangiua. Drawing 135 shows some crude pieces, which have been strung on a leaf nerve, and are still to be polished.

Hair adornment. 1. The natives put the ordinary Carolinian type of combs in their hair, but they are often decorated with feathers. 2. Young boys frequently wear garlands of flowers in their hair.

Ear decoration. Boys and girls pierce the ear-lobes, and widen them with tortoise-shells disks. The hanging ornaments of coconut and shells are so heavy that the ear is often pulled down to the shoulders. Hellwig says that the general term for ear decoration is šŭršu. There was as large a variety of shapes and materials as on Ifaluk. Some of them stuck tortoise-shell disks of various sizes into the holes, while others wore pendants of polished conus shells or rings. The most common ear rings were made of [122] coconut beads or disks, which were often clustered together with tortoise-shell rings. Once in a while you would see a spindle-shaped pendant, which was strung with alternate coconut disks (daxax, Hellwig) and shell plates (läan, Hellwig).

Flowers and leaves are worn in the pierced nasal septum.

The neck decoration (marremarre, Hellwig) consisted of shells, coconut disks and coconut beads, which were strung by themselves, or mixed together. Hambruch collected a specimen, and learned that it was called tarrăk; he found that the coconut rings are tarrăk ururŭ, and the shell rings pfüle. Many of the neck decorations are sold in the East; the Polowat inhabitants were glad to buy them.

The knots of leaves had magic significance.

The arm rings (Hellwig: lăxelăxe, Krämer: puósch) were made of tortoise shell (Hellwig: wŏaɣ, Krämer: uŏth); they were broad and ribbed as on Polowat and other islands; less frequently you saw arm rings of Tridacna.

Finger rings (Hellwig: xalăxalax) were of tortoise shell. The silver ring which Hellwig found on Aurepik, and which he later traced to Faraulip, is made just like the native rings, despite the foreign material.

2: Damm et al. --161 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 301 Faraulep

For ear decoration (tsuóru) the natives put coco-(tagáx), tortoise-shell (buóxs) or shell (máts) rings in the pierced lobes of their ears; they may be single or arranged together in various fashions, as on the other islands of Micronesia.

Fragrant plants are the only decoration inserted in the pierced nasal septum.

There are necklaces of a great many varieties:

a) of coconut rings or coconut disks (as on Ifaluk, for example)
b) like a, but with white shell disks between them (compare Ifaluk)
c) of red spondylus disks with white shell and black coconut disks between them (compare Ifaluk); they are often made with several strands. The Berlin Museum has a triple chain in the Finsch Collection.

Chain pendants are unusual. Hambruch got one that was carved out of a coconut; it has the same shape as the one from Hok, that is made of Tridacna.

The natives also have the wide necklace collars (tĕo), like the ones drawn by Krämer (Inseln um Truk, 1 Hlbbd, 1935, drawing 15).

They liked best the bracelets of grooved tortoise shell (buŏxs), like the ones on Polowat; these were purchased from Truk. There were also some of [162] coconut (tagăx; compare Ifaluk) and Trochus (lagalăx). Finger rings of coconut husk have only been made recently.

4: Krämer--34-35 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

The natives wear flower wreaths, headbands, earrings, and necklaces of coconut rings (Hellwig: éffirre) and little slabs known as dagág or as madja, if they are made of white shell; [35] in addition they like little perforated slabs of conus shell, which are called mat and vul, and small rings of red shells, which are called faibar (faubar, Truk).

4: Krämer--34-37 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Elato

[VVM: For a discussion of ornaments worn, see 4: Kramer 34-37]

4: Krämer--35 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Lamotrek

Exaggeration in ornamentation such as is usual in the region of Truk, neither occurs on Lamotrek nor farther west; it gradually decreases in the direction of Palau, where ornamentation no longer plays any part and of which the telau, an ornament of two little balls (Palau III, page 21, illustration 12) is reminiscent. [MR: in source.]

We had occasion to see some charming flower wreaths that are worn in the hair; among them was a green and white one of premna leaves and umbels of the fragraea (a); another one was green, white and yellow and made from the white blossoms of the salt water shrub scaevola and yellow buds of the Trionfettia procumbens (b)....; here the two are represented on drawings, figure 1 [MR: see source].

A native gave me a strange head wreath. The end of half a coconut frond is bent into the shape of a circle, and small cylinders are fastened to the pinnae that are removed from the area of the leaf; the cylinders are supposed to be young breadfruit. [See source, figure 2.] Young breadfruit are very precious on all coral islands and are the objects of taboos so that it is not likely that the islanders pick them without good reason. Either we are dealing with some sort of breadfruit magic about which we could not learn anything or a branch of young fruit had broken off.

Ears: Earrings, suasua, are worn in the elongated earlobes: the ornaments may take the form of rings and little chains of coconut shell, tortoise shell and conus, but we do not find them in the same abundance in which they occur on Truk. Rings resembling watch wheels and tebau occur. The beautiful ear ornaments in Müller 25, Figure 19 do not come from Oleai but from Sovol.

Hellwig mentions various names for the ornaments: 2162 udjaudj of coconut beads and conus shell in four sections; 2194 marrigiau or madsi... with pteroceras knobs; 2199 large coconut rings called lèlle mangár (watch wheel: lèli mangál); halfmoon shaped

(=fish tail) and known by the name of pera lig; 2224 burai, 2135 borói, which are large rings of tortoise shell (Truk: bodj) that are sometimes worn as breast ornaments; 2233 tortoise shell rings boral lágelag, which is also another name for the tortoise shell arm rings which are otherwise known as lagál; 2260 and a necklace of 80 coconut beads with a few scattered faubar; 2319 is a red cockle shell.

Necklaces are not worn very much; they are called marremarre and are made of three to seven strands of coconut beads [36] (Hellwig; 2158 billigorru); in the latter case a piece of shell (lure) is attached to one of the tying ends. Hellwig 2280-6053 remarks that it comes from Ifaluk. Also triangular pieces of faipar serve as ornaments similar to those that are worn as earrings (see Oleai-Feis). A simple necklace (Hellwig 2260-6035) has only a few coconut rings plaited into the necklace at certain intervals from one another (Hellwig: éffirre); the plaiting material is made of banana fibers.

Arm rings: see above, the section on ear ornaments. See also Plate 3b [VMM: see source]; they may be made of tortoise shell (very small ones are worn in the ears) and trochus.

In the discussion of ornaments (Fig. 79 [VMM: see source]) we might add that the species of fish mentioned with the same name occur on Truk, but that in the latter instance the fish are dolphins, but not in double form. Another feature identical with Truk is the shark tooth that is so common. But the other patterns are usually different and the same is true of the names. [41]

With the exception of those mentioned above, no interpretation is possible for the many types of ornaments given in Figure 79 [VMM: see source]. An ornamented house gable (as is known, for instance, on Palau) is called tabau and the fact of the existence of the term proves its occurrence.

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai

Lütke tells us that the women love the rings from the suckers of octopi which result when the neck is bitten off (a practice on Samoa); the ink of the octopi is used to color the rings.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301 Woleai

Ornamentation
(see photo 16 and 18) [VMM: see source].

Lütke, in 1828, observed necklaces, and arm and foot bands made of shell and mother-of-pearl. In exchange, the natives asked for glass beads. Belts of coconut shell were two fingers wide and sometimes they had the extra decoration of white shells; they proved too expensive to be acquired by trade.

Ornamentation is certainly not available in abundance; it is either scant or non-existent. Necklaces of little red slabs and of tia (mangle) which are known from Truk naturally occur also on Oleai. Gollert found a necklace of strung fish teeth, but no special finds were made. I received a single pearl, perforated and strung which turned out to be nothing but a tridacna ball. Photographs 14d and 16 [VMM: see source] show somewhat more elaborate decorations, such as a wreath of crinum blossoms which is worn on the head (cf. photo 334)[VMM: see source], a mustache and little goatee, earrings (resembling small tortoise-shell armrings) and other neck and chest ornaments, but all within a modest frame. Chief Rogiol of Tagaulap wore a comb in his hair and a wreath of strung Röhren blossoms; the ornaments he wore in his ears were rather small and his necklace was a piece of plain string. (Photo 16d [VMM: see source]). From his hair boys had made a head-dress for themselves which they used in their play and dances. The lima, the headband mentioned in Schmelts-Krause (their list of skulls and skeletons, page 383) originated on Ku and in any case is not indigenous on Oleai. Also the origin of the other ornaments is doubtful.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows head wreaths, úlevars, which are dried and hung up in the house as souvenirs (Kotzebue: kabulipeu).

Necklaces, márremar, of the known type (Kotzebue: maremar) are seen in Krämer. There are also necklaces, kamodj (Born: chamotsch) of red shell slabs, fēpar (Born: feipar and gau) (Hellwig: vaipar); Krämer, kamodj a djolipoi. Figure 82 [VMM: see source] represents a necklace [223] which is called gomalath (Born: chamelath) and which is made of white shell rings and coconut slabs (sagach, Born: tagag), a necklaces of coconut slabs, sagach üle maremar, is shown on Figure 83 [VMM: see source]; the same of coconut and conus slabs, Hellwig called marremarre dagag ma vul (mat). The type shown by Hellwig and in Figure 84 [VMM: see source] from Mariam was called marremarre billigaru*; the conus slabs had white vertical stripes, ladjere vul.

In order to grind rings of a somewhat larger size, square pieces of shell, dagag dibedib, with holes, vurarow, are placed on a stick (Hellwig: ira igek dagag) as in Figure 85 [VMM: see source] and are then ground into the desired shape.

A necklace with fish teeth is shown in Figure 86 [VMM: see source] (Krämer: maramar ni le gui).

Breast ornaments: the larger rings are used for intestine-like chains which are never worn except on the occasion of special festivals. Large rings of tortoise shell occur and are known as bodjaü.

*Hellwig shows a necklace of strands of coconut beads, billigorru, which an old man was able to restring completely within an hour.

4: KrÆmer--222-225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 301 Woleai

Ear ornaments: the islanders wear ornaments nearly at all times in their earlobes which usually are not lengthened very much. Ears that are made into a larger loop are seen on photo 16 [VMM: see source for photo]. Photo 14d shows a crinum being worn (r) and the tebau ear ornaments which are known and which are not too rare on Oleai. Little beads (pearls) are made of tridacna; they are worn as earrings or are otherwise fitted into the ornaments that the natives like. [224]

Pendants, suasua, occur as on Lamotrek, and the same is true of the triangles of red faubar. At out time wheels approximately the size of a quarter and made of light tortoise shell were very popular, the puodj a dju dju or ale falu as they were called; they may be made in the most varied forms with the greatest variety of detail, but only two types are pictured here.

Hellwig shows a bent piece of marrow from a shrub varalilut; a girl was seen wearing it as an earring. Figure 88.

Hellwig shows a ring made from a rubung ivory-nut from Truk.

Among the pendants of the ears of the breast ornaments are the ceremonial fish hooks, Figure 89, which are cut from a piece of tortoise shell, Figure 90 [225] (5 1/2 centimeters, Hellwig). Hellwig calls them gau bodj. If the hook is to be used the bridge must be removed so that the point and the opening are free. Their importance can be seen from Feis, Figure 197.

Noteworthy are also the pendants of red triangles lanubodj which here appear as failiaurupeg (Feis: faliurepeg) as "stones of Aurepik" since the red shells are mainly found there (cf. Lukunor). These red shells are known as foudja (from dja, blood), and the rings of tortoise shell slabs are called bŏs. (See photo 16a).

Bracelets of tortoise shell are called puodj a lagallag, fluted, davidavi, and wide and flat, woroil; Hellwig: lagamu, lakelake. Hellwig shows an armring, djageag, of the trochus snail from Yap; Hellwig: lagelag. Also finger-rings (Hellwig: galagalag a li got) are cut from tortoise shell. Hellwig has a bracelet of hair decorated with a tigere shell. All these bear similarity to the ornaments of Truk and the same is true of a cuff of faubar and roughly cut coconut shell and trochus.

Belts are often made of hair, see also Lamotrek where they are frequently three stranded. Krämer has a djiem e dĕdĕ of hair; about 35 strands are put together in braid fashion. Hellwig: datar e djim hair belt (Born: tschiim). In Krämer's collection an object is called tagach u pöch by Elisabeth Krämer and is a coconut belt for women with meang, white buckles. Belts of coconut and shell of the type described above and represented on photo 14a are not lacking. (Born: tartar held together by white shell, mai jal). The precious belts, taral, have been mentioned; they have been imported from Aurepik, Sorol, Ngulu and Feis. Lütke at his early time learned of their special value.

6: Senfft--55
116, 301

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

On the whole, the natives wear few ornaments. The women wear the earrings and [MR: hair] wreaths, as well as bracelets, ankle bracelets and neck ornaments, all made of braided hairs and of the same material as the earrings. Ornaments made of braided hairs are sometimes worn around the hips for festive occasions. The combs are often decorated with the soft skin or the long tail feathers of a sea bird. The most highly valued ornament is a neckband made of red polished shells of the Chama pacifica shell which for the most part is introduced from the east, from Fair or Jorepik. Finally, another ornament of great importance is the pulverized, reddish orange curcuma which they rub on their bodies. This is imported from Yap and Truk.

6: Senfft--57
116, 301

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no unusual ornaments, except for attractive red neck bands made of Chama shells. The other ornaments are: necklaces (tagach) made of coconut shells; the separate rings of which they are made may be as large as a nickel 20 Pfenning piece. They are polished with coconut oil and have a dull finish. There are neck bands consisting of several rows of small disks, which are attached in such a way that the fastening cannot be seen. Rings (ma'dsch) are made of shells, tortoise shell, or wood. Ear pendants in the form of chains (tagau, dschudschu) are made of the same materials. Other ear ornaments may be made of the red sections of Chama shells (jorepik: the name is derived from the island from which this shell is imported). The combs for men (makal) are decorated either with the skin of a white bird (snoir) or with long feathers (dschat).

Although the dress of the men is very simple, their ornaments are even more colorful and varied than those of the Jap natives. They often wear a wreath of fragrant white and red flowers, which they wind around an elaborately carved comb, makal. The white blossoms are taken from the Ut trees (on Jap they come from the papaya trees), the red blossoms from the Sorr trees. They wear two or three necklaces made of coconut shells cut in the shape of rings, tagag, or of small disks of Gau (chamotsch, feipar, lamoluk). There are also bracelets, worn around the wrist made of the green fronds of coconut trees, lag, or ankle bracelets made in the same way. With these, they also wear bracelets made of tortoise shell, botschall, or small disks of sea shells, chamelat. The latter come from Aurepik and Sorol; they are never made on Oleai. One very rare ornament, imported from Puluat, is a belt, worn either around the stomach or around the neck, which is made of large rings cut from coconut shells, tagag.

Besides these ornaments, the natives also use the valuable Reng (Rang) which they rub into the entire body several times, and coconut oil, loi, which they rub into their hair until it shines.

The lobes of their ears are distended so that they often reach halfway down to the shoulders. On these they wear ornaments of all kinds, from the ordinary rings of coconut shells, tschi, to the valuable Gau disks, fol Aurepik, as well as the strange pendants made of the vertebrae of sharks. Most of the natives wear their hair short, I saw only a few men who had tied their hair in a knot behind the head, following the custom of Jap.

Most of the older women also wear their hair short, but the young girls prefer curls.

The wreath as a hair ornament is also very popular among the women, and they wear it almost constantly. Sometimes they wear a fillet made of yellow fiber, marmar, instead. Their necklaces are small, and consist either of Gau disks or of rings made of coconut shells or tortoise shells. They wear numerous earrings made of rings cut of coconut or tortoise shells in all sizes. They wear bracelets made of grooved tortoise shell bent to the proper shape; sometimes, less frequently, they are made of coconut shells or disks made of sea shells strung up together. There is also the bracelet which is the favorite of the girls on Jap; this is made of the hinge of jagoiok shells. The natives of Oleaï copied this ornament and the method of making it from the Jap natives, so that the term jagoick has been taken over into the language of Oleaï.

11: Born--179-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
301, 531, 437 Woleai

This ornament [ML: jil, a belt worn by women] is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
192

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
693
192
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
142

RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Causisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

682
516
142

[P. 64(c)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302 Ifalik

"Ripe coconuts have one more use. It is customary to oil the skin with coconut after the bath. This especially on dress occasions, when the oil may be mixed with perfume, of which the people are extravagantly fond, or with flame-colored turmeric paint, imported from Yap or Truk. Oil is extracted by trying out grated coconut over a slow fire. The oil gradually rises to the top. For everyday use, though, few go to so much trouble. Half of a ripe coconut, with its meat grated with the ever-present little hand grater and rubbed over the body, supplies oil enough.

Coconut ointment has a high sentimental value. The commonest conventional ending for a lament is the word Gapitei-my coconut ointment. It is a term of endearment, -- as if nothing could be more precious."

1: Burrows--43-44 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 302, 824 Ifalik

"Both men and women, but especially men, are fond of wearing flowers on the head, about the neck, or in the hole in the lobe of the ear. A few kinds such as the red hibiscus, are worn for color only; but fragrance seems to be even more prized.

angorlk-(turmeric) The crushed leaves are rubbed on the skin, hung in the ear-hole, or worn wherever they will hang. Especially fragrant when [44] partly dried. One of the plants beloved of the gods, which grows in the sky as well as on earth.

aro-This tree, whose leafy branches are used in ritual, has also a fragrant flower.

atogobwei-A vine. Lovers are said to rub the leaves on their necks to sweeten their embraces.

Flerōs-(Red hibiscus). For color only.

giop-(Spider lily). For form, color, and fragrance.

guruguru-Herb with aromatic root.

Kerriō-Bush with clusters of small flowers used in garlands.

raguēs-(also called geval and sevang) fragrant flower.

remag-(also called natu) Flowers worn in hair, or used for garlands.

seuru-(Plumeria) For color as well as fragrance.

waryng-An herb with aromatic leaves, grown on house platforms. The gods grow this in the sky.

wutu-The long-tubed white flowers of this tree are prized for their fragrance. This, too, grows in the sky."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 386, 439 Ifalik

"One highly prized article--'red' turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands; either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifalik, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorIk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifalik. Tom always translated rang as either 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'."

2: Damm et al. --15 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 302 Ifaluk

The men use a pair of white ballich shells to pull out their hair; this shaving apparatus is called gum, and it is fastened to a lock of hair....

The hair is worn shoulder length, at least Sarfert never saw it full length. There is no thick growth of beard. Whiskers are not fashionable, but most men have a beard on the chin and a moustache; the former is short, and the latter is very thin.

2: Damm et al. --117 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
302 Aurupik

A number of the women wore most of their wavy hair cut short over the forehead, the rest had it long or parted. So there was no uniformity about it. Miklucho-Maclay apparently did not see any bobbed heads among the natives who came to call on him, for he writes that their curly and frizzled hair forms regular "caps." This recalls the costume of the young Rauelimar.

2: Damm et al. --160 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 302 Faraulep

The natives rub their bodies with rén color and coconut oil. Then they are extremely fond of fragrant flowers and plants, and they like to adorn themselves with them; they use the greenish white blossoms (eáro) of banana trees (uúd), geraniums (xeráx), a species of lily (madagâu), pawpaws (báibái) and peppermint (uanronú).
Coiffure. The natives believe that their god Lugulén introduced this manner of dressing the hair. The men have a thick perruque, which is occasionally parted in front, and then tied in a lock at the back with a leaf strip; or the hair may be combed smoothly back and tied with a leaf strip. The women wear their hair in curls, which are short and frizzled, or it may hang down, and be cut smooth.

The men do not have a very large beard; in addition to moustaches, you often see an imperial or whiskers, especially among older men.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 302 Aurupik

The slightly waved hair is in most cases cut short with the exception of the part above the forehead; several women had their hair somewhat longer and parted, and a few waves were hanging over the forehead.

The natives generally wear their hair short; they do not give special attention to hair-dress even in case their hair is long. Figure 5 shows the weaver Dailemar [VVM: see source] who wore her hair particularly short. [37]

According to Cantova, page 312, the chiefs of the Western Carolines grow long beards in order to enhance their prestige.

Combs are used as ornaments, but they are neither as frequent nor as varied in form as they are on Truk. Plate 10a shows a wide comb with three finger-like teeth; for a single pronged decorative comb with a frigate bird and cock feathers see illustration 6; a similar one (Hellwig 2333) is the only one that could be picked up.

For depilation, shell tweezers are used (Figure 7 [VMM: see source]; they are called kúm'u see kom. The two shells close very well and tightly and are connected by a cord of hair; the shells are taken from the species Tapes litterati kum.

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 302 Woleai

Perfumes or aromatic substances are liked greatly but are most scant; a parinarium nut that drifted ashore was grated and rubbed on for erotic purposes. eis, eais and vóngas.

As depilator, Hellwig has the kom made of shell Looconcha castrensis L., and in my own collection there is a kagugú, the nice Cytherea puroglyphica Conrad with a decorative snail shell Natica mamilla Lk. These have been identified by H. Wägele of Stuttgart; the same are found on Palau.

Scent. Krämer shows a parinarium fruit husk filled with an aromatic substance and known as uongas. Hellwig shows an aromatic nut resembling nutmeg, éssid.

Hair oil, Born: loi. The hair is either cut short or it is long in the back. The girls have curls.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 302 Woleai

Painting with turmeric powder, reng. (Kotzebue: rahn).

6: Senfft--54
116, 302

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The children wear their hair short; the men wear theirs either short, in artistic disarrangement (Kunstlerkopf)--in most cases--they wear it long and roll it up loosely on the back of their head and fasten it with a long, narrow comb. This is made from the wood of a tree called rauwai which does not grow on these islands and is imported from Yap. When they visit Yap they are not allowed to wear this comb. They have hardly any beards. Formerly they tore out the hair on the upper lips and on the chin;...this practice has been discontinued in recent times. Young women wear their hair down to their shoulders; older women wear it longer and turn it under. All of them part their hair in the middle and wear a wreath.

12: Lutke--146
116, 302

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

These men do not use any yellow powder, but their wives besmear themselves with even more of it.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
142

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
693
142
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

137

ABOVE The boondocks were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
516
142

[P. 64 (D)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal turned up at the Fan Nap ready for dancing after the day of fishing, with a garland of flowers in his hair, big lilies in the holes in his ear lobes, and a fresh green coconut skirt over his red loin-cloth. Ted had noticed the Ifalukian passion for ornament when he was there before, and this time came prepared with appropriate gifts, especially a good supply of ropes of the tinsel used for decorating Christmas trees. He got out a length of this tinsel for Bakal, who was delighted. Bakal ran his big, wooden comb through his hair several times to make it stand out stiffly (it stuck up in a great puff about three inches high anyway) and wound the tinsel around it in a double strand from the top of his head, at a rakish angle that brought it low over the right ear. A very flashy get-up for a young blade.

After two weeks on the island, we had become somewhat relaxed in this matter of male ornamentation. The people from the first would offer us maramars—garlands of flowers—for our hair, and we would accept them politely and appreciatively—and wear them sheepishly. But the sheepishness wore off rapidly. Presently I found myself expressing admiration for the effect of a wreath of velvety yellow four-o'-clocks on Don, and Don would notice the nice touch of bright red hibiscus on my black hair. Ted's beard was approaching magnificence, even at this early stage and made a fine accompaniment for flower garlands. After a while we reached the point of nailing up a mirror in the Fan Nap, so that we could arrange our garlands tastefully and appropriately before sallying forth in the morning. This process came to be known as "bakalizing" after one of its most devoted practitioners.

It was interesting to watch the process of disintegration of Western male prejudices in ourselves. The necklace given me by Tachi was one step in this process. Tachi, a boy perhaps twelve years old who lived near us, cut his foot very badly one day on a coconut shell. He came to me for help and I dressed the foot regularly every morning until the wounds had healed. Tachi, in gratitude for this doctoring, brought me a beautiful cowrie-shell necklace.

I put on the necklace doubtfully, expecting jeers from Ted and Don. But instead they both, with obvious envy, said how nice it looked! I wore it for a day and generously offered to lend it to Ted and then to Don. The loan was accepted, and for a long time I could only wear

"Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned, and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifalik at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)"

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

I: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 304 Ifalik

"Specialization on one sex in initiation or coming-of-age rites is not uncommon. But the sex chosen, even in islands relatively close to Ifalik geographically and culturally, is often the male. The writer thinks first of western Polynesia because of previous field work. Initiation rites for young men there cluster about one of the operations loosely called circumcision, or about tattooing, which may itself amount to a rite of passage. But for Ifalik I have no evidence of surgery on the male genitals. Sarfert's informants explicitly denied the existence of any such practise. Tattooing, to be sure, is elaborate, and its origin is attributed to the god Wolfat. (Since this is an art form, a fuller account of it belongs in the forthcoming study of native arts.) But it is optional, and so far as known has always been so. Robertson states explicitly that in the third quarter of the 19th century not all the men were tattooed, and that the practise was in no way compulsory. While rites of passage need not be universally observed, tattooing here is no more than a form of decoration whose use is dictated by individual taste."

There is no circumcision. Most of the natives prolong the lips of the vulva by artificial means; the men elongate the labia by pulling, and the women also pull out the hair "because men do not like it."

The early travellers frequently mentioned the amount of tattooing that you see among the inhabitants of Ifaluk. This was still practiced at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition. The majority of the natives were tattooed (to tattoo is mǎ́k), but not all of them. Anyone who does not like it, is not required to have it done. Then too the natives could not explain why they used this decoration; it was simply an old custom, that they still observed.

In 1910 there were still two men, who knew how to do tattooing; and a third was living on Faraulip, because he had joined some natives from that island, who had been staying on Ifaluk. The tattooing instruments are the tattooing comb (ralíd), a wooden stick, with a small comb containing several rows of teeth, made of bird bones, [16] and the wooden tattooing hammer (wǎ́u) [AN: see drawings 3 and 4 on page 15 of source]. The coloring matter comes from the resin of the lǎ́gidj tree. It is burned, and the soot is caught in an earthen pot, the kind that comes from Yap. Then the soot is scraped together with a coconut leaf. During the operation the patient sits on a special type of mat (djǒ́ub) so that he will not interfere with the process. The drawings 5-9 [AN: See

source show the various patterns. Many men are not completely tattooed, but just have it on their arms and the sides of their legs. [17]

Tattooing was probably borrowed from Mogemog. But the natives believe that mankind learned about it through Lugeilān, a heavenly being, who is tattooed himself. They do not know from whom he acquired the art, but they assume that it was from Äluelōb, the highest god of all. When Lugeilān wanted a wife, he went down to earth, and at this time men saw the strange decoration, and learned the various patterns.

2: Damm et al.--119 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
304 Aurupik

Boys and girls pierce the ear-lobes, and widen them with tortoise-shell disks. The hanging ornaments of coconut and shells are so heavy that the ear is often pulled down to the shoulders.

2: Damm et al. --119 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 304 Aurupik

Unwanted body hair is pinched off with two sharp-edged shells (belik), in the same way that it is done on Polowat.

Some of the inhabitants wear a moustache and a beard.

2: Damm et al, --119 [2] (1909) 1938 Wolcaians
116, 304 Aurupik

Both sexes are tattooed on their arms and legs, and the women also tattoo their hips and the lower part of the body. Miklucho -Maclay ascertained that the arms above and below the elbows were tattooed in bracelet patterns. Mrs. Krämer drew a group of tattoo designs for women and men. Tattooing is fälufer, a tattoo pattern is mäk, a tattoo comb is ralfd, the hammer is däjo. The tattoo coloring matter is made of soot, which is obtained by burning ólat nuts (Calophyllum).

2: Damm et al. --160-161 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 304 Faraulep

Both sexes are tattooed, and both men and women practice the art. They use a tattoo comb (garfd) and a hammer (merăm) of the usual Carolinian form; to tattoo is măk. The parts of the comb are: the handle - kŏă, a diagonal piece attached to it - xalenăn; this is fastened to the handle with a particular kind of little stick (tšrŭ). [161] The tattoo coloring (lăm) comes from the soot of burned coconut fibers.

4: Krämer--38 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304, 531 Lamotrek

Tattooing and painted ornamentation on the island are not, or rather, no longer subject to the strict rules of the West Carolinians; I say no longer, because Lütke shows that 100 years ago it still at least partly existed on Lukunor. The truth of this thought seems also to be expressed by Kittlitz. But by now definitely inscribed patterns are no longer in effect and ornamentation is confined to groups of it on the legs--examples of it are given in the illustrations--; the patterns of women are more elaborate. Men, on the other hand, wear little or no ornamentation of their legs, but instead have designs on their arms; see Figure 9 [VMM: see source] of two insides of arms, which show numerous rows of patterns one above another and among them apparently spear heads rastim (Figure 9b [VMM: see source]): The outer sides of the thighs [VMM: see source Figure 10a-d] usually have only two vertical pattern rows of shark teeth or fish; the favorite species are the pup and the küe. These patterns are included in the ornamentation of the women, Fig. 11a, b [VMM: see source] (the woman Netailemoar) and Fig. 12, and rank next to the many other patterns which are presented in Figure 79 [VMM: see source], The illustrations mentioned show the arrangement that on the woman Loalimul (Figure 13 [VMM: see source]) is particularly elaborate. In this instance we see ornamentation on the side and extending forward from the seat so that it occupies the space over the hip bone; from here a wide decorative stripe runs down the outside of the thigh to the knee, where a few rings--open to the side--encircle the entire leg. Around the back of the leg there appear a few unconnected patterns.

4: Krämer--38 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304, 531 Lamotrek

It is noteworthy that on Lamotrek the Mons veneris is ornamented with the black triangle puáre, which also occurs on Ponape, but was not observed on Truk. Hambruch noticed it on Elato where it was used as house ornament Mák e boár [VMM: it is illustrated on page 30--see source.]

4: Krämer--38-41 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
304 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of tattooing, see 4: Krämer 38-41.]

4: Krämer--41
116, 304, 386

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

No details are known concerning the method of tattooing. The instrument used is a pick which looks like the tool used to open ulcers. (Fig. 134 [VMM: see source]). Soot for the black color is not obtained from savani nuts but from drifted sap, hurú, which is placed over a small fire and then is covered up with a coconut shell; the coconut, in turn, is isolated by a layer of leaves. The soot settles inside. Also paraffin rās or matiga (= fat, because the natives thought that it was fish fat) drifted ashore but was not used for the same purpose.

4: Krämer--225 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Tattooing, [illegible]ák (Kotzebue: möck)

Schmeltz-Krause, on page 380, say the following, which they have probably learnt from Kubary: "Most of the men have their entire body covered with tattooing in good taste, with many elaborate patterns in the ears and around the neck; they wear feathers in their hair." At our time ornamentation was much more limited than this description tries to convey.

Figures 91, 92, 93 [VMM see source] demonstrate how beautifully finished the tattoos are in the case of the men of Oleai. The women, generally, wear only small ornaments on the thighs and those are covered up by mats. Sometimes the same is true of the men since the application of large tattooing to the torso is naturally painful, difficult, and expensive. Here we shall merely comment on the execution on Oleai.

The tattooer, taumak, is called in when someone wishes to be tattooed. When all the necessary discussions are over, a big banquet is held the day before work is to begin, as a so-called down payment the tattooer receives many gifts both for himself and his family. Payment for large tattoos is often up to 150 articles--mats, plaited and woven, belts, bowls, boxes with lids, axes, knives, and sometimes even a canoe may be included in the lot, since some of the very large tattoos require painstaking work and great skill. [229] A famous expert in this type of work requires payment proportionate to his efforts. It takes him 5-10 days to outline the designs, gaur, with the rib of a coconut pinna (log) which is dipped into a black color substance (soot of calophyllum nuts mixed with water) like a paint brush. When the pricking in of the color substance has begun, the person who is thus treated must sleep on the side on which the tattooer has worked so that the secretion can flow off. When everything is finished successfully, the person concerned marches through the entire village along the big path in order that all people will be able to see and admire him. He carries a mat which he spreads out from time to time to rest and refreshment is offered to him from all sides.

On the whole he is considered tabu, e.g., he may not eat with women and not have any other contact with them but when it is all over, he may return to his normal daily life. [230]

Tattooing pricks, gálĕt, are special instruments just as lancets are exclusively used for bleeding. The blade is made from frigate-bird bone, and the hammers, oāo or vao are often rather long, pentagonal; the one shown in Figure 94 [VMM: see source] is 45 centimeters long. The bird form is unmistakable. The wood is supposed to be taken from the gaingi tree which is said to be extinct on Oleai. A simpler hammer is shown in Figure 95 [VMM: see source]. It is called daiō or daijo and is of ira wood. The pricking is done with the tapered end.

The sap of trees, rumaio or rau is used for the preparation of soot.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Circumcision, sopi, masopi takes place on Oleai and Feis when the boys are a year old. The prepuce is buried. Expressed juice of young coconuts is put on the walnut-sized wound. It takes four or five days to heal.

5: Kittlitz--148 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 304, Lamotrek

The natives were beautifully tattooed, and the designs covered the whole body, except for their heads.

6; Senfft--54 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 304, 177 Woleai
Lamotrek

Men and women have different patterns of tattooing. The same method of tattooing is used here as on other islands; only adults are tattooed, and a small hammer together with some soot are the instruments used. In most cases only the arms and legs are tattooed. Those natives who have had the upper part of their body tattooed use the same designs found on Yap and Ululsi (Ugoi) and they go to one of these islands for this process.

6: Senfft--55
116, 304

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The ears of both boys and girls are pierced when they are still very young and the lobes of the ears are gradually distended until it can be drawn across the outer ear like a ribbon. They wear a short string of earrings made of the wood of coconut trees, of tortoise shells, or of sea shells. The women often wear several of these. According to our standards, these ornaments are not at all attractive.

6: Senfft--56
116, 304

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The custom of circumcision is not known here.

11: Born--186 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 304 Woleai

Today, no one except the older people is tattooed over the entire body; the younger people only tattoo their arms and legs. Latin letters, crosses, and fish are popular patterns; the fish designs are tattooed in a long row from the hips to the ankles. The technique of tattooing is the same as that on Jap. The patterns used for tattooing the entire body closely resemble Kubary's drawings of the patterns used on Sonserol.

11: Born--187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 304, 832 Woleai

Many, but not all of the women and girls are tattooed on the mons Veneris. The pattern represents a bird or a kalong with outstretched wings, the tips of the wings touching the groins, the point of the beak pointing toward the vulva.

12: Lutke--127 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 304 Lamotrek

Their tattooing is more regular, more attractive [AN: than that of their eastern neighbors], and traced with a great deal of symmetry.

28: Spiro--117 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 304, 152 Ifalik

The adults do not explicitely threaten their children with castration, but they do so symbolically, by grabbing their penis'. (1)"

"1. I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. That the idea is anxiety laden is shown by their reverting to it much later at certain time intervals, and asking me about it."

28: Spiro--126 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
304 Ifalik

"(Ted[Burrow's]note: Women were tattooed mainly on the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)"

33: Hasebe--142-143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 131, 161, 304 Aurupik

"Aurupik, also called Aurepig, Aurupeg, Aurupig, Aurepik, Jaurepik, Eauripik, Eurupuc, Eourypyg, Eurupugk, [143] Vaupe, Yaropie, and Kama, is about 65 nautical miles southwest of Oleai, and its population is 102. I examined two men and both of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143
116, 131, 161, 304, 103

(1927) 1928

Woleaians
Elato

"Elato, also called Helato, and Ylatu, is 100 nautical miles east of Ifalik, and its population is 92. I examined two men and one of them had tattooing on his wrist. I asked the other one what he called his tattooing. He replied 'matsuku.'"

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Ifalik

"Ifalik, also called Ifaluk, Ifalouk, Iviligk, Ibiliek, Ifelug, Ifeluc, Faloc, and Wilson I., is 40 nautical miles east of Oleai, and its population is 296. I examined three men and two of them had tattooing on their wrists."

33: Hasebe--143 (1927) 1928 Woleaians
116, 103, 131, 161, 304 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek, called also Lamutrik, Namourek, Lamurrek, Lamureck, Lamurec, Mugnac, Lamurrec, Lamorsu, and Amorsot, is about 15 nautical miles east of Elato, and its population is 215. I examined two men, but both of them had no tattooing on their wrists."

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 304, 609 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: the Caroline native] was much pleased with the Sandwich Islands [LEM: Hawaii], whose inhabitants reciprocated in their affection for him. The lobes of his ears, prodigiously elongated, drew their attention in a singular manner.

37: Keiyosei--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

40: Robertson--50 (1875-76) 1877 Woleaians
116, 142, 304, 175 Ifalik

"On the 31st March the schooner hove to off Evalouk and several canoes came alongside. There is nothing to remark about these islands; they are low and of coral formation, producing nothing but the cocoanut. The natives traded off flying fish against tobacco. They are a tall, handsome race, of light colour, their bodies being closely tattoed all over, their dress being the same as that of the Oulleai people."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 312 Woleai

Fresh water: good fresh water is available on the uninhabited island of Paliáu.

6: Senfft--53 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 312 Woleai

There are no natural springs since the islands are so small. On those islands which are inhabited there are wells in which the water is slightly brackish but quite good. The water from the wells on other islands is said to be so bad that it even harmed the pigs which were formerly kept there.

7: Senfft--193
116, 312

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Faraulep

The brackish drinking water is said to be very bad.

36: Arai--42-56
116, 312

(1925) 1928

Woleaians
Ifalik

Drinking Water
(Examined May 1925)

	Ifalik
Kind	Central public pond
Appearance	clear
Odor and Taste	no
Reaction	neutral
Organic Matter	much
Chloride	150.0
Nitrate	little
Nitrite	no
Ammonia	no
Lime	little
Sulphate	medium
Potability	no

36: Arai--42-56
116, 312

(1925) 1928

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Drinking Water
(Examined Sept. 1925)

	South Sea Trade Co. Branch	South Sea Trade Co. Branch	Northern Central Rariratsupu	Southern Central Raremore
Kind	rain	well	well	well
Appearance	clear	clear	light yellowish	clear
Odor and Taste	no	no	slightly smelly	no
Reaction	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
Organic Matter	very little	medium	much	much
Chloride	15.0	50.0	45.0	45.0
Nitrate	no	no	medium	no
Nitrite	no	no	no	no
Ammonia	no	no	no	no
Lime	not found	medium	medium	medium
Sulphate	not found	medium	medium	medium
Potability	yes	yes, when boiled	no	no

Drinking Water
(Examined May 1925)

	Oleai Branch of South Sea Trade Co.	Used by Oleai Natives	Used by Oleai Natives
Kind	rain	pond A	pond A
Appearance	clear	clear	clear
Odor and Taste	no	no	no
Reaction	neutral	neutral	neutral
Organic Matter	trace	medium	much
Chloride	12.0	40.0	88.0
Nitrate	no	little	no
Nitrite	no	no	no
Ammonia	no	no	no
Lime	no	little	medium
Sulphate	no	much	little
Potability	yes	yes, when boiled	yes, when filtered and boiled

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313, 137 Ifalik

"The supply of wood, whether for fuel or timber, is scanty. Breadfruit makes a good soft wood; but since the trees are needed to grow food, there is little of it to spare. Many species furnish hard wood; but on Ifalik none of them grow into large trees."

1: Burrows--41-42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313 Ifalik

"The huge glossy leaves of the variety of pandanus called pogū are said to be worthless for plaiting. They are used only to tie about the trunks of [42] coconut trees, making a band whose slippery surface is said to keep rats from climbing the trees and eating the young nuts. This device is little used on Ifalik. No bands of pogū were seen there, though the practise is referred to in a song. But a walk about Satawan during our few hours ashore there revealed many trees with these pandanus bands about them."

37: Keiyosei--46 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 433, 317 Woleai

The yearly production of phosphate is about 1,200,000-1,000,000 Yen, and the mining expenditure is one half million Yen a year. At the office I saw many samples exhibited there.

"House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katel where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 301 Ifalik

"Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments: bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifalik come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft."

"Pearl shell and turtle shell are combined in the bonito hook (pā). This is of a type widespread in Oceania. It is composed of two pieces, a pearl-shell shank and a turtle-shell point. In the thick end of the shank a hole is bored to attach the line. (As this end is nearer the fisherman when in use, it is convenient and customary to call it the proximal end.) Little grooves are cut in the sides of the distal end to hold the lashings which attach the turtle-shell point. There are two of these lashings. In a specimen collected on Ifalik, which is now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu, both lashings pass through holes in a proximal projection of the point. Damm illustrates both this type and another, which has only one hole, for the distal lashing. In this type the proximal lashing passes entirely around the projection of the point, which flares out at the [83B] end to keep the lashing from slipping off.

Local variations in attachment of point to shank on bonito-hooks have been studied by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck). Following his lead, the writer compared types in different parts of Polynesia (Burrows 1938), and came to the conclusion that the type with two holes in a proximal projection of the point was invented in western Polynesia. Its occurrence as far west as Ifalik throws doubt on that conclusion. Fuller data from Micronesia will probably make possible a clearer reconstruction of the invention and diffusion of bonito hooks in Oceania.

The shank is shaped like the body of a small fish. This, and its pearly gleam, quite

like that of a fish's skin and scales, make it a most effective lure. As Buck has pointed out, shanks can be made of different colors by grinding off more or less of the outer layers of the shell. This is done deliberately, and the fisherman chooses which hook to use according to the light at the moment, or the kind of small fry on which the bonito are feeding, or by trial and error. Three names for hooks of different colors were told to me on Ifalik: renifār, with yellowish lustre; alo, bluish; and reneverale, reddish or coppery. Damm lists four names collected by Sarfert, none of which corresponds to these. Probably both lists are correct as far as they go, but incomplete.

As an additional lure, many bonito hooks have, lashed to the distal end, a tuft of feathers or of white fibers from the roots of the plants called guan and bogo li le pā."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 202 Ifalik

"Conch shells are used as trumpets (taui). In Ifalik the hole used for a mouthpiece is made, not by cutting off the pointed end, but by drilling in one side. The long-drawn monotone of such a trumpet summons the people to public meetings, and warns off evil in several rituals. One trumpet hangs from a branch of a small dead tree stuck in the ground beside the channel between the two inhabited islands. An obvious use there would be to summon a canoe from the other side for a ferry. But I never happened to see it so used. One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

1: Burrows--128
116, 321, 439

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A regular article of import from Eaurupik is turtle-shell discs or beads for women's belts. Curiously, the German account of Eaurupik--written like that of Ifalik, by Damm from field notes by Sarfert--speaks of a belt of coconut-shell beads as characteristic of Eaurupik, and traded as far as Puluwat. But my Ifalik informants insisted that all their dark beads were of turtle shell, and that most of them came from Eaurupik. As usual, no mention was made of payment, or of return present. Swamp taro (pulaʀ), of which Ifalik has an abundance, is one possibility; but this grows on Eaurupik too."

2: Damm et al. --40 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321, 301, 415 Ifaluk

Coconut shells are used to fashion bowls, boxes, spoons, but above all, beads for decoration. These beads are made in the same way on Luangiua. Drawing 135 shows some crude pieces, which have been strung on a leaf nerve, and are still to be polished.

2: Damm et al. --40 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321 Ifaluk

Shell is used for ax blades of Tridacna, fishing hooks of mother-of-pearl, shell beads, decorative disks of conus shell, dye bottles made of barnacles. The men make the red spondylus beads, and this task is especially important. This costly shell is purchased on Aurelik in exchange for loin aprons, knives and similar objects; the Aurelik natives fish for it inside the reef. Men break the shells into little pieces, grind them with a stone, and pierce them with the wúlewul borer. The large mother-of-pearl shell (sálo) was also worked in this manner.

Tortoise shell is used for decorative rings and fish hooks. The back shell of the tortoise is pried loose with a burning stick; then an ordinary bore is used to cut the fish hook out of the shell, and the rough skin of the ray's back polishes it and files it into shape.

2: Damm et al, --128-129 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321 Aurupik

The origin of the shell and coconut disks was very important. According to Dr. Born, the island was an important manufacturing center for spondylus disks and plates, and it supplied the larger part of the Carolines with its products. After the shell was cracked, the little square pieces were pierced, and for this purpose various instruments were used; the coconut disks were drilled with the stick borer (wŭrrewurr) or with a shark's tooth (Hellwig's nilibágo) and the sea-shell disks with the drill, (walupâup), which has a special swinging disk of turtle bones (Hellwig: šŭ lüwón); formerly it had a stone point, but that has been replaced by a wire point. While the drill works vertically, the stick borer is turned with the palm on the leg, so that its point stands up obliquely. Then you press the coconut plates with your free hand against the point. Now the pierced disks are threaded on a coconut leaf nerve, which has been split. Finally they are ground on a board with a piece of coral stone (-läâû), [129] and they are frequently wet with salt water during the process. Hellwig secured one of these half-finished chains from the little eleven-year-old, Marâi. She had just given the string the first grinding, which lasts about six minutes; and she had deliberately left the ends untouched.

6: Senfft--57
116, 202, 321

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

As a horn for signalling they use a (Triton?) shell (tani) and punch a hole in it.

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 245 Ilalik

"The stout midribs of coconut leaves are laid crosswise in the path of a canoe being hauled to or from the canoe-house. As this green midrib does not burn readily, it also makes a good rack for smoking fish. Its perfectly straight grain adapts it to still other uses. A strip of it makes a flexible ruler, for measuring and drawing lines on the curved surface of a canoe hull during its construction. Smaller strips peeled off the surface make thongs for tying thatch to a roof. A strip thin as a thread, formed into a loop and held between a woman's fingers, is used to split pandanus leaf into strips of even width to make a mat or fine basket."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 322 Ifalik

"Coconut wood varies in quality from a hard, dense layer on the outside of the trunk to a comparatively pithy center. The wood rots rather quickly when exposed to moisture. For this reason none of it is used in canoes, and coconut trunks are not set in the ground as posts for houses except when nothing better is available. They are then put over a fire and scorched to harden them, but even so are said to last only a year or two.

Under a roof and clear of the ground, coconut wood escapes this disadvantage. It is in general use for the beams that form the superstructure of a house. Where thin, elastic strips are needed, the hard outer layer makes excellent material. So coconut is considered the best of wood for thatch rafters. The same qualities make it the only wood used for fish spears (kowai). On Ifalik these are not light lances but heavy pikes 15 to 20 feet long. They have simple points without barbs. They are used mainly in a bonito drive when the school of fish is not considered large enough to drive ashore."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 396, 245 Ifalik

"The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues (Calophyllum inophyllum), a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322 Ifalik

"Pandanus trunks, like those of coconut, have an outer shell of very hard wood and a comparatively pithy interior. This tubular structure may make them strong for their weight; at any rate, they are favored for certain house timbers where both strength and lightness are wanted, such as king-posts and supports for the overhanging rounded end of roofs. Strips cut from the hard shell alone are put to a few uses for which thickness is not required, --for example, slats to form the floor of canoe platforms. To judge by this use, pandanus wood will stand salt water better than that of coconut."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 532, 463 Ifalik

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was Wètrlliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

2; Damm et al. --128
116, 322, 412

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Wood was rough-hewn with the ax, which had a firm shell blade that could not be turned (dălai berĕi). The single parts are called: handle-imĕĭm, shell blade - berĕi, binding - fŏfo.

2: Damm et al. --169 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462, 322 Faraulep

The men did all the wood work. They made bowls, covers for boxes, coconut graters, combs, weapons, canoes and parts of the huts.

4: Krämer--62-63 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 322 Lamotrek

Main products of manufacture: wooden bowls, houses and boats, small idols, and birds (Color Plate 2) [VMM: see source]. Among the small special objects there is a chair which Ikesera imitated from the model of a deckchair that he happened to see on the ships. [63] Photo no. 1026 shows Ikesera sitting on the chair (Figure 25) [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer-- 237
116, 322

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Woodwork.

Products: wooden bowls
head rests (classified as furniture)
houses and canoes
(Kotzebue: to rough-hew, falla).

1: Burrows--27-28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 412 Ifalik

"A kind of stone, coralline in origin but of relatively dense, even texture and crystalline appearance, is obtained under water at a single location on the seaward side of the reef a little west of the pass, near the uninhabited island Ellā. From this are made pounders (faulipō), which are used by the women to mash taro and breadfruit. The pounders are of the same general shape as those of Polynesia. They have rounded vertical handles which flare outward at both ends: slightly at the top, to form a knob; much more at the bottom, forming a heavy base with round, slightly convex pounding surface. (See photograph, Fig. _____) Those used on Ifalik are comparatively small, perhaps because it is hard to find larger pieces of the stone without cracks or flaws. Most of them are about 8 inches high and 5 inches in diameter at the base. [28]

The workmanship is rough and simple. The only decoration seen consists of one or two little bosses left projecting on top of the handle. Pounders are made by either men or women. The implement used nowadays to make them is an old hatchet head without a handle. Holding the stone in the left hand and the hatchet head in the right, the craftsman hacks out crisscross lines on the places to be cut down, particularly what is to become the handle. Then he chips off the squares left projecting between the lines; pecks them off, rather, for most of the stone comes away as dust instead of chips. When the shape has been roughed out, the surface is finished by rubbing with another piece of stone. It is slow work. An elderly woman was seen busy at one nearly every morning for about two weeks."

1: Burrows--28 (1847-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 333 Ifalik

"The beach sandstone (pérou) found in ledges on the reef between high and low water mark is known to be harder and stronger than coral. But the people have few uses for it. The corner posts of a single building, the men's house, are of perou. Slabs long enough for this use are hard to find, still harder to haul into place. Their only advantage over wooden posts is that they do not rot inthe ground. Four slabs, apparently once corner posts, are all that is left of the men's house that once stood just inland from the present site. The stone posts of the men's house, which itself symbolizes the authority of the chiefs, are symbols of strength and permanence. This is brought out in the name of one of the men's religious dances, sûr perou (stone house post). The idea seems to be that everything rests on that firm base.

Slabs of perou, which has a smoother, straighter surface than coral, are used for the top course of the walls that surround the stone piers. An occasional one is seen as a backrest (mageru) on a house platform."

1: Burrows--28 (1847-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 333 Ifalik

"The beach sandstone (pérou) found in ledges on the reef between high and low water mark is known to be harder and stronger than coral. But the people have few uses for it. The corner posts of a single building, the men's house, are of perou. Slabs long enough for this use are hard to find, still harder to haul into place. Their only advantage over wooden posts is that they do not rot inthe ground. Four slabs, apparently once corner posts, are all that is left of the men's house that once stood just inland from the present site. The stone posts of the men's house, which itself symbolizes the authority of the chiefs, are symbols of strength and permanence. This is brought out in the name of one of the men's religious dances, sûr perou (stone house post). The idea seems to be that everything rests on that firm base.

Slabs of perou, which has a smoother, straighter surface than coral, are used for the top course of the walls that surround the stone piers. An occasional one is seen as a backrest (mageru) on a house platform."

"Dann, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifalik to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifalik during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodäu (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifalik in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house Ilamai or Iramai, which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj (recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falālap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelū on Falārik. The site of the ancient Katelū was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifalik would be anomalous.

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear. [49]

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifalik. The men's house is not built on

one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falārik and Falālap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 342 Ifalik

"The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed--for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three-Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti--were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered."

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

1: Burrows--47-48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 335 Ifalik

"In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most [48] carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 345, 532 Ifalik

"The construction of the men's house (fan nap) is shown in Figure 6. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving (Pl. 4, a). The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free."

1: Burrows--49-50 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 358, 483, 401, 335 Ifalik

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pënga.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the

new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic] canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken

up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8, b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

4: Krämer--185
116, 226, 335, 462

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

28: Spiro--74 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 335 Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, Ganauliwlr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying

inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilók and Uterang. Wëtreilók was the husband of Seramaliwók, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilók said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwók made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilók went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galet that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwók came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galet cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilók replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galet furious. He blew his whistle,

until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it

black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wētreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wētreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wētreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wētreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly,

the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wā, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called pōpō, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik pōpō is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might

still build a canoe of pōpō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

4: Krämer--252-254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 341 Woleai

The dwellings in the Oleai district are almost all hexagonal just like those of Yap, except that they have no stone foundations; Christian proves the latter point on a chart. The basic architectural outlines here, as further eastward, are given by the frame building with wooden walls. That is to say, we are dealing with the rectangular cella to which triangular projections, porches, known as falfaleping, are attached on the side of the gables. For that reason, the roof point must project strongly and may be supported by a post up to 4 meters in height which is called súrung. (Figures 117 and 118 show it on a storehouse and it is also pictured on photo 17b but it is not straight... [VMM: see source for photos). But before we discuss this feature in detail we should add that this post is generally lacking. In that instance the hipped roof of the gable side rests on the triangular projection, if the cella is open to the side of the gable and is directly connected with the space of the building projection as is the case on figure 119 of house 1, Sangi, and house 3 (photo 15a). The interior of house 8, Falel, however, is rectangular similar to the representation of Figure 117. Here the porch constitutes a special room both in front and rear. (Born: im mal paloi).

If the triangular building projection of planks is lacking, a triangular roof frame is erected and supported by the roof top post which is called súrung (shown in plate 17b) or the latter may be omitted and only 1-2 supporting posts be used for the eaves (Figure 120). Under such circumstances the triangle becomes more rounded in shape and as in the case of the [254] last mentioned house brim-like eaves are formed out of three or

four poles. In figure 120 these purlins are made of one piece and are bent around the outside and short rafter-like poles rest on them in both instances.

Thus house 8, Fálel, has a closed square cella and a roundish porch roof both in front and in the rear of the house. It is not only the post, but the various separate supports which may be lacking. Then the overhanging roof is supported by horizontal poles which jut out from the long side of the house and rest on the upper frame of the gable side. At the most support is offered by a yoke, from the overhanging roof of the canoe-house. I saw a house with bent purlins in front of the poles on Votagai. Here, as on Tagaulap, many of the old beautiful houses were left standing, since the islands were spared destruction from the typhoon of 1907.

It has been mentioned that houses without the triangular gable projections are frequent. They are rectangular, made of timber; in short they are simple frame houses.

In one case, that of house 1, Gabengatil of Tagaulap the gable-wall of the cella with its wall fillings and the door in the middle was not as high as the upper frame beam so that there was another one underneath, as is the case with the bai on Palau; that meant that a window existed, but only on the gable-sides. Projecting buildings were lacking.

The house with the roof point post, surung, on Votagai had planks at the edge of the roof on the sides of the gables in the manner of the outer gable frames of the Palau bai which was pierced by the ends of the purlins. They are called eaolim and they rest on

the projecting upper longitudinal frame beams which are called gapilivei and which are approximately 1 meter in length. They, in turn, are supported by a post, sur tavol gapilivei, which rests on the projecting lower longitudinal frame beam, the gogodj levilipeg, or rather on its end which is known as the tavol. The lower transverse beam of the framework of the cella is called gogodj votap and the cooresponding upper beam is the gabilibing. Figure 118.

28: Spiro--41-42 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 463, 502, 341 Ifalik

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 342 Ifalik

"House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katel where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later."

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
342, 396 Ifalik

"Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 342 Ifaluk

"The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed--for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three-Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti--were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered."

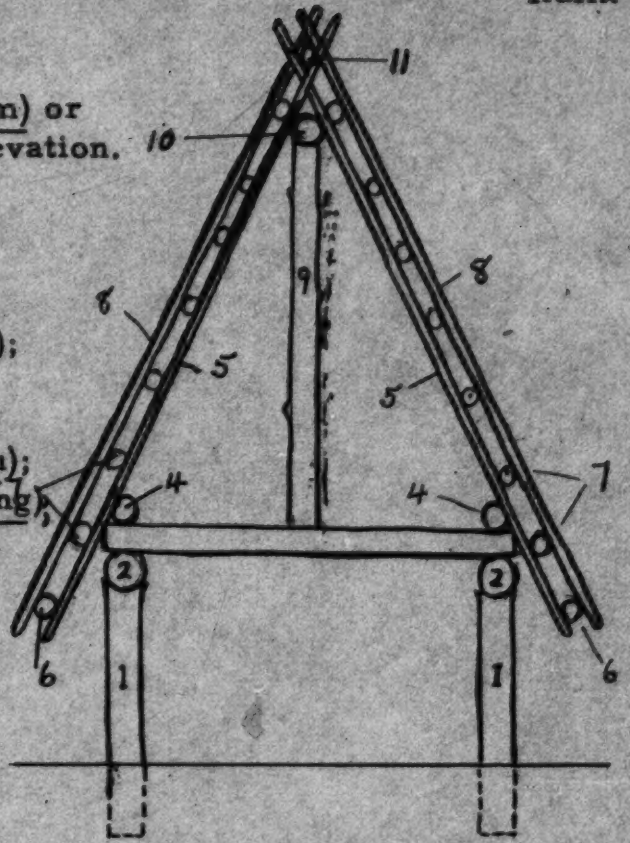
1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

"Dwellings are built on Ifalik almost exclusively for shelter. They are hardly valued at all as works of art or means of displaying the prosperity of their owners. Consequently the only requirements for an ordinary house are a roof and walls that will keep out sun and rain, and a frame that will withstand a strong wind.

As befits the strictly utilitarian character of the craft, the position of house-carpenter is not especially honored. There is no formal, restricted lore of house-building, as there is of canoe-building, navigation, and tattooing. No myth was collected attributing the origin of this craft to the gods, though there are such myths for all three other crafts. Three songs were collected in praise of shipwrights; none in praise of house carpenters."

1: Burrows--46-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

"Fig. 4. -Construction of Ifalik dwelling (im) or canoe-house (fan ni wā); end elevation.



1, corner post (sur); 2, stringer (tareilap); 3, end tie-beam (kouram); 4, roof plate; 5, rafter (wou); 6, eave purlin (apux); 7, purlin (kapongax); 8, thatch rafter (wou); 9, king post (bwot); 10, main ridge pole (yng); 11, upper ridge pole."

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

-1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

1: Burrows--47-48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 335 Ifalik

"In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most [48] carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints."

2; Damm et al. --56-58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 173, 342 Ifaluk

According to legend, Módj brought the art of house-building from Yap; it is not known who taught it to the inhabitants of that island.

1. The house design.

The frequent typhoons have often destroyed the houses; during the last one only four dwelling houses escaped, (3 on Feladjik, 1 on Fafalap). Then they were not rebuilt with the same care, which had been used before. Formerly there were more houses than there are today, and they were also larger; they had a six-sided plan, and were made of wooden planks. But the natives did not know how to construct houses without using supporting pillars on the four corners. The deceased brother of an old man, who was still alive in 1909, saw this for the first time in Aurepik, in the house of a man from Yap, named Gamelaí; and he died on this island away from home. Since that time houses have been built in Ifaluk without any súle. It seems that the natives have never erected any stone foundations, like the ones that are used on Aurepik, but they use the same name for them, bäi.

ím is the family dwelling. It is the ordinary rectangular house with a gable roof, that slopes forward, and no special stone foundation. Drawing 155 shows the old form. There are side posts (djúne) set in the framework of the floor (gorás, number 1 of drawing 155), which is made of four beams, and the walls (dibáb, no. 4) stand between them. The ceiling beams (gabilibín, no. 6) rest on the 4 corner-djúne, and then they

carry the purlins, (falidibāb, no. 1 of drawing 156) into which the djūne are inserted. Girders and empty trusses (no. 2), both of which are called wōu, are stuck part way into the purlins. Just as on Polowat and Satowal, the ridge purlin is ūn. The others (no. 3) have various names, according to whether they are attached to the empty truss or to the rafters; [58] in the first case they are kabanāk, in the other: kabilal; both are interchangeable. The rafters (no. 4) are called gāto.

The gable walls are arranged in a special fashion. A central post (wadābāo) stands on the gabilibin, beneath which a âudānilālo beam is braced between the side posts. A roof (dābāu) projects over one gable wall; (no. 3 in drawing 155); its empty truss is called kabanāk di bin, its rafters gāto di bin. This dābāu overshadows a veranda (bin), which lies at the level of the purlins, and has a pot-board (fāne di bin) in front. A special kind of beam support is not always available for it, as on Hok; the corner posts are sūle, the two long beams lying on them are dalielōb , the diagonal one is âudān-ilālo. This porch was evidently devised to protect the householder from the rain, if by chance he wanted to sit in front of his door. The mats used for covering the roof are jāso.

2: Damm et al. --136 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

ʻim: the family dwelling. It usually stood on a stone foundation, and had plank walls with doors; the gable walls projected, and they were made of mats, while the roof was of palm fronds. Thanks to these eaves, the floor plan was hexagonal. Then there were also some smaller huts (imomûti) on the ground; they were just faced with mats, and did not have any gable eaves, so their plan was four-sided. Sarfert's interpreter said that girls stayed in these little houses. But Sarfert himself found one of them on Uáu, which was inhabited by an old man, with his family.

2: Damm et al. --136 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
342 Aurupik

Chief's house. These houses are conspicuous on account of the stone foundation, which was solid, frequently two meters high, and arranged in such a way that you could climb it just like a flight of stairs; it generally has a hexagonal plan like the house, but there are also four-sided and lower platforms. The most southern of the three chief's houses is erected on an unusually small base.

2; Damm et al. --181-183 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1 2
116, 342 Faraulep

Types of houses. a) The dwellings (ím) are not alike on the gable sides, because a gable projection on poles appears here and there beside the smooth side of the gable. The huts stand on a fairly large rectangular platform of earth, which is edged with large headstones, and they have a place for the beams as well as board walls with four openings for doors. The roof (eau er ím) has the typical western Carolinian form, with a ridge pole, that projects for quite a way. Roof mats - ás. The terms may be applied to the various sketches.

Fig. 261: floor plan of a dwelling.

1. fireplace enclosure tóóu e ferán
2. fire-place ferán, position of the hearth nan e ferán
3. tülüt
4. nen ni uróra
5. stone enclosure urór
6. place for the beams gorá̋f, gorá̋ro
7. supporting beam for the projecting part of the ridge ɣamá̋rumur.
8. door neríń (see Fig. 262), it turns on pivots (ɣatubetúp), and has a bolt pivot (áti), which fits into a special hole (uaríti). Door post - tsúm, threshold - urár, door moulding - pír i pín.

Fig. 263: interior view of the roof.

1. uṅartiɣ, uṅātšíg (upper ridge pole)
2. ridge pole uúṅ
3. ilūtšíg
4. onobēí
5. gáp

Fig. 264 shows how the roof is fastened. It is upheld by supports (no. 2), which are attached to the purlins (no. 1).

Fig. 265 shows the outer side of the gable (píṅ) of a house with the veranda roof (nugu e píṅ).

1. lárre lípa píṅ
2. uól le píṅ
3. lárraɣi fáṅ [183]
4. tárē lipa e fáṅ.
5. fáṅ.

The posts supporting the veranda roof are fátr'ím. Figure 266 [VMM: 2: Damm et al. 183] shows the construction of the inner side of the gable (tebâu); this is hung with coconut leaves and only the central post is decorated (see Fig. 267).

1. Central post šoár tebâu
2. íṅ
3. túṅ tebâu

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 342 Woleai

The north-eastern section of the island. . .is part of the Püǰod region which belongs to the chief Mătewerit who is in Elato at present. There are eight farmsteads in this region.

Adjoining to the south-west--the boundary line runs across the middle of the inland lake--is Lŭǰapūdam (Līǰab pidăm) with five farmsteads; this region belongs to Wuĕliǰar (Uéliǰar); Tăwoǰāb, the south-western end of the island with its six farmsteads belongs to the chief Iǰĕrimar. Each one of these three regions has two canoe houses, and several farmsteads consist of work- and cook-houses or sheds. Ghost- and menstruation-houses could not be seen. The wooden walls of these houses consist of planks which were vertically inserted between frame-beams.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elā, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wóles, Lámutrik... and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk .... Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

A unit of buildings with its surrounding land is called bókut or búkut (illustration 51 page 109 [MR: in source]).

A building unit comprises a living house, supply house, cooking house and a blood-house.

4: Krämer--83-84 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek a frame house of timber which stands on the level ground is predominant; it is shown on almost all photographs. Its parts are best seen in Figs. 52 and 59 [VMM: see source]. They show the upper and the lower frame work, walls of wooden boards, and in them a door both on the gable side and the long side of the building (see Fig. 51 [VMM: see source]) . [84] The gable is covered with a grating and coconut pinnae or mats over it. Fig 72 [VMM: see source] clearly shows the gable side of the house Lemar from the outside; on this picture we may also observe the growth of young ubud leaves, because the house has been subject to magic. Usually the lower longitudinal beams stick out beyond the side of the gable, so that one can place a plank on both ends and thus make a seat (Plate 8c [VMM: see source]): Pillars may rest on the ends of the beam (Plate 8a [VMM: see source]) or another beam may be laid across them on which the king post stands in order to support the ridge piece which is also projecting (Plate 8d, [VMM: see source]), the result is a porch which may be open or covered over as Plate 9a shows. All these features of buildings have already been discussed in relation to Lukunor, which is the easternmost of the islands on which these frame constructions occur. Sometimes a hipped roof is added to the gable and is untidily supported by a few thin posts.

4: Krämer--83-84 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
342 Elato

[VMM: For a description of house construction and building materials, see 4: Krämer 83-84, 90].

4: Krämer--84-86
116, 342, 504, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

On Elato there may be a semi-conical roof so that the gable slopes; here the lower part of the house, the wall, is made of coconut mats (Figure 12a [VMM: see source]). Sometimes coconut fronds are hung directly from the ridge, and their stalks are pointed up.

Such semi-conical, sloping roofs may also be observed on the canoe-houses (Figure 53 [VMM: see source]) which are open all around, e.g., they do not have any walls. In this case, the lower frame beams do not exist [86], but only the upper framework is there and consists of square roughly worked beams (Plate 9c [VMM: see source]). They are often elaborately ornamented and the same is true of some of the square purline (Color Plate 2 and Plate 4a) [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--85-89 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
342 Elato

[VMM: For a description of the construction and building materials of small auxiliary buildings, see Lamotrek, 4: Krämer 85-89.]

4: Krämer--90 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Lamotrek

House Construction*

In the construction of houses, a strange device is used; it is a scaffold which represents some sort of beam lifter (Fig. 58 [VMM: see source]). Hellwig 2305 6071 is a model 72 centimeters high. Hellwig noted the term ligāse rumrum for the beam raiser; its frame is called wusal, and the top piece with its transverse poles is known as vaip. The lifter is used to raise the heavy beams into position. Crab-bars from both sides are brought into a position of leverage between the rungs of the scaffold and the ladder; the beam placed on the top part and lashed to the cross poles is lifted. For new construction on a fairly large scale (canoe-houses) they used beam lifters of different sizes. The initial lift of one beam end from the ground by crab-bars ended with the placing of the end on the lowest rung of the lifter; for the purpose of hauling it up to the next rung the whole framework is moved closer and the same system was followed to the top rung. Most commonly this mechanical device was used for the renewal of poata, sul, in the canoe-houses, but it was always constructed in adjustment to the beam height of the building in question. It is said that for years this sort of apparatus has been out of use.

Housedoors may be quadrangular frames, filled by gratings of parallel poles and 90:50 centimeters in size.

---

* The builder is called séllap...

4: Krämer--254 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Woleai

In our day the houses on Oleai did not have any stone foundations and the same was true of the buildings on Lámotrek.

4: Krämer--254-256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

On Aurepik we found some stone house foundations of two meters in height and it is therefore quite possible that they formerly existed on other islands. One report reads: Gamelei, the father of Metag in Aurepik (here Eaurupeg) with his son Feker built the large foundations under the houses of Aurepik. This was done after a typhoon in which the entire population with the exception of four individuals lost their lives. When the Yap islander Goru came to Aurepik in 1905, together with the district official, [256] Gamalai was still alive but was very old (probably 90 years). He had completely forgotten the Yap language which he had known earlier in his life. Thus the stone foundations of the houses of Aurepik was due to local ideas which naturally may come up anywhere. But they have not been able to assert themselves.

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 342, 192 Woleai

roof	fatafat
wooden door	gátam (of rijeng wood)
stairs	eál
wall	tipap
hearth	fálang
fence	óror, bei around a grave (imitation in the house)
sleeping place	lelliei, masúr
headbench, head rest	eelungei, ului
sleeping mat	giégi (possessive giei)
rubbish heap	ualú beibei
to weed	uiuí, fengi
sweep	böbö
well	djalül
wash water	djalutütü
taulomónu	mosquito net of woven mats (Pollap).

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 342

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

The houses were similar in construction and arrangement, but some of them were better built and cleaner. We were often surprised at the size of the planks and boards which are used for partitions and most of which are made out of the suckers of the breadfruit trunks, which are used in ingenious fashions. When these are hewn you obtain large three-cornered planks, and then you can divide them into smaller pieces of the desired shape.

6: Senfft--56
116, 342

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The natives do not take great pains with the construction of houses. The foundations consist of two planks at right angles to each other; short, upright planks are placed on these, and two more planks at right angles to each other are placed on these props. On the beams which join the framework there are buttresses which support the roof tree. Between this and the middle layer of planks there are lattices which form the frame of the roof. The roof is pointed; it is covered with coconut fronds. The walls of the house consist of boards. No distinction is made between doors and windows; most of them cannot be closed. Pictures of fish are carved in the upper beams, which are painted with limestone dye. The roof juts out on all sides so that neither sun nor air can penetrate the houses; the interior is therefore dark but seldom cool. On one of the narrow sides the roof juts out further and is supported by props; coconut mats are stretched between these so that another, more airy room is formed. The natives strew small pebbles chipped off coral rocks on the yard around the house. The average dwelling house is about 3 meters high, 2 meters wide, and 5 or 6 meters long.

7: Senfft--194 (No date) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

The style of the houses [MR: on Eauripik] is very striking. The basic lines are those of the tabinau and bäwai of Jap. The foundations are of coral rocks; at one assembly house they were over two meters high. The gables jut out over the framework. Since there is very little bamboo wood on these low coral islands, the walls of the houses are made of coconut fronds or of planks.

11: Born--180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Woleai

Among the buildings of the Oleaï Islands, there are first of all the large houses, fal. Here the men spend the larger part of the day and night, a custom which is also found on Jap. However, the women and girls are also permitted to stay in the large houses, and the custom of keeping mongol, hetaerae, is not known here; in these two respects the houses here differ from those on Jap. There are two kinds of community houses. One, called falepai, is erected on large, rectangular wharfs, which jut out into the water several meters from the beach. The style of these falepai is reminiscent of the bâwai on Jap. The former, however, are small, and the timber used is not as good; they are made of wood from coconut and pandanus trees. The houses are used to store sails, nets, weir baskets, and mats. At night the natives light large fires within and in front of these houses, so that they provide a cool shelter, with fewer mosquitos than the houses on the beach. The inhabited islands each have one house of this type, Utagal and Falalis each have two.

11: Born--181 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 342 Woleai

The dwelling house, im-molut, of the Oleai natives stands in about the same relation to that of Jap as a hut does to a mansion. It has the appearance of a temporary shelter which even a slight gust of wind might blow away. The walls and the roof are made of coconut leaves. There are no foundations, no floor, and no partitions dividing the inside into separate rooms as there are on Jap.

Recently, however, the natives have built more substantial houses, probably under the influence of the Jap natives. These have regular planks and walls made of the wood from breadfruit trees, im-pap.

Some houses have a small veranda, im-mal-paloi, which is separated from the interior of the house and surrounded by partitions made of leaves.

The yard around the house is kept very clean. Usually it is covered with coral pebbles. The adjoining buildings are cookhouses, malam. There are no separate houses for women and girls as there are on Jap; the entire family ...which usually includes a number of unmarried female relatives, most of them older, live together in one small room.

12: Lutke--145
116, 342

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The chief's houses are better and cleaner here than those of the Lukunor people. The walls are wide planks of breadfruit tree which take on a nice polish and a pretty red color; these give the houses an air of neatness which could not be duplicated in the Caroline Archipelago, or even in the whole South Sea. They are really jewels. It seems that they only use for this purpose the parts of the trunk which are near the root, and which are of no value for the canoes. Because of this all the planks on the walls are in the form of large squares and all these pieces are well roped together.

17: Meinicke--371
116, 342

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie the walls [LEM: of the houses] are made out of well worked planks of bread-fruit tree wood;

28: Spiro--5-6
116, 361, 342

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Within the district there is no indication of a city planning board, which might have allocated homesteads with an eye to symmetry. The homesteads are scattered throughout the district, some touching the main path, some being much further inland, some being isolated from others, some being contiguous, so that the boundaries of the two touch. But within the court yard of each homestead there is almost monotonous regularity, each having at least one 'sleeping house' (im), a cooking shed (malum), and almost all having a menstrual hut, the architiecture [sic] of each structure being similar, if not identical, to that in the other households. The average house is a one room building about 12 feet at its apex. [6] The frame of the house consists of four upright pillars, stuck into the ground. These are connected by light, supply branches, arranged in wicker-work fashion, to form the walls, which are about four feet in height. The gabled roof is constructed in the same fashion, the entire structure being held together by native rope. The walls are enclosed with coconut branch mats, and the roof with plaited coconut branches, tied to the frame, and superimposed one on the other in tile fashion, so as to repel the rains. The roof overhangs the walls, and reaches within three feet of the ground, protecting the house from the sun, and the dripping water. The house has a number of entrances, usually one at each of the four corners, and two on each side of the house. The entrance which is quite low--one must stoop in order to enter--is a

passageway, not a door. In the case of rain or cold it is covered with a mat, but ordinarily it is open, there being little need for privacy, nor any fear of burglary."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

38: Matsuoka--530 (No date) 1927 Woleaians
116, 342 Aurupik

In the Central Carolines they used to employ the Yap style of building as may still be seen. On Aurupik the houses were sometimes built on a stone platform raised six feet above the level of the ground, covering a space of 120 square yards; with high towering gable ends they were an imposing sight, (South Sea Topography, 117) it is said. But today they are mostly set directly on the ground.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

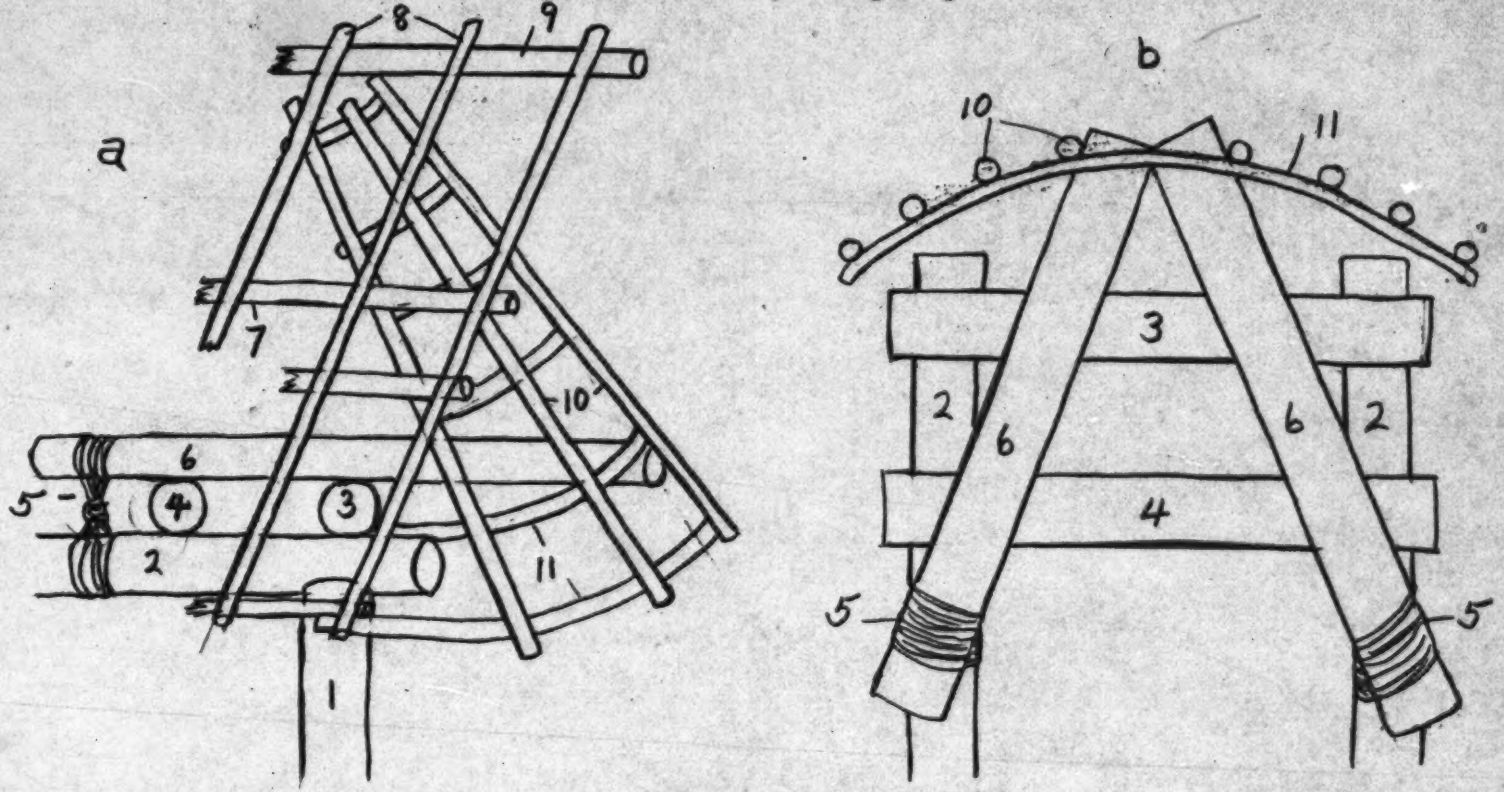
[p. 64 (A)]

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

Fig. 5. -See adjoining page



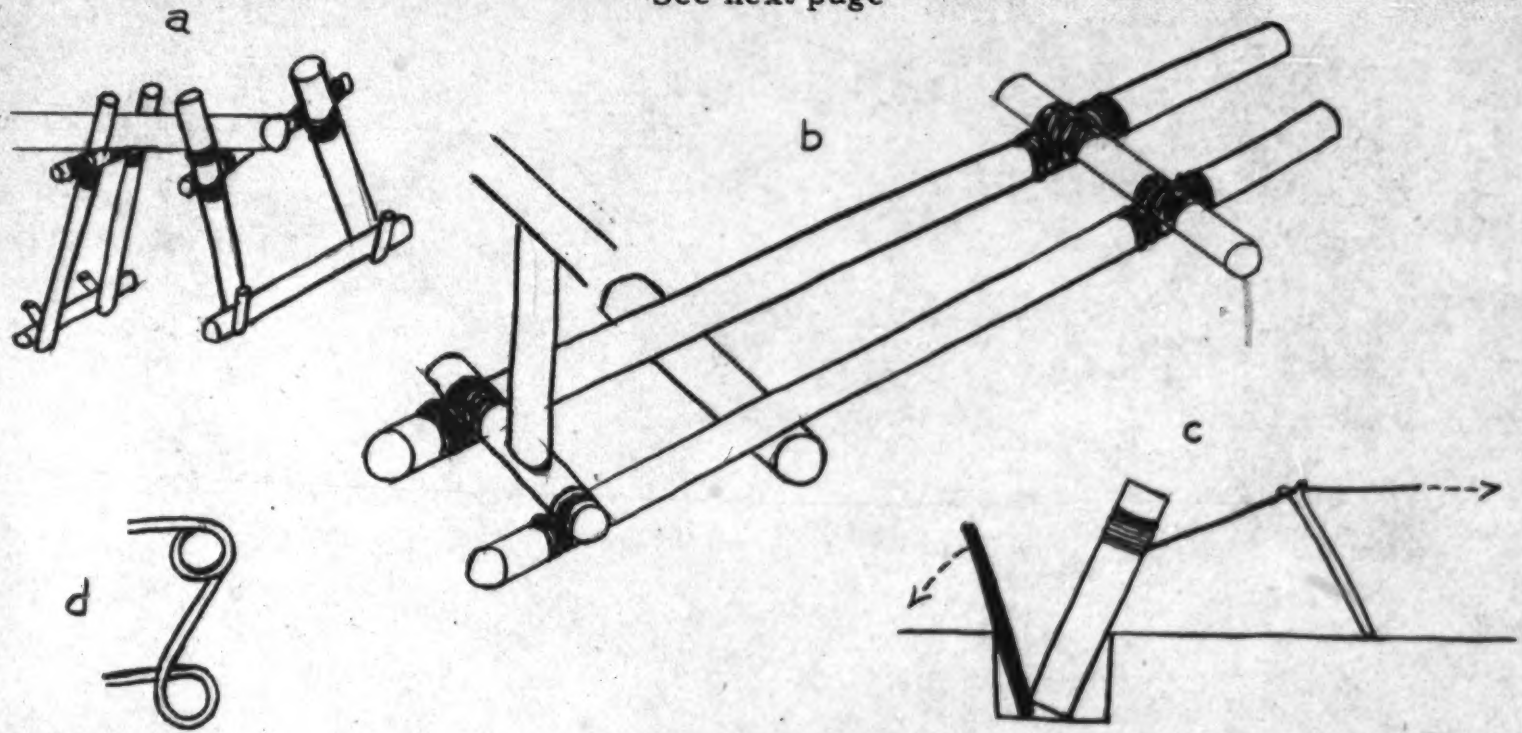
"Fig. 5. -How the projecting gable end of a canoe-house is supported without obstructing the space below, where canoes are hauled in and out.

a, side elevation. b. plan. 1, corner post; 2, stringer;
3, end tie-beam; 4, tie-beam (auten ni lalo); 5, lashing;
6, gable support (tibweli); 7, purlins; 8, rafters;
9, ridge pole; 10, gable rafters; 11, curved gable purlins."

1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 343, 504 Ifalik

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house."

See next page



1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 343, 504

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a, temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown).
b, double lever for raising the roof.
c, removing the old corner post by means of hauling line and levers.
d, hauling line snubbed around two trees."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

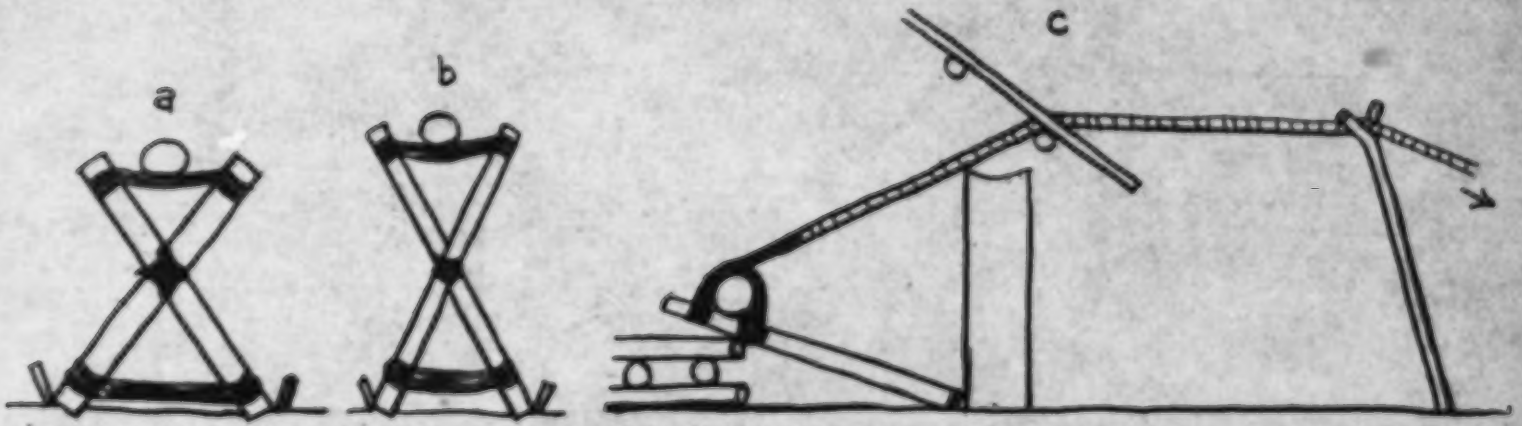
1: Burrows--51-A
116, 343, 504

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Fig. 8. -Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

a, X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
b, X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
c, method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post."



1: Burrows--106
116, 423, 343

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1.2
Ifalik

"Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemāni. (The rest of the rosemāni are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

1. Pa'ugop -Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
2. Gajuteling -Ilegemwār
3. Fan ni wā -Totogoeiti
4. Sabwōlap -Gabwileisei
5. Fale Pēngā -Fagaulīr
6. Katēlū -north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti

south side, Toromānn

7. Fan ni Wong -WolpaitIk
8. Pa'auēl -Wolpetau
9. Gavilea -WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men."

"Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni wā, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Pa'ugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings. [107]

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Pëngā, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question 'Why?', the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform

over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 562, 343, 784 Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from Falārlk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

2: Damm et al. --58 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifaluk

malúm is the cook house. Each dwelling house or each family group has a cook house. When the natives were asked why special kitchens are used, they replied that: "the large house is used for sleeping and working (weaving etc.)." The real reason is probably because the preparation and cooking of dishes require light and space.

2: Damm et al. --59-60 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 343 Ifaluk

imelibélu is the lodge for pregnant and menstruating women. Since the last typhoon they have ceased to exist. The women stay in a little house, for there are still many of them adjoining the dwellings. [60]
imosílo is the pig sty. These stalls are only known by name.
There is no chicken coop (imelimáluk) for the animals run all around.

malûm: cookhouse; it is open on all sides, and the small gable roof rests on four poles.

fanda: canoe-house; it is open on all sides; the poles support a heavy roof. The canoe-houses are the abode of the men, for there are no real men's houses. They also sleep here very frequently, when they do not want to be with their wives. However, there were also two little houses on poles on the lagoon side; these also served as sleeping huts, and they were set on poles as a protection against the mosquitoes.

imêribel: menstrual hut, where the women stay during menstruation. The place where the hut stands is called bâl. A tabu forbids the ship Captains to approach the place, or to enter the house; apparently this does not apply to the other men.

Chief's house. These houses are conspicuous on account of the stone foundation, which was solid, frequently two meters high, and arranged in such a way that you could climb it just like a flight of stairs; it generally has a hexagonal plan like the house, but there are also four-sided and lower platforms. The most southern of the three chief's houses is erected on an unusually small base.

spirit house: the spirit-house of Raigumen is apparently nothing more than a leaf roof, set on the ground. It rose on a somewhat remote spot, which was kept neat and clean. Raigumen's tomb is in the immediate vicinity. [137]

there are no chicken coops, as the animals sleep in the open.

The parts of the house are:
post súre (number 1 of Fig. 225).
central post ńaláwer (no. 2); like the other two central pillars, it bears the ridge pole, and it is just like them.
diagonal beams of the length darielab (no. 3); they rest on the posts; cross beams of the gable walls kódom (no. 4);
The roof beams are thick, and are cut polygonally in a transverse section; they are lashed to the diagonal beams which run longitudinally; slender horizontal purlins (kabáń-ak) rest on these, then come thin vertical roof rafters (káto), and on top of them lie the roof mats (jáso). The placing of the beams under the wall is called koráadjo. [138]
The roof (béigilím) is supported by the ridge pole (úń). The walls of the rectangular house interior (ním) are vertical planks, which are framed. The gable walls are likewise made of boards; from the level of the roof they slope outward for a little way, and then they run horizontally forming a sort of roof for the veranda. This horizontal [139] piece makes a deep space for storage; for example, a boat lay under it in one house. Beneath this veranda roof of planks is a trellis (nibíń) to keep things.

a) The "large house" (fāl) is the canoe-house, and it is also the real living and sleeping quarters for the men. The supporting pillars are trunks, which have been stripped of their bark and are rough hewn. The house is open on all sides, but the wind side may be hung with mats or palm fronds as they are needed. [184] The exterior seems very crude, and the interior does not look at all comfortable, with its heterogeneous collection of tools (nets, weirs, baskets, ropes, shells, etc.) on the posts and walls, and with its dirty mats on the floor, which are covered by mosquito nets spread on spears.

Parts of the roof framework (side view, Fig. 268) [VMM: See 2: Damm et al. 185).

1. uŋarūx, 2. uūŋ, 3. bxuōt, 4. xāt 5. uōl 6. gapaŋāx, eāxth is roof mat. The scaffolding of the roof rests on the corner posts, but it is not fastened to them in any way. Fig. 269 [VMM: See 2 Damm et al. 184] shows the frame work from below, with the following parts: 1. lali erū 2. gōl i tjām 3. and 4. dari e lāpe 5. tīf 6. wāi i ūp.

b) Ponijōu's spirit-house has a saddle roof and smooth gable sides; the hut is surrounded by a stone pavement.

c) cookhouse (malūm). The leaf roof (eijōl) rests on four crude posts (sura); the projecting portion is supported on both gable sides by four lighter pillars (uār etīt). Mat walls (tire) are only placed on the wind side; the fire wood lies in this

part of the hut, while the earth oven (ŭ́m) is in the middle, and the other side is intended for scraps.

d) Houses for confinement and menstrual houses (ím malipár) are just dwellings, which are smaller and less well finished. [185] In the inventory we can put weapons, the household implements that we have already mentioned, head supports (elüdü), cradles (ülóiila) made with a rectangular frame (ealó) which is strung with a string net (metád) and sleeping mats (χiági; sleeping place - nanie).

Experts (sínap) build the house, and make the canoes. On Faraulip there were three of these craftsmen in 1909. They are paid the price that they ask; usually they want food. All of the village inhabitants help with the work, and in two weeks or a month it is completed. Bread-fruit wood is the material used. The "big house" is constructed at the command of the high chief; like the large canoes, it is made by the community and belongs to the whole group.

The Canoehouses and their owners are:

fal	Owner	House
a) Faletaipu, former lot of the chief on which no one was to transgress.	Sukurang and Selābo	24a
b) Aboi (also called Eaboi and Ieloi) plate 1b and 9c, ill 53.	Bóesu	4
c) Lúgal plate 1b.	Lólit	5
d) Kulong	Faragaus	1
e) Falemara	Sukúlubo	14
f) Gatia rákēs "near the calophyllum"	Meisor	24a
g) Voriē tag or Boerieitug	Urupo	10
h) Gauárag (also called Gauosag) "spot of grudge"	Ikeséra	25
i) Falemareg		
k) [sic] Uélibugui or Uōle		30

Many of the small houses stand directly on the ground and the eaves almost touch the ground (see Figs. 50 and 51 [VMM: see source]) or on stone platforms. A storage house erected on a foundation is shown in Fig. 54 [VMM: see source]. On the other hand, coral stones are frequently scattered around the house; more rarely the houses have a stone enclosure (óror), Fig. 68 or as a low log fence (Fig. 52 [VMM: see source]). In the case of the im, the eaves of the roof are often 1-1 1/2 meters above the ground.

The hexagonal houses in Fig. 55 [VMM: see source] which are more common on Oleai and are described in that connection, often have ornamentation on their gables underneath the overhanging roof; two examples of this kind are given in Fig. 56, a and b [VMM: see source]. The designs of the ornaments are fish, lozenges, sharks' teeth, etc. Details of arrangement are given in the section dealing with Oleai. One might be inclined to assume that [87] we have here an instance of borrowing from Oleai, if it were not for the love of decoration which may be observed elsewhere, e. g. on the canoe-house Aboi; Elisabeth Krämer has made a water color painting of the latter (Color Plate 2 [VMM: see source]) in order to convey the correct impression. The ornamentation which decorated the inner sides of the beams of the framework and the rafters is rendered in detail in Fig 57 [VMM: see source]. We did not observe anything similar on Oleai, nor did we see on the latter island the beautifully decorated looms which were shown in the chapter on weaving. [89]

Types of Houses.

fal lap	"large houses," probably a sort of temple
fal	the canoe-house, house for visitors
im	the living-house
meripann aie, imepō	the storehouse (planks in Fig. 51 [VMM: see
malimes, malum	the cookhouse (hearth--nim, lim) source]
fëlang	for the place of fire, reminiscent of the
im ali pel and im fatiu	the menstrual hut falág (1009 Krämer 221)
imareipel	house for pregnant women
imutamái	birthhut
imaligat	house for the child (Sëtoval: im alipel)
imalifam and im ale gogóbong	
im ali bólebol	house of magic

[ER: A list of the parts of houses is omitted here.]

Types of Houses

fal'lap (fan'nap)	bachelor's quarters
falĕoă	canoe-house (Born: small canoe-shed, thapal)
fal eonnap	see Tagaulap
im	dwelling (imai, . . . om, . . . al, . . . adj,) (Born: im molut; house of wooden planks im pap)
malum	cooking house (Born: malam)
im alipel	birth hut (also called imateing)(Born: im mellipel)
im ali gogobong	ten-night house
im ali fám	birthhut named after fam, birth.
im melagobung	menstrual hut (Born)
imobŏ	sleeping hut on piles (Figure 116) [VMM: see source] named after the floor, bŏ
imepó, fannĕ	storage house(formerly there were many houses of this type, but now there are few)
im motscho	coconut storehouse (Born).

6: Senfft--56-57
116, 343

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There is a cookhouse by the dwelling. This consists of a simple hut, open on two or three sides, without gables.

The canoe sheds are used as assembly halls. Since the canoes are large, these are from 15 to 20 meters long and equally high. The gable is pointed and rests on large buttresses in the center. The roof is made of leaves and is supported by short, strong posts along the sides; it almost touches the ground. The narrow walls are left open. The boards and beams of the houses also are not grooved or nailed together; they are simply lashed with rope. The men often sleep in these sheds, since they are nearer the beach and therefore more airy than the dwellings in the bushes.

The so-called "bloodhouses" are the fourth type of houses. Here the women stay during their menstrual period. These are erected at some distance from the main dwellings; they are still lower and [57] are built with even less care than the others. There is no adjoining room such as may be seen in the regular houses.

The other type of community house, faloa, is used during the daytime, and serves as a place for work. There are three or four of these on each island, except for Tagaulap and Marijong, which have only one. These houses are nothing more than large, open halls without front or side walls. A sloping roof which nearly touches the ground takes the place of the side walls. The front and back are open. Here most of the canoes owned by the people of the surrounding villages are kept, both the large canoes used for deep sea sailing and the smaller craft which is not used very much today, as well as sails, nets, and weir-baskets. During the day the men build or repair canoes in this house, or they plait weir baskets or make nets. This is also the place where the fish caught on a common fishing expedition are distributed among the individuals....

The house for menstruating women, im-mel-jagobung are not isolated and far removed from the dwellings as are those on Jap. They are situated within the village. The houses for women in labor and for women lately confined, im-mellipel, are built anew for each individual case; these are situated as far as possible from the village, mostly on the beach.

There are also a few storage houses for coconuts, im-motscho, made of wood from breadfruit trees. These have a very solid build and have a more attractive appearance than most of the dwelling houses. They are scattered among the bushes. Recently the natives have erected small sheds for the canoes, (thapal, a term which in the language of Jap means house for menstruating women), but these consist of plain rectangular huts,

covered with leaves; they do not resemble the complex structure used for the same purpose on Jap.

"LAMOTREK GODS

Aliu-Lap. The Creator or Supreme Being.

Luk-e-lang; Olevat. His sons--presiding over the work of carpenters and boat-makers

Semili-goror. The wife of Aliu-Lap.

Selang. Her brother.

Saulal. The Prince of Evil.

Alis-i-tet, also called Toutop. The Lamotrek Neptune and God of Fishes, called in Satawal Aliu-sat or Ponnorol."

28: Spiro--6 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Wŏleaïans
116, 343 Ifalik

"The malum is constructed like an im except that it has no walls, the absence of which permits the smoke to escape.

The menstrual hut is similar to the im, except in size. It is occupied by the women only for the duration of their menstrual period, and though her children may sleep in the hut with her, it is not required to be as large as the im."

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--145 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 343 Ifalik

"Food is seldom eaten in the house itself. It is prepared in the malum, the cookshed, and eaten outside the house. Only on a cold or rainy day will it be eaten inside. The natives explain their outdoor eating by claiming that this keeps scraps of food from remaining in the house. Whether there is a deeper psychological significance, I do not know."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

2; Damm et al. --59 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 344, 177 Ifaluk

Fenăp is the house for bachelors; the natives called it the "house belong king." These houses are public buildings. Usually women were not allowed to enter them. It was only when the king wanted to address all the inhabitants of the island to give orders or discuss laws, that women and children gathered here with their male relatives.

A long time ago there were no houses of this kind. Under the reign of Dibŏdăn a man from Yap, Fagil by name, was blown to Ifaluk, and he built the first fenăp. The natives built three others on this pattern. According to the Yap style, these all had a stone foundation in the water, and they were joined to the shore by a stone bridge. Two of them were on the main island (one on Ledjŏurou and one on Lawuaŭ) and two on Falalap (one in the south and one is the northern district); the other parts of the village did not have any fenăp, so they had to be content with canoe houses. The typhoon destroyed all of them except one on Lawuaŭ, which is called Kadalŭ, and which served as an abode for Sarfert during his visit. It was 21 meters long, 5 1/2 meters wide and 5 meters high.

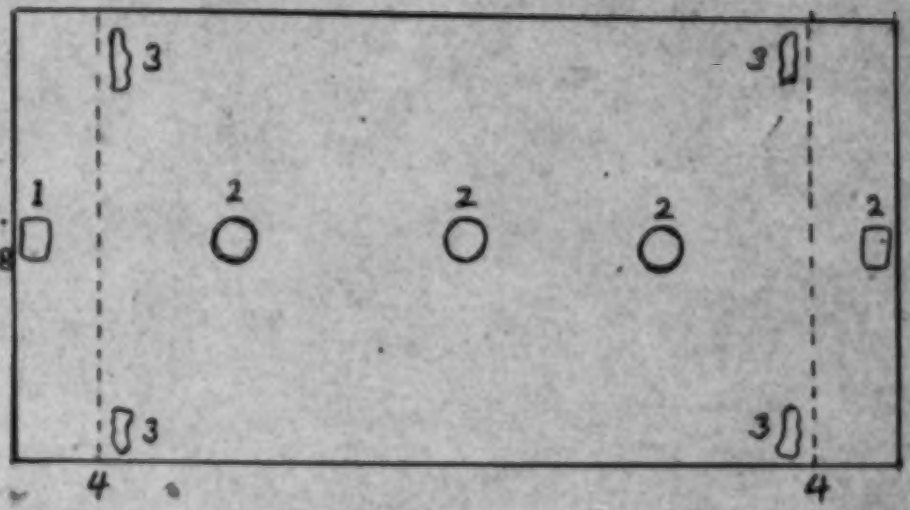
All of the men in one section of the village worked on the common canoe house, and when it was completed, they celebrated the event with a dance. Drawing 158 [AN: see source, p. 59] shows the floor plan of the only men's house still standing. The large supporting pillars on the sides (sŭlefan) were made of big stones, and a platform was built on the central post; this was used when the king spoke to the people. Both the pillars and the platform were characteristic of these constructions...

"2. The fanap, the 'townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tattooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their justaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, its presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The choice of the ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

"Fig. 6. -Plan of men's house (fan nap).

1, front post (ongarIk);
2, middle posts (sur oungo), supporting ridge pole.
3, stone corner posts (sur perou).
4, vertical gable thatch, extending from height of eaves to peak."



1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 345, 532 Ifalik

"The construction of the men's house (*fan nap*) is shown in Figure 6. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving (Pl. 4, a). The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free."

"Dann, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifalik to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifalik during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodāu (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifalik in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house Ilamai or Iramai, which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj (recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falālap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelū on Falārik. The site of the ancient Katelū was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifalik would be anomalous.

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear. [49]

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifalik. The men's house is not built on

one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falārik and Falālap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time."

1: Burrows--133-134
116, 345, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katēlū, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name Fan ni Wā) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is Fan Nap or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katēlū, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's club-house, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our [134] stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called perou. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called sur perou (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called ŏngarĭk. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The ŏngarĭk, unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men-usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building (p. 189-190). Once a group of women, in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 685, 345, 784 Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

2; Damm et al. --97 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 345, 531 Ifaluk

The men's houses are the only ones, which have colored ornaments (kawolu̇́l), arranged in a rather artistic decoration. Formerly the central supports and the roof supports (wā̆u) were very ornate. In the men's house Sarfert found an old beam under the roof; two sides of it were decorated with the ra̤ṡúm pattern [AN: see drawing 176 of source]. . . while the third had a double rhomboid design, wṓwo, which was supposed to represent a fish of the same name (drawing 177 of source).

On the pillar of a small dwelling Sarfert saw the vertical karebā̆́li wulugā̆́lā̆ pattern, which was supposed to reproduce the tail of the wulugā̆́lā̆ fish [AN: see drawing 178 of source].

There were practically no wood carvings; however, Krämer found a wooden fish in the chief's house; then the waliwṓl for Ällülēi should also be mentioned among the artistic products.

4: Krämer--159 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 345 Lamotrek

No details could be learned about oracles by lot, nor was anything known about the 16 demons; nevertheless the setting of part of story 75 in Müller, Yap, II, page 616 is on Lamotrek. The entire mythology is discussed in connection with Feis and seems to be peculiar to the Western Carolines, since no mention of it is made east of Feis.

In Cantova, page 311, reference is made to the prophetic knots used on the Western Carolines.

4: Krämer (1909) 1937 Wolcaians

345

For data on use of canoe houses see category 504.

28: Spiro--7 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 345 Ifalik

"Each district also contains at least one canoe-house, whose structure similar to that of the malum, in that it has no walls, but it is much larger, the average canoe-house being about four times the size of the average house, [sic] The canoe-house not only serves as a protection for the canoes, but it also acts as the men's club-house, a phenomenon, we shall discuss later. Formerly each district had a club-house as well as a canoe-house, but most of them were distroyed by a typhoon in the 1920's and have not been rebuilt. One remains, however, on Falalap, and in structure is that of a house, only larger.

In the district of Rauau stands the fanap, the 'town hall' (literally, the big house), which again is architecturally, a large house."

28: Spiro--33-34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592, 345, 283 Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the malum, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

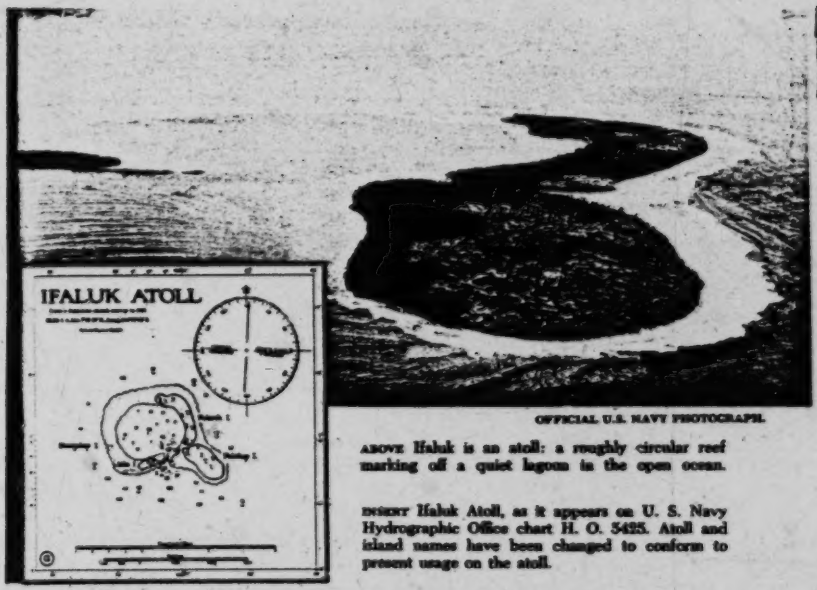
The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

131
133
100



OFFICIAL U.S. NAVY PHOTOGRAPH.

ABOVE Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean.

INSET Ifaluk Atoll, as it appears on U. S. Navy Hydrographic Office chart H. O. 5425. Atoll and island names have been changed to conform to present usage on the atoll.

BELOW The chiefs turned the Fan Nap, the Men's House, over to us for our residence.

345
139
114

[P.32(A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

28: Spiro--65
116, 346, 778

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Though Tilitr dwells in Fatuma, he and his sons have shrines on Ifaluk, to which they often descend. Of the eight shrines, seven are for Tilitr or his sons. (28)"

"28. [See following sheet for footnote 28.]"

28: Spiro--65
116, 346, 778

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"28. [Footnote p. 65] There is one shrine in Felarik, Bwutaliwenol, in the lineage house of Nuteitei for the son of Tilitr, Wuluaro. In Rauau, there are two shrines: Bwuter Tilitr, the shrine of Tilitr, which is inside the public house, the fanap of Atelu, and Bwuter Tiliwetan, the shrine of Tiliwetan, a son of Tilitr, that is in the courtyard of the lineage of the Uelepi house. There are four shrines in Falalap: Bwuter Talewearo, a son of Solal, and Bwuter Tilitr. Except for two of these, the shrines are merely circular mounds of white, smooth sand, surrounded on its circumference by rocks, with a medicine plant or two in the center. In case of illness, tobacco or even lavalavas may be offered to the alus to help exorice the alusengau. The shrines are made of sand because Tilitr does not like place 'all same wet and stink', which is the earth. He likes only dry and clean places.

The main shrine is Bwuter Tiltitr in Falalap, for here all the major ceremonies are held. It, too, is a shrine of sand, but in addition has four upright sticks, which represent Aluelap; Lugeiligg, his son; Olophat, his grandson; and Tilitr.

Bwuter Tilitr in Rauau is in the fanap, and is a platform, with sides about a foot high, on which are placed tobacco, and from its upright poles always hang offerings of lavalavs.

In Falalap one shrine is a small model house, in which hang offerings of lavalavas."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

28: Spiro--6 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 351 Ifalik

"There is no rule dictating the relative positions of the various structures within the courtyard, so that each presents its own pattern. Nevertheless, the malum is usually at the farthest extremity of the courtyard, near the bush, so as to facilitate the obtaining of brush for the fire."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 352 Ifalik

"Whole ripe nuts in their husks are lying on the ground everywhere about the houses. Here they may be used as furniture. The people hardly ever sit on the ground. If there is reason to sit outdoors longer than it is comfortable to squat, they will tuck a coconut under them for a stool. In the canoe-houses, where the men spend a great part of their days, working at light jobs, talking, smoking, or simply sitting, coconuts in the husk are always at hand, and are used as pillows, knee-rests or elbow-rests."

2: Damm et al. --60
116, 352

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

When you make an inventory of a dwelling house, you find the usual tools, and weapons and also:

a) gogōdj: a pillow made of a loin mat, without any pattern.
b) ulūl: head support of wood
c) ujelijāb: head support of very soft drift wood.

2: Damm et al. --139 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 352 Aurupik

Among household pieces of equipment there was a hanging chair for children (Hellwig: xûr) and a child's cradle (Hellwig: aîlôîle, ölôîle) with a pandanus mat (xéage).

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Interior of houses (Fig. 59) [VMM: see source] usually empty.

In addition to wooden hooks, taumi on which baskets, etc, are hung (objects of Fig. 25 ff.) [VMM: see source] there are gratings of bandanus wood (=suspension grates) which are called váng and on which small objects are kept. We even found an armchair, limasa (Fig. 25; [VMM: see source]) which Ikisera had made for himself in order that he might be able to sit like a white man.

4: Krämer--259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 352 Woleai

House furnishings are very scant. Wooden hooks for hanging up baskets have been observed. For the head bench, ülül (from Falális) see figure 123 [VMM: see source].

12: Lutke--145
116, 352

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

We did not find any difference between their furniture and what we had seen in Lougounor.

28: Spiro--6 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 352 Ifalik

"The inside of the house is distinguished for its simplicity. The low-slung gable prohibits standing, except at the center of the house, so that after crawling through the passage way, one remains seated on the floor, the latter being comprised of a number of juxtaposed coconut mats. There is no furniture of any kind in the house, the people sitting and sleeping on the floors, and since all eating is done in the open air, there is no need for tables. But though furniture is lacking in the house, it is not bare. The loom is ubiquitous, and stands in a corner of the house, though, being small it occupies little space. Also in a corner is found the sleeping mat, made of pandanus, as well as the Japanese-introduced blankets. In the rafters a congeries of objects can be found--Japanese--introduced mosquito nets, bottles, clothers, rope, tobacco, and other assorted odds and ends. If there is an infant in the house, its cradle hangs from the rafters, a foot above the floor."

28: Spiro--86
116, 846, 352

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The infant's father has one additional responsibility. He must build a cradle (ulol) for the infant. The Ulol has four sides, made of wood, which are fastened together as the bottom with plaited rope, to form the bottom, on which the baby is to lie. Rope is then attached to the four corners, and to the rafters of the roof, so that the cradle is suspended from the rafters, and can be rocked or swung. Eventually, when the baby is brought home, a pandanus mat is placed in the cradle, and the baby is placed on the mat, and then covered with cloth."

"The visible trappings of religion on Ifalik, like nearly all their artifacts are extremely simple. The so-called 'house of the gods' at Weluāra differs neither in appearance nor use from any other dwelling. The most distinctive building on the atoll, the men's house at Katēlū, has indeed some religious significance. The equipment for Maroligar's special ritual, described on p. _____, is kept there, and a cloth commonly hangs on the front wall as an offering to a god. But the symbolism of this building, as shown in the chapter on government, emphasizes human rank and authority more than religion.

Most conspicuous of religious emblems are what I have called shrines on some of the house platforms, just outside one end - the western end in every case I noticed - of a dwelling. These are little round flower-beds, about a yard in diameter, spread with clean, smooth sand that contrasts with the coral gravel of the rest of the platform. They are called tariaga (once recorded as tariege), but if Tom and I managed to understand each other on this point, the general word for flowers (mware), is also sometimes applied to them. The plants grown on them emphasize verdure and fragrance rather than blossoms: the large 'elephant-ear' leaves of true tar (wot) also prized as food; an occasional sprouting coconut, with leaves two or three feet high; and various aromatic shrubs, such as warung. During a ceremony the greenery was supplemented by a whole fresh coconut leaf and a leafy shoot of aro, stuck into the sand.

Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition

to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlItr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

4: Krämer--222 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows head wreaths, úlevars, which are dried and hung up in the house as souvenirs (Kotzebue: kabulipeu).

4: Krämer--256 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 353 Woleai

Hellwig shows a hook, tauung, for suspension of food baskets; according to Born it is sometimes made of the vertebrae of sharks.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER II

MOSTLY ABOUT PEOPLE

THURSDAY, the first day after the NETTLE left, was overcast, with occasional drizzling rains. This was probably just as well because it cut down on the temptation to wander; so we could concentrate on the organization of camp at the Fan Nap.

The Fan Nap—the "Men's House"—was a large structure, some forty feet long and twenty wide, with a high thatched roof that sloped steeply to within a couple of feet of the ground on the sides. The ends were closed with matting down to within four feet of the ground, which meant that any adult must crouch on entering or leaving. The main cross-beams inside were higher, but still low enough to be a constant hazard. I never did learn to use the proper inside-of-house crouch, and kept battering my head all summer. Ted and Don were more alert—or at least better at dodging.

The front part of the Fan Nap, nearest the lagoon, was used for sleeping quarters. Ted and Don had their cots at the sides, under the stringers—beams that had been hewn out of huge breadfruit logs. The logs looked precariously balanced on the heavy coral blocks that served as the corner posts of the house. Collapse of the house would have caused the occupants of the cots to be instantly crushed. The great beams, so close above, were thus at first something of a mental hazard. But they had withstood the gales of many years and were clearly solidly placed—and they were very convenient for hanging mosquito nets.

Tables and boxes were arranged in the central area to make working space. The equipment included carpenter's tools, and with these some

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest mancuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

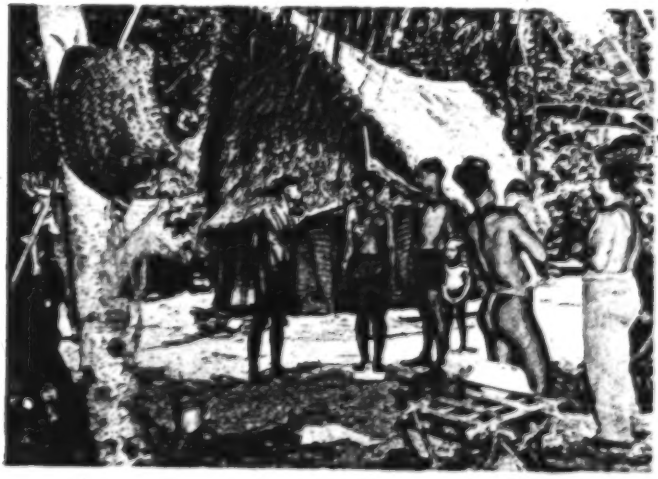
The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.



126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

1: Burrows--49-50 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 358, 483, 401, 335 Ifalik

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pënga.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the

new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic] canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken

up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8, b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

1: Burrows--117
116, 358, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house, was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [4]
116, 462, 476, 358

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--36
116, 358, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When doing major construction work, there are a number of taboos and rites which are practiced. Food is taboo until the completion of the job, so that the meal is very welcome when it comes. If the job requires more than a day for its completion food may be eaten only at the end of the day's work, and then the men must resume their fast until the completion of the next day's work. (2) Women and children are not permitted near the canoe-house during these major operations, and those living adjacent to it must

---

"2. This fasting illustrates, I believe the psychology of all sacrifice--fasting of course being a sacrifice, the sacrifice of food. You sacrifice a lesser good in order to obtain a greater good. Conversely, you accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil. In this case you sacrifice food in order to retain life and/or limb, and there is little question but that abstinence from food is a great sacrifice in this culture. Lest the reader ask how the native might lose life or limb, I should point out that the beams and pillars of the canoe-houses are huge, and if a person were to be struck by one he might very well be injured or killed."

remain in their houses. This is sharply contrasted with the other repair jobs in which children are very much in evidence, shouting, playing, laughing, and getting in the way. Furthermore, on these major jobs, the men wear young, white coconut branch strips about their arms and their ankles, which serves as talismen, and protect them from falling beams and other forms of potential injury."

28: Spiro--36 [2]
116, 784, 358, 158, 264

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik...."
See next page.

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation."
See next page.

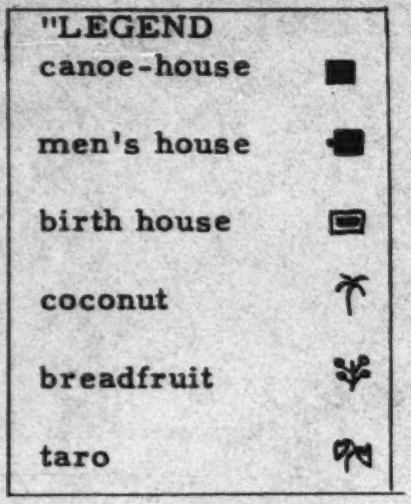


Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation.
Numbers designate homesteads, from north to south. Their native names follow: 1, FalolorIk; 2, Atrovalū; 3, Atiuwan; 4, Atielū; 5, Nuteitei; 6, Nimau; 7, Bwènnau; 8, Falegumei; 9, Aulivang; 10, Faleoulèrix; 11, Uluas; 12, Fanneserax; 13, Xalingelū; 14, Foraix; 15, Welipeien; 16, Somat; 17, Falevelū; 18, Uelepi; 19, Uarigin; 20, Metalegop; 21, Apilimat; 22, Falūn; 23, Weluāra; 24, Gauong; 25, Auriela; 26, Leagago; 27, Fal i Trel; 28, Arotrang; 29, Ilux.
Canoe-houses, from north to south: A, Pa'ugop; B, Gajuteling; C, Fan ni Wā; D, Sabwōlap; E, Fale Pëngā; F, Katēlū; G, Fan ni Wong; H, Paurël; I, Gavilea."

fanüuá is the boat house. Externally it is like the dwelling house, except that it is open on all sides, and has larger dimensions. (see drawing 157). The canoe houses are erected by the various parts of the villages, and belong to them. Before the last great typhoon the number of canoe houses was considerably larger than it was in 1909. The division of the canoe houses was as follows:

Part of the village:	in 1909:	Number of canoe houses before the typhoon:
Gajudöllin	1	1
Ledjöurö	1	1
Lawuau	1	1
Jiwän	1	3
Jör	1	3
Sägo	0	1
Sawölöb	0	1

Sägo and Sawölöb do not have any more canoe houses; the natives in the former part bring their boats to Gajudöllin and Ledjöurö, while the men in the latter shelter theirs in Lawuau.

The inhabitants do not distinguish between the village and the island; fălü is the word for both. Only Felādjĭk and Falālăp are settled, and on the northern side. The farms lie scattered along the coast. Each house has a water-hole (ganĭralu).

All of the land is divided into plots (bugodăl), which have special names, and these also apply to the houses, which are built on them.

a) the village Felādjĭk on the main island is separated into the following districts:(see drawing 159)

1. Săgo with the huts 1-4
2. Gajudŏllin 5-13
3. Ledjŏurŏu 14-21
4. Sawōlŏb 22-27
5. Lawuaû 28-43.

The districts 1-3 are included in Felādjĭk, the other two, 4 and 5 are Lawuaû. The oldest part of this settlement is Lawuaû, and the other sections were settled from here. This original portion also served as a residence for the king of the island group, Daoreligăr [61] and his assistant chief Sairū. A long, long time ago Săgo is also supposed to have had a chief, but his family died out. [AN: The names of the houses and their inhabitants, pages 61-65 of source, have been omitted.] [65]

b) The village on Falālăp Island [AN: see Fig. 160] is divided into two districts, Jŏr

and Jiwăn, in other words, into a southern and a northern part. This settlement is under the authority of Daoreligăr, who formerly lived in Jiwăn, and later moved over into the home of his wife. If the legend is true, the first chief of this island group, the man from Yap, Mōdj, settled in Jiwăn. [AN: the names of the plots with the houses and inhabitants, pages 66-71 of source, have been omitted.] [71]

c) Elă Island is uninhabited. The land is divided among the various houses. [AN: the names of the plots of land have been omitted.]

2: Damm et al. --139 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 361 Aurupik

There are settlements on the large island and on Uäu. The population on Aurepik is divided into two "farms" (Valiáureg [Krämer], or Waliáudry [Hellwig], and Roñali [Krämer]), but there are only a few huts in each. On Uäu, the colony consists of two larger houses, which stand on high stone platforms. In addition, Sarfert also found a little hut, faced with coconut mats, which was inhabited by an old man. The natives said that this small colony was only used occasionally.

2: Damm et al. --185-186 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 162, 361 Faraulep

There are villages on the main island Faraulip and on Pix; but Hambruch found that the third island Ead was uninhabited, and only stone pedestals overgrown with plants and abandoned taro fields gave evidence that it was formerly settled. The colonies belong to a chief and two sub-chiefs. On Faraulip there are eighteen dwellings, four blood houses and one spirit house. [CS: Omission of the table describing the residents of each one, page 185-186] [186] So in this colony there were 22 men, 28 women, 17 boys, 11 girls; a total of 78 persons, in addition to 14 who were at Yap at the moment. The total population was therefore 92.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361 Aurupik

The inhabitants live in two farmsteads, Valiaureg and Rongali, where there are but a few well-built and neat houses... The house of the chief is built on a stepped stone-foundation which is ca. 2 meters high. On a...well-cultivated place, neatly covered with coral gravel, Hambruch discovered a house with a grave nearby.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--254 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 342 Woleai

The north-eastern section of the island. . .is part of the Pūyod region which belongs to the chief Mătewerit who is in Elato at present. There are eight farmsteads in this region.

Adjoining to the south-west--the boundary line runs across the middle of the inland lake--is Lūyapūdam (Lūyab pidăm) with five farmsteads; this region belongs to Wuĕlĭyar (Uélĭyar); Tăwoyāb, the south-western end of the island with its six farmsteads belongs to the chief Iyérimar. Each one of these three regions has two canoe houses, and several farmsteads consist of work- and cook-houses or sheds. Ghost- and menstruation-houses could not be seen. The wooden walls of these houses consist of planks which were vertically inserted between frame-beams.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 361, 162 Elato

There were on Elato 26 farmsteads with 19 permanent dwelling and sleeping houses and a number of primitive mat-houses. The population consisted of 87 persons. In addition there were two Wólea families whose members lived alternately in Elato or in Wólea, and there were finally 180 typhoon-refugees from Wólea.

The largest and at the same time the principal island of Lámotrek does not have a special name, but is called after the lagoon, at the eastern end of which it is located. From S to N it is approximately 1250 meters long and in the middle it is a little over 700 meters wide. From south to north it becomes narrower in form. The northern cape is called Lugliong. In the west of the northern half, at the inland water, there is a bay which serves as a landing place. Here the village is located. A sketch map of the island was made between November 20-26, 1909 by the First Officer of the "Peiho" [MR: see 4: Krämer 15]. It showed the relative depths of the bay; its southern cape is [16] called Paliauei, whereas the northern corner is known as Uŏlebugui, "at the corner." [MR: see house 30 on map 3. 4: Krämer 18]

A sandbank separates the bay from the approximately 30-meter-deep lagoon; the sandbank from north to south has depths of 9, 3, 7, 12, 14 and 16 meters; inland from the sandbank the depth is 19 meters, which quickly decreases towards the land. This depth is called Mólog as the plan of the settlement on map 3 shows; southward it ends in a boat canal tauali vá. Thus conditions are similar to those of the eastern basin of the Onoun atoll at the island of Pisaras, except that the latter is much smaller than Lámotrek and projects eastward out of the line of the encircling ring. . . . The settlement is located inside the western bend [MR: of the bay] in a wide swinging arch. Inside the latter, in the

south, there is a small additional bay; it is less obvious on map 3 but is definitely shown on plate 1b [MR: 4: Krämer 413, Plate 1b]. Here the boathouse Aboi in which we stayed is located. Southward the bay ends in the wide sandy beach of cape Paliauei, where the Faktaipu and the house of the trader Lewis are located.

4: Krämer--17-19 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361 Lamotrek

The settlements of Lámotrek. Study of 1909.

The large village...is located at the western shore of the lagoon and mainly in the bend of the bay.... The uninhabited part of the island is called gápilam (see house 19).

A unit of buildings with its surrounding land is called bókut or búkut (illustration 51 page 109 [MR: in source]).

A building unit comprises a living house, supply house, cooking house and a menstrual lodge.

The village is divided into the "south" Jaur, where the fal canoe houses a. Faletaipu and b. Jalói (abei) [MR: 4 Kramer 413 plate 16], which is beautifully decorated in the interior (see color plate II [in source]) are located; [19] in addition there are here properties 1-12. In this section there also stood the house of the trader Lewis which was called Ngalangisét "near the sea" and south of it on cape Paliauei the burials of lot 5 were found. On the land of the headchief Sukurang stood the fal'lap Marólipei, the house of the spirits.

In the "center" Lúgalap there were the canoe houses c. Lúgal and d. Kulong, and properties 13-20. This is also the location of the grove with the house of the spirits fal'lap Lématak (or Lámetag)which in 1890 already lay in ruins. Dense virgin forest like cordia shrubbery was found here [MR: 4: Kramer 413, plate 46].

The "North" is called Jefang: it comprises the canoe houses e. Falemára, f. Gatia rákes, g. Vorietag, and h. Gauárag (or Gauósag), i. Falemáreg, and k. Uelibugui, lots 21-30. The boundary of the land is called róros.

List of Houses on Elato

In the main they are primitive huts since no real reconstruction work has been done since the typhoon of 1907.

1. Etsatiù, bush hut
2. Kŭ ŭei, birth hut
3. Cooking house, măl ŭm, which at the same time is used as sleeping quarters for menstruating women.
4. House for women in childbed, im a fătsŭ...
5. Ilaroéi, visitors from Oleai
6. Bŭŏl i bŭgi, visitors from Oleai
7. Tsŭiĕrăs, visitors from Oleai.
8. Fazefăl, 1 ♂ (♀ died)
9. Faliŏp, 3 ♂, 3 ♀, --, 1 girl
10. Im mo gitigit
11. Legóŭria, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
12. Făl e gílĭau, 1 ♀
13. Gitoŭ, 4♂, 2♀, 2 boys. It is owned by Oleai islanders from Uazagor, who also have property and a house there, and who at times live on Oleai and at times on Elato
14. Pâùûĭl, 3 ♂, 4 ♀, --, 1 girl

The cooking house is built from the hut found on deck of a ship-wrecked boat.

Stone foundation of the former " great house" maifŭrz.

Remnants of the former "great house" --eaûr e lăp.

15. Olegešārs, 5 ♂, 5 ♀, --, 1 girl
16. Nogŭr, 5 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
17. Lugăl; Japanese trading station, now deserted
18. Uŏlĕl, people from Pâû i ĕl come here
19. Kătogălū, 2 ♂, 2 ♀, 1 boy and 1 girl
20. Kolŭng, 1 ♂, 1 ♀
21. Uŏlipār, 4 ♂, 3 ♀, 1 boy, --
22. Kŭsorŏlo, 4 ♂, 4 ♀, 1 boy, 1 girl
23. Kăti e făl, house of the chief, 4 ♂, 1 ♀, --
24. Rolegorăl, belongs to 23

    On the house there is a drawing of a vulva, māk e boār.
25. Matal ie eăl, is inhabited only at the time of the mosquito plague since then a fresh wind blows there
26. Merekam. Birth hut, house for women in childbed and menstrual lodge of the visitors from Oleai. [31]

4: Krämer--30-31
116, 361, 162

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

Property units:	13 ♂	41
Buildings:	26 ♀	32
	boys	7
	girls	7
	total	87

The true old Elato natives are about to die out.

Only the people settled on Elato have been included in the enumeration. Not listed are the Oleai islanders--numbering about 180--who since the typhoon of 1907 have found shelter, and who live very closely together in miserable huts. They intend soon to return to Oleai.

The location of the houses is shown in Figure 50 [VMM: see source] and Plan 3 [VMM: see 4: Krämer 18]. A building complex is shown in Figure 51...[VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361 Woleai

The dwellings of the natives are located on the sides of the islands facing the interior lagoon. They extend along the entire strip of sandy beach and there are no obvious boundaries between the various villages.

4: Krämer--208 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 361

The settlement plan of Volóa (Plan 6) [VMM: 4: Krämer 208] shows a wide path extending the entire length of the southern beach; it was laid out on order of the government. It begins at the SE cape of Matónnap and ends at the west cape. The plan shows all the details.

12: Lutke--144 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
361 Woleai

The interior of the island is charming; it is a grove intersected with paths leading in every direction and dotted with clearings where there are houses.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543-544 1938 Woleaians
116, 361 Woleai

"The white houses of the police station and [544] the branch office of the South Sea Trading Co. are located on the southwestern side of Woleai, the northeastern island."

28: Spiro--5-6
116, 361, 342

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Within the district there is no indication of a city planning board, which might have allocated homesteads with an eye to symmetry. The homesteads are scattered throughout the district, some touching the main path, some being much further inland, some being isolated from others, some being contiguous, so that the boundaries of the two touch. But within the court yard of each homestead there is almost monotonous regularity, each having at least one 'sleeping house' (im), a cooking shed (malum), and almost all having a menstrual hut, the architiecture [sic] of each structure being similar, if not identical, to that in the other households. The average house is a one room building about 12 feet at its apex. [6] The frame of the house consists of four upright pillars, stuck into the ground. These are connected by light, supply branches, arranged in wicker-work fashion, to form the walls, which are about four feet in height. The gabled roof is constructed in the same fashion, the entire structure being held together by native rope. The walls are enclosed with coconut branch mats, and the roof with plaited coconut branches, tied to the frame, and superimposed one on the other in tile fashion, so as to repel the rains. The roof overhangs the walls, and reaches within three feet of the ground, protecting the house from the sun, and the dripping water. The house has a number of entrances, usually one at each of the four corners, and two on each side of the house. The entrance which is quite low--one must stoop in order to enter--is a

passageway, not a door. In the case of rain or cold it is covered with a mat, but ordinarily it is open, there being little need for privacy, nor any fear of burglary."

28: Spiro--7 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 361 Ifalik

"Aside from the cluster of settlements which is cleared of all vegetation, (8) the interior of islands are uncleared bush, though there is a net-work of footpaths traversing the two islands."

"8. Trees are cleared because of the danger of falling coconuts. This fact reveals the naivete of the urbanite in the tropics. I often commented to Dr. Burrows when we first arrived on the stupidity of clearing the courtyards of coconut trees, which could protect the houses from the hot rays of the sun. It was not until we had lived on the island for some time that I realized the dangers of the falling coconuts, particularly in a blow."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

133 sand. Out from the beach there was a hundred yards or so of coral platform, largely exposed at low tide, then finally the edge of the reef itself against which the great rollers of the Pacific broke their force all the year around.

133 361 The other inhabited island, Falalap, was rather different: a large, rounded blob sticking out into the sea and spoiling the neat circle of the atoll. The habitations were all on the northwest end of the island, across the narrow pass from Falarik. Here, too, there was a maintained park-like area, corresponding to the lagoon-side coconut grove of Falarik: but on Falalap, coconuts and large breadfruit trees were interspersed, giving a different "feel" to the landscape.

133 137 262 The center of Falalap was largely a great swampy area carefully cultivated by the women of both islands. Two kinds of aroids (taro), *Colocasia* and *Cyrtosperma*, were grown there for their edible, starchy roots which, with breadfruit, formed the staple food of the atoll. We did not get around to exploring this region in any detail until late in the summer.

123 206 The mapping operation was kept up fairly steadily for several days, but there were always intermissions. On Friday afternoon—the second day of the mapping—Bakal and Yani had no difficulty in persuading us to knock off mapping and go spear fishing. We all piled into Bronson's skiff and rowed over to the shore of Ella, outside the pass into the lagoon. Don was rather snooty about this skiff, remarking that a Western rowboat looked like a garbage scow beside the trim and speedy Ifalukian canoes. But Yani and Bakal liked it—perhaps partly because it was foreign, but also because it was steady and because it [136] could hold several people easily. Don, maintaining his scorn, called it the BWUP after one of the more ungainly species of trigger-fish.

227 Yani and Bakal each had steel-pointed wooden spears, about fifteen feet long; and short, slender steel spears. The long spears were for poking; the short spears were shot from a sling. The sling looked like a strip of inner-tube; at one end was a string loop, tied on firmly; at the other end the rubber was tied into a loop just large enough to slip over the thumb. With the rubber loop over the right thumb, the string loop was pressed over a slight notch in the butt of the spear, and the spear then simply pulled back with the left hand and let go. It worked like a Hawaiian sling spear, with the hand replacing the hollow bamboo grip.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
372 Ifalik

"Dry coconut husks are important as fuel. One of them will hold fire until time for the next smoke, or while carrying borrowed fire from one house to another."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
372 Ifalik

"Short lengths of a crude kind of rope are twisted out of raw coconut husk fiber. They make wicks (atoliēf) to preserve fire. Such a wick is commonly kept alight during a sea voyage."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 372 Ifalik

"Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing. Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 245 Ifalik

"Dry brown leaf makes kindling and fuel--for Ifalik, though well wooded, has such a small area that firewood is scarce. A bonfire of dry coconut leaf will illuminate a night gathering. Bundles of it make torches used in several kinds of night fishing."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 252, 784 Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

2: Damm et al. --32-33 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372, 177 Ifaluk

According to the natives, Mòdj brought the art of fire-making from Yap. In olden days people did not know how to produce fire (jáf; buleliáf [33] the flame); so they ate everything raw, even meat. Today there are two methods of making fire:

a) the fire drill (liák), síne liák- flat stick, lâu liák- vertical and rotating stick.

b) the fire plane or fire groove (lâulít), síne lâulít - flat stick, lâunâulít- grooving stick.

The fire saw is unknown.

To kindle the flame they use the ordinary type of woven fan (sâibo), which is common throughout the Carolines.

felán - hearth, fire place, wurak - smoke, marodj - ash, fafi - firewood.

2: Damm et al.--125-126 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372 Aurupik

There are two methods of making fire:

1. by rubbing: the flat stick is called sine laulit, the vertical one is laul, and the whole apparatus is laulit.

2. by "drilling": the flat stick is sil liak, the vertical one laul liak, together they are liak. Hellwig obtained a "fire-wood box (xuluxul) for smokers;" it is made of bamboo reed, and has a wooden cover (pilepil), which is attached to the bottom with a string; it is really a tinder box, like the ones found on Polowat. There are three ways to fan the flame (Krämer: saipa).

The following story tells how fire came to mankind. The thunder fell on a pandanus tree on Yap Island, and it could not get away. It has become entangled in the leaves, and fluttered back and forth like a chicken. Then a woman passed by, [126] Medirädi by name. The thunder called to her, and begged her to set it free. But the woman was afraid that she might get burned. The thunder promised her that she would not be harmed, and so the woman helped it get out. Then the thunder said: "You do not know how to make a fire! Your food is really not good!" So he took two sticks, and showed her how to drill a fire. Finally, he also told her about the earth oven; she should make a hole, put the flame inside, and put the food on top; after a certain time it would be good. When the thunder had spoken, it went up into the air. The woman did as he had bade her, and then she told other people about it. Then they all knew how to make a fire.

2: Damm et al. --167 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 372 Faraulep

To make a fire (fire - ijáf) the natives use a fire plane (noirít; the flat stick - imóu, the stick drawn through the groove, which this has made - noirít) and the fire drill (niaûk or liaûk; flat stick - ilá, drilling hole - medád [eye], vertical drilling stick - noirít). Tinder (xabád) is kept in a bamboo box. The woven fire fan (séipo) has a long rectangular form.

4: Krämer--62
116, 412, 372

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

The pump drill is known as burabüra and comes from Elato. The wheel is of tortoise shell and the tip of the drill is of sharks' teeth. See Figure 134e [VMM: see source] for the hand drill.

4: Krämer--232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 372 Woleai

Fire, eáf, fire plane, moelít; in recent times steel and stones have been carried in small bags, Hellwig: kaigérs, or sigerára; fire-wood, gabát.

28: Spiro--40 [2]
116, 843, 225, 373

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If turtle eggs are discovered the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from another person for four days. A pregnant woman and her husband may not eat turtle eggs at all during her pregnancy."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381 Ifalik

"Lime is made in Ifalik, as in many Pacific islands, by burning coral over a large wood fire in a pit. It forms the pigment for the white lines in the traditional design used for painting a canoe. Mixed with water and ashes of burned coconut husks, it makes a mortar or putty (bwèr) for sealing the holes about the lashings in canoe-hulls. Before the advent of foreign dyes, it was mixed with an infusion of bark of the lel tree to make a red dye for native cloth. The people of Ifalik do not use lime to clean and bleach their hair.

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit sap makes a gum (bwIIIs) used to glue the joints between canoe planks. This is collected by slashing the bark of the tree in several places and, after gum has gathered on the wound, scraping it off with a knife. The day after collecting, it is washed in salt water and bits of bark and other foreign matter taken out. Then it is soaked in fresh water for several days and kept in a bottle.

Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned, and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifalik at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)"

"Over the caulking is spread a glue of breadfruit gum (bwIIIs). The gum collects on slashes made in the bark and outer wood of the trunk. It is kept, nowadays, in glass bottles. To remove it for use, a stick is thrust into the bottle. When withdrawn, it pulls out after it a white rope of gum. This is wound on the stick in a ball. Before applying, it is heated with a torch (kal) of coconut spathes. Thus softened, it comes off on the caulking in a thin, even sheet."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
284, 381 Ifalik

"When all but the rigging [KS: of a canoe] is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength."

This glue [ML: for calking seams] is made of burned pulverized coral lime, ashes of coconut shells and the juice of fatsch roots.

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 386, 241 Ifalik

"Whichever plant [KS: banana or hibiscus] is used, some of the fibers are soaked in dye before weaving. Nearly all the dye in use in 1947-8 had been bought from the Japanese. Two native dyes are still remembered, though now rarely or never used. One is a black, obtained from a porous, floating mineral that sometimes drifts to Ifalik. It is ground into water by rubbing on a piece of iron. The other native dye is a red, made by mixing coral lime and lel bark in water. Turmeric paint, though not used to dye fibers before weaving, may be rubbed over finished cloth."

1: Burrows--63 (1947-48) Woleaians
386 Ifalik

"The pigments used nowadays [KS: for painting canoes] are bought from foreign ships; but the red, which is the first put on and apparently the most prized, is still mixed with breadfruit gum. If my informants can be trusted as to the pigment formerly used, it was bark of the rel tree soaked in water and mixed with coral lime. When this red paint is being applied, one of the huge leaves of the giant arum (filē) is suspended over the hull. This can hardly be anything but a bit of magic or ritual or [sic] ensure success of the job, or of the canoe after it is finished. But Tom could not explain its sumbolism. He fell back on his usual statement about traditional practises whose meaning had been forgotten--'blong before.'"

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 386, 439 Ifalik

"One highly prized article--'red' turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands; either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifalik, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorIk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifalik. Tom always translated rang as either 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'."

1: Burrows--194 (1947-48) Woleaians
386 Ifalik

"Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlltr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

2: Damm et al. --41-42 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 386 Ifaluk

The following dyes are used:

1. black dye.
   a) this is procured from black stones, that are found among the pieces of drift wood. A knife is used to scrape some of this stone into a wooden dish, filled with water; then the sap of a coconut is wrung into the same container, and the sap of a leaf of the gili tree is added in the same manner. This dye is used for the threads, which are to be woven.
   b) A large quantity of black coloring is required to paint the boats; it is obtained by burning coconut husks (bējenne); then they are dipped in water, and used on the wood as if they were brushes.
   c) The tattooing color is obtained from the resin of the lăgidj tree.
2. red color; here again there are two kinds:
   a) to dye the threads; people peel the bark off the lăle tree, mix it with coral lime, which has been broken into small pieces and burned [42] and then it is all pressed into a wooden container with water (red color - ligodjă).
   b) to paint the boats; the natives take red earth from Yap, which is kept in little string pouches or in containers made of barnacles; this is stirred in water, and they add the sap of a tapped bread-fruit tree. A bird-shaped wooden bowl (dŏbimăb) is used as a dye pot.
   c) Body painting.

2: Damm et al. --119 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
386 Aurupik

The tattoo coloring matter is made of soot, which is obtained by burning ő́lat nuts (Calophyllum).

2: Damm et al. --171 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 285, 386 Faraulep

The dyeing of mats is done according to the Polowat process. Meerpocken are also used for dye pots, and the dye bowls (tăbbi enăp) are the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk. Red coloring (tśageŏx) to paint the canoes is purchased from Yap. Any piece of wood can be used for a brush.

4: Krämer--41
116, 304, 386

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

No details are known concerning the method of tattooing. The instrument used is a pick which looks like the tool used to open ulcers. (Fig. 134 [VMM: see source]). Soot for the black color is not obtained from savani nuts but from drifted sap, hurú, which is placed over a small fire and then is covered up with a coconut shell; the coconut, in turn, is isolated by a layer of leaves. The soot settles inside. Also paraffin rās or matiga (=fat, because the natives thought that it was fish fat) drifted ashore but was not used for the same purpose.

4: Krämer--41 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 531, 386 Lamotrek

No details are available on the subject of painted ornamentation. Turmeric is acquired by trade transactions and is thus available like on the other islands, but it is rarely used. The red paint of the canoes has its origin in red earth, lap, from Yap or Truk; that of Yap is considered better in quality. From it the expression tabbi en lap, paint bowl, is derived and the word for paint brush is golelië.

4: Krämer--75-76
116, 386, 285, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

c. Dyeing [VMM: of fibers to be used in mats]

Both gilifer hibiscus fibers and uidj banana yarn are dyed black when special designs are to be brought out in the textile. The yarn is first dyed in a greenish juice which is brewed from crushed terminalia leaves and water. Then black pumice stone with water is scraped on iron and young coconut husks are thrown into the liquid; a special greasy type of soil that drifts ashore is added; the fibers are put in this liquid with its coloring substance for twenty-four hours. Then they are rinsed and dried. In more recent times occasionally red threads have appeared in mats; they have been dyed with artificial dyes --red, green, blue, and violet--that must have been acquired through trade and are not readily available on the island. [76]

An example is Krämer 518, a mat with three red stripes, which resemble Krämer 519 (najelle malu galapal with small stitches gukudj); Krämer 460 dõr peig...has three green stripes and the same applies to Krämer 520; Krämer 521, paliälüf, has a red stripe along the edge and three stripe patterns--1 red between two green ones (similar to the mat on Plate 7e [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2272 along the edge has two green and, in the middle, three stripes--green, black, green--; Krämer 515 is similar; it has spotted stripes and red transverse ornaments which are known as galut ma dab.

4: Krämer--97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396, 386 Lamotrek

Unless the canoe has been painted earlier, now is the time for it; the lower part of the hull, le djól le va, is painted black and so are the upper edge, mated, and the laterally sloping parts, lellap; above this area is the longitudinal band, far, and below it the hull is painted a shiny red (1010 Kramer, Color Plate 2).

The red color substance, lap, comes from Yap... and the painting itself is known as madjagoi (from dja red). Red earth is mixed with water in the paint bowl, tabbi lap, and is applied with the brush, gololie, of the coconut sheaths. If one is dealing with large areas, one uses the husk of a coconut. When the paint has dried, it is covered with artocarpus milk, ralimei, which has been mentioned above in a different connection.

The black paint, rel, made from hibiscus wood (marafai) or coconut husks (not coconut shell) is also mixed with water. It is fixed with a preparation of scraped skin and the juice of crushed Ipomoea, djaival; Ligadjelap is the god of the painters.... When the black-red coat of paint is applied, the boat is ready for the big voyage ahead of it. Paint bowls and paint brushes must not be misplaced.

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 : Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

4: Krämer--238 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 388 Woleai

The sap of the breadfruit tree is known as bilis (Krämer: smelled very badly in 1933); a sap that was called rumáio drifted ashore and the same was true of pieces of paraffin.

"Thin slices of coconut husk, with its rather spongy texture, are laid between the planks of a canoe before they are gummed and lashed together. They expand when wet, and keep the seams tight.

Charcoal from burnt coconut husks is mixed with coral lime to make the putty or mortar used to seal the holes in a canoe hull where the lashing runs through."

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
342, 396 Ifalik

"Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 396, 245 Ifalik

"The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues (Calophyllum inophyllum), a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood."

1::Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285, 396 Ifalik

"Leaves of the variety of pandanus called far en Nuta, cured but not bleached, are used for sails. Matting for sails is plaited in strips about a foot wide. These are sewed together with sinnet cord, using stitches several inches long. Seams are run both vertically and horizontally. The advantage of making the sail in strips is that it usually limits tearing to one strip. Thus a torn place can be repaired by replacing a single strip of matting."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 554 Ifalik

"A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifalik. Anyone can build a little one; but the construction of that master-piece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-shipwrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands."

1: Burrows--44-45 (1947-48) Woleaians
396 Ifalik

"The aerial roots of the giliao, a banyan, are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe, before the permanent lashing of sennit cord is put on.

A dried moss is sometimes laid between the planks of a canoe. It is said to [45] decrease leaking. This was not done, however, in any of several canoes built during our stay on the island."

lee platform on the side opposite the outrigger
forked heads at the top of both end-posts
two outrigger booms, curving downward
outrigger float attached to booms by crotch-shaped Y connectives and cord brace made up of multiple lashing. (A difference here is that in Ifalik the connectives are not pointed and driven into the float, but flat-ended, and carefully fitted to press against it. These connectives take only stresses that push the float toward the booms. Stresses that pull float and booms apart are taken by the cord brace.)

The characteristic of the 'flying proa' elsewhere which is not shared by Ifalik canoes is asymmetry of the hull. In the classic 'flying proa' type, Haddon and Hornell say, 'one side, the weather or outrigger side, is more rounding or fuller than the lee side.' As will appear in the account of drawing lines to guide the shaping of the hull, Ifalik hulls are carefully made symmetrical, longitudinally and transversely."

(1947-48)

"In construction of hull and attachment of outrigger, canoes of all sizes are essentially alike. The small rosemāni have no thwarts except for the inboard portions of the two booms, while larger canoes have additional thwarts nearer each end. All canoes carry paddles (fatole) and wooden scoop-shaped bailers (mat). Paddling canoes are poled in shallow water. When not in use, the poles are laid over the booms just [53] outside the hull, and kept in place by sennit loops (taninga ni meinin) near each end. Wooden trays (tarong) rest on the booms just outside the hull, and are attached by lashing. They are used to carry small articles, which are more likely to stay dry there than inside the hull. In sailing canoes, these are replaced by large platforms (Fig. 7, d, e), not only on the outrigger side but on the lee side as well.

Large canoes conform in every respect but one--symmetry of the hull on Ifalik--to the 'flying proa' type described by Haddon and Hornell in 'Canoes of Oceania'* as characteristic of the western Carolines. Characteristics of that type which are present in Ifalik canoes are:

triangular outrigger platform

"* Throughout the following account, the terminology in English follows that of Haddon and Hornell."

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, GanauliwIr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying

inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilök and Uterang. Wëtreilök was the husband of Seramaliwök, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilök said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwök made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilök went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwök came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilök replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle,

until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it

black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wëtreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wëtreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wëtreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wëtreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly,

the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

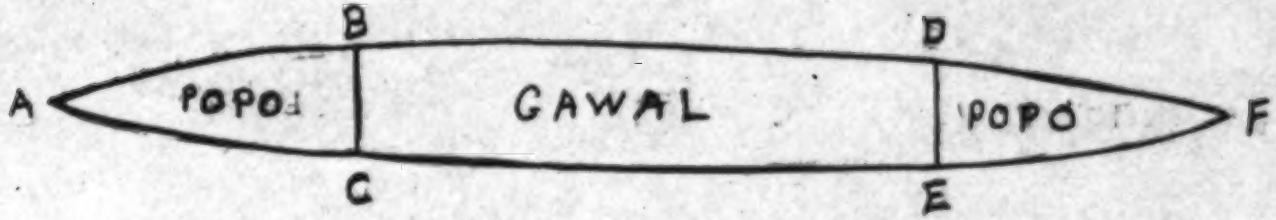
Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wā, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called pōpō, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik pōpō is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might

still build a canoe of pōpō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

(1947-48)



"Fig. 10. -First measurements on the bottom of a canoe.

ABDF is the top of the log, which will be the bottom of the hull. It is called arol. BC and DE are the dividing lines between the end sections, called pōpō, and the middle section, called gawal. The gawal is one half the total length; each of the pōpō one quarter. The dividing points B and D are called annetok."

"Fig. 9. -Two types of forked head (metaliwā) for the ends of a canoe.

a, the type called kawalu, used on Ifalik.
b, the type called pōpō, attributed to Seimeligarāra."

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 173 Ifalik

"Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island 'Modj', four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants."

1: Burrows--56-57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy. [57]

Before beginning the work, the carpenter takes a coconut and offers it to the gods Seimeligarāra, Seilangi, and SemerIk, with the following prayer. (The English words for the first line seem to be a paraphrase rather than a translation.)

Eia ngalir tautou,	Gods of the carpenter
Tautou bwo li valval,	Carpenter of the measuring-line,
E bwe gatre tipal.	He will be happy.

Tom said this was the whole text of the prayer, but explained that the carpenter was going to be happy because his canoe would be light and fast, and would not sink.

The instruments used for measuring are a sennit line (tal ni valval), a flexible ruler (tageluvā) made of a strip of coconut leaf midrib, a bit of leaflet midrib for measuring short spaces, a pot of red paint and a wooden pen or marker."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"First the length of the bottom is measured off with the line. Then its middle point is found by doubling the line. The line is redoubled, giving a length one quarter of the total. This quarter distance is measured off from each end and marked. This divides the bottom into three parts. The two at the ends, called pōpō, are a quarter of the total length; the one in the middle, called gawal, half of the total. The bottom is to be curved along the pōpō, straight (or nearly so) along the gawal. This ensures that the two curving ends shall be of the same length.

Next a double line is stretched along the median line of the bottom (ABDF in the figure). With ruler and paint, lines are drawn on each side of it. Lines are then drawn with the ruler on each side of the median line. (ACEF in the figure represents one of them). The distances BC and DE and the corresponding ones on the other side, are carefully measured with a strip of leaflet midrib to make sure that they are all equal. This ensures symmetry of the underbody (pongo) at this stage, both longitudinally and transversely.

The master carpenter then gives permission for the workers to break their fast. They may now drink young coconut, and eat its soft flesh."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Next the bottom is hewn to shape. As the lines are chipped off with the adzes, new ones are drawn on. At a later stage it is customary to have five lines on each side. The principle is the same as with the first two; to keep them equidistant throughout their length, so that the hull will be symmetrical in both dimensions. This is said to ensure its sailing straight and fast.

When the underbody is finished except for final touches, it is turned right side up. Occasionally the builder of a small canoe will be able to get a log big enough to make the hull, except for the end-posts, all in one piece. Such a canoe is called wā velanū. All the larger canoes, though, and most of the small ones, have their sides built up with planks (pape).

The underbody is hollowed out for the sake of lightness, except that several triangular spreaders (vailō) are left intact to keep the flaring sides from collapsing. A joint is cut in each end, at a somewhat acute angle, to take the lower end of an end-post."

1: Burrows-58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The technique of fitting two pieces together, which begins with joining the parts of the forked head or, if that is all in one piece, with joining the end-post to the underbody, is always the same. It is a very slow one, requiring repeated trial fittings. The two parts to be fitted together are first shaped by eye; and the eye is such a practised one, in the case of experienced canoe-carpenters, that an approximate fit is achieved at once. But hardly ever can it be good enough to make a watertight joint. So the joining surface of one of the pieces--always the lower one, on the piece first put in place as the canoe is built up--is daubed with red paint. The other piece is then lifted into place, with its joining surface against the fresh paint. Any protrusions, which widen the joint, take the paint, and show the carpenters where more wood has to be taken off. After the reddened bits of surface have been removed, and any other changes indicated by the fitting completed, the upper piece is tried on again. The process is repeated until the joint is satisfactorily tight at every point. This task, which is repeated for every piece in the hull where two surfaces are to be in contact, goes very slowly, with many pauses for consultation and rest. Only a few men--two to four seems a usual number--stay on the job through this stage."

1: Burrows--58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Next the end-pieces (par) are hewn out. Though much smaller than the underbody, they must take the brunt of any end-on collision. So they are made of hard, tough wood, usually rages. They are the only pieces in the hull to be made of other wood than breadfruit, though hardwoods are also used for the masthead and several parts of the outrigger and platforms.

Each end-piece is trimmed to form a cutwater (vetang) as sharp as it can be without weakening it too much. Even in the largest canoes, the cutwater is usually less than an inch wide. The inboard side is hollowed out, leaving two or three triangular spreaders, as in the underbody. The one that will come at the height of the gunwales has a special name, ta li vetvet. A shallow round pit or socket is cut in its upper surface. This holds the apex of the sail, when that end is the bow; and supports the butt of a fishing-pole when the end is the stern and the canoe is being used for trolling. The forked head, the shape of which has already been discussed, is hewn out of the solid top of each end-piece; or, if wood is lacking for part of the fork on one side or both, separate pieces are shaped and fastened on. Finally, the bottom of each end-piece is cut to fit the joint cut in one end of the underbody. The post must set at such an angle as to give the overhang characteristic of all Ifalik canoes."

1: Burrows--58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"When each joint [KS: of a canoe] is made satisfactorily tight, holes are bored at corresponding points in the two surfaces. Then the two are sewed together, with sennit cord. The leading end of the cord is stiffened, for pushing through the hole, by tying it to a makeshift bodkin or eyeless needle, which consists of a slender strip or splinter cut off a coconut leaf midrib. The cord is passed round and round through each hole; but the technique is strictly sewing rather than lashing, as it is sometimes called, because the cord passes through the planks rather than around them. The first attachment is only temporary.

With the end-pieces in place, breadfruit planks are hewn out of the biggest pieces available, and fitted and sewed together by the processes just described. Wood is so scarce that even wormeaten pieces are used, and patched if necessary. The joints between planks take whatever shape--usually a very irregular one--will waste the least wood. In this way the hull is built up to the size desired, or that dictated by the available timber."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"No ribs or inner framework stiffen the hull as a whole. Such a vessel, made of planks simply sewn together edge to edge, seems very flimsy. And, indeed, there is always danger, in a heavy sea, that the hull may be crushed or broken apart. Yet several devices help to strengthen it. The little triangular spreaders left in place in hewing out the underbody and end-posts have that effect, as far as they go. Broad gunwales (mesāp), laid flat, surmount both sides, stiffening them as well as turning aside some of the water that would otherwise splash in. The two outrigger booms, running athwart the hull amidships, are perhaps the strongest braces of all. The little rosemani, which keep to the lagoon except in calm weather, have no other thwarts than these. Larger canoes have several, the number varying with their size. Those nearest the bow and stern of sailing canoes have a special name (metangār) and an additional function They project beyond the hull, and end in knobs. When the mast is up, the halyards are made fast to these projections, and the knobs keep them from slipping off.

These stiffening devices are most effective against inward stresses that threaten to crush the hull. Against outward stresses, so communicated from one member to another that they threaten to spread the hull apart, there is less protection. As a last resort a rope may be slung about a canoe at sea, to hold the hull together. Not everyone knows how to do this; in fact, the purpose of a song in which I first heard it mentioned was to shame a crew of young men who had let their canoe break apart on a sand-spit because they did not know how to rope it together."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"When all the pieces of the hull have been hewn to shape and fitted together, there is another burst of work, requiring a considerable number of men. The hull is taken apart, a few chips hewn off here and there to make the joints fit better, then it is all put together again, this time permanently. The joints are tightened with thin strips that act like caulking, though they are laid in place, not driven in. The seams are glued; and the lashing is replaced more carefully than before. At this point in the building of Tom's canoe, 31 men were counted in the canoe-house, though there were rarely more than 10 working at any one time.

The strips that correspond to caulking are made of the husk of mature coconuts, skillfully cut in very thin slices (päle). Sometimes, it is said, dried moss may be used instead; but coconut husk is preferred for the best canoes.

Over the caulking is spread a glue of breadfruit gum (bwIIIs). The gum collects on slashes made in the bark and outer wood of the trunk. It is kept, nowadays, in glass bottles. To remove it for use, a stick is thrust into the bottle. When withdrawn, it pulls out after it a white rope of gum. This is wound on the stick in a ball. Before applying, it is heated with a torch (kal) of coconut spathes. Thus softened, it comes off on the caulking in a thin, even sheet."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy. Four forked sticks (iam) form the Y or crutch connectives. The insides of the forks are carefully fitted to the booms to make as tight a joint as possible. Their lower ends are also fitted with great care to the upper surface of the float. On each boom, one fork presses against the inboard angle of this surface, the other against the outboard angle. They are not fastened at this end in any way.

A number of other pieces are added to strengthen the outrigger attachment. A yoke (wā lieng) connects the two booms between the inner and outer pairs of crutches. Just inboard from the inner pair of crutches, another spar (sosoā) connects the two booms. Riri fern leaves are tied on with the lashing that attaches this brace. These leaves are thought to ensure the presence of fish whenever the canoe goes out after them. If the leaves were omitted, there would be fish sometimes, but not always. The fact that fish are not always found even when this requirement has been met does not seem to disturb anyone's faith. The structure is further braced by means of light struts which run diagonally from the outer side of each boom to the outer sides of each pair of crutches. Another light stick connects the lower side of the booms at the upper ends of these struts; still another connects the two outboard crutches at the lower end of the struts. These pieces are very small, usually less than 1/2 inch in diameter; but they are made

of the strongest kinds of wood, commonly gaingei. Thus the outrigger attachment is braced and reinforced against stress in almost any direction, while the lashing, and at some points the elasticity of the wood, allow the structure to give a little without breaking. The crutches and their bracing serve to keep booms and float at the proper distance from each other. The float is fastened to the rest of the structure solely by stout rope lashing (Fig. 1, 2). It can be quickly and easily detached by simply undoing these ropes; and this is often done, to save space and strain, when a canoe is stowed in the canoe-house.

The light platform on the outrigger booms is built next. As this involves no new techniques, the details shown in Fig. 12 seem sufficient. The same is true of the lee platform shown in Fig. 13.

When all but the rigging [KS: of a canoe] is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The finished strips are brought to the men. They lay out the gaff and boom on a level piece of ground, usually in front of the canoe-house, at what is judged to be the angle they will take when the sail is finished. The strips of matting are laid in place, according to length, parallel to the gaff and with an inch or two of overlap. Then they are sewed together with light sennit lines. Not only are seams sewed where the strips join, but the whole is strengthened by other lines of stitching run across at right angles. Foreign sailmakers' needles of copper or brass are used for this work. Most of the stitches are several inches long.

It would be perfectly feasible to plait a sail in one piece. But a sail made of strips has several advantages. It is stronger, because of the double width along the seams. When a tear does start, it is apt to be confined to one strip. And such a tear, or worn place, can be easily repaired by replacing one strip, or part of one.

As soon as the rigging is ready, the canoe is carried into the water and launched. It is taken for a trial run (gaterax), to see how it performs under sail. First it is paddled out to where it can catch the wind, then the mast is stepped and the sail hoisted for the first time."

1: Burrows--59-60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Taking the hull apart, caulking it, and re-assembling it, constitute a full day's work, though taken at a much faster pace than the leisurely one used in fitting planks together. About midday the owner of the canoe feasts the workmen on breadfruit or taro in coconut cream, which is usually all he has to offer.

Although this is a day of great activity it is not taken as solemnly as the days of more delicate, risky tasks. The workmen are not subjected to any tapus [sic] and the only ritual performed is a short prayer and offering a bit of food just before the men begin to eat. This is customary at any distribution of food to a group larger than a household. [60]

The fitting of gunwales and preparation of the parts of the outrigger make up another slow, careful stage, with only a few men working at a time. The outrigger booms are centered in the hull by measuring its overall length with a sennit line, then doubling the line. At points equidistant from the halfway mark so determined, and about a yard apart, the outrigger booms are fitted into the gunwales. The same measure--half the overall length of the hull--is used for the distance from the middle of the hull to the point on each boom directly over the middle of the outrigger float."

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment.

For the sake of clearness, this diagram omits many details, such as the lashings that bind crutch connectives, yoke, and brace to the boom.

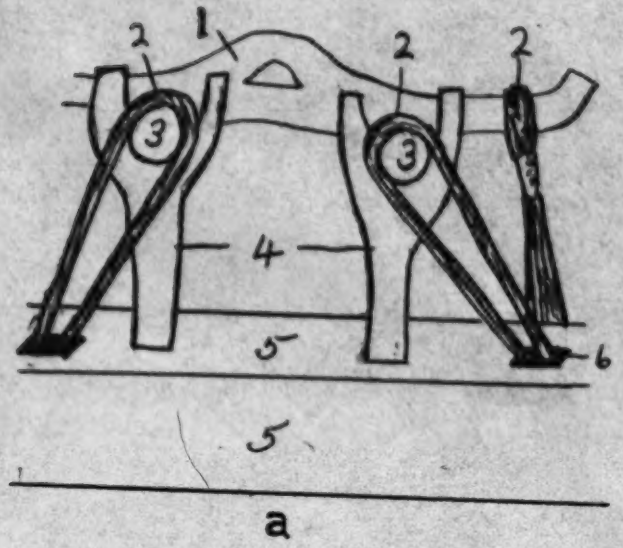
a, from outboard side. (Only the outboard pair of crutch connectives is shown.)

1, yoke (walieng); 2, lashing attaching yoke and booms to float;
3, booms (gio); 4, crutch connectives (amw); 5, float (tam);
6, holes in float through which lashings pass.

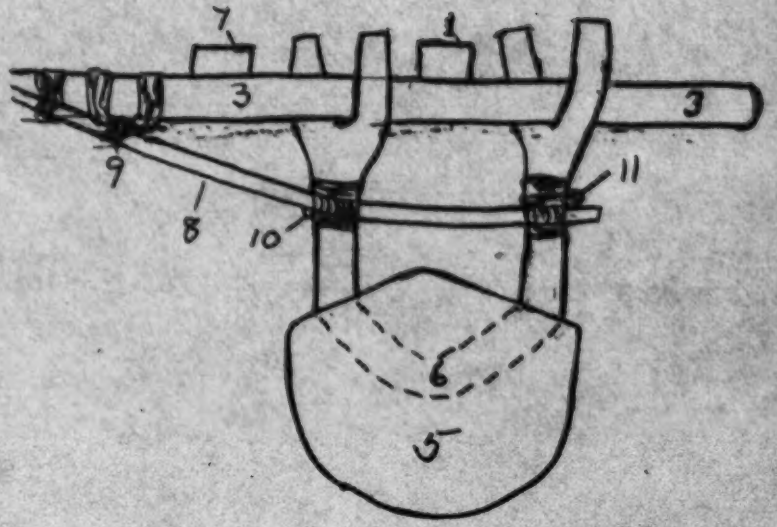
b, end view. (Only one boom, with the inboard and outboard connectives and strut attached to it, are shown.)

Numbers designate the same parts as in (a), with the following additions:
7, brace; 8, strut (rege); 9, light brace between booms;
10, light brace between inboard connectives; 11, light brace between outboard connectives."

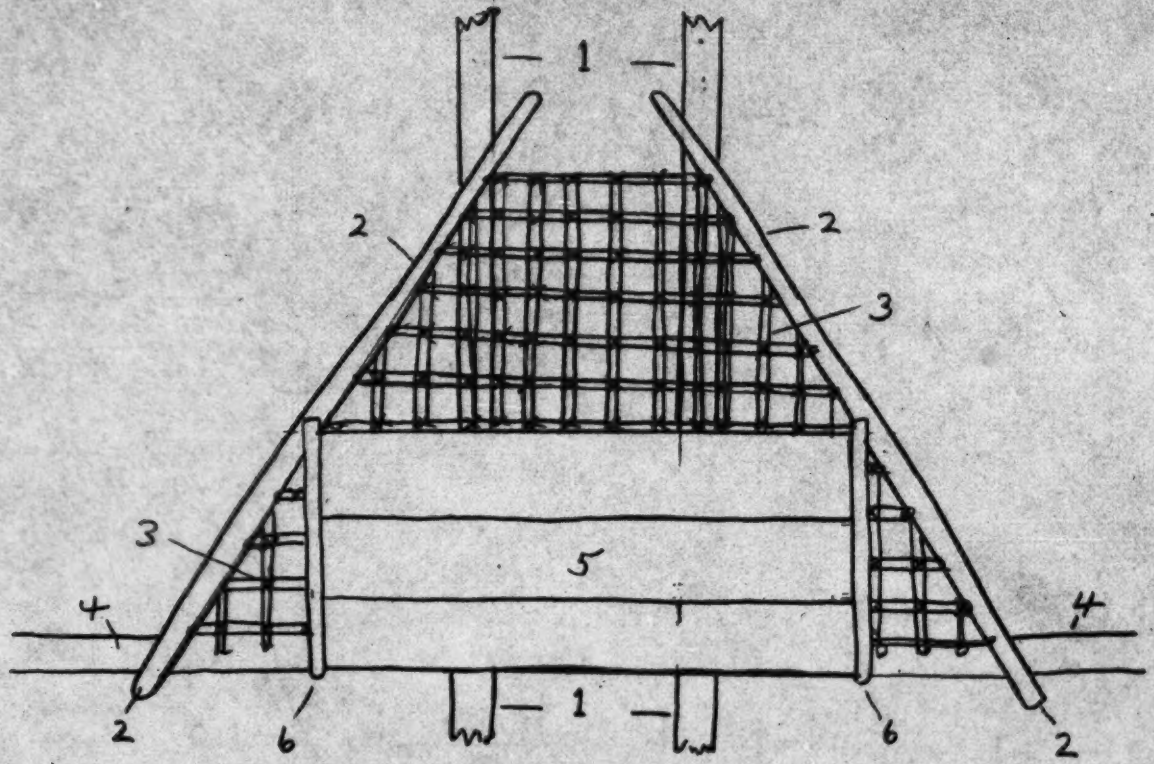
"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment." See next page.



a



b



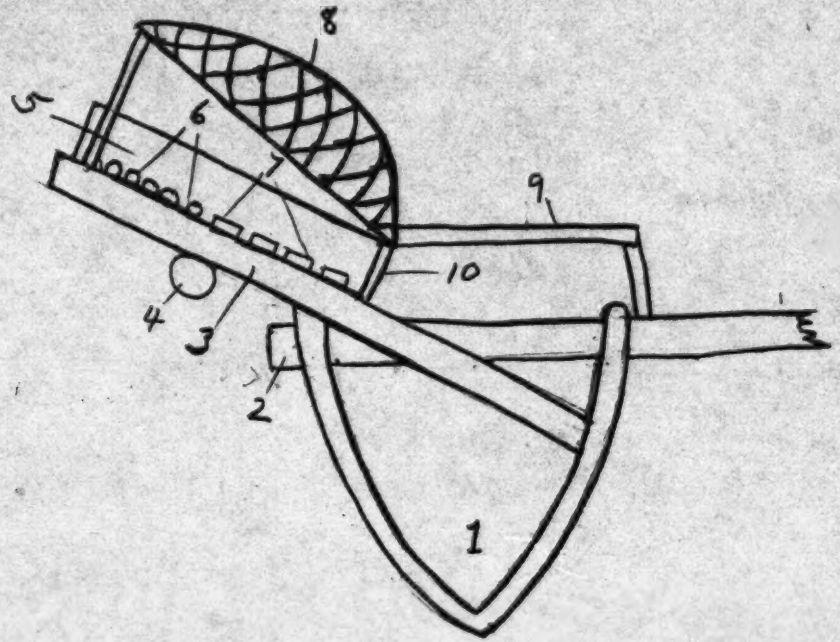
"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform." See adjoining page.

1: Burrows--60-C
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep)." See next page.



1: Burrows--60-B (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform.

1, booms; 2, diagonal spars (metare vang) between booms and gunwales;
3, withe platform (vang), spaced to show lower layer of transverse withes.
(Actually they are laid so close together that the lower layer does not show);
4, gunwales; 5, plank platform (peraf);
6, shaped upright planks (mwale maor) at forward and after ends of plank platform."

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep).

1, hull; 2, boom; 3, supporting spar. There is one supporting spar at each end of the platform; only the nearer one is shown. Midway between them is a squared beam, not shown, which forms an additional support to the platform but does not extend across the hull. It is called outeni i pep.
4, longitudinal spar (walieng); 5, end frame piece (pal i pep; only the farther one is shown);
6, withes forming floor of outer part of platform (fang i li pep); 7, slats forming floor of inner part of platform (ujili i li pep); 8, pandanus-leaf roof or shelter over platform (gaimwemwe; this consists of whole pandanus leaves, overlapping, laid over a light frame of withes lashed together. A top layer of sennit netting prevents the leaves from being torn off by the wind); 9, transverse board (folak; there is one at each end of the platform; only the farther one is shown); 10, inboard frame place (weliwā)."

1: Burrows--60-61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The shaping of the mast (gaus) is once more a task for one or two men. The mast is made in two pieces, a main spar of soft wood and an extension or masthead (mer e li gaus or just mer) of hard wood. Logs that drift ashore from the east, and are said to come from America, furnish the favorite material for the main spar. The masthead is [61] attached to the main spar by lashing over a long diagonal joint. At the top it is finished off in diamond shape, like a blunt spearhead. This part is broader and flatter than the rest. Through its center is cut a hole, which serves instead of block or pully to take the halyard that hoists and lowers the sail. As the sail is suspended from this halyard, the pull of the wind comes against one side of the hole in the masthead. The stress would be too great for a soft or easily-split wood. That is why the masthead is a separate piece, of the toughest wood available. The favorite wood is ragēs.

Long, light spars (irañū) are prepared for two of the three sides of the sail. In most cases they are pieced together with the same kind of long, diagonal lashed joint as that used to join the two pieces of the mast. Most of the spars have a slight double curve, like an extremely flat 's'. Hence the sail, instead of being a rectilinear triangle, flares out a little, from the apex toward the after side, where there is no spar. This shape of spar seems to be deliberately preferred; whether simply as a matter of traditional taste, or because of some real or supposed advantage in the flare that it gives to the sail, is not clear."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner.

The length of the largest strip is determined, then, by the length of the yard; the number of strips by the length of the boom. The length of each succeeding strip, as they taper off, is worked out by trial and discussion among all concerned. There is no formal position of master sailmaker among the women, but the ranking member of each working party, according to seniority and experience, is accorded some deference."

(1947-48)

"The heel of the mast is set into a socket cut in a block on the outrigger platform, just amidships and directly over the gunwale on the outrigger or weather side. (This side is called palietam; the lee side, igetā.) The sail is hoisted by hauling on the peak halyard that runs through the masthead and is fastened to the yard on the upper long side of the sail. The mast is tilted forward until the apex of the sail settles into a socket cut for it in the wedge-shaped brace (ta li vetvet) on the inboard side of the end-post, at the height of the gunwales. This corner of the sail is made fast by means of a short line or tack. From this point the lower spar or boom rises at an angle, so that the short side of the sail, the one without a spar, is highest and farthest aft.

The mast [KS: of a canoe] is supported to windward by a shroud running from the masthead to a hole in the middle of the yoke which connects the two outrigger booms directly over the float. For and aft it is supported by a running stay attached in the middle to the masthead and at the ends to the projecting endmost thwarts. The sail is let in and out by a sheet attached to the boom, much as in sails of European type. To shorten sail in case a squall threatens to capsize the canoe, the boom can be raised by means of

spilling lines reeved through the masthead. *

In order to change to the other tack in beating to windward, or to make any sharp turn of more than a right angle, the canoe does not go about like European sailing craft, but changes ends. This is quickly done, while the canoe swings toward the new direction, by the following procedure: raising the boom to shorten sail, unfastening the apex of the sail, swinging the sail around the mast to leeward, and stepping the apex in the other end. This converts what was the stern into the bow. The steersman takes his post in what was the bow, which now becomes the stern. The boom is lowered, the sheet let out. The sail catches the wind, and the canoe moves off in the new direction. Obviously, the reason for this procedure is to keep the outrigger on the windward side, and so balance the vessel against the sidewise pressure of wind on the sail."

"* This rig is shown, more clearly than words can do it, in some of the illustrations in Haddon and Hornell; particularly Vol. 1, Figs. 269 and 270. Fig. 268 shows more clearly the shroud from masthead to yoke, but the sail is either in the wrong position or is of a different type from that used in Ifalik. Abb. 150 on p. 53 of Damm's book shows how some of the lines are attached to the mast. But the artist who redrew Sarfert's sketch made the mast too long and the apex of the sail too high, like a European lateen, rather than an Oceanic one."

1: Burrows--62-63 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"For maneuvering in shallow water, sailing canoes use the same equipment as small paddling canoes; paddles and even poles, though poles are rather for staving off coral heads than for propulsion, as the large canoes avoid water shallow enough for poling. The paddles have round, straight shafts, without knobs or other elaborations at the top, and lanceolate blades. These taper symmetrically from a low ridge along the middle to thin edges. At the tip, in most paddles, the middle ridge is extended and slightly expanded (Fig. 14, c.) The protruding knob or spike helps to prevent the blade from splitting when the paddle is used for poling or staving off an obstacle; though such use is avoided, if there is time to seize a pole.

In open sea, canoes are kept on their course by a quarter rudder (Fig. 14, b.) It is shipped near the stern on the leeward side. The line through the hole in its upper part is made fast to the projection of the stern thwart on the opposite side. The direction of the blade is regulated by the handle. To hold the lower part of the blade against the side of the canoe, the steersman has to sit on the gunwale with one leg over the side. For this reason, steering at sea is an awkward and strenuous task. [63]

The quarter rudder not only steers the canoe, but cuts down drift like the sideboards sometimes fitted to small canoes in the United States when they are sailed."

the outrigger booms, where little decorations or attempts at writing may be painted. Tom's choice for this part of his canoe was an American flag.

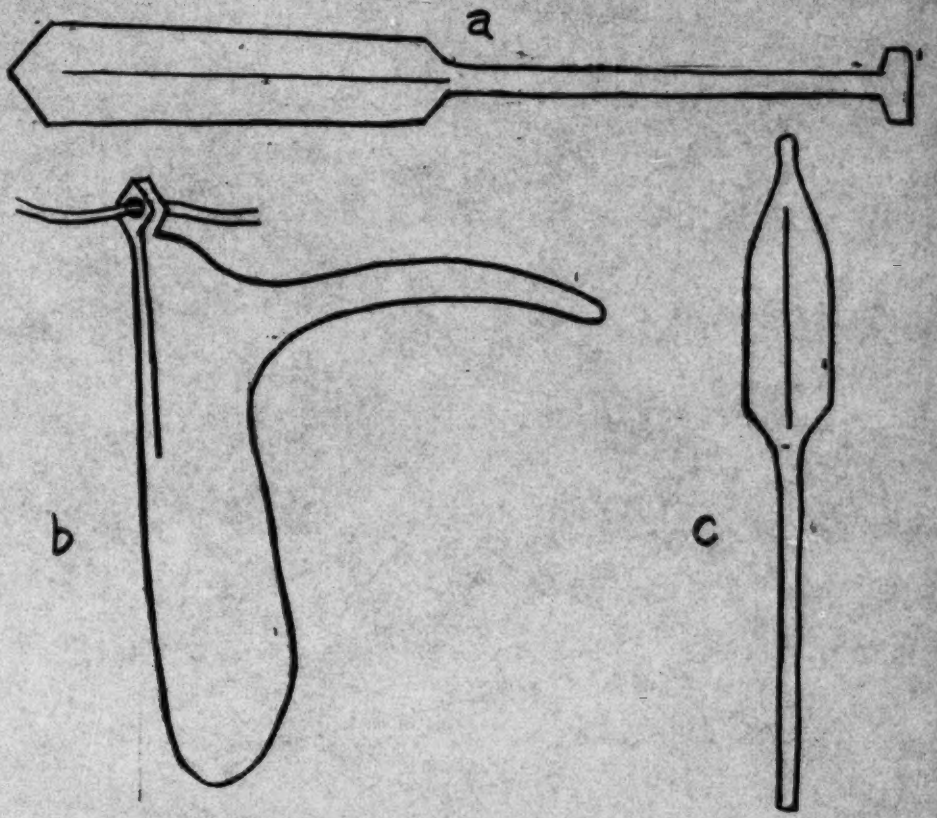
The pigments used nowadays [KS: for painting canoes] are bought from foreign ships; but the red, which is the first put on and apparently the most prized, is still mixed with breadfruit gum. If my informants can be trusted as to the pigment formerly used, it was bark of the rel tree soaked in water and mixed with coral lime. When this red paint is being applied, one of the huge leaves of the giant arum (filē) is suspended over the hull. This can hardly be anything but a bit of magic or ritual or[sic] ensure success of the job, or of the canoe after it is finished. But Tom could not explain its symbolism. He fell back on his usual statement about traditional practises whose meaning had been forgotten--'blong before.'

No part of the outrigger is ever painted. Pestered again with the inevitable 'Why?', Tom at first parried with 'blong before.' After thinking it over, he suggested that the paint might be too heavy. We were talking especially about the float, and this suggestion at least reflects native insistence that the float must be light; so light that the wood of only two of the nine varieties of breadfruit is considered suitable for it."

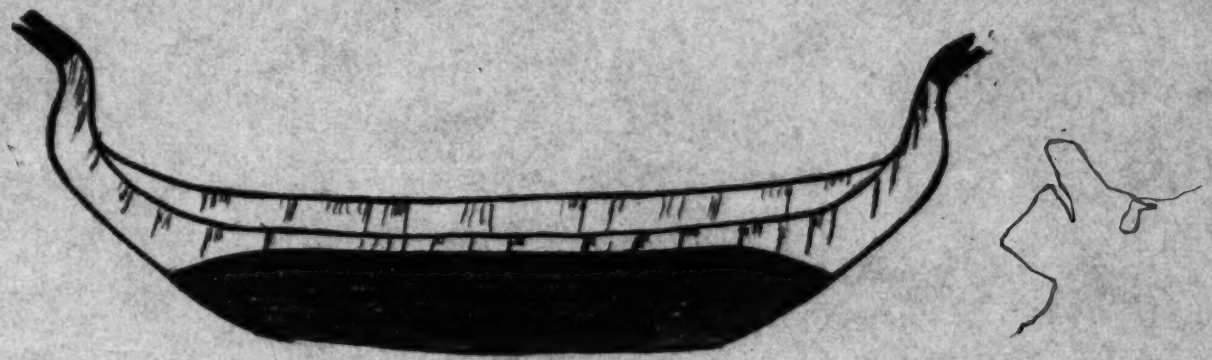
1: Burrows--63-A
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 14. - a, steering paddle;
b, quarter rudder;
c, paddle."



"Fig. 15. -Traditional design for painting a canoe.

The colors are red, black, and white. Portions painted in red are shown by shading. The little panels of white, outlined with black, are called rajūm; the red portion (perhaps only the wide parts of it near bow and stern?), mētegal; the black line through the middle of the red, fare; the narrow lower strip of red, lanīlap; the boundary between red and lower black, meteitralo; and the black under portion, amīs."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 226, 466 Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

"The hulls have a total height of four or five feet, and when loaded draw from two to, at most, three feet of water. Lacking a keel, or even the flattened leeward side of some other Micronesian canoes, they can sail close to the wind, and drift rather badly. This seems to be the main weakness of the canoes, otherwise admirably fast under sail, and seaworthy for their size. One of the chief worries of a native navigator is that he may drift off his course unless he has a following wind, and miss entirely the small, low island which is the only destination he can have within three or four hundred miles of Ifalik.

Unless the trial run indicates the need of some further work or readjustments on the canoe--none were necessary on Tom's masterpiece--the permanent lashing (or sewing) is at last put in, and the hull painted. This is the final step in making a canoe. It is always done in red, black, and white, according to the traditional design shown in Fig. 15. This design was part of the traditional lore of canoe-making brought down to men by the gods Seilangi and Semerik. If ever an Ifalik man seriously considers painting a canoe in any other way, the mentality of the island will be very different from what it was in 1948. No tabu against painting a canoe in some other design, nor penalty for doing so, was ever mentioned. It did not have to be. No such idea ever comes up. There is only one right way to paint a canoe, so, of course, they are all painted that way. There is scope for individual fancy at only one point: the middle of the upper red band, between

"In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. [118] It often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifalik way of working, everybody shares in the joys of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifalik combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifalik still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision."

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārlk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

(1947-48)

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwèl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

1: Burrows--120
116, 396, 476, 621

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 784 Ifalik

"The morning fast imposed upon builders of a new canoe on the two crucial days of the job--the beginning, when lines are drawn to shape the hull, and the day of attaching the outrigger--is a ritual precaution to ensure that the vessel will sail fast and well. Though explained to me in this positive way, it could as well be put in the negative form usual in discussing taboos. Eating is taboo to the workmen on these two mornings. The penalty of a violation would be failure in their task, to the extent that the canoe would be slow."

2: Damm et al. --52-55
116, 396, 173

(1909) 1938

Woleaians-1-2
Ifaluk

The natives trace their knowledge of boat building back to a mythological origin. Sēlăn constructed the first canoe; he brought this art to the men on Mŏdj Island, which lies a four days journey south from Truk. It is not known who taught the people of Ifaluk how to make canoes. The first settlers of Ifaluk were a man named Mŏdj and his wife, and they came to their new homeland on a raft. But soon after that time, and even while Mŏdj was living, canoes were constructed.

The canoes are made out of bread-fruit wood. First the trees are felled with shell axes, and in this task the brothers and sons of the builder assist him. The king must give his permission for the construction of a large sailing canoe. No particular tabus are attached to this work. Other men help drag the trunks to the canoe house. All the workers sing in rhythm, so that the pulling will be in unison and most effective. [AN: for native text of this work song see source pp. 52 and 54] [54]

. . . the various planks of the boat are carefully joined together and bound tightly. The joints of the planks are caulked with pieces (bále)of coconut husk fiber (bējénne), which are mixed with bread-fruit resin (wílis). Then the holes for the binding are smeared with a mixture of burned coconut fibers and burned coral stone (fáu), which has been crushed. Drawing 147 shows how the planks are painted with red soil from Yap and black coloring, which comes from coconut hulls, that have been burned and then stirred in salt water.

During the canoe building there are four banewan conjurations, and these are always when the lines are drawn in the customary manner. On these days all the workers are tapu. Then, when the boat is finished, there is another conjuration, and a trial trip; while this is going on the men sing a certain song. [55] Coconuts are placed beside the boat during these magic spells; there are always two or more, but never three, five or seven. The size of this sacrifice depends entirely upon the quantity of nuts available.

2: Damm et al.--175-179 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 396 Faraulep

There were small canoes uă ju mĕn, and large ones uă ju lăp; in structure they did not show any appreciable differences from the canoes of the Central Carolines. [CS: Omission of the words for the parts of the canoe, and the boat tools; page 176 has drawings of the canoe, page 177 some expressions used in sailing.] [178]

Canoe Building. The large canoes for the high seas are built at the command of the high chief, and belong to the community. The following legend tells how men learned about canoe building: once upon a time Eluelap ordered Thelăn to build a canoe on Ponape, so that people might sail between the two islands. A man named Natsău helped him with this work, and so he learned a good deal about the construction of the boat. It was fashioned of bread-fruit wood, and built with shell axes, after fire had hollowed out almost all of the trunk. The keel length was measured (tēti) as [179] 6 1/2 fathoms (oulăn năf ma kopōe), in other words, the keel length of a large canoe. This measuring line is dedicated to Thelăn, and on both ends it has coconut pinnates (tjăts). Then as today the caulking material consisted of the heart of the breadfruit tree and young coconut leaves. The canoe was completed in three months, and Thelăn named it uă. Today the work takes between two and three months; the most important tasks are completed in six days. The whole village helps, and an architect (sĭnap) directs the work. Men not engaged in the building take care of the workers. But the process is frequently interrupted to let the wood dry out, and the free time is filled with feasts, which generally last for six days.

2: Damm et al. --197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
396, 782 Faraulep

According to legend, Alüelǎp had some more adopted children; and among them Thelán and Paluelǎp are especially important for the islanders. The former is the inventor of canoe-building, and it is to him that the natives dedicate the measuring string with two coconut pinnates (tjáts) hanging at the ends, and the canoe ax. The latter made the first sail, and he knows all the paths on the sea. For that reason, when the Captains want to be sure of reaching their goal safely, and of having a calm sea, they sacrifice a coconut and a mat to Paluelǎp in the canoe house. His son Elülüe is his helper in everything.

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

(Fig 60 [VMM: see source] which may not be used for anything but canoes. If the line tears, it is a bad omen for it may not be knotted. First the entire length of the canoe is measured off and then the line is folded and the halves are determined by finding the center, the lug. (Fig. 61a) [VMM: see source]. In a similar fashion the quarter sections are measured and marked off. Straight underneath two of these quarter section marks there are the two ends (fétang, Oleai; fátang) of the lowest keel, gapiálei. From the fétang ends the keel rises a little bit on both sides in the longitudinal direction and to the further end, gom; the part between the two ends, fétang and gom (Oleai: falegóm), is called gapiléisap and the section from the gom end to the bow with the figurehead is known as faisap (Oleai: fatob) (Fig 61a [VMM: see source]). It is important that the fétang end be laid correctly and that the keel between [94] the fétang is straight so that the canoe will not yaw. On both sides of the upper longitudinal line, a red line is painted on with a brush... for measuring the length; the paint must not be black because it would strangle the spirits. In a vertical cross section through the middle of the hull of the canoe, through the lug, the following lines appear: the keel, gapiálei, and above it the hollow djölifadj, which looks like a pandanus leaf; and above it as the upper margin the edge, úlut, which has been indicated in the longitudinal cross section in Fig. 61a [VMM: see source]. The úlut line in the interior is the boundary line

4: Krämer--92-97
116, 396, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-9
Lamotrek

On Palau the felling of the tree from which a canoe is to be made is a sacred action, but on Lamotrek it does not involve any kind of ceremony. Felling of a breadfruit tree is called komádj ali mai, and transporting the felled tree is urur ali mai. Everybody lends a hand in the latter. The trunk is hauled to the beach where the rough work is to be done. In order to be able to move the tree, the trunk which is lying on the ground, is surrounded by coconut fronds and their pinnae are plaited together. Both the tree trunk and the stalks of the fronds are notched and fastened by tying, so that they may not slip as the tree is dragged away. This system makes hauling ropes unnecessary and the weight of the tree is somewhat lightened. The roughest work on the tree is done in the bush itself in the spot where it has been felled and is under the supervision of the god Simalegodjúat.... When the trunk has finally been transported to the beach, the actual construction work begins with rough-hewing with an ax. On this occasion the ceremonial ax sometimes is displayed...

The work on the beach is begun by instituting a fast. Women may not come to the place of construction but otherwise no special taboos are imposed. After the fast is over, the juice of young coconuts is drunk and their meat eaten. Cracking of the first nut, the giligel, is a solemn action; the term includes the word for stick got, and because it is an action it is made into molegot. The nut is placed in front of the person selected to crack it and the spirit Tautúp, the giver, is invoked.

[ER: a short prayer is said before the coconuts may be eaten, but it is omitted here.]

[93] Then follows the first blow of the ax, the kakilet... and the rough work on the canoe is done before the line is used.

Now is the time for further work on the breadfruit tree trunk which in the songs is simply called mai. The explanation of the second song by Faragau (house 1) revealed that in earlier times the tree trunks were soaked with oil inside and outside and charred in order to simplify the later treatment with the adze. But the work of the ax, the first blow, and the first steps at least were always important and done in as expert a fashion as possible. Another important step taken without special ceremony was

1. the laying of the keel known as tilegab (solegab, "the keel"). The keel is roughly worked.... When the keel is laid, the workmen fast all day long and may not touch any food but coconut juice; this fact is most strictly enforced when the line (Leine?) the tal e fálefal has been laid. It is not until the evening that food may be taken and then the banquet, iles, is held. On the second day, the day after the laying of the keel is the time of
2. the gapíleval, which means the "keel of the bush." It refers to the measuring of the trunk in order to determine the length of the hull of the canoe, the bul, which is done with the line talefélĕfel. *

*There are four different types of measuring lines, tal: a, tal i motaísam (spirit of the 1st sib.... b. tal i ngulu c. tal i gedj (connected with it is the 4th song of the canoe construction collection... d. tal i gudj (with it the 2nd canoe construction song). For every measuring line a song is necessary; similarly the taboos change with them.

of the bilge. Above it is the side of the hull known as órol which at the upper end is thickened, lugulepal; on this edge rests a wooden pole serving as gunwales, mesep (papa le vá) which is fastened by a string, ngareliva. Special care is taken when the bilge, the space above the keel is hollowed out. (Hellwig: niua). The bottom, lauâilol grating, is divided by means of coconut frond stalks into three sections similar to the space of the deck which has three red lines. Then the space is hollowed out and the bulkheads, the kábong, are not forgotten in the process. The line is used on the orol side. Attention is given to the thwarts, to:

1. tolefatefat
2. metangór often with failo reinforcement (Truk, page 229: fauílo)
3. tipalefang
4. ti válim
5. sáragio
6. fatamat with the lower bail seat

All this is taken care of on the second day. Then the measuring line is rolled up. While the hull of the canoe is dug out many mats are often laid out as a sign that work is under way. The people who pass the spot are greeted with the greeting of fâiro, in order that they may not spoil anything by their possible evil thoughts. [95]

3. velap. The work of the preceding days is improved and the exact sizes of the areas are determined. The uppermost line indicates the boundary for the

work. Everything underneath it is sacred work and everything above it does not matter. That is to say that attention is concentrated on the lower búl section of which as much as possible is left standing. Then the planks are cut and the figureheads for both bow and stern; their lower parts are called padj and the term applies to the section where they are fitted into an echelon-like groove above the gom, and then they constitute the section called faisap. Like a thigh they extend to the knee, borolemet, where the wood turns to the inside so that the heel, monga Selang... changes into the foot pointing to the outside or the forked metál i va, the "ship's eye". The two prongs of the fork are called mongarëdj and the upper sole of the foot seapolimet.

4. vëdjik. A day of taboos because the finer work is done on the keel section. Everything is checked and finished, including the planks. The god Meseiseit supervises this work....
5. póufar. It is not until this day that the boat rests on the keel. It is another day of taboos, no rough hewing may be done, but only detailed work on the superstructure. The planks that were previously cut are put in place but for the time being they are only temporarily fastened with hibiscus fibers (gilifau) and provided with wedges, djib or kadjór, which necessitates strict attention and supervision. One prays to Bórumai* "rising water," bor, and "good,"

*Belongs with Semalegóror...

mamai, i.e., good tide; [ER: a song, lulur, is sung on this occasion but is omitted here.] The canoe is filled up with coconuts and food for the god. Now the construction head may dismiss his assistants. In the final placing of the planks, coconut husks are utilized (pal ali va), they are laid down after artocarpus sap, bilis* has been put on the wood. The sap may be applied after the planks have been moved into place; in this case a smouldering leaf-sheath is held close to the stick with bilis. Now the péret approaches; the sewing on of the figurehead, padj, which is known as bau ipadj, is very difficult. Stitching through the holes with the gólemong cord...is known as yógeyog. [96]

6. kabukio with taboos. In order that the kio, the outrigger beams may be fitted in, kabuk, notches úoș, must be cut. One tries to do the fitting as tightly as possible. The kio on the leeside rest on the geligeaá and on the weatherside on the faramoe. In order to allow lashing "holes," ngata le olotráol, (Fig. 61c [VMM: see source]) are drilled underneath the uós. The drill resembles a chisel; in recent times it has been made from a piece of iron, búrubur, which

*The juice of the breadfruit tree trunk, the ralimei...is collected in coconut shells. One allows the milk to settle, pours off the water and washes the deposits in salt water; then they are filled into coconut sheaths and are kept in this condition; juice treated in this manner is called bilis.

usually is used only for the making of coconut slabs...in the past it was a piece of madrepore which had to fill this purpose. As the drill pierces the material, magic is made. It attempts to chase the evil spirits away. This is done by shouts of all present; eho! eho! eho! The calls are followed by a great deal of noise, more shouts and beating of the arms, etc. Then everything is lashed on temporarily or permanently. The sórang are made for it, the cuts between the holes through which the lashing is put.

7. votap. The hull is set up, the keel placed on longĕs beams; the longĕs are short wooden beams with grooves into which the keel is to be fitted. If it is impossible to fit the keel exactly, the error of cutting is repaired by coconut husks. If the canoe stands well and correctly, it is easier to do the work. At this point everything is done with a veiw to permanency. All shaping is done well and accurately because the wood shrinks as it dries. Now all small pieces are added.
8. kámor with taboos. The main job on this day is the smoothing of the hull of the canoe. Stretching out the line reveals the irregular spots; wherever wood is left standing high it is chopped down, but this work is done most carefully, a little at a time. This is known as the kalúl ali metál e boédj "the beautification of the face of the cement." For the caulk used on the canoe, the cement, boédj ali va, "cement for the boat," is prepared from burnt clay, which is mixed

with a great deal of coconut wood coal and is mixed with the liquid gained from young coconut husks. This caulk is pressed into the holes and cracks and any residue is removed by means of calophyllum leaves. Caulking may not begin until it is certain that the boat will not be a subject to future strong movement and the "beautification" must have been finished. [97] In this connection ray or shark's skin may be used, or corals. "Scraping" is called feïr; see faiür.

After the caulking, the painting is done. But before this step may be taken, the outrigger must be provided with the float, tam; this action is known as the fai eám (connected with the taboo val e vei, the "bush magic"). . . . And the stanchions ám must be fastened to the outrigger boom kio. At this time the men fast, for anganga sórosol, "work in the early morning," is necessary.

Painting of the Canoe

Now the painting may begin, but usually is postponed for some time. After cement has been applied, bedjē vā, on both sides of the hole, the boat is lowered into the water after at least four days have gone by. At this time the ceremony, gafeifei, is held; the canoe is decorated with young coconut pinnae, úbudj. . . all the fishing canoes that happen to pass throw fish over so that after a little while there are quantities of it large enough to provide for a banquet. And indeed a great banquet is given by the owner of the new canoe to the sellap and his assistants, and gifts to the gods are not forgotten on this occasion.

4: Krämer--92-97
116, 396, 784

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-9
Lamotrek

At that time, the rigging and sails are still lacking, but their names will soon be given.

Then follows the tárabos song...as a dedication ceremony and the last step before the canoe starts sailing. At this time all the taboos are ended.

4: Krämer--92-102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
396 Elato

[VMM: For a description of the ceremony of canoe construction, techniques, taboos, etc., see 4: Krämer 92-102.]

4: Krämer--97
116, 396, 386

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Unless the canoe has been painted earlier, now is the time for it; the lower part of the hull, le djól le va, is painted black and so are the upper edge, mated, and the laterally sloping parts, lellap; above this area is the longitudinal band, far, and below it the hull is painted a shiny red (1010 Kramer, Color Plate 2).

The red color substance, lap, comes from Yap...and the painting itself is known as madjagoi (from dja red). Red earth is mixed with water in the paint bowl, tabbi lap, and is applied with the brush, gololie, of the coconutsheaths. If one is dealing with large areas, one uses the husk of a coconut. When the paint has dried, it is covered with artocarpus milk, ralimei, which has been mentioned above in a different connection.

The black paint, rel, made from hibiscus wood (marafai) or coconut husks (not coconut shell) is also mixed with water. It is fixed with a preparation of scraped skin and the juice of crushed Ipomoea, djaival; Ligadjelap is the god of the painters.... When the black-red coat of paint is applied, the boat is ready for the big voyage ahead of it. Paint bowls and paint brushes must not be misplaced.

4: Krämer--97
116, 552, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The name of the boat is chosen after the tree whose trunk was used, or the land on which the tree stood.

4: Krämer--98-102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-4
116, 396 Lamotrek

[ER: A glossary of canoe parts follows in the text, but is omitted here.]

[100] The Sail

The sail, ua, (longaliu two long poles on which the sail rests) is hoisted on the mast with the halyard (Fig. 61d), úrur, which is fastened to the yard by means of the timber hitch, kolliva (l); there is also an auxiliary halyard, sós (d). The sheet, moél (d), is tied to the boom, lim; next to it towards the neck there is a loop, talitor (d), a piece of rope fastened by both ends and hanging down like a bow so that the tackle can be attached and ease the sheet. At the tip of the boom there are two more cords or small ropes, ápiteg (d), used for lashing the sail to the notched end, gobur, of the yard or the bow (cf. Kramer, Samoainseln, Volume II, page 258, Fig. 29). The gobur end is like the handle of a knife; it becomes thinner towards the yard and is dagger-like in shape and this part is lashed on in order to lengthen the yard; fefe is the word for the lashing together of two wooden parts. As a matter of fact both the yard and boom show several lashings which serve to fasten the sail and which are called mop; the various rings are connected by means of longitudinally extending pieces of rope (i), vl (see Kopfschlage (?), kat). Soon after completion the sail is fastened to the mop of the yard but not to that of the boom, in order that the latter may yet be removed and the sail fitted to it. The latter consists of the "dresses" sail, salil, ruiel, the mat strips screw together in the shape of a triangle by means of the seam góruseg (see Plate 17d); [VMM: see source] the horizontal seams all end with a bow, gakit (Fig. 61h) [VMM: see source] and the

sewn strips are stretched between these bows. When the wind is very strong, a rope taligakit, is sent through them which is fastened to the two upper cringles [101] and serves as a substitute for the lacking wooden support on the third side. In order to straighten the dresses little rods, djifel, are used; stretching is known as gameil and the cracking that accompanies it is called sangarenger.

In order to give firmness to the sail in a fresh breeze* about 62 telap ropes (d)t, are used extending vertically down from the yard one rope each runs through two mop rings (Figure 6le [VMM: see source]), whereas below on the boom they have free ends (d); every end is fastened to the line vatelap (e) vt (not shown on d); the rope ends, tabotelap are twisted like a cord, turned together and laid along the vatelap on the bolt rope, dautel. The edge of the whole triangular sail is reinforced by a rope, the so-called bolt rope, dautel (see Kramer Samoaianseln, II, page 258, Fig. 29), which like our leech

*In a strong wind the sail is shortened; this is done by untying the mat-sail from the yard and boom to about the spot of the halyard, urur, and the sheet, moél. The end of the sail that is thus freed and hangs loose is folded back towards the neck, and, if possible, is held here by a net in order that the sail does not bulge too much, because it would send the canoe too far over on the luff side. Naturally the sail area is also limited by taking in the reef; talitarak is the term for the reef line (the same as in Ralik).

ropes are used to fasten the sail to the boom and yard. Since the mat is rather fragile as compared with our sailing lines it is turned in, the bolt-rope is treated in a similar manner and the ends are used up (f). But on top two ropes are lashed on as may be seen on e and f, The vatelap vt and the valifarafar vf; the former, as mentioned, the telap ropes are fastened below; but the valigafararfar serves to connect the sail to the lashing of the yard and boom (i) and its connecting lengthwise rope is also known as valiga f fárafar (vl). The ends of the bolt rope and vl are fastened to the fork of the boom (d lower right) and vt is tied to the yard-arm and boom since it is non-existect on the third side which does not have any wooden reinforcements; here the bolt-rope and vf are also known as tali metalu.

lalebógol	the rope used to lift the halyard close to the mast and the eangelap in the course of paying out the sail-rope.
tal e rúopin*	rope filling the same purpose, with the one difference that the two ends are free and gird the mat and halyard.
talitarák	reef line (like Ralik)
paddle	fatúl; as is the case further east paddles with knobs occur
rudder	fatul e bupo (on Truk: fedil a bú), fatul ulul; storage space fo; bulkhead, gábeung; bail, gámat; lower thwart, iselimát,

*djukupin is the term for canoe on Yap.

for "to bail," gamát.)

The figurehead is the well-known forked tail with the fork seapolimet; at its foot it becomes narrow and the narrow spot is called mong a Selang "forehead of the Selang" after the god of that name who is considered the inventor of the figurehead. [102] The two prongs of the fork are called mong a redj, "forehead of the seabird redj"... third day.

4: Krämer--102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396 Woleai

On Oleai the prongs of the fork [VMM: of a canoe figurehead are also known as mongo Sëlang; it is actually the notch of the fork which is known by that name of gilimel and the rabbet extending from the outside from the notch to the keel is the falegilimel (fale="below"). Inside, in the direction of the hull a small quadrangular slab, nalimat, is found lying underneath the prongs and the sloping area further down is known as ataulibodj. The points of the fork prongs are called móngoros. I learned all these terms on Oleai.

4: Krämer--102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 396 Lamotrek

There are many canoe songs, because the principle is that everyone should invoke the gods' assistance in his own particular way in order that the canoe may turn out to be beautiful, luck may be with its passengers on their voyages, etc. In particular, every measuring line has its own song....

[ER: The native texts and translation are given for some of the canoe songs, but are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396, 502, 288 Lamotrek

In Garapan there was a shipyard where the Carolinians could learn the construction of boats; connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation. Anyone who wanted to be independent and in charge of a boat had to pass an exam before a council of pilots. Close by was a rope-making establishment. There the material for the ropes-to-be was hung high on a palm tree and the strands were twisted and each one had a circumference of 4-5 inches. Ropes were made up to a length of 100 fathoms.

4: Krämer--127-128 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 396, 502 Lamotrek

Anchors do not exist. If it is necessary to fasten a boat, one of the crew jumps overboard and belays one end to a rock. A similar procedure is followed when the canoe is to be cleared for departure. The islanders do not worry about deep water and sharks.

The boats built had a length of 30 feet in the keel, a width of four feet and a depth of 6 1/2 -7 feet from the deck to the keel, with a draught of 2 1/2 feet front and aft. The stern-post strakes are alike, and the bow and stern are identical in shape. No nails are used in the construction; the planks are fastened together by means of strong coconut yarn and the holes are stopped up with cement. The frame-planks are less than one half inch in thickness and do not have any ribs. All the work is reinforced by strong dollboard gunwales of considerable size; they are connected by thwarts, all of them in the same height. The two sides are different in form and one is more beautiful than the other. They do not attempt any tacking with these canoes. The weatherside is fuller and more rounded than the leeside and the ratio is almost 3:5. The outrigger is attached to the weatherside--on the Philippines batangas--and is a strong tree trunk; on the end rest two transverse beams, which are 8-10 feet outside of the canoe. On the leeside there is a platform outside of the dollboard gunwales and it is formed of long poles; on this platform a cabin--a bamboo construction--is placed. This little hut resembles a large basket and in it provisions, freight, and sometimes passengers are kept. The crew is generally crowded together in the hull of the boat. The mast usually has a height of 22 to 24 feet and is not planted on the keel, but on the gunwale of the weatherside. It

is kept in its position by stays, by means of which it may be lowered if the velocity of the wind requires it. The sail is made from very fine mats and is almost triangular; it is stretched between two bamboo poles and at each corner is manipulated by lines, halyard, tack and sheet. [128] The rudder is not at the stern* but on the leeside and has the shape of a paddle; the Carolinians say that it does not only serve to steer the canoe but also to keep it straight; the latter proves the skill of the person steering and requires a good deal of dexterity. It is difficult for navigators to establish a clear picture of this in their minds, but it is probable that we should believe the Carolinians. It is not unlikely that it is their intention to sail against the wind (in den Wind anzuluven?) when it becomes stronger, so that the lateral pressure on the sail may be decreased. In any case a good deal of experience is needed and all possible care and attention in order that the canoe will not capsize or be flooded over the leeside gunwales. Ten or twelve persons may stay on board and most of them sleep in the hull of the ship. They fill the basket with coconuts, and if they have a passenger who is not a Carolinian, he, too, is put into it. They loosen the anchor ropes, set sail and go out to sea. The sheet is never belayed: all day and all night during the entire voyage the person steering must hold it regardless of how long the boat is out sailing. Some of the steersmen have assistants on their long voyages. When he lets go of the sheet, and the boat capsizes, the crew has to swim like

*The meaning is that it is not all the way at the stern like our steering rudder.

the basket with provisions. The steersman without help re-establishes the balance of the boat; if the equilibrium is lowered on the weatherside the canoe is put back into position almost by itself and little aid is needed. Then the crew goes back on board, catches the basket, and the voyage is continued.

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396 Woleai

Boats: the natives of Oleai excel in the construction of sailing canoes. They build two kinds: small canoes for use in the lagoon and large ocean going canoes which they use for deep sea fishing and in which they undertake voyages as far as Truk.

Canoe Construction
by the sel'lap Robgail

When someone wants a new boat, he discusses the matter with the boat builder, the sel'lap. He picks out a breadfruit tree and it is felled. The tree has or receives a name which later is passed on to the canoe. The sel'lap asks: "How long is the boat to be?" The owner of the canoe-to-be: "Five fathoms." The sel'lap: "All right, let us cut four fathoms." Then the tree trunk, bul, is dragged into the canoe-house on the beach where the boat is to be built. All the men help with the transportation and they are given food for it, fish, taro, coconuts, etc., known as the bai lŭrúr oā. Later while the work is under way, the sel'lap receives three bowls of food daily and on every tenth day fifty bowls for his assistants and his family; this ration is known as the bai le fálĕfal or the bai le oā.

With the broad ax, the adze, gasuéla, the trunk (bul ēli oā) is given the desired shape; then the stem, the mât or badj, the bab planks, and the outrigger booms, kio* are cut. When they are completed, the sel'lap receives small gifts [261] of mats and faibar, and

*This, the weatherside, is called palietam; the outer side, íketa; fale, below and from it the space underneath with its three parts derives its name: 1. fale báraf (báraf see below, 2. fale fang (fang, grating) or falesē and 3. o niáusap.

this contribution is known as the gakõul le vá. Then follow the arched luff plank, the faramoi, the gunwales on the weatherside which are called galigasa and the gunwale mesap, which connects the faramoi and badj. Everything is fitted but it not fastened together and is taken apart again. At the time of final joining of the planks, breadfruit sap (bílis) is smeared on the gunwales, and coconut husk fibers are added. Before they are moved into place, the gunwales are held over a fire for a short time. The sap is prepared by collecting the milk which flows from the wounds of the trunk in coconut shells and boiling it on hot stones. The sap is taken out under water and filled into coconut sheaths in which it is kept. Caulking is done just before the canoe is launched.

Now is the time that the thwarts are made, the dó.

1. do le fatefat on the outside
2. mát ongor
3. tívětif
4. doïaĭü
5. sasakio

Next attention is given to the baraf plank, the luff platform (líbarap) (faraf) and the ülingal (head rest, ülül) ma lẽ masur "his head rest for sleeping."

The diagonal braces, matárafang gird the grating, fang. The grating on the outside, in the direction of the weatherside, is called djodjo lič̆lau or lelial a luluei, "sleeping

place of the god."

In order to fasten the fang to the kio (boom) two large bindings, eagatiu le baraf are used.

Now it is the turn of the interior of the canoe, the niva. The bulkheads gábung, are left standing and the hole, logolog, at the joints of the matárafang, between it and the ülingal.

Then follow the four eam stanchions (Figure 128) [VMM: see source] with their firm lashing, fofollam, and above it the transverse pole vasoso and the yoke, valeangelap, for the belaying of the luff stay, ë angalap. Photos 15b and c [VMM: see source] [262].

Furthermore, four djë, crooked outrigger booms with three transverse poles, are added; the one on the outside is called gabidjë, the one on the inside (of the pegs) daried-jë and the one on top at the kio is known as eŏpasa.

The lee platform, ëbep (Photos 15b and c)[VMM: see source] rests on two sua which are placed under the suilap and the kio. A transverse frame plank is known as volivalëbep and on it rest the two superstructure thwarts, the folag and the cross thwart, folag iës. Two frame poles extending alongside the sua are called paliebep and one that runs across on the outside is called valiëbep. The poles of the bottom of the platform are the taragalíebep, the outer grating is called fang ali ëbép, the hole in it vi eli ëbëp.

Born lists the following:

large canoe wa luwë

thwarts to lean against falak
outrigger partitions geimeru, serves as shelter against the wind

Rigging Rope, sos.

mast, gois; halyard for the sail, urur.
luff stay, eángalap; fore and aft stay, tálligas (tënegaj)
lee stay, dáugeta (iketa, lee; itam, weatherside)
gãg to steer
bail, gamát
sail, li (eū); yard, juju and its heel áviteg; boom, lim.
sheet, moél (block, gárigerig)
binding of the sail, mobulíra; sections, tëlab, seams across, tëgaro.

Figure 129 [VMM: see source]: paddle, fádul with Singknopf?, róvuj eorior.

When the sel'lap has finished everything but the deck huts which he himself builds only for the great voyage, there follows the great payment, the góu sel'lap in the form of wooden bowls, faibar, mats, mosquito nets, knives, axes, etc., and anything wise that that may be available. In former times this payment might have taken the form of up to 100 wooden bowls but now the number is usually down to 30-50. Finally follow the banquet and prayers.

[ER: The words of some boat songs are given in the text, but they are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--260-262 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 396 Woleai

The songs are:

1. Song before the voyage. With or without storm magic (goselefei).
2. Canoe construction.
3. Song after the completion of the canoe.
4. Prayer for the coming voyage offered in order to catch a large number of fish. Request for great heat, because it brings many fish.
5. Song used on the occasion of angle line fishing.]

4: KrÆmer--271-272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396 Woleai

Making the boat ready implies mainly caulking (bosĕliva) in order that the canoe will not leak. It is done with uedj "cement" mixed in the following manner: coal of coconut husks is crushed with lime and the juice of expressed young husks is added, and the juice and powder mixed.

The lashings are checked. The deck huts, gaimoém, are made anew, and the ropes and the sail and, in short, the entire rigging. The hull of the canoe is painted over.

When everything has been completed, the canoe is set afloat, and as soon as a strong breeze arises, the "maiden voyage" takes place in the inland waters. If it is successful, the canoe is passed as ready for service. The captain hires four or five men as sailors, jŏliva; one stipulation is that the crew must go willingly and that the men must not be forced to accept the jobs.

The women are told to prepare provisions for the pallū and the jŏliva; breadfruit dough, mar, leads the list as the only preserved food. [272]

When there is a good breeze from the east (gótimei) everything is taken on board. Special care is taken that there may be sufficient supplies of young coconuts for drinking, and old ones for eating. Twenty to thirty coconut water bottles are included among the provisions; they are filled with fresh water. Finally the pallū comes with the storm magic. It is suspended from the deck hut, the space in which the pallū lives on the voyage.

6: Senfft--55
116, 396, 501

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Their canoes are made of the wood of the species of breadfruit tree which bears seed. The canoes may be as long as 10 meters from bow to stern; the keel curves downwards and the end pieces are forked. On one side of the hull there is an outrigger and a sturdy bar running parallel to it, on the other side there is a broad platform where members of the crew may rest and where the supplies are kept. This platform is provided with a roof as a protection against the rain and the sun. The sail is made of plaited pandanus leaves; it has the shape of a triangle two sides of which are framed. The corner of the sail formed by these two sides is inserted into a groove in the end piece. The fore and aft end pieces are constructed in the same way. All parts of the boat are sewn together with coconut strings and the cracks are calked with fibers and the resinous sap of a plant. They do not groove the planks used for the canoe; for that reason, and because of the fact that there is no cover for the hull of the canoe, it is always necessary to bail water. A sturdy paddle with a broad leaf is used for steering. The canoes used for shorter trips, within the lagoon or for fishing expeditions, are built according to the same pattern.

There are two basic types of canoes, which again have two subdivisions each, those used for sailing and those used for rowing. The generic term for canoe is w(u)a. The canoes for rowing are privately owned; of these, some are built for one or two persons, tschosmal, and some are larger, accomodating 11 or 12, wafetul. They are made of wood from breadfruit trees, and the separate pieces are lashed together with coconut yarn and glue. This glue is made of burned pulverized coral lime, ashes of coconut shells and the juice of fatsch roots. The two outrigger, tamur, poles are placed in the center of these canoes [182]; these are forked and are set into the outrigger and made fast with coconut ropes, golgol, tied in elaborate knots. In the small canoes, a board made of wood from the breadfruit tree is placed over the outrigger poles to be used for sitting. The large canoes have eight or nine narrow benches for the men who are rowing, and a rectangular wooden platform with a reenforced edge, faref, which is used to store equipment and supplies; it takes up half the length and the entire width of the canoes and is placed on the outrigger poles, toward the outrigger and outside of the canoe proper. The canoes are equipped with short paddles which are easy to handle, fatel; there are made of safang (Calophyllum) wood and are slightly curved at the points.

All of these canoes have an attractive, slender shape. They have forked end pieces like those of Jap, rassim. On Jap there are no canoes for rowing; they are very handy for the people of Oleai, however, who use them for short trips among the neighboring islands.

The natives here are experts in the construction of canoes for sailing. There are two types of these: wamar, small canoes used within the lagoon, and waluwe, the large canoes used for deep water fishing and for the large expeditions to Ruck. By European standards, these large canoes are also quite useful for shorter trips. There are wide benches with back rests, falak, in the center of the canoe; for protection from wind and rain on longer journeys, there are huts, geimeru, on the outrigger.

The natives use carefully finished blocks of wood for the tackle. They learned this device from merchant ships; on Jap it is still unknown.

28: Spiro--38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 764, 505, 396 Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--38 [2]
116, 396, 476, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

---

"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

28: Spiro--38 [4]
116, 784, 396, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--39
116, 396, 226, 501

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

28: Spiro--74 [4]
116, 776, 782, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--75 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 - 2
116, 788, 241, 342, 396 Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

1: Burrows--49-50 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 358, 483, 401, 335 Ifalik

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pënga.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the

new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic]canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken

up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8,b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

2: Damm et al. --72 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 171, 411 Ifaluk

The bitter struggles with Oleai and Lamutrik show that the Ifaluk natives were a war-like people. However, they did not have a large array of weapons; they used:

1. The spear (dīlēk) from 1 1/2 to 2 meters long; occasionally it was equipped with a barbed hook, and then it was called rumu dīlēk. [AN: see drawings 161-163 in source]. The natives apparently never used sharks teeth on their spears.
2. The club (liwueĭjēi) was a cutting and stabbing weapon in a simple spade shape [AN: see drawings 165-168 in source] or it may be a two-sided weapon, like the ones on Truk (drawing 164). The natives knew nothing about the former customary practice of studding them with sharks teeth.
3. Knuckle-dusters (rasirās) with horn-fish stings, [AN: see drawings 170, 171 of source]. Drawing 169 shows an interesting form, where the simple knuckle-duster is combined with an aṅipuṅipū.
4. The natives learned about stone slings (gaûl) from Truk.
5. Bows (dawīr) and arrows were just childrens' toys.

2: Damm et al. --139 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411 Aurupik

The spear is unknown so the natives only have the fish spear. The stone sling (kâule) is also lacking although the islanders have learned about it from the Truk people. They commonly use the brass knuckles (raserâs), which is made in the usual Carolinian manner.

Z; Damm et al, --187 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 411, 721, 177 Faraulep

In former times there were a good many wars (fitéx), and today the natives fight with spears, sticks and knuckle dusters of sharks teeth (rajarás). They hurl stones with their hands. No bows and arrows are used. The victor orders the battle to cease. Declaration of war - máud, armistice - eiaméle máud.

4: Kramer--66 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411, 721 Lamotrek

Due to the peaceful attitude of the population, clubs and spears are nonexistent. Hellwig collected a knuckle-duster--rädjeras, with fish spines--ig e valeval.

4: Krämer--191 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 721, 411 Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson said of the natives in 1797]: They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling.

4: Krämer--244 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411 Woleai

There are few weapons on Lámotrek. I only discovered a single club which must have come from Truk. It was found on Vótagai where is was used as the handle for a mosquito net.

Weapons for offensive fighting are limited to knuckle-dusters with shark's teeth or fish spines.

Figure 112, rajerás with shark teeth (a); with two naseus stings, baráli ge váleval (b); with shark teeth, ni li bago.

Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise..., page 61 mentions spears, and slings.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411, 721 Woleai

(Kotzebue: maul; lance, tilleg; to throw, kattevi; to hit, jel; to miss, tarami; a sling, kaul). War was almost unknown, as were spears, clubs and slings. The native, Kadu, expressed his distaste for war (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 90, 134) which he had come to know among the Rataks; he had been wounded in some hostilities. "There one does not know anything about war and fighting; there one man does not kill another man, and anyone faced with warfare had his hair turn white."

6: Senfft--57 (no date) 1905 Woleaians
116, 411, 524 Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no weapons besides the spear for fishing and the adze. Slings (chaoil) were used formerly, but are no longer found today. There are miniature bows (baok) and arrows (gafisch) which are used as toys and have no other purpose.

I: Burrows--27-28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 412 Ifalik

"A kind of stone, coralline in origin but of relatively dense, even texture and crystalline appearance, is obtained under water at a single location on the seaward side of the reef a little west of the pass, near the uninhabited island Ellā. From this are made pounders (faulipō), which are used by the women to mash taro and breadfruit. The pounders are of the same general shape as those of Polynesia. They have rounded vertical handles which flare outward at both ends: slightly at the top, to form a knob; much more at the bottom, forming a heavy base with round, slightly convex pounding surface. (See photograph, Fig. _____) Those used on Ifalik are comparatively small, perhaps because it is hard to find larger pieces of the stone without cracks or flaws. Most of them are about 8 inches high and 5 inches in diameter at the base. [28]

The workmanship is rough and simple. The only decoration seen consists of one or two little bosses left projecting on top of the handle. Pounders are made by either men or women. The implement used nowadays to make them is an old hatchet head without a handle. Holding the stone in the left hand and the hatchet head in the right, the craftsman hacks out crisscross lines on the places to be cut down, particularly what is to become the handle. Then he chips off the squares left projecting between the lines; pecks them off, rather, for most of the stone comes away as dust instead of chips. When the shape has been roughed out, the surface is finished by rubbing with another piece of stone. It is slow work. An elderly woman was seen busy at one nearly every morning for about two weeks."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 245 Ifalik

"Tied around a wooden handle, strips of leaflet midrib become broomstraws."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

2: Damm et al. --39 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412 Ifaluk

The tools were: 1. shell axes (delakí) of different sizes. Other axes were unknown. The parts are called mimuéim - handle, fófo - coconut string fastening, déla - Tridacna blade.

2. Gimlet; there were two kinds; the plain stick borer (wúlewul, Hellwig: wurawura) with a shark's tooth point, now with an iron point, and the burr (malubóub) with a brace stick and a point of Pteroceras shell.

3. Compasses were unknown.

2; Damm et al. --128 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 322, 412 Aurupik

Wood was rough-hewn with the ax, which had a firm shell blade that could not be turned (dălâi berĕi). The single parts are called: handle-imĕĭm, shell blade - berĕi, binding - fŏfo.

2: Damm et al.--167-168 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412 Faraulep

Household implements:

a) knife (sár) formerly of shell, but now a spike that has been pounded into a board and sharpened.

b) taro scraper of Meleagrina shell.

c) coconut grater (uéïgan); a small shell (poritŏx) is fastened to a tripod.

d) spoons (idĭt) of shell

e) crushers (faierŭs) of coral stone [168] (fáux) in the same form that is used on Iŧaluk (to crush - zŭs, to rub - egăx, to strike - narŭna.

2; Damm et al. --169 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 412, 177 Faraulep

Formerly the most important tool was the shell ax (ɣapăl); it had fallen into disuse in 1909, and only the "sacred axes" had preserved the old form. Shell blades of Tridacna or cassis - porugĭl or tară (the blade is kept sharp with a grindstone [uăre]), cutting edge -metăd, upper side - lugŭl, lower side - năn, handle for the hatchet - fm mĕ fm, wrapping - fŏrfŏr. Then finally, there were the tools for the finer work: files - (văĭm) of coral stone, awls (etâu), drills (purepŭr).

4: Krämer--231-232 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 412 Woleai

Mortar, fal, Figure 100 [VMM: see source]. Pounder for taro, breadfruit, etc., height approximately 18 centimeters. It may be made of "stone," faisüss Hellwig. Pounding board, al lif. To pound, sugu (Kotzebue: lovis)

Coconut grater, wëgin Figure 101 [VMM: see source], from Máriam; wood, éelé; shell, pelig. [232]

Bamboo knife, gig (Yap) used for sawing tortoise shell (Kotzebue: cut, kutovi)

Taro scraper, large Becherkoralle.

Taro scraper of pearlshell, Hellwig: sár.

Coconut husking stick, Hellwig: gútubirra is made from knotty root wood; Hellwig shows a foot strap used for climbing, and made of fibers is called laviteg. Hellwig shows a seating board, valevaib, a device carried by climbers of palmtrees (Figure 96) [VMM: see source]; it comes in handy at the time of cleaning, of picking nuts and of draining palm sap. Pick made of turtle bone with a wide blade and a handle (Nil?, Stil?) similar to those found on Palau.

Turdus columbinus is taboo for the men because they would fall off the coconut palm trees.

4: Krämer--62
116, 412, 372

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

The pump drill is known as burabüra and comes from Elato. The wheel is of tortoise shell and the tip of the drill is of sharks' teeth. See Figure 134e [VMM: see source] for the hand drill.

4: Krämer--62 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 412 Lamotrek

I was able to pick up an axe blade, ĕtiligi.

Hellwig: tridacna--djim (Truk: sim).

Hellwig 2114 5891 is an axe made of conch shell called korolimang; on Elato it occurs made of lëang shell.

Hellwig's catalogue has a shell axe from Elato, marăli délla (blade--délla), terebra--talingawat, blade joint--rodjăl ĕ (rosăl e), neck of the handle--apirri gule, handle--erălle, lashing--vava, wood--djálo. The ceremonial axe is called tellë i lolomai.... The word for blade, chisel is perogol, and the blow of the axe is tellë i falefal; apúnga sillë is the sound of the blow.

Coral stones, faiürr (Truk: fauir), ray skin (Hellwig: gillivai) or pumice stone miür, mür, which drifts ashore...are used to smoothen the rough surfaces of the wood.

The fiber beater is called kománg; the wood is kaini and the tool comes from Pik.... At the end of the handle there is a knob, see Figure 94 [VMM: see source].

Tools

(Kotzebue: iron, parang; chisel tété; axe, moil; knife, sar; whet stone, fasitte)....

Hellwig has a shell for grating tortoise shell, pelig, falá trig; ray skin may be used for this purpose.

Krämer collected tridacna blades (axes, atílagi; Figure 29 [VMM: see source] shows one with a length of 29 centimeters, and Figure 105 a length of 13.3 centimeters). Adze, gasuéla.

Krämer collected axes with blades.

Krämer collected a hollow-ground blade made of the shell of a mitra snail; Hellwig had one made from a piece of Cassis snail.

Hellwig: ax blade, dallē barai; made of tridacna, sum.

Hellwig: ax blades, dallē from the large tridacna species known as gi.

Hellwig: hollow-ground ax blade, dallē korøilimang; made from the shell, maidjal (maial).

Hellwig shows one made of conus, kórror; now it is used as a grater, but formerly it served as a hollow-ground ax.

Hellwig: shell ax with hollow-ground blade, dallē; it has the form of the Sētowal graters.

Whetstones used to be brought from Yap; Hellwig shows one that is a light piece of lava.

4: Krämer--237 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 412 Woleai

Pump drill, wuruwur manuppk; iron, parang*; iron ax, bosugul; hand drill, vuruvur is made wither with shark's teeth or the bones of frigate birds.

*Hellwig shows a combination drill, ni li baggo ma parang, made from shark's teeth and iron and also serving both as knife and saw. Iron has been available only for about 100 years and was drifted ashore; see also Kotzebue Entdeckungsreise. . . page 124.

6: Senfft--57
116, 412

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

2. An ax (tale). The blade forms an acute angle with the shaft, like that of an adze. Formerly this instrument was cut out of tridacna shells; today it is made of metal. The natives use this tool very skilfully; it serves them as a hammer, a plane, knife, and file. 3. A small sea shell with a sharp edge (Kilgil), used to cut banana shells into stripes to be used for plaiting. 4. A scraper (waigung) placed on a tripod with a toothed point consisting of a shell or coconut shell, used to scrape coconuts and hard fruits. 5. An auger (wurewur) with a wooden drill bow; the point was formerly made of shell or stone and is now made of metal. The tool for rope-making consisting of three pins in the shape of crosses, which is used everywhere on the western and southern islands, is not used here according to my information.

28: Spiro--4
116, 177, 412

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In technology, this erstwhile neolithic culture has lost all its stone implements. Steel knives, steel adzes, saws, and planes have replaced the native tools." -

28: Spiro--62 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
177, 412 Ifalik

"The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 415 Ifalik

"The shell of the nut, with a round hole cut in the bud end, is used as a bottle (peraliēt) to collect toddy. The disc cut out may be used as a lid. Such a covered container, with a bit of sennit cord for a bail, is called louyā. A half shell makes a cup, dipper, or small bowl. Strung on a cord with the hollow side down, a coconut half shell will keep rats from getting at food suspended below it."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 415 Ifalik

"Still other parts of the coconut tree are useful. The clothlike fabric (ʻulu or ʻulʻulu) that grows about the base of the leaves makes a strainer for toddy or medicine. Mothers make water-droppers of it for their babies. Folding a piece into the shape of a funnel, they put some fragrant herb into it, then dip it in water, hold it over the baby's mouth, and let the water drop in. Some of the herbs used for this purpose are listed on p. 43 (this ms.).

A dry fruit stalk makes a crude broom, when one of the better brooms of leaflet midrib tied to a handle is not available. Dry flower spathes, while less used for torches than in some Pacific islands, occasionally serve for fire-brands or kindling."

Among household implements people have:

a) scrapers, scratchers and graters.
   1. fauguesú: a piece of coral, which is used to grate taro, etc.
   2. waigan: coconut scraper of the Central Caroline form.
   3. Tortoise-shell ax (jaufeli), like the one on the Mortlock Islands, for peeling taro; this has not been used for a long time. [34]

b) crusher (faulibōu) of coral lime to crush taro.

c) spoons (idit) of coconut husk.

d) shell knives (sār)

e) coconut utensils.
   1. giwuāri: small coconuts with a wooden cover, and occasionally with a wooden bottom; they are used to hold small objects and are put in the wódau pouch.
   2. bāle: large coconuts for palm wine.

f) wooden vessels of bread-fruit and lāgidj wood.
   1. kabāñeban: large wood boxes with a cover and short handles; they are used to hold weaving materials.
   2. wāru: large four-cornered wooden boxes for loin aprons, etc.; these are no longer extant.
   3. sāb: wooden containers with covers, but without handles of any particular form and size [AN: see drawings 111-118 in source]. The one with a push-cover [AN: See

drawing 118 in source] is peculiar. Fish hooks are kept in these containers.

4. dŏbi lemálai: round wooden dishes without feet.
5. dŏbi lemábu: wooden dishes with noses but no feet; in this type the width exceeds the length.
6. dŏbi lemáulu: heavy, long wooden vessels.
7. dŏbi lemowalíel: circular wooden dishes with or without feet, but with handles (lenfligágal) [36].
8. dŏbi ŭlu: these are the familiar Truk vessels, but there are no more of them to be found on Ifaluk. Hellwig collected a long dish with noses and four feet as a tepi; (this is the same as dŏbi).

g) baskets.

1. gáto: a small basket made of coconut pinnates with a woven handle (first plate, upper row); this is used to transport food.
2. dŭgu: a tall basket of two coconut pinnae; they are used to carry food.
3. gabáás: large circular basket of coconut pinnae with a string handle; this is used to hold banana, pandanus threads, and all the other materials, which are necessary for weaving. [37]
4. wŏdáu: a long pouch of two coconut pinnae; it is the real purse for both men and women.

5. djūk: a pouch used to carry wood, coconut husks, etc.; it is made of two halves of coconut fronds, woven together. It is similar to an open gilidaudau mat; the ends of the fronds are tied into a handle.

6. wodau mān: four-cornered pouch of pandanus leaf strips. Sarfert could only obtain one specimen.

7. gagadj: a curious form of pouch made of pandanus leaf strips. Smaller specimens were carried in the wodau pouch; this one is distinguished because of its plait, which runs diagonally over the middle of the pouch.

8. sigilala: a high, narrow little pouch, with a cover of pandanus leaf strips. Sarfert could only find one specimen.

h) net pouches of coconut fiber strings.

1. djoudjoale: large net-like pouches that can be tied together, made either with a narrow or a wide mesh; they are used for loin aprons, etc. [38]

2. djoulimar: boat-shaped net pouches used to get bread-fruit; they are also soaked in these containers.

3. wodau: pouch of narrow string weaving.

i) bamboo boxes (giwuari) for smaller articles (tobacco etc.) have wooden bottoms and covers; they are often decorated with scratched designs. The double box, with a central connecting piece of wood, is a curiosity.

2: Damm et al.--40 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 321, 301, 415 Ifaluk

Coconut shells are used to fashion bowls; boxes, spoons, but above all, beads for decoration. These beads are made in the same way on Luangiua. Drawing 135 shows some crude pieces, which have been strung on a leaf nerve, and are still to be polished.

2: Damm et al. --126 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 415 Aurupik

For cooking utensils they had first the simple hand scraper (Krämer: valegĭer), made of nautilus shell, and the three-legged coconut grater (Hambruch: ueĭgănnu, Hellwig: wăĭgaṅ). Hambruch noted these names for the various parts: perrăk - shell (Hellwig: pelĭg), forrofor - binding, ueĭgănnu - board, beramă - legs. Then there was another degenerate form, a simple board, without legs, and with iron planes fastened to it.

taro crushers (Hellwig: faurŭpo) of coral stone (Hellwig: părauṅ)

coconut utensils of half or whole fruits, and with or without covers (bŏr, Hellwig: pŏr) were frequently used for water and palm wine.

There are various forms of dishes (Hellwig: tapit, Hambruch: täbbi) of trälle wood:

a) simple and boat-shaped with a flat bottom.
b) raised, with feet, equipped with lugs, and occasionally made quite wide.

Krämer ascertained that the following kinds of baskets are used to keep food:

a) gădo, a tall basket with handles.
b) a borou, a rather long basket with handles, made of the ordinary kind of plaiting.
c) dŭgu (Hellwig: tūx), a tall basket with a tuft on the bottom.
d) a bolaŭ, a basket without handles, which is trapezoidal on its longitudinal axis.
e) leĭpo, a trough-like basket without handles.

2: Damm et al. --168 (1909) 1938 Wolcaians
116, 415 Faraulep

Household implements:

f) coconut utensils (tagax) - coconut shell, such as water bottles.

g) wooden boxes (saup) with covers like those on Polowat; they are used to hold small articles, especially fish hooks. Hambruch gives the following terms for the various parts: cover - garăp, hole for the string to which it is suspended - piapi, in a notched piece (botil), lower part - xaloăl, floor - pĕigil, wall - ni, groove for the cover - pŏra ni.

h) bowls (tăbbi) with feet, of the same shape as the dŏbi lemăbu of Ifaluk. Then there are also the tăbbi bowls, brought from Truk, with the red stripe, which is peculiar to that island group. (floor - ranŏg, feet - perĕle, noses - madăl.)

i) baskets to hold food; the largest ones are used to transport fruits; the former are tŭx, the latter hĭx. Special forms are kătŏvas (Ifaluk) and păutau, a basket for transportation.

k) a fish board (băp) to divide the bonito.

l) brooms (naux) of coconut nerves.

m) rat hooks (xŏr) to hang up food containers, similar to the one shown in Fig. 126, in Sarfert and Damm 1929, page 138.

4: Krämer--41
116, 252, 415

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

To cook--um. The container for flint and steel is called gaigers and is No. 2210 in Hellwig's catalogue; it is also known as gulegul.

The cooking snail, Cassis cornuta (Hellwig: maiále, méal, on Truk: moéal), in the past was very commonly in use for cooking and today is in favor as a water container.... [42] Opener for coconut husks--kóăt (see spade); wood-kaingi.

The coconut grater is very simple and two-legged; Figure 15 [VMM: see source] (Hellwig: waigin or wegang; seat of breadfruit wood). It is 67 centimeters long and 20 centimeters high. Hellwig 2319 for blade material uses a red shell called belig* (Truk: perri Venus m.). But most often a piece of coconut shell is used as a grater, metál, and it is held fast by lashing (gägä Hellwig 2092).

A spatula in the form of a fish is called falalio (Hellwig 2252: itik eü le wong) and is made of the armor of a turtle belly; the specimen in Figure 16a [VMM: see source] is 17 centimeters long. In Figure 16b [VMM: see source] it is rib-shaped, has an ear and a length of 21 1/2 centimeters and is used to grate food. The knob of the instrument is known as arrepél. Hellwig has a specimen of pearl shell....

The word for spoon is itĭt. (Hellwig: 12 centimeters long.) The type represented in Figure 17 [VMM: see source] is made after the Palau fashion by means of a wood press. Hellwig lists the following terms: handle--erál, brim--narél, concavity--lăl, bowl--

*Hellwig 2113: pelig, the end of a coconut is used for grating: the tip is known as topälle.

lúgul. A Sorol man who came as a visitor to the island introduced the spoon. Previous to that spatulas had served as spoons.

Pounders of coral stone (Hellwig: vai lu pó (a), vairúpo) are not as beautiful as those of Truk, but they are characteristic since they are stepped and have caps at the ends; the specimen pictured in Figure 18 [VMM: see source] has a height of 15 1/2 centimeters. Most of them are of wood (Hellwig: wood--kil tia mangle?) they have cylindrical heads as in Figure 19 [VVM: see source] or they are cone-shaped and have perforated ends as in Figure 20 [VMM: see source]; the height is 20-23 centimeters....

Ikisera made himself a large mortar (75:65 centimeters); the word for mortar is annif. Figure 21 [VMM: see source].

Tongs made from coconut frond stalks (Hellwig: ǎumăr).

Fire fan (Hellwig: saipe, on Truk: sĕiva).

The word for knife is ser; for the type made of pearl shell see Figure 40 [VMM: see source,] the fiber grater, djĕle, resembles the instrument in Truk. The blade of the knife, the tangitangi lŭ djĕle is peculiar and is made either from the larynx of a turtle or of coconut fibers ŭdi.

Drinking tubes (Hellwig: mangauru) are bamboo tubes used to suck up water from pits with dirty top water at the time of water shortages.

Vessels tëbbi (Hellwig: tapi), Plate röllig.
(cf. Plate 7.) [VMM: see source]

These vessels are made of wooden blocks or boards; see Plate 8b [VMM: see source]. bóati--lugs are found on them as the illustrations show (the same as on Truk, Palau etc.). Bowls may vary in shape: the foot may be roundish and raised; the total height is 13 centimeters, and the width of the bowl amounts to 32 centimeters. The brim of the bowl is often almost hexagonal, as the specimen in Figure 26 a [VMM: see source]; the base sometimes is two-legged (b). The round bowl in Figure 27 (Kramer 452=3207) has two high feet which stand on a base and which facilitate eating; the entire height of the bowl is 25 centimeters, and the length of the roundish bowl amounts to 24 1/2 centimeters (Hellwig 209k: foot--perël).

The bowl in Figure 28 shows a somewhat lower foot, for the latter is only 6 1/2 centimeters in height; it is actually a low stool with four legs on which rests a longish bowl which has a length of 21 centimeters and a width of 13 centimeters. Hellwig 2336 is similar in shape.

Figure 29 [VMM: see source] shows a tray for eating fish which does not have a high base; nevertheless, we may notice a slight elevation at the right of the illustration. The plate is oval and pointed at the ends, 42 centimeters long and 22 centimeters wide and has a low molding along the edge, which in effect seems to be [64] a little fence; there is a hole in it at one side for the suspension cord.

Hellwig 2226•6006 is called tapi lemálu wulól; it is longish in form but is not painted red and does not have any inlay of mother-of-pearl.

There are three bowls in the Linden museum in Stuttgart which are said to come from Lamotrek: one is flat and oval, one is round and flat and shallow, and one is deep and oval in shape and has two bird heads instead of lugs; in the latter case the foot is low and represents a closed square.

Bowls with lids. The box in which the fish hooks are kept, the sóp is such a chestlike vessel; see Figure 30. The length of the specimen pictured is 12.4 centimeters and the width may vary from 3.8 centimeters, while the height is 4 centimeters; Hellwig has a bowl with a lid which he calls sáp; for the box itself he uses the word bassobasso, the lid is gárebal, the knob bóatil, the brim nadjel, and to open is sugi.

A peculiar bowl is a specimen with a lid and a decoration of Greek figures; one of the figures is represented seated on the long side whereas a person is shown standing on the short side. It is said to have been made by the Spaniard Gulio, who happened to be on Lamotrek at the time of the typhoon of 1907; the box is 77 centimeters long, 27.6 centimeters high and 27.5 centimeters wide. Figure 31 [VMM: see source].

The bird bowls resemble those from Truk. Kramer 493-[illegible]47" has a horse-shoe shaped base formed by the two feet of the bird as in Figure 32 [VMM: see source]. The length of the bowl is 37 centimeters, and its height is 20 1/2 centimeters. The model

must have been a frigate bird; Hellwig calls the bowl tapi a gataf and says that it is meant to hold the color substance that comes from Yap. Krämer 453-3208 is called tapi e läp; it does not have a foot and for that reason is suspended; it is 48 centimeters long and has a piece of wood which is used for painting since the bowls are used for paint. One specimen is pictured in Figure 33 [VMM: see source].

A bowl very similar in form to the one last mentioned is in Berlin, and one with a bird hiding its head and a pointed head and forked tail comes from Elato; it is 50 centimeters long.

Among the vessels we must also count coconut shells; one of them, known as dagág a lül, is set on a round base as in Figure 34 [VMM: see source], and has [65] a handle. It is said to have been invented by the boy Malüvit, when he was between 7 and 8 years old; this boy is credited also with having started this type of vessel in trade. Naturally we are in this instance dealing with foreign influences or else we must interpret it as an old Indonesian motif since bowls on stands and some with handles occur in West Indonesia. It is used as a drinking cup for water or garri (palm juice) (13.5 centimeters wide).

Containers of coconut are called ware; their shape may be that of a nut as in Figure 35 [VMM: see source] where the length is 15 centimeters and the width 8 centimeters; in other instances they have lids (pelipelal) and bottoms; Hellwig 2246-6023 Figure 36, has a height of 7 centimeters. Purpose: for keeping fish hooks, medicine etc.; they are also used as containers for fire wood, gulegul. In addition there are containers of

bamboo which are decorated in the same manner as in Indonesia. [66] Hellwig 2228-6008 Figure 37, has on it arepél e bulugale "tails of the b." and shark's teeth, and the patterns are arranged in six rows. Hellwig 2330-6099 Figure 39 shows various ornamental patterns, e.g., 9, 11, 22, 33, 43 and the pup-like little men of 23; they are either half or double. Hellwig 2118 has a scratched decoration of tirigi points.

In Berlin there is a bamboo stick with many designs scratched into it including birds, crosses, suns, teeth; it is similar to the specimens that have come from Oleai,

4: Krämer--238-243 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 415 Woleai

Vessels

The wooden bowls, tabbi (Kotzebue: tapi) in their form are very similar to those of the eastern islands.* The inside floor is usually truly indented and does not gradually pass over into the side wall. The lugs are often very long and are perforated so that cords can be put through them.

The following types are distinguished:

Wooden bowls [VMM: see source, Figures 106 a-r.]

Bowls without legs.

a. Krämer: (a) longish with the ends rounded off; length 22 centimeters, width 9.2 centimeters, height 6 centimeters. See cross section.

b. Hellwig: (b) from Votagai. In the shape of a canoe; length 31.5 centimeters, width 12.2 centimeters, height 6.8 centimeters; it had a flat bottom and is used as a container for the Yap color substance, ĕ ngap. Cf. the bird form in figure cross section b'.

c. Figure c, red paint bowl in the form of a frigate bird. Length 35 centimeters, width 11.5 centimeters; cf. Lamotrek. The tail of the bird is bound off. [240]

d. Krämer: eadjal, ladle-bowl with a handle ejal; Figure d, round. Diameter

*Hellwig: parai; handle, erat, elbow, (neck) gepul; blade juncture, kor u lal; lashing, vŏval.

23 centimeters, height 7 centimeters.

Bowls with Vertical Legs

(Two lengthwise moldings at the bottom)

(Hellwig: perrët tepi, small bowl with two feet.)

e. Figure e, handle slab (Griffplatte?) on top; length 44 centimeters, width 26 centimeters, height 16 centimeters, with a foot of half that weight. The bottom is flat. The material used is breadfruit wood; the same type of bowl is shown in Krämer where it is made of calophyllum wood. Cross section e'.

f. Figure f: the brim of the bowl is slightly curved. Length 31 centimeters, width 23.5 centimeters, height 10 centimeters. The lugs are long and the handle bar is curved. Two low feet are arranged lengthwise. [241]

g. Figure g: the edge is strongly curved. Length 14 centimeters, width 15 centimeters, height 6 centimeters. Cross section g' shows the fundamental bowl shape the feet are short.

h. Figure h: this vessel is wider than it is long, and the plan is eliptical. Length 30.5 centimeters, width 37 centimeters, height 9.5 centimeters. The feet are very low and are attached to the flat bottom. The material is breadfruit wood. Cross section h'.

Bowls with Feet Arranged Sidewise.

i. Figure i: longish bowl with perforated high lugs and handle. Length 23.5 centimeters, width 19.5 centimeters, height 9.3 centimeters with feet 2-3 centimeters high. Cross section i'.

k. Figure k: the form is similar to that of the last bowl mentioned, but the edge is more curved. Length 40 centimeters, width 24 centimeters, height 19.5 centimeters. Material: calophyllum wood.

Bowls with Four Feet

l. Figure l with a saddle lifted above the lug. Length 38 centimeters, width 27 centimeters, height 13-15 centimeters. Cylindrical feet about 7 centimeters in height.

m. Krämer: tabbi en'nap used for paint (Hellwig: red Yap color substance, e ngap), Figure m. Trough-like in shape. Length 32 centimeters, width 10.5 centimeters, height 7.5 centimeters. The walls have four square indentions each. The feet are stump-like. Cross section m'; lug pictured in m'.

Boxes with Lids, sap.

n. Krämer shows a container for fish hooks in two parts, Figure n. Length 16 centimeters, width 8.5 centimeters, height 6.4 centimeters; it has grooves and is square.

o. Figure o, a container for ba levil. Length 26 centimeters, width 9 centimeters,

height 8 centimeters. Square in shape. The lid has a grip on top and there are no lugs at the ends. Cross section o' and o".

p. Hellwig: sap, Figure p; lengthwise oval in shape with knobs. Length 32 centimeters, width 7.6 centimeters, height 8 centimeters. Wood gálliu (kalu).

q. Figure q, square in shape. Length 26.8 centimeters, width 10 centimeters, height 8.8 centimeters.

Hellwig, 1907, shows the ends to be more oblique, and in Hellwig, 1877, the ends are very sloping and with knobs but there is no grip on top. Hellwig observes one from (Falalap) Voléa; grip-bar like on the lios en mingau. [242]

Bamboo Boxes *

Hellwig: gulugul; lid, sése; fluting, autél; ornamentation in Indonesian fashion. [243]

s. Figure 107a, with the impression b. Length 32 centimeters.

t. Figure 108. Length 35 centimeters.

u. Figure 109a with the impression b. Length 21 centimeters.

v. Figure 110. Length 50 centimeters, diameter 4.2 centimeters.

*Hellwig: Coconut box, ware, for tobacco; lid, pálepal (pilipilál) made of breadfruit wood.

In addition the following were collected:

A fish eating board, rólig.
A bowl with two frigate bird heads.
Bowl in the form of a sitting frigate bird.
ságeag, a Seepocke (?) as paint container; Figure 111.

The types of wood used are coconut, and breadfruit wood, mai and nga. ut (Hellwig: bowl); ira; gálliu, kalu (Cordia subcordata); for bowls also calophylla, ragits, are used; Eugenia; kadrio were no longer found after the typhoon.
marevál, hibiscus (guliva).

6: Senfft--57
116, 415

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The domestic utensils are the following: 1. A spoon made of the ribs of a turtle (gadip), and a round basket made of plaited coconut leaves (kopass). 2. Chairs (longeburol) are made of a piece of wood about 30 centimeters wide. Seen from the side, this looks like a chaise lounge without legs, a piece of furniture which by European standards is anything but comfortable. This is used only on Lamutrik. 3. A spoon to scoop water (kom'met), in the shape of a trough, with a handle attached to the hollow part. The halves of coconut shells are also used to scoop water. 4. Baking dishes or cooking pots (moi jal) made of a shell the opening of which is enlarged. 5. Baskets (bod'dan or sanaseu) made of split coconut fronds which are plaited. These are a substitute for pockets. Both men and women carry articles of necessity in these. There are also baskets with a handle (chaperau) which are also made of plaited coconut leaves and have the shape of a pouch. 6. Small cups made of pandanus (guot' tal) in which banana leaves for cigarettes are kept.

There are also shallow wooden dishes or plates (tabbi), wooden mortars (faii) and pestles made of tridacna shells, which old people use to squash hard foods; it may also be used to pulverize burnt coral lime from which dye is to be made.

1: Burrows--104-105 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"The concept of ownership of material wealth that prevails in Ifalik differs from our own. Ownership there is not absolute to the verge of irresponsibility, as in our economic system. A doctrine generally accepted among us--'It's nobody's business what I do with my own property'--would hardly be understood in Ifalik; or, if understood, would be indignantly condemned. Individual possession of material goods is, to be sure, a familiar idea with them. It is explicitly expressed in their language by possessive suffixes and adjectives. But in effect the individual 'owners', to whom these forms of speech refer, are no more than members of groups which share in the right to use the property; or else, in the case of those who have authority over its use by others, managers on behalf of the group. The whole group is the real owner, in our sense of the term. The nominal owner is either a co-owner or a trustee.

This contrast must not be taken as diametrical opposition. With us[105] too, there is of course a sense of public responsibility in ownership of some kinds of nominally private property; particularly property which the public uses and depends on,--public utilities, common carriers, and the like. This sense of public responsibility seems to have been growing stronger among us during the 20th century. But there is still a decided difference in degree between our concept of ownership and the one which prevails in Ifalik."

28: Spiro--20 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 421 Ifalik

"After making their decisions and deciding on an agenda the chiefs let it be known that a public meeting will be held the next day, or in two days. On the morning of the designated day, the chiefs assemble in the canoe-house next to the Fanap, the public meeting house. (1)"

"1. The entire plot of land, holding the canoe-house and the fanap, is called Atelu, and quasi-sacred property, which belongs to the chiefs, and which people seldom frequent: The chiefs had us pitch our tent on this land."

28: Spiro--42 [7]
116, 471, 421

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Property rights and laws of inheritance of property are clearly defined. Theoretically, the Ifaluk economy can be characterized as state socialism, for all property, the natives claim, is owned by the chiefs. The entire atoll, land and water is their property, as is all manufactured goods, since they can confiscate these, if they wish. Functionally, however, in terms of usufruct, we may distinguish five kinds of property. 1. Free-property: 2. Public property 3. Lineage property 4. Patrilineal group property 5. Personal or private property"

28: Spiro--43-44 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"Even a brief acquaintance with this culture reveals that private property plays a minor role. Only what a person himself creates belongs to him, and only such objects may be transferred. All other objects belong to a group, ranging in size from a unilateral descent group to the entire society and remains in the group in perpetuity. Two polar attitudes characterize the dynamic aspects of property rights--the punctiliousness with which a person refrains from using another's real property, and the culturally expected generosity of use of another's property upon request. That is, when a person wants a coconut he will never climb a tree that does not belong to him to [44] obtain one. Though the islands are dense with coconut trees, and every one has many more trees than he can possibly use, and though the taking of one nut would be of no economic significance, no one would dare take a nut from a tree that is not his. Each man knows his own trees, though they may be scattered and mixed with trees of others, and will pick only his own. This holds true for the taro patches. A woman will not take taro from another's patch, though there is taro enough on the island to feed many more mouths than there are on Ifaluk. But the proprietary rights in these patches is felt very strongly, and people are quite jealous of these rights, as is indicated by the TAT and by the admonitions of the chiefs to refrain from taking another's taro."

28: Spiro--44
116, 421

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"One is expected to be generous with his movable property. Though the canoes are owned individually, any one may borrow another's canoe, preferably with his knowledge, but even without it. A man wishing to make an overseas journey asks permission from an owner of an ocean-going canoe to use his canoe, with full assurance that permission will be granted, a refusal being unheard of. And the same holds true for tools, traps, and other objects that a person may wish to use."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

28: Spiro--44 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 177, 421 Ifalik

"Economic acculturation, in that it provides certain individuals and not others with certain objects, has resulted in a desire for certain kinds of property, and confers upon their owners certain prestige. This merely illustrates the universal economic law of scarcity as a primary contributor to economic value. Western gadgets, and tools, introduced by the Japanese or by the Americans, including the anthropologists--and of necessity distributed to a few--incur the admiration and envy of the others. The knives we distributed among the chiefs were the envy and admiration of all the men. The playing cards we gave to our 'boys' were admired and longed for by the others. The perfume we gave to Tom's wife or to the chiefs' wives was desired by the other women. Thus one can safely predict that as long as real property remains in the lineages, and as long as other property can be acquired by any one with the requisite skills that property and wealth will create no psychological or social tensions. But if native system of land tenure should be changed so as to enable some to accumulate more at the expense of others, or if the Navy should offer jobs to some of the men and not to others, and thus enable them to buy western manufactured objects--particularly objects, like flashlights, that can be used only by one person at a time, tensions will inevitably arise as they have in other colonial areas.

There are two factors, then, that have served to almost eliminate economic tensions on Ifaluk: The culturally ordained pattern of cooperation and generosity in the distribution of goods and their use, and the abundance of those things that are desired, so

that all can share in them. A change in either the cultural or natural resources, indigenously or through contact, would soon alter this."

1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 227

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The smaller fish-traps made by individual men are used, primarily by the maker, in small-scale fishing for his household. Any male member of the household--male, because women do not take part in this kind of fishing--would feel free to use such a trap, but would pretty surely ask the maker first, if there was any chance of his wanting to use it himself."

1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 431, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--111
116, 301, 431, 422

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

I: Burrows--111-112
116, 227, 422

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Larger fish-traps are made in the canoe-houses by groups of men, usually [112] of the same neighborhood but not necessarily of the same household. They are kept in the canoe-house, and taken out in large sailing canoes, on the order of a chief. As these are usually district expeditions, the traps are virtually district property."

1: Burrows--112
116, 283, 422, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine, --every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

2: Damm et al. --81
116, 422

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The men's house and the large fishnets (ädin̆, ūg) for the big fishing expeditions are considered village property. The canoe houses are the property of the single village districts, Jor and Jiwan.

2: Damm et al. --81 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 422 Ifaluk

In addition, the adornments and household implements belong to the family: necklaces, tortoise-shell rings (for women only), knives, boats, dishes, spears, fish hooks, fish lines, fish traps of various sizes, chests, net pouches, looms.
The following items are considered personal property: combs, ear-rings, loin aprons, baskets and giāgi mats.

2: Damm et al. --190 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 422, 562 Faraulep

Personal possessions are divided between the sexes;

the man has:	the woman has:
the dwelling	taro swamps
coconut palms	kitchen utensils
tools	occasionally a canoe
fishing utensils	

28: Spiro--43 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 422 Ifalik

"Personal property: This category includes a man's canoes, tools, rope, all clothes, and personal effects-combs, baskets, etc. At his death a man's canoes are divided among his sons and sister's sons. His rope is inherited by his sons, and his clothes and personal effects are disposed of as his family sees fit."

28: Spiro--44 [2]
116, 565, 422, 556

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

1: Burrows--97 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"On Ifalik the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for 'lineage' in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage: vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as 'according-to-the-'. Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwēl), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored

attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited."

I: Burrows--97-98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"Although 'lineage' is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads--that is, in effect, with lineages--are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect [98] the lives of the living."

1: Burrows--105 (1947-48) Woleaians / 2
116, 423, 471 Ifalik

"Most of what we would call public property is called in Ifalik the property of the chiefs. One example is the main roads or paths of the two islands; one running along the lagoon side of Falārik between the houses and the shore; the other a 'belt line' around Falārik close to the taro swamp. Another example is the big seines kept in the canoe-houses. The men's house and the plot of land around it, including the overgrown site of the former men's house--all regarded as a unit and called by the one name Katēlū--is also considered property of the chiefs. In this case the ascription to them has additional force, for one of the functions of Katēlū is to symbolize chiefly dignity and authority.

This concept, ownership by the chiefs of property not used by them more than by everybody else, suggests at first glance the feudalism of medieval Europe. But the resemblance is superficial. While ostensibly the chiefs can do as they please with this property, actually what they please to do is limited by tradition. It never has occurred to them to allot exclusive use of the road or seines to favored retainers, in return for services like the military services of feudal Europe. The former use of the men's house as a dormitory for unmarried youths, and the fairly definite tasks assigned to them, look more like services owed the chiefs in return for use of the chiefs' property. But the natives apparently did not think of the young men's work as room rent; at least the youths still perform definite tasks--so far as we know, the same as before--now

that they no longer sleep in the men's house. Nor have the chiefs ever thought of selling or trading these properties of theirs, or reserving them for their own exclusive use. Such uses of the properties seem inconceivable to them; hence, for all practical purposes, might as well be forbidden.

There is no telling what may happen in the future, as the influence of a foreign concept of property grows stronger. However, one other likely result of increasing foreign influence would be waning power of the chiefs. That would tend to counteract any inclination toward tyrannical disposal of property. But the outcome of such a pull between opposed tendencies, as complicated by an indefinite number of other pulls, is impossible to predict.

Meanwhile, what the chiefs do with such property is virtually the same as what our government officials do with property entrusted to their charge. Both issue orders controlling the use and upkeep of the property for the common benefit. For instance, fishing with the big seines, and repairing or replacing them, are done only on order of the chiefs. But fish caught with the seines are distributed among all the households whose men have done the fishing. If there are enough fish to go further, some will be sent to other districts. And when all districts take part in the fishing, the catch is distributed among the whole population."

1: Burrows--106 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

"Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemāni. (The rest of the rosemāni are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

1. Pa'ugop -Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
2. Gajuteling -Ilegemwār
3. Fan nï wā -Totogoeiti
4. Sabwōlap -Gabwileisei
5. Fale Pëngā -Fagaulīr
6. Katēlū -north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti

south side, Toromānn
7. Fan ni Wong -WolpaitIk
8. Pa'auēl -Wolpetau
9. Gavilea -WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men."

1: Burrows--106-107 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

"Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni wā, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Pa'ugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings. [107]

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Pëngā, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question 'Why?', the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform

over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

1: Burrows-107 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 343, 423, 643 Ifalik

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--107-108 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 423, 501, 643 Ifalik

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. [illegible] canoe house nearest the chief's residence, but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

1: Burrows--108 (1947-48) Woleaians / 2
116, 423, 643, 618 Ifalik

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

1: Burrows--108-109
116, 592, 423, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

1: Burrows--109 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik

"All the land on the atoll, except for the road, the sites of the men's house and canoe houses, and the beach between high and low water mark, is divided into tracts, which have names like those of the homesteads. The boundaries of these tracts are supposed to be a matter of common knowledge; at least, those directly concerned seem to have no doubt where they are. Any natural object--most often, apparently, a coconut tree no different from any other--serves as a boundary mark."

1: Burrows--109
116, 423, 613, 241

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwël clan.

1: Burrows--109
116, 423, 613, 241

(1947-48)

· Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110
116, 241, 423, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik

"To anyone accustomed to the rigor with which titles are searched and boundaries surveyed in our culture, the Ifalik system of land tenure must seem loose and vague. Yet it works satisfactorily. As long as there are enough coconuts, taro, and-in season-breadfruit to go around, their way of locating boundaries, which they consider exact but which might be open to question if tested closely, causes no difficulties. Presumably it would be quite a different matter if these crops were scarcer, or if foreign influence increased to a point where land was more intensively cultivated (if that is feasible), and productive of more than subsistence. Difficulties would almost certainly arise if the land became desirable to foreigners, and so began to be sold. In such a case the surveys, hearings and disputes that have tormented administrators of many other Pacific islands might be expected. But so long as the poor soil of Ifalik is of no interest to foreigners the native system of land tenure will suffice. We heard of no disputes over ownership of land."

1: Burrows--110
116, 231, 423

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs --or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food."

1: Burrows--110-111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 576 Ifalik

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us,) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

2: Damm et al. --81 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 592 Ifaluk

Land and soil do not belong to an individual, but to the family; this also applies to the stand of fruit trees. Even the five bugodăl, which the king possesses, are not his personal property, for he shares them with his brothers and sisters. The taro fields belong to the female, the coconut palm stands to the male members of the family. When a man marries, he brings his wife the usufruct of the property of his family. There is a mutual agreement about whether they shall receive their nourishment from the soil of his or her family. If the woman has any children, the husband gives one or two of his family plots to his wife's family. The amount depends upon his own wealth, and in any case they are never whole pieces of property; generally they consist of a taro field for the girls, and several palms for the boys. Some palm trees are always assigned; a group of them on the border of the property is notched in a particular way with a knife, so that a circular mark is made. This group is not for the children; it becomes the personal property of the mother's family. We can still see how the mother was formerly the central point of the family. A family has between one and seven pieces of property. The boundary lines (nibidăli bŭgod) are shown by trees.

The same regulations apply to the household possessions; the huts belong to the family, and indeed to the whole family.

2: Damm et al. --190 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 562 Faraulep

Together they [KS: men and women] own bananas and bread-fruit trees, while the large canoes and the big canoe-house belong to the village. The chief has to look after the repairs, but the villagers are ready to assist him.

2: Damm et al. --191-192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Faraulep

Real estate is divided between the two class groups: the high chief had 24 plots, in addition to Ead and Pix Islands [192] (at times he put tabus on these properties so that no one might go there), the poirim had 17 lots, the aûelig 20, and the mánu 13. They let the villagers till their possessions, and pay for the labor with coconuts.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Woleai

The counting of the palm-trees... revealed that there were 9480 palms on the island (several hundred very young palm trees and seedlings had not been counted). The three chiefs owned 3430 big palm trees; 5 "minor chiefs" own 3600 pieces; 40 pieces were the property of the unmarried sister of a man from Watoai who though he is living here does not own a single palm tree; he is, however, married abroad. According to the rule of inheritance, palm trees as well as landed property of men who had died without sons or brothers are said to become the property of the chiefs of those who had died. Evidently, however, women, too, could become heirs to their husbands; for each one of 2 widows owned 300 and 850 palms respectively.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 784, 423 Faraulep

A taboo-sign which had been posted by the owner of the island [LEM: of Eat], the chief Sâuerū, debarred the inhabitants of the sister-islands from entering Eat; at certain times only they were permitted to collect there coconuts, turtle-eggs, or tobacco-leaves.

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 343, 423 Lamotrek

The Canoehouses and their owners are:

fal	Owner	House
a) Faletaipu, former lot of the chief on which no one was to transgress.	Sukurang and Selābo	24a
b) Aboi (also called Eaboi and Ieloi) plate 1b and 9c, ill 53.	Bóesu	4
c) Lúgal plate 1b.	Lólit	5
d) Kulong	Faragaus	1
e) Falemara	Sukúlubo	14
f) Gatia rákēs "near the calophyllum"	Meisor	24a
g) Vorič tag or Boerieitug	Urupo	10
h) Gauárag (also called Gauosag) "spot of grudge"	Ikeséra	25
i) Falemareg		
k) [sic] Uélibugui or Uōle		30

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 423 Elato

awŭăr cucumber tree. They are common property and the fruit is distributed to the various houses.

28: Spiro--42 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 437, 423 Ifalik

"The only commercial transaction involves the acquisition of some raw material, and this is rare. I observed only one such transaction during our entire stay on the atoll. I was sitting with Tom and two other men in a canoe house in Felarik, when a canoe paddled by men from Falalap came up. The men beached their canoe, and then sat on the beach, conversing among themselves. Tom asked them what they were doing there. They said that they had come to acquire a certain tree, which they wanted to make a canoe. Tom told them who the owner of the tree was and some of them went to call him. In the meantime the others unloaded a number of blankets and coils of rope, which was the payment for the tree. There was no bargaining or discussion, the Falalap men giving what they thought the tree was worth, and the owner accepting the payment without question. He neither examined nor counted their payment, nor did he attempt to keep the tree. Later, I asked Tom whether the exchange was fair, and he said that the payment was very generous."

28: Spiro--43
116, 423

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Free Property: All the uncultivated land in the bush is free property, and can be used by any one, tresspass not being recognized."

28: Spiro--43 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 226 Ifalik

"Public property: This includes the seins, fighting traps, canoe-houses, and the Fanap. The seins and fishing traps are constructed by the men of a district, and remain in the canoe-houses. They are communal property, and are used by the men in their fishing expeditions. The Fanap is the 'town-hall', and though it is said that is 'belongs to the chiefs', it is actually used for all public meetings, and is repaired, in case of damage, by all the men of the district. The canoe houses, are theoretically owned by one individual, in that one of his ancestors is reputed to have built it. But, actually it is used by all the men, of the district, and is repaired by them. Any attempt on his part to prevent some one from using it would be unthinkable."

28: Spiro--43 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Lineage property: The houses and taro patches are included in this category. Theoretically the house is owned by the eldest woman of the lineage, and at her death is inherited by the next oldest woman. This is just another way of saying, however, that it belongs to the matrilineal lineage, for it descends in that line in perpetuity. This means that the house in non-transferable, that it can not be bought or sold. Theoretically, the taro patches are owned by the men, but again analysis reveals that it is lineage property. The women of the man's household work his patch, the taro belongs to them, and they use it to feed the members of their household, including their husbands who are members of a different lineage. However, a woman gives some of the prepared taro to her brother indicating that it belongs to all the members of the lineage. That the taro patches belong to the lineage is also revealed by the fact that they descend to the man's sister's sons at his death."

28: Spiro--43 [4]
116, 423, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Patrilineal group property: Coconut and breadfruit trees are owned by the males of a patrilineal descent group, so that a man's death, his trees descend to his son's and brother's sons, and like the taro-patches and houses, belong to this line perpetuity, being non-transferable."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifáluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Rauau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 424, 868, 428, 504 Ifalik

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palū. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--271 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 424, 438 Lamotrek

Certain songs are, as it were, family-property; they are bequeathed to the son only, but may be imparted to others if suitable return is made for it. The intercourse with Yap is rather intense. From Yap even the red paint is obtained which, made durable by an admixture of breadfruit tree sap, is used for coloring the outer sides of the canoes .....

1: Burrows--105-106
116, 427, 643

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute--a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in [106] Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property, --except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 424, 868, 428, 504 Ifalik

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palū. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

2: Damm et al. --190 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 428 Faraulep

If the husband dies, the wife inherits the taro fields, while the house goes to the next oldest brother of the deceased. Generally this man marries the widow, and also takes the children under his protection. If he dies, the oldest child looks after his mother and sisters.

4: Krämer--31
116, 591, 428

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

The woman is the owner of the house. When he marries, the man goes to live in the house of his wife (see Truk); an exception to that rule may be that he continues to live in his own house, which upon his death is inherited by the next oldest man of the family of the husband. The children are the heirs of the mother. The eldest son leads the list and then follow the younger boys, who have first claims before their sisters.

4: Krämer--31
116, 643, 428

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

In the case of the chief his brother is the heir, then follow his nephews, and the sons of the sisters. His own son does not have any power. The brothers claim the inheritance according to age.

28: Spiro--43 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 428 Ifalik

"Strictly speaking, the above two categories of property-matrilineal lineage property, and patrilineal descent group peoperty are not subject to the laws of inheritance, as we commonly understand that term. A house is used by the members of the household, and continues to be so used regardless of any-one's death. The same is true of the taro patches and the trees. A well-recognised group uses the fruit of these plants, has legal right in them, and continues to use them as members of this group regardless of the changes in its membership through birth or death. This is, of course, merely another way of stating that these are group property, owned by the group in perpetuity, and therefore unaffected by changes in the membership of the group. It is not that a man's sons or sister's sons inherit a particular piece of property from him at his death, but rather, it is their descent from him at birth, and not his death that confer upon them the use of the property. The property is not divided into individual plots of ground or trees, each individual in the group receiving an equal share, but remains as a whole in the group, all individuals in the group having equal rights in it."

28: Spiro--73
116, 428, 756, 158

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 431, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301, 431, 422 Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 764 Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 431, 796, 828, 152 Ifalik

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126
116, 585, 431

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifalik, --the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifalik, there are no weddings."

1: Burrows--126
116, 431, 597

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adoption, we
child to those wh
an obligation of t
child already be
ment for the chil
of milk to make
does confer an o
price. These ob
of our culture.
is expected to co
good will."

have seen, does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the
o give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair, --
he adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a
spoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as pay-
d, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty
the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifalik,
bligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified
ligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones
No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that
ntinue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

12: Lutke--132
116, 177, 431

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

I gave him [AN: chief Alaberto] everything that I thought he could use; among other items a cask to conserve water, and a pocket compass; he understood the use of this in a second, and he held it in his hands as if it were really a treasure.

28:.Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 431 Ifalik

"But these trips [WPM: see pp. 12-13] also further international trade, which is important, though not vital for the native economy. Ifaluk, as we shall see, has no division of labor, each household being a self-sufficient economic unit. Yet, the island as a whole practices a certain division of labor vis a vis the other islands, and their surpluses are exchanged. The two commodities which it obtains from other islands are tobacco and women's shell belts, the former being obtained from Faraulep and the latter from Eauripik, while it exports lavalavas and rope. This trade does not involve any financial transactions, since none of the islands have money economies; nor even barter, in the strict sense of the word, since there is no bargaining nor any concept of fixed value, either intrinsically in the exchanged commodities or in terms of some third object. Hence the only rubric under which this trade falls is gift exchange, though this concept is really an ethnographic classification, rather than a native conceptualizaion. That is, a native traveling to another island, will return with tobacco or belts, obtained usually from friends or relatives, given freely as a gift. When his donor visits Ifaluk, he will give him rope or lavalavs, presumably as a gift, without any formal consideration of the value of the relative exchange. Apparently both parties to the exchange are usually satisfied, because no one could tell me of any case of discord arising from an unsatisfactory exchange.

28: Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 431 Ifalik

Gifts are not only given to the individual traveler, but they are given to the chiefs, as well, both by individuals, and by chiefs."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

2: Damm et al. --21-22 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
432 Ifaluk

[AN: There are different decorations for the neck] ... small white shell and black coconut disks with red spondylus disks in rows between them: fáu málamar [22] (see drawings 53, 54). This decoration was especially valuable, because the material first had to be bought on Aurepik, and then the things were fashioned on Ifaluk. When Sarfert was on the island of Ifaluk, he found that the king had forbidden the natives to sell these decorations. He explained this by saying that this adornment belongs to the god Yaṅelap. It really belongs to the state, and has to be handed over for the tribute voyages to Yap. The king of Yap receives these chains.

7: Senfft--194
116, 433

(No date) 1904

Woleaians
Ifalik

The entire atoll [MR: of Ifalik] has a production of 30 tons of copra per year.

9: Senfft--13
116, 245, 433

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The yearly production [MR: of copra] including that of Flato and Satuval amounts to approximately 45 tons. In spite of the assertion of the merchant, who is stationed with the firm of D. D. O'Keefe, that the scale insect disease does not exist on Lamutrik, I noticed a few young palm trees bearing the sign of this sickness. Another enemy of the palm tree are the numerous rats which eat the nuts from the trees. The leaves of the pandanus which have sharp thorns and wind around the palm trees serve as protection. Among the banana trees a disease could also be noticed that probably has its origin in a colorless worm of 1.5 to 2 cm. in length and which is to be found in the roots and the top of the tree. I, therefore, ordered one of my best policemen to take immediate measures for the protection of the plants.

9: Senfft--14
116, 433, 477

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

Economically the island is taken care of by the firms of D. D. O'Keefe and S. Murayama in Yokohama, who both are in the possession of trade settlements. The yearly production of copra in Oleai together with that of the neighbor island Ifaluk is approximately 90 to 100 tons. In order to prevent unhealthy competition the two firms introduced at my suggestion the same prices for the limited time of three years for the most marketable articles--tobacco and cotton.

37: Keiyosei--46 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 433, 317 Woleai

The yearly production of phosphate is about 1,200,000-1,000,000 Yen, and the mining expenditure is one half million Yen a year. At the office I saw many samples exhibited there.

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 435 Woleai

On the suggestion of the district office, the traders of Jap, the Palau Islands, and Oleai entered into an aggreement regulating prices of goods and wages of native employees. This has given a secure basis to all business enterprises.

1: Burrows--129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 436, 177 Ifalik

"It is noteworthy that the people of Ifalik do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifalik; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what seemed to be this material was seen on Ifalik--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifalik illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifalik (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy."

2: Damm et al. --14 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 152, 437 Ifaluk

Sarfert noticed that, when they were bartering, [AN: chiefly tobacco] they always had their minds set on one particular object; if they could not get it they usually took their exchange gifts back again. Then they calmly set ridiculous prices on even the tiniest things, which they were offering. If Sarfert became angry, they explained that the white man could produce all these items easily, and he had an adequate supply, while they did not! Lütke and Kittlitz also noticed this selfish attitude, and they had been warned about these islanders by the whalers.

They were astonished at the phonograph, laughed at it, but kept at a safe distance, and tried to peek into the horn. They thought that a man was hidden inside the apparatus!

2: Damm et al. --45 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 437 Ifaluk

In olden days there was more commercial activity than in 1909; however, the Ifaluk natives never equalled the skill of the Polowat people in this respect. At the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition they still purchased the fine spondylus shells on Aurepik and Truk, and paid for them with loin aprons and knives. The tribute voyages for Yanelap are not so important as they used to be either.

2: Damm et al. --172 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 437 Faraulep

Commerce was arranged on a barter basis, with coconuts for change. A small canoe cost three woven dress mats, and one of these mats was worth a hundred coconuts.

2: Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaňăi, (Oleai), Auripĭk, Ifalŭk, ℓorŏl (Sorol), Uejĕĭ (Fais), Magemŭx (Mogemog), Yap, Nŏlu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsĕx (Lamutrik), Setŏuan (Satowal), Sŏux (Hok), Unŭon, (Onon), Piserăs, Tsŭk (Truk), Magur, Moirăla (Murillo), Ratak, Magĭl (Mokil), Ebon, Nutaŭ, Gătsaŭe (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxŭ, Solnĭs, Bahaŭ, Ănelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

2; Damm et al. --172 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 437 Faraulep

From Lamutrik they get kamŏs, reng color, tortoise shell, and from Truk clothing mats; from Aurepik kamŏs, spondylus necklaces, dance girdles, kid, from Satowal reng color and necklaces from Truk, from Ifaluk and Oleai ropes, nets, woven mats. In exchange the Faraulip people give the mats they have woven, ropes and sleeping mats.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 437 Woleai

...reng, which was brought from Truk, was looked upon as the money of Oleai.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

11: Born--176
116, 437, 651

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

In former times the people of Oleaï went on frequent expeditions to Gatschbar to make their tributary payments, consisting of woven mats, Gau, the gold of Jap, and ornaments, as the people of Ululssi still do today. In our time, however, world trade has modernized communication among the Micronesians. A few months ago, the head chief, Follebu, went to Oleaï on a trade schooner to survey his territory. He also levied a tax of 17,000 coconuts on his subjects; this tax is collected by an American company which gives the chieftain its equivalent in European articles of trade, which are worth about 150 Mark.

Even today, however, the peoples of Oleaï still go on sailing expeditions which take them as far as Ruck to get Reng, the [177] pulverized roots of the curcuma plant which is the money of the Oleaï, in exchange for woven mats, ornaments, and canoes.

During my stay there, a fleet of 10 canoes was expected every day; they had departed for Puluad a year ago. Unfortunately I was not able to wait for their arrival. I did see, however, the arrival and departure of canoes almost every week. They went back and forth between the island and Faraulip, Ifaluk, and Aurepik. The people of Oleaï have close economic and family ties with these three island groups. There is a constant exchange of articles of trade and even of persons among them. Because of the many intermarriages they are all closely related. Aurepik is a distance of 80 nautical miles from Oleaï, Ifaluk is 40 and Faraulip 100 nautical miles distant.

11: Born--179-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
301, 531, 437 Woleai

This ornament [ML: jil, a belt worn by women] is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaï natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaï immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

12: Lutke--134
116, 262, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

They all wanted something to eat; they all offered shell-fish, materials and even canoes for sale and they knew how to drive a keen bargain.

12: Lutke--138
116, 152, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The inhabitants of Ouleai had no more hesitancy about begging than the natives of Lukunor; the little boys were the worst, and when they saw that Doctor Mertens was collecting sea-shells they brought him all sorts of atrocities which they tried to sell. They tossed them on the ground if he refused to pay the price that they demanded.

12: Lutke--139 140 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 437 Woleai

We were surrounded all day long by a crowd of natives in their canoes; they bartered gaily fish, shell fish, materials, but very little fruit, and then only coconuts. They were perfectly honest but they made a great deal of noise. The chiefs brought us coconuts as a gift, not in canoes full as on Lougounor, but in clusters of six, and they did not fail to demand knives and axes in exchange for them. They had a great deal of fish and of different kinds. They asked high prices for the ropes, which I would have liked to buy; but, strange as it may seem, the canoes, which are the most trouble to build and which form the basis of their wealth, were sold for a song. I purchased a small canoe for an ax, and one of the largest, with [140] all its equipment, for three; and they will surely wear out two of them while they are building a new canoe. It is perhaps because of their abundance that they are so cheap. We saw several canoes in front of nearly every house, and there were a great many in process of construction. A large number of these canoes go to Guahan in exchange for iron.

13: Lutké--149-150 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians
116, 562, 437 Woleai

At Ouléaf the women came quite close to our vessel, but they never arrived in the men's canoes. They took pleasure in crying and calling us by our names, which they sometimes pronounced in the most comical manner. Though they reiterated their demands [AN: for ornaments] unceasingly, in order to obtain more than we had given them, they appeared to receive our gifts with a kind of disdain, and this greatly amused us. Some of them wore pretty belts, of the width of about two fingers, made of the wood of cocoanuts and of white shells put together in a way that recalled mosaics...as I wanted to [p. 150] own one of these belts very greatly, I offered them a considerable price, in their eyes, for this single article; but these women multiplied their demands to such an extent on every occasion I yielded to their instances, that I could not succeed in obtaining one for myself. It seems, besides, that the women set great store by them; I sometimes saw men adorn themselves with them, but they were no more inclined to give them up, alleging, to justify their refusal, that this ornament belonged to their wives.

23: Pereiro--13-14 (No date) 1895 Woleaians
116, 131, 437 Woleai

According to Coello, Don Luis Torres made a map of the islands that constitute this group in 1804, which number 23 and are located on a barrier reef 10 kilometers long and 5 wide. The location at the extreme north of the island of Raur, which is the most south west, if 150° 9' 54" long. N. This island is the point at which the boats trading in copra stop. The reef on which these [14] islands are situated has a 15 mile circumference and is open at the south.

28: Spiro--42 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 437, 423 Ifalik

"The only commercial transaction involves the acquisition of some raw material, and this is rare. I observed only one such transaction during our entire stay on the atoll. I was sitting with Tom and two other men in a canoe house in Felarik, when a canoe paddled by men from Falalap came up. The men beached their canoe, and then sat on the beach, conversing among themselves. Tom asked them what they were doing there. They said that they had come to acquire a certain tree, which they wanted to make a canoe. Tom told them who the owner of the tree was and some of them went to call him. In the meantime the others unloaded a number of blankets and coils of rope, which was the payment for the tree. There was no bargaining or discussion, the Falalap men giving what they thought the tree was worth, and the owner accepting the payment without question. He neither examined nor counted their payment, nor did he attempt to keep the tree. Later, I asked Tom whether the exchange was fair, and he said that the payment was very generous."

28: Spiro--132-133
116, 583, 437, 591

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

---

"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

39: Berg--48
116, 437, 484

(1902) 1903

Woleaians
Woleai

From Polvot the 'Diana' reports that more than 20 canoes from the Western Carolines have arrived there with about 200 people. The purpose of the long trip is chiefly the exchange of Taik, the turmeric prepared in Truk. This time the people came not only from Woleai and the nearer islands, but allegedly even from Feys, not far from Jap.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs
231 and chickens. We included domestic animals in our census of the
[161] island, and came out with a total of 260 people, five dogs, nineteen cats, thirty-three pigs and fifty chickens. The pig total included animals of all sizes, so pork was not a common article of diet. Only two pigs were slaughtered during the summer, not, as far as we could see, in celebra-
[052] tion of any special occasion. The pork was simply boiled instead of being roasted in the traditional Polynesian style.

The fifty chickens were regarded also as a source of occasional meat. We found no instance of the eggs being used for food by the local people. Soon after we set up camp, a young man came around with some eggs which he offered to trade with us for cigarettes. We made a deal and started looking forward to next morning's breakfast. We decided to boil the eggs. It turned out that I liked mine at the three minute stage, the others in a somewhat harder condition. So I dipped my eggs out of the pot at the proper time and started to break one open only to disclose, not the expected runny yolk, but a fully developed chick, ready to hatch! A hasty examination showed all of the eggs to be in the same stage.

I don't know whether this was purposeful or accidental. I wondered whether the people knew of the Phillipine delicacy, balut, and assumed that all outsiders like their eggs in a late stage of development. At any
● [437] rate, we got the idea across that we would like fresh eggs, and through the summer we were brought a fairly steady supply, always in return for cigarettes. After that first experience, we always carefully candled the eggs, occasionally finding one that seemed to be more chicken than egg, but this apparently by accident.

262 Although the Ifalukians did not eat chicken eggs, they were very fond of turtle eggs, and these at times turned up in good supply. The albumin of a turtle egg (at least of the eggs of the sea turtles of Ifaluk) does not coagulate on cooking. Don had a strong aversion to uncoagulated egg albumin, and I remember watching his efforts to make a turtle egg in a frying pan turn into something that might look like a respectable egg—yolk surrounded by the conventional white stuff to which we are accustomed. But the turtle egg still looked raw, no matter how long he fried it.

000 I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food

"Purely native trade with other islands has been going on for an indefinite period, - presumably ever since the islands were first settled. With its nearest neighbor, Woleai, Ifalik has little opportunity for trade, since the resources and products of the two atolls are nearly the same. What trading there is follows the native pattern of gift exchange. We witnessed one example. Woleai was short of breadfruit at the time, because virtually all trees had been destroyed on the largest island of the atoll. This destruction was begun by the Japanese in clearing for a landing strip, and finished by the Americans in bombing it. A canoe that set sail for Woleai during the breadfruit season took all of the fruit it could carry; in fact, several loads taken out in small canoes had to be returned for lack of storage space aboard the sailing canoe. Some of the breadfruit may have been earmarked for relatives or particular friends, but [128] most of it was to be distributed as the Woleai chiefs saw fit. Nothing was said about payment, or any return present. Woleai, in accepting the gift, assumed an obligation and will make a return when possible. But it is hard to see what it will be, unless Ifalik, and not Woleai, should be devastated by a typhoon. What Woleai has that Ifalik has not is mainly fish; and native methods of preservation would not get it to Ifalik in good condition. (The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.) One meager present of preserved fish was indeed brought in one of the canoes from Woleai. It was apparently a surplus from the supply taken on for the voyage; at least there was only enough for the chiefs. I did not get a close look at

it to see whether it was preserved in any other way than the usual smoking. Tom kept us away; rather officiously, it seemed, yet his explanation was doubtless true. We would not like it, he said, 'because stink'."

2; Damm et al. --122 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
438 Aurupik

Many of the neck decorations are sold in the East; the Polowat inhabitants were glad to buy them.

2: Damm et al. --131 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 438 Aurupik

Aurepik was an important center of commerce for spondylus ornaments. These red shells are found in such abundance that they have become one of the principal articles of commerce, and they are exported in great quantities to the Yap inhabitants, who pay for them with curcuma roots. There is also lively commercial activity with Lamutrik, Ifaluk, Faraulip and Polowat.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--271 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 424, 438 Lamotrek

Certain songs are, as it were, family-property; they are bequeathed to the son only, but may be imparted to others if suitable return is made for it. The intercourse with Yap is rather intense. From Yap even the red paint is obtained which, made durable by an admixture of breadfruit tree sap, is used for coloring the outer sides of the canoes .....

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--350 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 276, 438 Lamotrek

The natives almost begged for tobacco, and Krämer made high offers; but they rather denied themselves the pleasure of tobacco and kept their good articles for themselves. Krämer offered, for instance, 6 pounds of tobacco for a good Aúrepik belt, but without success.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 574 Lamotrek

Trade is carried on principally with Truk. Attention is given to the question of tribute paid to Yap. I learned the following story in this connection: a woman, Lefagemai from Lamotrek drifted west and reached Yap, where she was hospitably received by the chiefs. When she was ready to sail back home she received presents of turmeric (reng) for herself and for all the chiefs of the islands, who in turn were obliged to make tribute payments.

4: Krämer--82-83 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
438 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of the extent of trade, and the articles traded, see 4: Krämer 82-83.]

4: Krämer--82-83 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 484 Lamotrek

From early times on, the Lamotrek islanders have undertaken voyages to Guam with the purpose of trading ropes, fibers, mats, shells, etc. The goods which they wanted to trade they took to Poloat and exchanged them for turmeric (rang) and red shells (faibar) although this fact did not keep the natives of Poloat from undertaking their own voyage to Guam. But, as it were, they asked for permission to sail their ships from Lamotrek, which ruled over the sea as far as Poloat and Ifaluk.... With reference to Yap the following ought to be added: they sent their trade goods to Oleai, to Vótagai, for they feared the Yap islanders, thinking that they had at their disposal more effective mádjemadj magic for typhoons and illness. [83] The things of Lamotrek belong to the chiefs Ruébong and Inefel; Ruébong is the head and Inefel is his assistant.

When the trader Lewis came to Gogilrau* and reproached him for spoiling the children on the island he answered: it is not us, but their own gods who spoil them, because they have broken the old taboos; Aluelap gave them women for natural use, but they abused them.

* Another name for Agupelior on Oleai?

4: Krämer--184-185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 438 Woleai

The Oleai islanders undertake commercial voyages that take them as far as Truk, where they trade "reng" the powdered root of the curcuma, the gold of Oleai, for [185] woven mats, ornaments, and canoes.

4: Krämer--250-251 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438 Woleai

Trade goods other than money were: mats, dŏr (tor) and sap, bilis. Furthermore iron and boats should be mentioned [251] for Oleai, whereas the various islands of the Oleai group had special markets. The natives of Raur sailed to Faterai (Ululsi) and those of Paliau, Lolepeleg and Vosavo on East Volea and the island of Mariong to Falalap (Ululsi). Tagaulap, Soluap and Iefang of West Volea took their goods to Maiangeang and Falalap (Ululsi). Falális and the village of Bígol on Votagai, finally, transported their trade goods to Tulei on Feis.

5: Kittlitz--149-50 . (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 177, 438 Elato

Elato is more closely connected with Guaham than the other Caroline Islands; the Spanish ships which come from there generally stop at the harbor when they visit the Carolines to get holothurians, especially trepangs, which are used for their commerce with China. Then you usually find some of the Elato natives on Guaham; [150] they frequently spend years there and enter their canoes into the government service. They keep up a kind of regular communication between Guaham and the other islands of the Marianas and transport the local products to the main island. During our stay we got acquainted with a tamol from Elato, whose name was Orolitau; he and a considerable number of his countrymen took charge of this Spanish trade between Guaham and the neighboring islands, Seypan and Rota. They gave Captain Lütke a lot of valuable information about the situation of the various coral islands near Elato.

1: Burrows--127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 439 Ifalik

"Trade with Europe did not begin until comparatively recent times. Although Spaniards were established on Guam, only 350 miles away, from 1668, no European ship seems to have visited Ifalik until Wilson called in 1797. Trade with Europeans was negligible throughout the following century. When the German expedition arrived in 1909, the people still had only shell adzes. During the few remaining years of the German regime a beginning was made of buying copra in exchange for foreign trade goods. This was developed by the Japanese. For years now all cutlery has been of steel, and some other foreign wares, such as cloth, dyes, and cotton fishing nets and lines, have become fairly common, though only the dyes have displaced the native product. Up to the early months of 1948, American vessels had not begun calling regularly, and the people had not been able to resume making copra, as they never knew when the arrival of a ship would enable them to sell it. The prospect was that American transportation would eventually become organized so that ships would call more regularly, and trade would again reach the level attained by the Japanese. There was no visible prospect of its developing much beyond that, -the islanders have so little to export."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276, 439 Ifalik

"Native tobacco is imported from several of the nearest atolls, which seem able to grow more of it than Ifalik, though the soil can not be very hospitable on any of them. Faraulep and (this from memory) Lamotrek were mentioned as sources of tobacco."

1: Burrows--128
116, 321, 439

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A regular article of import from Eaurupik is turtle-shell discs or beads for women's belts. Curiously, the German account of Eaurupik--written like that of Ifalik, by Damm from field notes by Sarfert--speaks of a belt of coconut-shell beads as characteristic of Eaurupik, and traded as far as Puluwat. But my Ifalik informants insisted that all their dark beads were of turtle shell, and that most of them came from Eaurupik. As usual, no mention was made of payment, or of return present. Swamp taro (pulax), of which Ifalik has an abundance, is one possibility; but this grows on Eaurupik too."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 386, 439 Ifalik

"One highly prized article--'red' turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands; either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifalik, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorIk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifalik. Tom always translated rang as either 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'."

1: Burrows--128-129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 439 Ifalik

"It has been noted in the account of native navigation that canoes from Ifalik sometimes went as far as Truk to the eastward, or even farther. Whether these long trips accounted for most of the supply of rang [KS: powdered turmeric root used for body painting] from that direction, or whether most of it came by trading along the chain of low islands in between, is not clear. But certainly some of the supply from Yap was brought directly, in the course of the regular visits to the village of Gatschapar (Ifalik Garpar) in Gagil district, whose chiefs are regarded as overlords of Ifalik. The political aspect of these voyages will be considered in the chapter on government. As to the economic aspect, Fonachar of Yap told me that the people from outer atolls like Ifalik would bring cloths, mat sails and other pandanus mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy' (what he meant by 'candy' I could not make out). Yap gave in return, he said, rang, canoes of the larger and better timber available on the high islands, mats of Yap manufacture, betel nuts (but betel chewing is not customary on Ifalik), and foods not obtainable on the atolls, such as Tahitian chestnut. Since foreign vessels from the high islands have been making fairly frequent trips to Ifalik, most of the turmeric has been brought on them, though [129] the trade in it seems still to be in the hands of native sailors or passengers."

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 439, 651 Woleai

No tribute was taken to Yap [VMM: by the people from Woleai]. The intermediaries can keep the goods for themselves and pay with their possessions. There is no compulsion. If Oleai sells land, it may give as much as it likes to Inefel. In the past it was said that Oleai belonged to him.

5: Kittlitz--161 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 439 Woleai

To our great surprise Captain Lütke purchased a large sailing canoe, with all its appurtenances from the tamol Tapeligar, the chief of Ulea Island, for the very modest price of three clubs. We were the more amazed at the cheapness of this article, which plays such an important role in the life of the islanders because we were accustomed to paying high prices for everything here. But the quantity of canoes on hand, which was a proof of the industry and skill of the islanders, provided an explanation for this. Then too the natives here and on the neighboring islands must often trade these canoes to the Spaniards on Guaham in exchange for iron utensils; the latter bring high prices, so three clubs is probably the usual amount paid for this kind of boat.

6: Senfft--57
116, 439

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The trade of the natives consists chiefly in exchanging copra for European products such as tobacco, cotton, matches, hardware, etc. On Oleai there are two factories of these articles of trade, on Lamutrik there is one.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

293 a small tube of yellow oxide of mercury out of that same purse, and ask me what it was for. When I explained, he graciously gave the tube to Tom, who had granulated eye-lids.

000 On Sunday (it was the 5th of July by then) I was just contemplating a siesta after a hard morning of mapping, when the peace of the island was broken by cries of "sail-ho" picked up and relayed from the windward side of Falalap across to Falarik in no time at all. Bakal arrived almost as fast as the cries, all out of breath, with Tony soon after, to report that it was a big Navy ship with the number "59" on the prow. The busy crossroads again.

We got out the walkie-talkies, but all we could hear was the "testing," "testing" of one another. The ship wasn't talking. Maroligar dragged a brand new American flag out of the chest by the Fan Nap altar, passing over two tattered ones that had been lying on top, and with Don's help tried to get it on the flagpole, which had been considerably damaged by the typhoon. They finally achieved a sort of half-mast effect—to the considerable puzzlement of the ship's captain, it turned out later.

Ted decided not to let anything as routine as a Navy visit to Ifaluk interfere with his siesta. Don and I, less blasé, haunted the beach until the grey hulk of a destroyer emerged from behind Falalap to anchor off the pass. A small boat put off immediately. When it beached, it turned out to have several cases of equipment identifiable as belonging to Bob Rofen. The crew said there was more cargo aboard. Don hardly dared believe that this might include his missing equipment. He and I went back to the ship with the boat and there, sure enough, were Don's drums, so carefully and lovingly packed in Pacific Grove months before.

We went into the wardroom and had coffee with the officers and told them all about Ifaluk. We borrowed paper, envelopes and stamps to surprise our wives with letters. When Ted came aboard, bringing money, we bought as many cartons of cigarettes as we could at the ship's stores, but this was the only thing we could think of that might be useful. The Ifalukian consumption of cigarettes was enormous—
276 ●439 every adult on the island had the nicotine habit—and we were the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

1: Burrows--115
116, 283, 565, 461

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461 Ifalik

"Division of labor by age is less systematic and extensive than that by sex. Most of it can be brought under two heads: one, reserving difficult and responsible tasks to those old enough to be trusted with them; the other, relieving those past their physical prime from the more strenuous and dangerous jobs. An example of the first is that only grown women use up much of the scarce banana fiber in weaving; of the second, that elderly men are not expected to climb coconut trees, whether for young drinking nuts or for toddy."

1: Burrows--115-116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 565 Ifalik

"Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-8--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar--would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katēlū, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the [116] seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifalik--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup."

1: Burrows--118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifalik are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifalik seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik 1-3

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārlk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work-- a catch of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense."

(1947-48)

1-3

"For a more specific picture of one of these meetings, here is the account of the last one, from my field journal:

Oct. 23.-Third public meeting today. The people had notice of it yesterday. In the morning Toromann blew the conch from the stone pier. He made two trips, seemed like an hour apart. The people were slow to come.

. Toromann began with what sounded, in Tom's translation, like the usual formal beginning. Come all ye. Listen to what the chiefs have to say. 'Work good, no work bad. No steal something from 'nother man.' He spoke in five bursts, with meditative pauses between. Burst 3 was apparently a joke, but I didn't get it translated in time.

As usual, WolpaitIk didn't talk. Maroligar, toward the end, did, but in a low conversational tone and at no considerable length. In a pause between Toromann's early efforts, Maroligar suggested something to Paliuilimar, seemed like [144] urging him to speak; but P. said nothing at that time. Toromann's last burst was to the effect that when women were working in the taro swamp, they should not take taro that did not belong to them.

Wolpetau was the second speaker. He talked about menstruating women. Said when the blood first appeared, they should go into their seclusion house and stay there, not go to the taro swamp. When the flow was finished, and not before then, was the time to go back to work.

Between bursts, he worked industriously at rope-making.

Wolpetau's second burst was to the effect that when the chiefs tell men to go out fishing, they are to go. Then, if there is a good catch, the chiefs will see to it that fish are distributed to all the people.

Third burst: if any man doesn't want to go out with the others when the chiefs order a fishing expedition, let him speak up now.*

Then Toromann filled in, beginning with a hear, hear the words of the chief. He pointed out that if men didn't go fishing, and women didn't work in the taro swamp, there would be nothing to eat. Ifalik is too small. (Meaning, apparently, too small to support loafers.) He called on Paliuilimar to speak, but the old man did not respond until the second urging. Then he finally got going, in a low voice at first, but warming up. He told the people to heed what their chiefs said--the regular formula. Said some men didn't seem to like to work when the chiefs told them to. Very bad business that. He also told them to do whatever Mel Spiro and I told them to (but of course we're not giving orders, except to Talimeira and Uveli**of a morning.) He told them to clean up,

---

"* Apparently a challenge to some malingerer. Mainly rhetorical; as might be expected, nobody spoke up.

** Talimeira was assigned by the chiefs to work for us; Uveli volunteered for the same service.

against the coming of the ship.

Finally, when everything seemed about over, Wolpetau said that by and by there would be dancing. This was the promised response to my suggestion that I'd like to see some of the ur I have been getting the words to. I could not make out whether he set a definite time, but they'll come through.

Paliuilimar and Toromann wound up with short speeches. I had asked Tom to tell the chiefs that the important place to clean was around the houses, and to avoid stagnant water because of mosquitoes, rather than to do a wholesale weeding job in the interior, as they did after the last call of the ship. Pointed out that the doctor was the man interested in how clean they were. Paliuilimar said something to that effect in his final speech, but by the time it got back to me in Tom's translation it was somewhat diluted.

The element of formality makes of these meetings a ritual, not unlike the type of church service in our culture that emphasizes the sermon. In this case the meaning is not religious. Like the kava ceremonies of western Polynesia, parts of Fiji, and some eastern Micronesian islands, these meetings serve to manifest and emphasize the sentiments of rank and law and order, as exemplified by obedience to the chiefs."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 461 Ifalik

"Both men and women come to the meetings supplied with work-materials, which keeps them busy during the entire meeting. The men bring their coconut sennet, to be twisted into rope; and the women bring flowers, out of which they make leis, or banana bark fibres, which they make into thread. Throughout the meeting, men and women are busily engaged in their work. The chiefs, too, bring their sennet, and continue to make their rope, even when addressing the people. Though this occured at all the meetings, it was not until the last one that this procedure presented itself to me as a problem. If the people were very diligent and frugal with their time, one could understand this practice without difficulty. But the fact is, as we shall see, the people can, and do, sit around for an entire day, without engaging in a single productive activity. Why, then, this burst of industry at the meetings? When I queried him on this point, Tom answered that a man would be ashamed if he were to be seen just sitting at the meeting without doing anything, for it was not right to be seen doing nothing. In other words, the fact thay they loaf at other times is not important, but at a public meeting no one wishes to be accused of indolence. And yet, plausible, as this interpretation might be on the surface, it is far from satisfying. Why is a man ashamed to be seen without work at a meeting, but not at any other time? Surely, just the opposite should be true. The meetings are very important, and as such, should they not hold the people's undivided attention? At this point we can only indicate the problem, but we shall take it up again when we consider the psychological correlates of Ifaluk culture."

28: Spiro--34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 345, 283, 461, 156 Ifalik

"A factor of major importance in the use of the canoe-house for the manufacture of rope is its function as a social as well as economic center. Since the destruction of the men's club houses in the last typhoon the canoe-houses have taken over their function, so that the men now congregate in the canoe-houses as formerly they congregated in the club-houses. Now this fact is important for an understanding of Ifaluk culture. Though there is a word for work in the Ifaluk vocabulary (engan), it refers to discrete and specific forms of labor, and is not used as a generic term, as it is in our own culture, as when a man says he is 'going to work.' No one has his special work to perform each day, from which he rests at the end of the day or the end of the week. So, too, there is neither a term nor a concept corresponding to our word economics. Our conceptualization of life activities into economic, social, recreational, etc, does not hold for the Ifaluk. This means that the various kinds of work (engan) that are performed are recognised as responses to certain basic survival needs, but the concept of work as vocation or as moral career that this term has assumed in western society, at least in its Puritan and Calvinist tradition, is completely foreign to the natives, and indeed would be inexplicable to them. Theoretical considerations aside, this means that a man's day is his own, to do with what he desires, and among the activities he engages in, are certain activities of economic importance. A man goes to his club-house in the morning

because there he will be with the other men, where he can discuss the events of the day, engage someone in a conversation, and at the same time, make rope, if he so desires. But there is nothing compulsive about his rope-making, or for that matter, about any economic activity. There is no concept of an economic obligation, 'this ought to be done', except insofar as it relates to basic biological needs, and then 'ought' has no place at all, for it is obvious that if a man wishes to eat, he must fish etc."

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Unless there is something special the men are doing in the way of communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special committments. Usually they go to the canoe houses, where they may make rope, or may just sit around talking, (5) gossiping, and smoking (6) or perhaps take a nap. Rope making is [146] probably the activity that consumes most of a man's time. While making rope, of course, the men continue their conversations. Often, however, they just sit in the canoe-houses,

---

"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered the real reason is much more prosaic. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

6. [See following sheet for footnote 6.]"

28: Spiro--145-146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 512, 276, 461, Ifalik

"6. [Footnote p. 146] Smoking is a cooperative enterprise. When a person lights a cigarette, he invariably passes it to the person near him, after he has smoked a short time. That person, in turn, passes it on, so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed. When we first arrived on the island, I not only did not pass on my cigarette, but I would put out my cigarette butt, rather than pass it on. I soon noticed the questioning look on the faces of the people at this anti-social behavior. It was not till a few weeks had passed that I learned the native pattern, and conformed to it."

engaging in no activity at all, not even talking. This is quite strange from a western perspective, where a congregation of people always leads to conversation. The Ifaluk men, however, may sit for long periods of time, just staring into space. In any event, the canoe house is the place where men spend a great deal of their waking hours. It is really, as we have already indicated, the men's club house, as well as the locale for most economic activity. That the canoe-house serves a basic social need is indicated by the fact that men never make rope at home. The twisting of rope involves no great activity nor is it messy, and could very well be done at home, either in the house or alongside it. The reason for going to the canoe-house, therefore, is entirely for the purpose of conviviality."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

461
517
562

Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

643

This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

1: Burrows--31-32 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 462 Ifalik 1-3

"The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falālap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them [32] in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands [KS: native word omitted] two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled

together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called golgaulIk. What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is golgol. A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is geref. A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called garotel. Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are taani, taliou rIk, and taliounap. Hawsers (tennap) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifalik from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton

netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the section on house-building, p. 46.)"

1: Burrows--32 (1947-48) Woleaians
462 Ifalik

"Baskets (wetau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

"The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens) seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out. [38]

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and two feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83K-83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Seines (äting) are among the most important of all fishing devices on Ifalik. Seine-making is men's work, nearly always carried on in the canoe-houses. Sennit cord of the common size called golgol is wound on a netting needle or shuttle (zäp) of a form widespread in the Pacific. [83L] Most of those on Ifalik are cut out of a piece of split bamboo, from 1 foot to 18 inches long and about 2 inches wide. At each end prongs extend from the sides and nearly meet in the middle, leaving only a narrow opening for the cord (Fig. 21). The meshes are kept equal in size by use of a gage (äf). It is a slab of wood like a stubby ruler, averaging perhaps 5 inches long, 2 inches wide and 1/4 inch thick. The mesh of the nets is about 4 inches.

The seines are made in sections 2 1/2 to 3 feet wide. The first row of loops is attached to a stick that acts as a spreader. This is suspended from one of the tie-beams of the canoe-house. Other rows of loops are added downward. The knot used is illustrated in the Damm report. Two sections are joined to give the complete seine a width of 5 or 6 feet.

A row of wooden floats is attached along what will be the upper side. Most of these are plain blocks or slabs, but some are carved in ornamental shapes. A crude representation of a fish is one of the commonest. The other side is weighted with coral sinkers, unworked."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462 Ifalik

"Groups whose membership is delimited by sex have only a temporary or intermittent existence. Usually, even then, they are united by some other bond in addition to that of common sex. Often the other bond is occupation. Groups of men or of women gather to perform some task allotted by custom to one sex alone, as fishing for men, cooking for women. Such groups disband on the completion of each task, unless they are also united by membership in the same household. Virtually all of them have the additional bond of residence in the same neighborhood. Hardly ever do all the men of the atoll, or all the women, act together without the participation of the other sex. War would bring about such a group of the men, but warfare in Ifalik is a thing of the rather remote past."

1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 431, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112
116, 283, 422, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine, --every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

(1947-48)

"Labor

The emphasis in the following discussion, as distinguished from what has been said about work in the section on technology, is on the allotment of tasks among the population and the direction and organization of those in which more than one person takes part.

The fundamental line of cleavage in division of labor, that by sex, has been sketched here and there under 'Technology.' The following table affords a synopsis and adds some details, without pretending to be exhaustive. The tasks biologically allotted to women, bearing and suckling children, are not included. Nor is their time-consuming sequel, child care. One reason for this is that the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused. But the main reason for dismissing this subject in a few words is that it is vital to Spiro's problem of personality formation, and will be fully discussed by him.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
Production of food	Planting, cultivating, & harvesting taro	Planting trees	Planting and gathering bananas
	Gathering wild plant foods	Gathering coconuts & breadfruit	
		Making & collecting toddy	
	Fishing about boulders in shallow water (infrequent)	Fishing by the commonest methods: with hook & line, traps, weirs, & nets	Bonito drive: when a school enters lagoon (women's role subordinate).
	Gathering shellfish & other sea-food on exposed reef by day	Torchlight fishing with dip-nets, on reef and in lagoon	Scouring reef at night in household or family parties.
	Digging coconut crabs	Gathering small crabs to bait traps	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		Making nets, traps & other fishing tackle.	
Preparation of food	Grating coconuts, extracting cream.		
	Preparing taro & breadfruit		
	Daily cooking in cook-sheds	Occasional cooking in earth oven, when large fish are caught or a hog butchered	
	Cooking for feasts and for work-gangs	Broiling fish to be shared by fishermen or other working parties	
		(No. 1 chief only: butchering and cooking	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		turtle)	
		Carving wooden bowls (obsolescent)	Making coral pounders to mash taro & breadfruit
House-building	Plaiting screens and floor-mats	Hewing, fitting and assembling timbers	(Mostly youths) Gathering & strewing coral gravel for [114] floors & platforms
		Putting thatch on roof	Plaiting thatch-sheets
Canoe-building		Hewing, fitting &	

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 462 Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		assembling timbers; painting hull	
	Plaiting strips of mat for sail	Assembling and rigging sail	
Navigation		All navigation	
Preparation of clothing	Preparation of bast for weaving	Making looms	Preparing head-dresses, garlands & other finery
	Weaving & dyeing		
	Assembling belts, necklaces and other ornaments of shell	Cutting shell and turtle shell into beads for belts, strips for	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-6
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work or turtle-shell*	Men's Work bracelets, etc.*	Both Sexes
Basketry	Plaiting baskets of cured, doubled coconut leaf Plaiting pandanus baskets		Plaiting makeshift baskets of green coconut leaf.
Mats	All plaiting of mats		
Cordage	Preparing sennit fiber	Twisting rope	

The arrangement by activities, though it seemed on the whole more illuminating than any other, obscures some generalizations that could be indicated more clearly in some

---

"* Working in shell is a rather infrequent task. Necklaces and ear-ornaments are not abundant; and while nearly every woman has a belt, most of these are obtained by trade from other islands, especially Eaurupik."

other way. For example, woodwork, even the making of such a woman's implement as the loom, is virtually a monopoly of the men; while weaving and plaiting, except for makeshift coconut baskets, are women's monopoly."

1: Burrows--114
116, 462, 285

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of doubled coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea."

1: Burrows--115
116, 462, 562

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: 'But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy.' Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārlk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

2: Damm et al. --27 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifaluk

The cultivation of taro is considered a feminine task; men only help occasionally, and quite unwillingly. Women plant the tuberous fruit in old ditches, (bóalu), and for this purpose they use a digging stick (gót), which is often sharpened at both ends. It is possible that the other pointed weapons may also be utilized in this fashion. Leaves serve for fertilizer (wáli). Women plant bananas inside and along the ditches too.

The men attend to the care of the coconut palms and the bread-fruit trees. The head chief superintends all the cultivation of the land.

2; Damm et al. --32 [3] (1909) 1938 - - Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Ifaluk

Women prepare the food, and steam it in earth ovens (felán); these are similar to the ones used throughout Micronesia and Polynesia; you seldom find dishes roasted over an open fire.

2: Damm et al. --42
462

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Braiding is women's work.

2: Damm et al. --74-75
116, 462

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The man takes care of the construction of the house and of the canoe; he does the fishing, cultivates the bread-fruit and coconut palm trees, mades fish nets, dishes, net pouches and prepares the [75] palm wine (gāri). The woman does the cooking and light physical work like plaiting and weaving; she also goes out in the fields to plant the different kinds of taro and attend to bananas; their fine leaf strips are used to make loin aprons.

2: Damm et al. --164 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
462 Faraulep

The men prepare the fields, but the women do the real cultivation....

The men take care of the coconut palms, but the other fruit trees are left to the women.

2: Damm et al. --169 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462, 322 Faraulep

The men did all the wood work. They made bowls, covers for boxes, coconut graters, combs, weapons, canoes and parts of the huts.

2: Damm et al. --190 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 462 Faraulep

The work is divided between the husband and wife;

the man:	the woman:
clears the land	cultivates the taro
lays out the bread-fruit plantations	cultivates the sweet potatoes
cooks in the canoe-house	prepares the food
makes ropes	does the weaving.
builds canoes	
builds the house	

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 226, 335, 462 Woleai

Fishing is the main occupation of the men in addition to the construction of houses and canoes. It is practiced inside the lagoon and on the high seas. The implements used are spears, and fishing lines, traps, and nets that are laid out on fishing banks.

4: Krämer--230 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Woleai

The men clear the bush; the clearings are known as táravol. The earth, módjor, is broken up with an oar-like instrument, the digging stick golálivol (Figure 97 [VMM: see source]). The women plant the taro, but occasionally men do the job if they know how to go about it. Leaf fertilizer is called vāl.

4: Krämer--231 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 252, 462 Woleai

Cooking is the job of the women, who also weave in the cooking house (Lütke). A type of cooking school exists.

Kitchen utensils

Coconut shell (as drinking bowl), tagag e lúul; water bottle, baradjal.

Spoon, itit (Figure 98) [VMM: see source]. We also found tortoise shell spoons from Palau, and Hellwig found drinking tubes.

Eating spatula, Hellwig: gátik (fishtail: perál), atek from turtle bone, Figure 99 [VMM: see source], Krämer shows one 29 centimeters long. It is used for cracking a coconut, scraping it, and eating it.

6: Senfft--56
116, 462

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

It is the women's task to take care of the children and to perform all the household tasks.

11: Born--186
116, 462

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

The main task of the women is the preparation of food and the weaving of mats. The people of Jap consider the women of Oleai very lazy, but that is doing them an injustice. Most women and girls are busy from morning till night.

Formerly the women used pots which were made of large sea shells; today most of them use iron pots for cooking. They keep food in wooden plates and oval-shaped dishes; these have no supports or ornaments of any kind.

The women and girls are also expert at handling the canoes for rowing; they have as much endurance, and they paddle as quickly as the men. I have seen many of them row out beyond the lagoon without men.

(1903) 1904

The most difficult task of the women is weaving, which they do with great skill and taste. This is very slow work and requires a great deal of patience. It may take months to weave a single mat. Even the preparation of [187] banana and hibiscus fibers, cleaning and dyeing them, takes a great deal of time and care. The loom, paap, is attached to a belt, talletói, worn by the weaver. The sword, which beats down the weft, is made of black jengi wood which has a high natural polish; the term for sword is gopóp (opóp on Ruck). The term for shuttle is gasáp (asáp on Ruck).

They make narrow belts for men, wide mats for women, and large plain mats which are made of hibiscus fiber; the mats used for clothing are made of banana fiber. These large mats are used as a protection against mosquitoes and as a cover for the marr paste after it has been washed.

The pattern most frequently used is black and white longitudinal stripes; there are seven black and six white stripes. There are more attractive mats, which have three narrow black vertical stripes in the center and horizontal stripes at the ends. There is a large variety of horizontal patterns; I have never seen two that were identical.

Recently, a few women have been using red aniline to dye the fiber.

The average price of a mat is approximately equivalent to one Mark.

"The Ifaluk economy does not fit into any of the classical 'stages,' at least not in a pure form, for this is a fishing-agricultural society, both aspects being of equal importance. However, as one might expect in a population of 250 people, there is no division of labor, though there is specialization. This statement, however must be qualified for there is a sexual division of labor, though the division is not a sharp one, except in one or two matters. Nor is the labor of one sex taboo to the other, or provoke a shame-reaction on the part of one performing the economic function of the opposite sex. For example, women do engage in reef fishing at low tide, though this is normally men's work, and men will assist their wives in the taro patches, though this is women's work. Furthermore, in heavy construction work the men do not scruple to call upon the assistance of the women at certain stages in the work. By and large, however, sexual division of labor is defined, each sex making its own unique contribution to the productive aspect of the economy. This dual division is indispensable to the maintenance of any household, for each household is a self-sufficient economic unit, so that the dereliction of either sex with respect to his productive role, would result in economic collapse. It is little wonder that economic proficiency is one of the first criteria demanded of a prospective spouse.

The men are responsible for all construction work-canoes, houses, canoe-houses--

the manufacture of rope, seines, fish-traps; the tending of the breadfruit and coconut trees, as well as the planting of coconut sprouts, collection of toddy, and the picking of coconuts, and fishing. The women are responsible for the cooking; the weaving of skirts and loin cloths; the manufacture of thatch, mats, baskets, and canoe-sails; the preparation of sennet for the making of rope and the planting and care of the taro patches.

Both men and women are responsible for private and public cleaning. Since Dr. Burrows has made a special study of Ifaluk technology, my discussion of the productive process will neglect this aspect, except where necessary for clarity, and will be concerned primarily with the cultural or institutional character of these activites."

28: Spiro--33 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 283, 556 Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 358 Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--40 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 226, 834 Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 252, 527 Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the um, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

28: Spiro--42 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 241, 462 Ifalik

"The Taro is the only plant that needs expensive care-planting, weeding, fertilizing, weeding, and this is the women's responsibility. It is hard, hot, labor, and usually all the women of a household, and sometimes two or three, work together on their own plots of land. As a result of this sexual specialization, the women are the botanical experts. When asked the names of different varieties of taro, Tom admitted his ignorance and referred us to his wife, saying that the women knew the names, but the men were ignorant of them, since horticulture was not their work. Despite the heat, a woman may not drink from a coconut while in the taro patch. Should she violate the taboo, the taro will not grow."

28: Spiro--42 [3]
116, 462, 291, 286

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women weave their skirts and loin-cloths on a true loom. The fabric of which these clothes are made is the bark of the hibiscus or banana tree, which is stripped into long threads. These threads are allowed to dry in the sun, and are then dyed in natural dyes, made by immersing certain kinds of coral into water, creating a chemical reaction, so that the water assumes the color desired, and in turn dyes the thread. Young girls are taught to strip the bark into thread, and to tie the thread together, and in their early teens they are already weaving. But the job is an arduous one, even the most skillful women requiring a minimum of two weeks to complete a skirt, if she does nothing else but weave."

28: Spiro--42 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women's tasks are more numerous and time-consuming than the men's, so that it is not unusual to see the men sitting in the canoe-houses with nothing to do, but quite unusual for the women."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--113-114 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 462, 858, 562 Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen

going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114-115
116, 883, 462, 226, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro--133-134
116, 581, 462, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

28: Spiro--144 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 512, 462 Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5' 7½". Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch. 141 561

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5' 1½" tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses. 141 562 [462]

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians. 101

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians 142 [144]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

are "natural" and to what extent man-made, because they have been subject to careful cultivation for many generations. The care of the gardens is exclusively women's work and they become expert gardeners. The plants are set in neat rows in rectangular patches, each patch belonging to a particular household so that each household on the atoll has its share of the large Falalap gardens. Weeds grow luxuriously in the rich, mucky soil, and weeding is the main gardening chore. The weeds, I was interested to see, are always buried in the muck, so the practice of "green manuring" is an ancient one here. With young plants, coconut leaves were sometimes used as mulch, to cut down the growth of weeds.

I was greatly impressed, watching these women go about their work, at how little a Westerner would be able to tell them about gardening practices, at how well their methods were adapted to the plants and environment of their atoll. Perhaps one could put this another way, and wonder at how little modern "civilized" man with all his science has been able to improve on, or change, the gardening practices developed by peasant cultures through generations living close to the earth. We have made drastic changes in large-scale agriculture, but the gardener, throughout the world, shares a curiously large fund of common lore.

But I had intended to write here about food, not about agricultural methods. Wot and pulach were eaten to some extent, even during the breadfruit season, just as the preserved breadfruit (mar) was eaten to some extent at other times of the year, making some variation in the daily monotony of starch. There were many slightly different ways of cooking these tubers. We liked best a way of preparing wot (*Colocasia*) whereby it was mashed, cooked with coconut cream, moulded into little balls in a pot, and the whole covered with a thick paste of coconut meat. The effect was a little like that of mashed sweet potatoes served with heavy whipped cream.

Coconut, of course, permeated every aspect of Ifalukian cooking—the milk from green nuts and ripe nuts, the flesh from green nuts and ripe nuts, the sap from the cut flower stalks (here called hachi, perhaps best called "toddy" in English). The coconut was more often used as a supplement in cooking breadfruit or taro, as a seasoning, or the

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Occupation also governs the formation of temporary groups only. Some of these, as already noted, have other bonds as well--sex, age, common residence. There are no formal permanent organizations of fishermen, canoe-builders, or specialists of any kind. Navigators from different islands,on the rather rare occasions when they meet, may gravitate together. They have a good deal in common;not only a common part-time occupation, but a common status, next to that of the chiefs, and common possession of the restricted lore of seamanship. But since they meet only at long intervals, and then mostly in twos or threes, they hardly constitute a distinct group."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, ~~463~~, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 532, 463 Ifalik

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was Wètrlliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 463 Ifalik

"A minimum of individual specialization is one of the most nearly consistent marks of communities we call primitive--that word of so many meanings that they threaten to cancel each other out. In that respect Ifalik is truly primitive. Most of the work can be done by any able-bodied individual of the right sex and age. Only the following activities are reserved to specialists:

1. government, to the chiefs
2. butchering of turtle, to the highest chief of Kovalū clan
3. navigation, to accredited palū
4. carpentry on canoes and public buildings, to accredited sennap
5. tattooing (a complete job only), to taupotu
6. some healing procedures, to tautavē
7. intercession with the gods, to taubwongbwong

Even this brief list has to be further qualified. In government, navigation, and carpentry, it is only the planning and direction that are reserved to specialists; others do most of the labor involved. Tattooing is an individual skill; but it is only the application of the complete traditional pattern that is reserved to taupotu. Anyone can put on other scattered motifs, as leaping porpoise along the outside of the legs. Moreover, in Ifalik this was an obsolete specialty during 1947-8. The only living taupotu had long ceased to practice his craft. Men who wanted a complete tattooing--if any still do--would have to seek a taupotu on some other island. This had not been uncommon in

the past; Tom, for example, had been tattooed on Woleai. The degree of specialization of healing and religious activity will be discussed in the chapter on religion."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, ~~463~~ Ifalik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwêl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

2: Damm et al. --45 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Ifaluk

In 1909 the knowledge required for seafaring was no longer preserved. Not one of all the men on the island knew how to sail by the stars. Only one had a vague idea about trips to Oleai, Faraulip and Lamutrik, but that was all that he knew. According to the islanders, there were still two experienced Ifaluk captains on Yap and Ngulu. Under these circumstances it was impossible to make a sailing chart.

2: Damm et al. --133 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Aurupik

The courses [CS: omission of sailing voyages, pages 132-133] show how well informed the Aurepik Captains (damŏl ĭdĭt) are. They certainly sailed east as far as Kusae (native name Chatau)and Ponape, which is called Wulebĕĭ here; perhaps they went even farther; to the north they traveled to the Marianas and to the west to the Philippines (Dawogăn). According to the native accounts, Dawogăn lies south of Chatowei, * and it is supposed to be much larger and higher than Truk, Yap and Palau. We can not say definitely how far south they had travelled.

---

* This is certainly Tobi; the map of the Polowai Captain Igurăli proves it; (compare Damm and Sarfert 1935, drawing 205).

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481, 463 Woleai

The natives are very skillful divers. A 15 year old boy was able to catch anything that was thrown into the water by diving. As long as he was shown the object before it was thrown, he managed to catch it.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 157, 463 Woleai

The population is peace-loving but is greatly inferior to that of Yap in intelligence, industry and character; they are efficient, though, as canoe constructors, seamen and fishers.

28: Spiro--37 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 571, 476, 622, 463 Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--41 [2]
116, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though there is no division of labor on Ifaluk, in the sense of certain men performing certain fixed tasks, . there is specialization, in that certain tasks require special training, and are performed only by certain men who have received special training. There are three such specialists, the navigators (palu) and the carpenters and construction engineers (zenap), and the priest-shaman. There are also men who are known as superior fishermen, but they do not derive their knowledge by special training, nor are they recognised institutionally by special names. The priest-shaman will be treated in the chapter on religion."

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me wih the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

4: Krämer--97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 465 Lamotrek

The boat builder and his assistants receive their payment upon completion of the work; the former receives 10 or 20 or 30 pieces of trade goods depending on the size of the boat.

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 466 Ifalik

"Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house, was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood."

1: Burrows--117
116, 396, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--117
116, 226, 466

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was Gauaisig, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117-118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 466 Ifalik

"In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. [118] It often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifalik way of working, everybody shares in the joys of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifalik combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifalik still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision."

1: Burrows--165
466, 533

(1947-48)

Woleaians /-2
Ifalik

"German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon
And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.

The first mate takes them aboard."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."

(1947-48)

1-2.

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--104 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 471 Ifalik

"The manual operations by which the people of Ifalik get a living from the soil and sea around them have been discussed under the heading 'Technology' [KS: pp. 27-44]. This chapter is concerned with the standards and practices that organize this activity; in other words, with the patterns that govern the control of material goods and the work of producing and distributing them."

1: Burrows--105 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 423, 471 Ifalik

"Most of what we would call public property is called in Ifalik the property of the chiefs. One example is the main roads or paths of the two islands; one running along the lagoon side of Falārik between the houses and the shore; the other a 'belt line' around Falārik close to the taro swamp. Another example is the big seines kept in the canoe-houses. The men's house and the plot of land around it, including the overgrown site of the former men's house--all regarded as a unit and called by the one name Katēlū--is also considered property of the chiefs. In this case the ascription to them has additional force, for one of the functions of Katēlū is to symbolize chiefly dignity and authority.

This concept, ownership by the chiefs of property not used by them more than by everybody else, suggests at first glance the feudalism of medieval Europe. But the resemblance is superficial. While ostensibly the chiefs can do as they please with this property, actually what they please to do is limited by tradition. It never has occurred to them to allot exclusive use of the road or seines to favored retainers, in return for services like the military services of feudal Europe. The former use of the men's house as a dormitory for unmarried youths, and the fairly definite tasks assigned to them, look more like services owed the chiefs in return for use of the chiefs' property. But the natives apparently did not think of the young men's work as room rent; at least the youths still perform definite tasks--so far as we know, the same as before--now

that they no longer sleep in the men's house. Nor have the chiefs ever thought of selling or trading these properties of theirs, or reserving them for their own exclusive use. Such uses of the properties seem inconceivable to them; hence, for all practical purposes, might as well be forbidden.

There is no telling what may happen in the future, as the influence of a foreign concept of property grows stronger. However, one other likely result of increasing foreign influence would be waning power of the chiefs. That would tend to counteract any inclination toward tyrannical disposal of property. But the outcome of such a pull between opposed tendencies, as complicated by an indefinite number of other pulls, is impossible to predict.

Meanwhile, what the chiefs do with such property is virtually the same as what our government officials do with property entrusted to their charge. Both issue orders controlling the use and upkeep of the property for the common benefit. For instance, fishing with the big seines, and repairing or replacing them, are done only on order of the chiefs. But fish caught with the seines are distributed among all the households whose men have done the fishing. If there are enough fish to go further, some will be sent to other districts. And when all districts take part in the fishing, the catch is distributed among the whole population."

28: Spiro--42 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 471, 421 Ifalik

"Property rights and laws of inheritance of property are clearly defined. Theoretically, the Ifaluk economy can be characterized as state socialism, for all property, the natives claim, is owned by the chiefs. The entire atoll, land and water is their property, as is all manufactured goods, since they can confiscate these, if they wish. Functionally, however, in terms of usufruct, we may distinguish five kinds of property. 1. Free-property: 2. Public property 3. Lineage property 4. Patrilineal group property 5. Personal or private property"

1: Burrows--130
116, 475, 626

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Government on Ifalik, as described in this chapter, is limited to administration of certain rules regulating conduct. Another activity which might well be allotted to government is public works. But since the services performed are economic, and some of them involve distinctive techniques, it has been convenient to describe this activity under economics and technology, except for the matter of enforcing participation in communal undertakings, which will be discussed in this chapter. Various other activities performed in our culture by governmental agencies are either absent in Ifalik or seem to be outside the sphere of government as here understood.

Not all rules are regarded as governmental. Following Malinowski*, the distinction drawn here is based on the sanctions by which they are enforced. Rules not taken seriously enough to be sanctioned at all, or sanctioned only in informal ways, as by the inertia of custom, the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule, or the positive sanction of practical efficacy, are not the concern of government. And sanctions that we regard as supernatural, whether thought of as automatic, or as administered by superhuman beings, are allotted to religion."

"* Malinowski's views on government were first formulated in 'Crime and Custom in Savage Society,' redefined later in the preface to Hogbin, 'Law and Order in Polynesia.'"

1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifalik are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifalik seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārlk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from ʼFauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwèl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost FalārIk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is FalārIk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--120
116, 396, 476, 621

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārĭk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm of a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 673, 476 Ifalik

"Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falārĭk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

Aug. 1.-Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)

Aug. 9.-Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.

Aug. 10-12.-All work tabu except smoking of bonito.

Sept. 5-12 (approximately).-Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.

Sept. 20.-Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.

Sept. 27.-Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.

Sept. 28.-New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni wā, in Falārĭk district.

Sept. 30.-New thatch put on roof of Fan ni wā. [122]

Oct. 3.-Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.

Oct. 5.-Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Pëngā, Rauau district.

Oct. 6.-District fishing (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)

Oct. 11.-District fishing.

Oct. 13-18. -Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.
Oct. 19. -Fishing by united forces of Rauau and Falārĭk.
Oct. 21. -Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urĕl. Done by some men, but not all from both Rauau and Falālap.
Oct. 22. -Falālap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.
Oct. 24. -(and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in Falārĭk, one in Rauau, and one in Falālap). Men rehearse at night for performance of ur dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.
Oct. 25 (approximately, and daily thereafter). -Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falālap.
Oct. 31. -Feast at Falālap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.
Nov. 5. -New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district.
Nov. 6. -Rauau district fishing.
Nov. 7. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwōlap.
Nov. 10. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in Falārĭk.
Nov. 14. -No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of ur dance.

Nov. 15. -Men of all districts take part in final performance of ur.
Nov. 16 (and on into December). -Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.
Nov. 25. -Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)
Dec. 3. -Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.
Dec. 6. -Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulós.
Dec. 9-11. -Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district. [123]
Dec. 12. -Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.
Dec. 13. -Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.
Dec. 24. -Extra-tie beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwōlap, recently repaired.
Dec. 28. -Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.
Dec. 31. -Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe-houses.
Jan. 2. -District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.
Jan. 6. -Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches

and painting.

Jan. 7-14 (approximately). -Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.

Jan. 24. -District fishing, Rauau.

Jan. 26. -District fishing, Rauau.

Feb. 2-3. -Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falālap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role."

1: Burrows--123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work-- a catch of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense."

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 105 Ifalik

"The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of [124] his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the household of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products-- dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is

applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

28: Spiro--13-14
116, 574, 476, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleanens

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--33 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 156 Ifalik

"The first thing that strikes the observer about Ifaluk production is its cooperative nature, this being true not only in the manufacture of objects which are obviously for public consumption, but even for those which are for private use, and which are owned privately. Furthermore, even those activities whose very nature requires individual effort, are performed not in private, but in the company of others, each person doing the same work. Gregariousness is characteristic of this society, and has important psychological implications, since it is a compulsive gregariousness stemming from a deep-seated need to be with people, to avoid isolation."

28: Spiro--34-35
116, 222, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Like the making of rope, the collection of toddy is, intrinsically, an individual process--only one man can climb a tree at one time. Yet this, too is done in a semi-communal fashion. The toddy is collected twice a day, and is collected at fairly regular times, so that a number of young men within a district collect their toddy [35] simultaneously, proceeding together to their individual groves, and returning together. This practice is even more marked in the afternoon than in the morning, so that we facetiously referred to this spectacle as the 'toddy parade', because the sight of eight or ten men walking single or double file through the village, was reminiscent of an American parade."

28: Spiro--35
116, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The tending of the trees is the only individual phenomenon in the economy. The men gather the coconut sprouts in rows in their groves, and at certain seasons of the year, plant them. The trimming of the coconut trees is performed when they climb a tree to collect toddy or coconuts, and the picking of the breadfruit is determined by the desire for it.

The other forms of work except for canoes and houses are genuinely cooperative, in that the commencement of the work is decided by the chiefs, is performed by the men, each with a special task directed towards the common end, and the products of their labor are shared equally."

28: Spiro--35 [2]
116, 358, 476, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a canoe-house needs repair, the chief of the district will inform the men, and on the scheduled day, they will assemble for the task. If it is a relatively minor task, only the men of the district will cooperate in the work, but if it is a major one, all the men of the island will assist, and at times, many from the other island will participate. In other public works, the thatching of a roof, or the clearing of the bush, the women assist as well, and where women participate there is a complete separation of the sexes, the men confined to one section, the women to another."

28: Spiro--35 [3]
116, 462, 342, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If a roof is to be thatched, it is the task of the men to cut off the coconut branches from which the thatch is to be made. Both men and women bring the branches to the canoe-house, and then the women weave the branches into thatch, after which the men climb onto the roofs to do the thatching. Here, too, there is a division of labor according to age, for generally speaking, it is the younger men who climb the roof to put on the thatch, while the older men stand below and pass the thatch to those standing on the roof."

28: Spiro--35 [4]
116, 462, 476, 358

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The participation of the women is not always restricted to the lighter work. Where man-power is required, as in the raising of the entire frame of the canoe-house, which is accomplished by a complicated lever principle, the women work with the men in pulling and straining on the ropes which lift the frame."

28: Spiro--35 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 476, 351 Ifalik

"In public clearing the men and women work separately, though there is little division of labor except that the women seem to bear the brunt of the labor. The entire population of a district, including the young children, clean the wooded sections of the island immediately behind the village, or the cleared ground in the area of the canoe-houses. The actual interior of the island, of course, is not cleaned or cleared. In this work the people work in small groups, some clearing up, some digging pits for the disposal of the refuse, others carrying the brush to the sea, where it is burned on the beach or allowed to float away. The women and men work separately, each small work-gang, being comprised of one sex only. As mentioned above the women seem to bear the brunt of the work, for they have the arduous job of digging the pits and of doing the hand weeding, while the men worked on the heavier grasses, with their long knives. Furthermore, the men complete their work much earlier than the women, returning to their homes, while leaving the women to do the final odds and ends."

28: Spiro--35-36
116, 476, 527

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are a number of institutional, as well as non-institutional characteristics of these communal undertakings. All are completed with a feast, prepared by the women, at which the men sit about in small groups by the structure on which they had been working. Furthermore, when the men assemble for their work, they bring coconuts which are deposited in a common store, it becoming the sole function of certain [36] of the men to husk them. At the completion of the work, the chiefs distribute the coconuts among the men who receive them with great pleasure. This distribution of food, at other times of tobacco at communal gatherings raises a perplexing problem: Why should coconuts or tobacco, which all people possess in abundance, be distributed by the chiefs at the completion of these affairs, and why should a handful of tobacco or 4 coconuts be received with such obvious pleasure by the people, particularly when as in this case, they bring the coconuts themselves, and they are now merely being redistributed? We shall have occasion to discuss this point in some detail in our chapter on psychology."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 533, 181, 571 Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--37[3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 342 Ifalik

"The kind of cooperative work we have been discussing is cooperation whose results redound to the benefit of the entire society, or at least to the district. But this pattern of cooperation operates even where there is no direct return to the participants. When a man wishes to thatch the roof of his own house, the young men of his district offer their services with no hesition. Of course, they receive a gift of tobacco or food upon completion of the job, but this gift is a mere token of appreciation, rather than payment for work done. However, this cooperation is always reciprocal, because the man who is assisted by his neighbors in one instance will assist in another instance. Then there are occasions in which one district assists another. For example in one of the clean-ups, the district of Rauau, which is smaller in size but more numerous in population that its neighboring district of Felarik, completed its work before the latter, whereupon a number of boys and men of Rauau proceeded to Felarik and assisted the people of that district for an additional two days, until the work was completed. This was done entirely voluntarily. When I informed the chiefs of this cooperation, they were very pleased, and all proclaimed a spontaneous 'erat'. (Very good)."

28: Spiro--37-38
116, 476, 286

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This concern for the people of another district, which is expressed in this kind of cooperative labor, is in some cases enjoined by the chiefs. For example the island of Falalap required additional seins. Now a sein is usually about sixty feet long and about nine feet wide, and its construction, is a long and arduous job, requiring a huge quantity of rope. The Falalap chiefs ordered their men to make seins, and the [38] Felerik men, at the order of their chiefs, also made seins for Falalap, with their own rope though they would receive no direct benefit from this work."

28: Spiro--38
116, 476, 764, 505, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--38 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

---

"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

28: Spiro--39 [2]
116, 226, 476, 262

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Except for the rare gathering of crabs by the women, and the even rarer slaughtering of a hog or killing of a chicken by the men, fish is the only source of meat, and it is highly prized. Fishing is done both individually and communally. Private fishing is of minor importance, as compared to the communal fishing. It consists of reef fishing with rod and line, and canoe fishing inside the lagoon and on top of the reef with line and bait, either live or lure. The natives make hooks of mother-of-pearl, and also use those introduced by the Japanese and by us. The term, individual fishing, must be qualified. It does not mean that an individual fishes privately, for this is very rare. Individual fishing is almost always practiced by a number of persons whether it be three or four boys casting into the surf, or nine or ten canoes, each trowing inside the lagoon or on top of the reef in a moonlit night."

28: Spiro--39 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 476 Ifalik

"A minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a fish trap in the shape of an arrow-head, made of the piling of stones to a height that juts above the water in low tide, but which is submerged in high tide. The fish inside this trap cannot escape at low tide because of the jutting rocks, and the men catch them with hand nets. There are three such traps on the island, and they provide sardine-sized fish, but only at certain periods during the year, which the natives know intimately and control quite well.

Another minor form of cooperative fishing is the use of a portable coconut-twig fish trap inside the lagoon, close to the shore in shallow water. The fish, the same kind caught in the stone traps, are 'driven' into the traps by the men standing patiently in the hot sun for many hours. The men stand behind the school of fish preventing them from altering their course, gradually heading them towards the trap. When one enters, the rest will follow, and the traps are constructed so that ingress is easy, but egress is well-nigh impossible. This work requires the cooperation of a number of men to guide the fish and to provide relief for each other as they work in shifts.

The fish caught by these techniques are either eaten immediately by the men themselves, if the haul is small, or is taken to their homes to be consumed by the entire household, if the haul is large. In the former case the men cook the fish themselves; in the latter it is prepared by the women."

28: Spiro--39-40
116, 226, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"None of these techniques [WPM: using traps] compare in importance to the large cooperative fishing ventures, of which we can distinguish two kinds--sporadic fishing inside the lagoon or in the ocean, in the trade-wind season, and a period of three month persistent daily fishing, at the beginning of the prevailing westerlies.

Communal fishing might be undertaken at the initiative of a group of men, with the permission of the chief, sailing outside of the lagoon, and trolling with seins. The fish is then divided among the participants. Most communal fishing, however, is all-island, at least all-district, and it is initiated either at the express order of the chiefs, because they think the fish might be abundant, or to celebrate a religious ceremony or the completion of some public works; or it is initiated by some one observing a large school of fish inside the lagoon, and conveying the information to the entire village. The latter kind of innauguration is the most colorful and dramatic. Fortunately two expeditions were initiated in this fashion in front of my eyes, so that it was possible to observe the entire operation. On the morning of one of these expeditions we were preparing breakfast, and Maroligar, the second ranking chief, was sweeping the decaying vegetation from Atelu. The village was quiet and serene with only the shouts and cries of children to interrupt the morning calm. Then, precipitately, Maroligar began [40] to shout in a manner that led me to believe he had gone stark mad. He had seen a school of fish, and this was his way of informing the people. They responded in an instant. Everyone

dropped his work, and ran to the canoe-houses. The village became a veritable mad-house. Men, women, and children, were all helping to carry large canoes, as well as traps, fishnets, and seins to the beaches. And the moment a canoe was launched, it was filled with men, who paddled furiously towards the fish. After the initial excitement the men settled down to a day of fishing, the object being to surround the fish with seins, gradually narrowing the circumference of the seins, until the fish were isolated in a small area, and then haul them in with nets and traps. The main problem, of course, is to surround the fish, and this may take two or three hours, chasing them back and forth across the lagoon. Once this is accomplished, the rest of the task is primarily watchful waiting, surreptitiously closing in on the fish, and preventing them from eluding the dragnet. This takes a long time, the men usually working under the hot sun from early morning until dusk.

The same technique is applied in the fishing announced in advance, except that there is no school to catch, and the process here is to systematically drag the shore side of the lagoon in sections, surrounding the fish, and catching them in nets and wires. This continues until the entire beach has been dragged, and again consumes an entire day."

28: Spiro--104
116, 857, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interractional patterns are more cooperative than antagonistic. But the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many. At times, if I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. At times, if two children are fighting, and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusmān and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with fear, rage, frustration, and pain all in one. Later in the afternoon, he came to have his leg rebandaged, Talemelemar came with him, and displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, told him how to hold his leg, and was most solicitous and sweet. But these occasions are infrequent."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 433, 477 Woleai

Economically the island is taken care of by the firms of D. D. O'Keefe and S. Murayama in Yokohama, who both are in the possession of trade settlements. The yearly production of copra in Oleai together with that of the neighbor island Ifaluk is approximately 90 to 100 tons. In order to prevent unhealthy competition the two firms introduced at my suggestion the same prices for the limited time of three years for the most marketable articles--tobacco and cotton.

4: Krämer--194 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481, 463 Woleai

The natives are very skillful divers. A 15 year old boy was able to catch anything that was thrown into the water by diving. As long as he was shown the object before it was thrown, he managed to catch it.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 481 Woleai

Kotzebue: to go bathing and swimming, cvoloch; dive, esulong; rise to the surface after diving, suüach.

5: Kittlitz--161-62 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians /
116, 481, 151 Woleai

The natives of Uleai excelled even the other Caroline islanders in their diving ability; we saw some remarkable proofs of this during our short visit. One half-grown boy, who seemed about fifteen years old, [162] often amazed us by the skill with which he could catch anything that we threw over board. We were anchored at a depth of nineteen fathoms, and he always managed to reach the object before it touched the bottom. He even succeeded in finding very small articles like pocket knives and other iron things, which we always showed him before tossing them into the water. Like a flash he jumped out of his canoe, which was on the other side of the launch; he swam under the keel of this boat and reappeared a few minutes later with the booty.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian and Micronesian—had to carry the precious young plants with them on their long canoe voyages to new islands.

The famous expedition of Captain Bligh with the BOUNTY had the purpose of bringing young breadfruit trees from Tahiti for establishment in the West Indies, where the planters thought it would be an ideal food for their African slaves. This first attempt at importing the tree was frustrated by the mutiny, but plants were successfully brought in on a subsequent voyage. Breadfruit, however, never became a staple in the West Indies. People do not adopt new foods easily (not even slaves), and where new staple foods have been adopted—as in the case of the potato in Ireland—it is generally because of overwhelming advantages. Breadfruit seems not to have demonstrated such advantages to any non-Pacific culture.

We went out one morning with Tom and a young man of his household to gather breadfruit. The man who was going to pick the fruit carried a large coil of rope and a long pole which had a short crosspiece firmly tied near one end. We followed him through a complex maze of boondock paths to a large breadfruit tree. He threw the coil of rope over the lowest branch (about twenty feet up) and pulled it out with his pole, so that the rope was hanging double from the branch.

With the aid of the rope he climbed easily up the trunk to this first branch, whence he could scramble to any part of the top of the tree. We watched him walk upright along one horizontal branch about thirty feet above the ground, using his long pole as a sort of balance after the fashion of acrobats. With the pole he was able to break off fruit easily in any part of the tree, allowing the fruit to fall to the ground. The bruising apparently did not matter, though the fruit to be used for food must be gathered before it is completely ripe, while the pulp is still white and mealy.

The fresh fruit is either baked or boiled, with many minor variations in ways of cooking. I didn't think much of it, no matter how cooked. It seemed no better or no worse than potatoes, palatable enough with meat gravy—but the Ifalukians didn't have meat gravy.

Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pēnga.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the

new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic] canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken

up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8, b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

2; Damm et al. --172 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 484, 437, 178 Faraulep

In olden days the natives of Faraulep visited the following islands to do business: Unaṅâi, (Oleai), Auripi̊k, Ifalůk, ɬoro̊l (Sorol), Uejêi (Fais), Magemůx (Mogemog), Yap, Nŏlu (Ngulu), Palau, Songosor, Pur, Merir, Lāmutsêx (Lamutrik), Setôuan (Satowal), Sŏux (Hok), Unůon, (Onon), Piseras, Tsůk (Truk), Magur, Moiraila (Murillo), Ratak, Magi̊l (Mokil), Ebon, Nutâu, Gătsâue (Kusai). They also had a lively commerce with the Marianas (Guam, Saipan). Then other islands were visited long ago, but the present generation can not identify them: Uaxŭ, Solnis, Bahâu, Ânelulu (Honolulu??). These long trips have been given up, on account of the death of the old sea captains, and the lack of interest of the young men; and today there are just a few islands in the immediate vicinity with which the natives deal.

Hambruch only heard about one boat, that drifted; it was an empty one, which came from Pur about five years before (about 1904). People were certainly blown off their course, although Hambruch did not hear of any instances of this. Kadu, Chamisso's authority, told about a Faraulip chief, who wanted to sail to Guam, but who was blown to Mogemog; he went home from there.

2: Damm et al, --179 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 505, 484 Faraulep

The five men on the crew were provided with two hundred coconuts and fifty coconut bottles of water; if they miss their goal, they must use fish, rain water, and if necessary, salt water. The cooking is done in a small sand box (fenán).

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 131, 137, 484 Elato

Elato is the largest of the four islands which rest upon the reef that extends itself in a north-southern direction. Elato, situated to the north, is densely covered with forests; breadfruit trees and coconut palms predominate.... The natives [AN: who had come in canoes with trading intentions] did not look very trustworthy. They were importunate and begged constantly for tobacco... Trading attempts were made, but the prices were too high and consequently only a few objects could be bought.... On certain stretches the breadfruit trees reminded us of a German forest. On other places attention was drawn to thickets of Hibiscus which supply the textile fibers for mats and waistcloths.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 484, 177 Elato

Prior to the typhoon the islanders had been in close contact with Wólea, Aúrepik, Poloot (Poloat), Sátuwal, and the near island of Lámutruk; with Truk, however, they stood only in loose contact.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 651 Lamotrek

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: Yongelăp (the oldest and highest god) stays on Yap, and tribute payments must be sent to him there. The Lamotrek islanders and natives of Sĕtowal do not take their goods directly to Yap but only as far as Oleai; from the latter island they are taken west and are landed in Gatspar. Natives of Ifaluk, Fáraulip and Aurepik undertake this voyage and everybody meets on Oleai. The voyage is by way of Sorol, Uĕju and Mogemog.

4: Krämer--82-83 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 484 Lamotrek

From early times on, the Lamotrek islanders have undertaken voyages to Guam with the purpose of trading ropes, fibers, mats, shells, etc. The goods which they wanted to trade they took to Poloat and exchanged them for turmeric (rang) and red shells (faibar) although this fact did not keep the natives of Poloat from undertaking their own voyage to Guam. But, as it were, they asked for permission to sail their ships from Lamotrek, which ruled over the sea as far as Poloat and Ifaluk.... With reference to Yap the following ought to be added: they sent their trade goods to Oleai, to Vótagai, for they feared the Yap islanders, thinking that they had at their disposal more effective mádjemadj magic for typhoons and illness. [83] The things of Lamotrek belong to the chiefs Ruébong and Inefel; Ruébong is the head and Inefel is his assistant.

When the trader Lewis came to Gogilrau* and reproached him for spoiling the children on the island he answered: it is not us, but their own gods who spoil them, because they have broken the old taboos; Aluelap gave them women for natural use, but they abused them.

* Another name for Agupelior on Oleai?

4: Krämer--123 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 484 Lamotrek

Chamisso learned the following from Kadu, after he had talked of some unsuccessful voyages...(see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, III, page 94:) "Every year more Carolinians sail to Guajan. Their flotilla of boats from Ulea and the surrounding groups, from Lamureck and Setoan, is assembled in Lamureck. From here the voyage starts in the month of April. From Lamureck to Fayo, the deserted island on which one stops over for a few days, the voyage is expected to take two days and from Fayo to Gajan three more days. The return voyage is again by way of Fayo and Lamureck. It falls in the month of May and at the latest in June, before the west monsoon that may be dangerous sets in."

Below he continued: "It was in this year (1807) or the following that a canoe of the eastern island of Tuch (Truk) drifted to Guajan. The canoe carried a crew of 15 and the name of the pilot was Kulingan. The strangers were received hospitably, but a procession which happened to be held during the days of their stay and which was accompanied by salvoes of artillery weapons caused fear and terror among them. They hid in the forest and that very same night, though without all necessary provisions, returned to the ocean. --It was their good fortune that as they fled from the island they happened to meet the arriving flotilla from Lamureck which provided them with food and gave them instructions about the voyage home. In the year 1814, the flotilla counted 18 boats. On Guajan the Carolinians exchanged iron, glass beads, and textiles, for canoes, shells and rarities; trepang transactions may develop into an important branch of their trade."

4: Krämer--184-185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 438 Woleai

The Oleai islanders undertake commercial voyages that take them as far as Truk, where they trade "reng" the powdered root of the curcuma, the gold of Oleai, for [185] woven mats, ornaments, and canoes.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 502 Woleai

The boats of the Oleai islanders generally sailed only to Feis [VMM: for trading], but occasionally they went to Mokemok (Ululsi) and Yap. They remained on Feis for a month or two and finally sailed back when a good wind came up.

5: Kittlitz--149
116, 484, 177

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato

Several inhabitants of Namurrek, the farthest east of the three neighboring groups, took advantage of our ship to sail with us to the most western one, Elato; a tamol happened to be there with his sailing canoe so he took them to shore.

6: Senfft--55
116, 484

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

They have regular expeditions to the west as far as Yap, to the north as far as Saipan, and, in former times, they sailed east as far as Truk.

28: Spiro--11-13 [WPM: Manuscript 116, 484, 574 omits p. 12] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians Ifalik

"The natives are excellent seamen, so that inter-island travel is frequent. These voyages, though undertaken primarily for recreation pure and simple, serve important social and economic functions. All these islands are small, geographically and demographically, and the opportunity to travel, to see different landscapes and different faces, is eminently desired. [13] At the same time, most people have friends and/or relatives on other islands, and they are most desirous of visiting with them. Furthermore, visiting travelors bring back reports of their travels to their fellows, informing them of all major as well as minor events--deaths, marriages, petty gossip, etc."

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes) --3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 484, 159 Woleai

Since Kadou had travelled considerably in the Carolines and the Pelew Islands, he was never surprised at the birds or animals that he saw, either here or in the Aleutians. He was enchanted at seeing so many large vessels gathered together. His resolution to accompany us on our voyage remained unbroken. The crew began to teach him to read, but he made only very slow progress. Although he learned quite readily to recognize the letters of the Russian alphabet, he seemed not to understand what these characters stood for. However, one day at dinner, hearing the word "water" mentioned in Russian, he cried out joyously, "ah! ah! v, o, d, a, voda ("water" in Russian)"; we hoped then that he had really profited from the lessons which he had received, but he refused to take more of them and appeared determined to know not what our books could be.

39: Berg--48
116, 437, 484

(1902) 1903

Woleaians
Woleai

From Polvot the 'Diana' reports that more than 20 canoes from the Western Carolines have arrived there with about 200 people. The purpose of the long trip is chiefly the exchange of Taik, the turmeric prepared in Truk. This time the people came not only from Woleai and the nearer islands, but allegedly even from Feys, not far from Jap.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

1: Burrows--64 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

"The ancient art of navigation in native sailing canoes is still in use on the seas about Ifalik. Most of the voyages are short, between neighboring islands. Probably more than half of the traffic in and out of Ifalik is with Woleai, only 30 miles away. Yet trips to any of the islands within 100 miles are not unusual. And though longer distances, as to Yap, Truk and Guam, are now ordinarily left to foreign steamers or airplanes, sailing directions for them, too, are still remembered. Tom, whose claim to be the foremost 'captain' of Ifalik seemed to be generally acknowledged, said that he could still reach any of those islands by the old methods. However, he owns two compasses, and knows how to use them from his long service on foreign ships. He would supplement native lore by taking one along."

(1947-48)

"Detailed Sailing Directions

The following directions include, besides guiding stars, some further directions: a rear sight on Ifalik while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been misled. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali-or tubwuli-for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifalik to Woleai and Return

Guiding Stars-Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.

Rear Sight- Keep Matolo, the channel between Falārik and Falālap, 'open'; that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ellā in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falālap are visible to the south of it.

Birds- If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it). [83]

Stars for Return Trip-The star indicating the true direction is Elieli. If the current flows north, take a course between Elieli and Mailap; if it flows south, between Elieli and Sarabwol."

1: Burrows--136
116, 565, 576, 487

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falārĭk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katēlū may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-13
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

"Appendix II. Further Sailing Directions.

A. Ifalik to Faraulep & Return

Guiding Stars - Wolwol, due north, indicates the true direction. But because of prevailing currents, take first Tagalemailepalevang (on the chart as (Tagali) Mailapelivang) for 4 miles; then Tubwulemailepalevang for 1 mile; then Wolwol. After following Wolwol for 1 1/2 miles, Faraulep should be sighted.

Rear Sight - Keep Ella just touching the northwestern tip of Falārik.

Bird - If a metalipangerāle, with long tail feathers, is sighted, the canoe is off its course. Then the star Ulu (whether rising or setting not stated) will bring it in to Faraulep.

Fish - If a shark is sighted, follow the star Metremeiat.

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is Wolwol. To allow for currents, take first Metremeiat for 4 miles; then Metremeital for 1 mile. From there, Wolwol will fetch Ifalik.

B. Guiding Stars, Faiau to Ifalik.

Metremeital for 5 miles; then Tubwulemetara (on chart as (Tubwu li) Metarua) for 2 miles; then Tubwul'Ipu for 2 miles. This will bring the canoe in sight of Ifalik.

C. Rear Sights for Voyage from Ifalik to Lamotrek.

Put Ella just touching the end of the long stone pier on Falālap.
On the return trip, put the islet Falaite just touching the north end of Valipi.

D. Courses from Yap to Ifalik, with Intermediate Stops

First course: 1. Yap to Ulithi; guiding star, Tagal'ulu.
2. Ulithi to Fais; Tagalielieli.
3. Fais to Woleai; Tagatumūra.
4. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Second Course: 1. Yap to Sorol, Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Woleai; Tagalielieli.
3. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Third Course: 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Eaurupik; Tagatumūra.
3. Eaurupik to Woleai; Tagalimēl.

To sail from Ifalik to Yap, the preferred course is by way of Woleai and Sorol. The star Tubwul'ūlu is followed the whole way.

E. Courses from Truk to Ifalik. [236]

First Course: 1. Truk to Satawan, Tubwulimailap.
2. Satawan to Ifalik, Tubwulimailap.

Second Course (recommended because gaps are shorter):
1. Truk to Puluwat; Tubwul'ūlu; (2 nights).

2. Puluwat to Satawan; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).
3. Satawan to Lamotrek; Tubwul'ūlu (1 night).
4. Lamotrek to Elato; Tubwul'ūlu (1/2 day; these islands are in sight of each other.)
5. Elato to Ifalik; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).

F. Courses from Ifalik to Truk.

First Course: Ifalik to Satawan, Satawan to Truk; Tagalimailap the whole way.
Second Course (recommended because distances are shorter).

1. Ifalik to Elato; Tagal'ulu.
2. Elato to Lamotrek; by day, in sight; by night, Tagalielieli.
3. Lamotrek to Satawan; Tagalielieli.
4. Puluwat to Souk; Wolwol. (Why this detour to the south?)
5. Souk to Truk; Tagal'ūlu. [237]

G. From Woleai.

Tagaliwileugo - Faraulep.
Tagalimailap - Vasulos (reef).
Tagalielieli - Ifalik.
Tagalitumūr - Moroe (reef).
Tubwulitumūr - Aurupik.

Tubwusarabwol-Bugueluelu arem (reef). On the way, one man o' war bird.

Tubwulūlu-Sorol.

Tubwulimwarigari-Ulithi.

Tubwulimēl-Fais. (One of the Ifalik dance songs, the Peiran of Falālap, disagrees. According to its text, the star Tubwulimwarigari will bring a canoe from Woleai to the rock Rimwelivarougoue in Fais.)

H. From Faraulep.

Tagalimailap e li vang -Saipan.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 fish, gapile.

Tagaliugilik - 1 big fish - seu etag.

Tagalimēl - Faiau.

Pauievang - Kalūa (small reef).

Tagalimailap - Religousām - (reef).

Tagalielieli - one man o' war bird, (called in 'captain's language' neurevas.)

Tagatumūr - Trimaliwelibwugu (reef); farther, Olimarao.

Tagalipu - 2 whales, ualeliga jewetoxu.

Metremeiat - Vasulos (reef).
Wolwol li Iaūru - Ifalik. [238]
Tubwul'Ipu - Woleai.
Metārua - 20 porpoises, guatrIk.
Tubwulielieli - 1 bird with long tail-feathers, metalipangerele; Sorol.
Tubwulimailap - 1 whale, ualimen.
Tubwul'ūlu - 1 red fish, ig i seram; Fais.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 shark, trImeijou, with 2 small fish, sIleIīa, ' under his arm'; 2 big black diving birds, igotōro.
Wolwol li Ievang--many small black birds, asuval; Guam.

I. From Faiau.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Trilial (tinian).
Tagaliwileugo - Saipan.
Tagalimēl - Tipipi (uninhabited island).
Tagal ' ūl - Tipapa (uninhabited island).
Tagalimailap - Getūa.
Tagalipauiaūru - 1 shark, laigelalo; his head keeps coming out of water.
Tagalielieli - Pigēla (uninhabited island).

Tagatumūra - Satawan.
Taga limetārua - Lamotrek.
Tagal'Īpu - Elato.
Metremeiat - 1 shark, with 1 man-o'-war bird over him, saumātol.
Wolwol li Iaūru - Olimarao.
Metremeital - 4 whales, nāgmetau.
Tubwulīpu - Vasulos (reef).
Tubwulimetārua (? designation undertain) - Ifalik
Tubwulitumūra - Faraulep.
Tubwulielieli - 1 shark with 2 small fish 'under his arm' - shemeijo.
Tubwulimailap - Fais.
Tubwul'ūl - 1 large fish with black head and white tail, tagural.[239]
Tubwulimēl - Vasielus (reef).
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'- war bird, gapilē.
Wolwol li Ievang - Guam

J. From Lamotrek.

Tagaliwileugo - 10 small fish, linked together like a chain - fātaleimware.
Tagaliugilīk - Pigello (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalimēl - Uraiseivetāl (small reef).
Tagal 'ūlu - Pigennot (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)
Tagalipquievang - 20 big porpoises; very bad, will try to crush canoe.
Tagalimailap - Puluwat.
Tagalielieli - Satawan.
Tagal'Īpu - many birds, tepāl, with strong odor.
Mętręmeiat - 1 whale, uauumaiaūru.
Wolwol li Iaūru - 2 pagennai birds, called in captain's language lairomwara.
Tubwulipauiaūru - Ifalik
Tubwulimailap - Olimarao.
TubwuliugIlĪk - Faiau.
Tubwuliwileugo - Faurĕp (reef).
Tubwulimailapliievang - RütIk (reef).

K. From Olimarao. (Two versions were given of this. Intended to supplement each other, they disagreed at some points, as noted.)
Tagaliwileugo - many porpoises, called in captain's language naigām.

TagaliugIIĪk - black mwili birds, called in captain's language pongenor.
Tagalimēl - Tipapa.
Tagalimegarigari - (other version - many mweli birds, called pongulōr.) [240]
Tagal'ūlu - Pigella (uninhabited island).
Tagali pauievang - (other version - Pigella).
Tagalimailap - Pigennot.
Tagalielieli - Lamotrek.
Tagatumūra - Elato.
Tagalīpu - 2 paugennai birds, called aurovālu.
Wolwol li Ievang - 1 common shark and 2 very small white sharks called laorumetau.
Metremeital - MIsailealu (reef).
Tubwul'Ipu - Ororang (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Weraitogelimware (reef).
Tubwulisarabwol - Ifalik (? one version dubious, as Aurupik is south of Ifalik.)
Tubwulielieli - Aurupik.
Tubwulipauiauru - Ifalik (? one version).

Tubwulimailap - Woleai; Vasulos, one version; other has next star south for Vasulos.
Tubwulipauievang - Gautā, (reef).
Tubwul'ūlu - many porpoises, called in one version Falepeipeilalai; in the other Misailiealu, which the other uses for a reef under Metremeital.
Tubwulimwarigari - 40 fish, arōng.
Tubwulimel - SImweliulibwugu (reef); farther on, Faraulep.
Tubwuliwileugo - many small porpoises, uouwelinIran
Tubwulimailipelivang - OratIk (reef), one version; other has Galuā, apparently a little farther sw, under a star for which no name is listed.
Wolwol li Ievang - Farāp (reef), 1 version; other has Rajeivetāl, and, farther on, Faiau.

L. From Satawal (Satawal-aito).

(This list as given contained only directions toward the east. Two for the nearer islands to the west, however, were given 'in reverse' with the list for those islands - Lamotrek and Faiau - and are added here.)
Tagatumūra - Orejeivetan (reef). [241]

Tagasarabwol - Souk (Pulusuk?).
Tagalielieli - Oroural (reef).
Tagal'ūlu - TruatalevalerIk (reef); farther on, under same star, Truataligapelalei (reef); still farther, under same star, Puluwat.
Tagal'ugIlĪk - Pënënnot (Pikelot? Recorded elsewhere as Pigënnot). From Pëgënnot, the star Tagalielieli will lead to the reef Autaxileor, thence to the reef Autailemetau, and thence to Bwënnap. From Pegënnot, Tagatumūra will lead to Puluwat. From Bwënnap, TubwulIpu will lead to Puluwat.

M. From Yap.

Tagaliwileugo - Gaverot, island; 'steamer and canoe come close, go down in water.' (The name is virtually the same as Gaferut, which is about n. n. e. (?) from Ifalik, but about e by s from Yap.
Tagalimegarigāri - Ulithi.
Tagalielieli - Sorol.
Tagal'Īpu - Tongelap (reef).
Wolwolliiaūru - Ngolu (Ngulu)

Tubwul'Ipu - Gologol (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Palau.
Tubwulisarabwol - Olāt (long reef).
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwulimēl - 1 shark, ugelingaj.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 fish, sōm, whose dorsal fin slants toward the head instead of toward the tail; also seaweed, lem.
Wolwol liievang - 1 whale, walimIl, with many white birds perching on it.

N. From Truk.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 big man-o'-war bird, arIgemoa.
Tagalimēl - Pish (inhabited island).
Tagal'ūlu - Tennōmar (sandy island, with low trees and many fish).

[242]

Tagalimailap - Falepei (Ponape).
Tagalipauiaūru - Losap.
Tagalielieli - Leme.
Tagatumūra - Gotū.
Tagalimetārua - Satawal-airek (called Satawan on our charts; the suffix distinguishes it from Satawal-aito farther

west, near Lamotrek, which is called Satawal on our charts.

Tagalīpu - Namoluk ('Mortlock', Tom explained).
Wolwolliievang - Pēlap ('much surf')
Metremeital - 1 whale, called uauemaiauru.
Tubwul'Īpu - Pijemware.
Tubwulimetārua - 1 fish, lāgvIt.
Tubwulitumūra - 1 big shark, Oleleimwal, will crush a canoe.
Tubwulielieli - Souk. (Pulusuk?).
Tubwulimailap - Puluwat.
Tubwul'ūlu - Tamtam.
Tubwulimēl - Bwennap
Tubwuliwileugo - Oloulo ('atoll, white men live there').
Tubwulimailap elivang - Faiau-aiat (East Fayu?).
Wolwol li Ievang - Namoin (Nomwin?).

O. From Guam.

Tagaliwileugo - Pāgang (Pagan?).
Tagalimēl - Songorol ('no more people').
Tagal'ūlu - Tipipi.
Tagalipauievang - Tipapa.

Tagalielieli - Saipan.*
Tagaliṣarabwol - Nuta (Rota?).*
Tagatumura - Trilial (Tinian?).*
Tagal'Īpu - Lamotrek.
Mẹtrẹmeiat - Elato. [243]
Wolwol liiauru - Faiau.
Tubwul'Īpu - Faraulep, Ifaluk
Tubwutumūra - Woleai
Tubwulielieli - Yap.
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'war bird, called Vālemerizu.
Tubwulimailapelivang - Europe. "

"* These were given by points of the compass instead of stars. It seems likely that Tom said 'south' in these cases when he meant 'north'."

4: Krämer--126 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 487, 103 Elato

Espinosa... was given a map on which all the islands and their population were marked; many of these islands were familiar to the captain [VMM: a navigator from Lamotrek). These were the islands:

1. Carao
2. Falopi
3. Ingerig
4. Oruzolua
5. Etat
6. Lamuluc
7. Luosap
8. Ohala, 1000 inhabitants
9. Olcul, 200 inhabitants
10. Ponlap, 100 inhabitants
11. Poloac, 600 inhabitants
12. Sove, 500 inhabitants
13. Pig
14. Piguela
15. Satavan, 400 inhabitants
16. Lamursee, 1400 inhabitants
17, Falive, 1000 inhabitants
18. Fayao
19. Farroilap, 100 inhabitants
20. Olio, 1000 inhabitants
21. Fais
22. Falalap
23. Mugemugs
24. Jap
25. Ngulue
26. Palao

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 137, 487 Woleai

Fialap is well covered with trees; paths cross the island in various directions.

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 487 Woleai

According to the native, Kadu, voyages were made from Ulea to Palau, Sonsoror, Pul, Merir and the return route was by way of Sorol (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise ... Vol. III, page 104.).

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
QR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 597 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense [1178] vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [643] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
QR21 Woleai QR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 492, 281

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 499 Woleai

The natives on the Oleai atoll have built roads without compensation. . . .

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 501 Ifalik

"Ifalik is said to be better supplied with canoes than any of the neighboring islands. The total number on the island in January, 1948, (not counting hulks considered no longer seaworthy), was 91, or one for every 2.7 persons in the population; surely a remarkable showing for a place that has so little large timber. Three sizes are recognized: large sailing canoes with platforms (wā verugIt, 'big canoe'); canoes of medium size with several thwarts for paddlers (wa fatȍle, 'paddle canoe'), and canoes with only a single seat on the outrigger booms (rosemāni). Of the total of 91, 23 were sailing canoes, 21 medium-size paddling canoes, and 47 small rosemāni. * Sarfert recorded a different classification: wa li wuei, a large sailing canoe; manuwili, smaller sailing canoe for fishing; kafadule, paddling canoe for 4-5 men; djasemali (equivalent to rosemāni in his orthography), paddling canoe for 1 or 2; and fofat raft, a term I also collected."

"* The spelling of this word follows the attempt at phonemic orthography discussed in Appendix I. The commonest pronunciation is trojemān."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 552, 501, 782 Ifalik

"Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol, after a breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an overseas voyage:

Lay the anchor in the woods!
Lay the anchor in the woods,
O Soupalele!
Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!
Right in the middle,
The very middle of the land.
When my canoe goes,
Let me return to this land!"

1: Burrows--52-53
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"In construction of hull and attachment of outrigger, canoes of all sizes are essentially alike. The small rosemāni have no thwarts except for the inboard portions of the two booms, while larger canoes have additional thwarts nearer each end. All canoes carry paddles (fatole) and wooden scoop-shaped bailers (mat). Paddling canoes are poled in shallow water. When not in use, the poles are laid over the booms just [53] outside the hull, and kept in place by sennit loops (taninga ni meinin) near each end. Wooden trays (tarong) rest on the booms just outside the hull, and are attached by lashing. They are used to carry small articles, which are more likely to stay dry there than inside the hull. In sailing canoes, these are replaced by large platforms (Fig. 7, d, e), not only on the outrigger side but on the lee side as well.

Large canoes conform in every respect but one--symmetry of the hull on Ifalik--to the 'flying proa' type described by Haddon and Hornell in 'Canoes of Oceania'* as characteristic of the western Carolines. Characteristics of that type which are present in Ifalik canoes are:

triangular outrigger platform

"* Throughout the following account, the terminology in English follows that of Haddon and Hornell."

lee platform on the side opposite the outrigger
forked heads at the top of both end-posts
two outrigger booms, curving downward
outrigger float attached to booms by crutch-shaped Y connectives and cord brace made up of multiple lashing. (A difference here is that in Ifalik the connectives are not pointed and driven into the float, but flat-ended, and carefully fitted to press against it. These connectives take only stresses that push the float toward the booms. Stresses that pull float and booms apart are taken by the cord brace.)

The characteristic of the 'flying proa' elsewhere which is not shared by Ifalik canoes is asymmetry of the hull. In the classic 'flying proa' type, Haddon and Hornell say, 'one side, the weather or outrigger side, is more rounding or fuller than the lee side.' As will appear in the account of drawing lines to guide the shaping of the hull, Ifalik hulls are carefully made symmetrical, longitudinally and transversely."

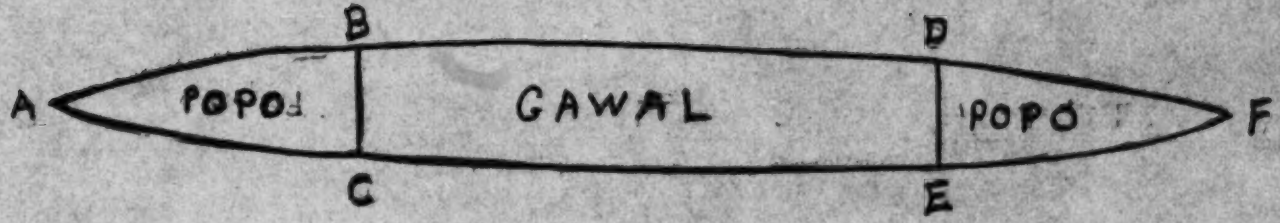
1: Burrows--55-A
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Wolenians
Ifalik

"Fig. 9. -Two types of forked head (metaliwā) for the ends of a canoe.

a, the type called kawalu, used on Ifalik.
b, the type called pōpō, attributed to Seimeligarâra."



"Fig. 10. -First measurements on the bottom of a canoe.

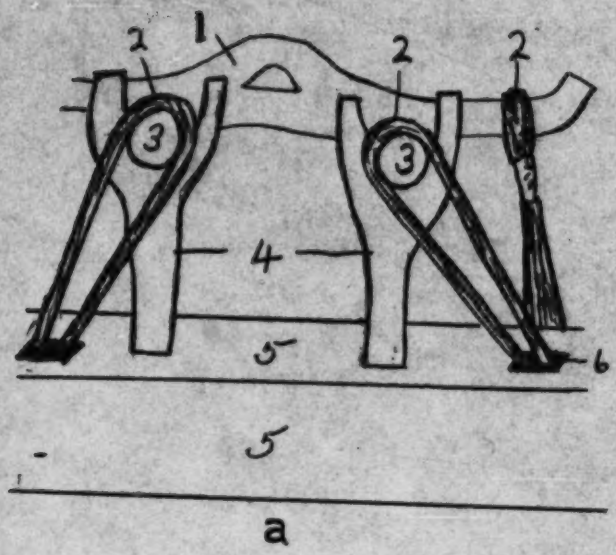
ABDF is the top of the log, which will be the bottom of the hull. It is called arol. BC and DE are the dividing lines between the end sections, called pōpō, and the middle section, called gawal. The gawal is one half the total length; each of the pōpō one quarter. The dividing points B and D are called annetok."

1: Burrows--60-A
116, 396, 501

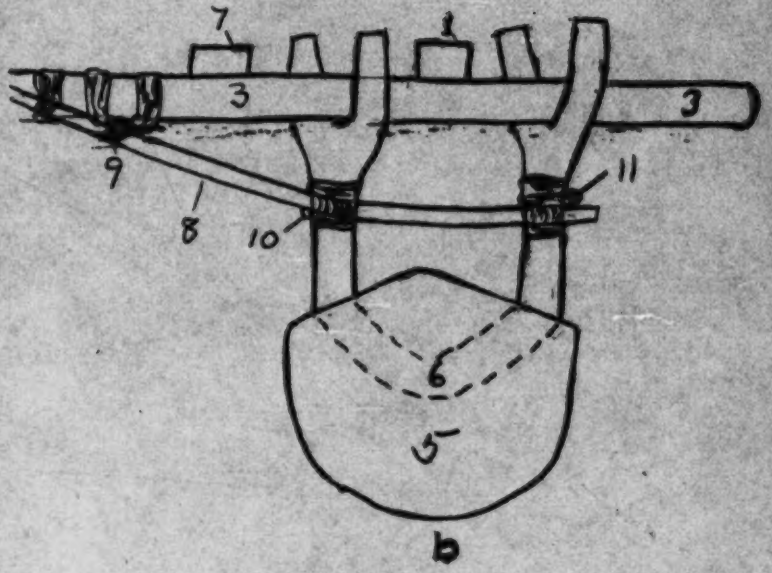
(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment." See next page.



a



b

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment.

For the sake of clearness, this diagram omits many details, such as the lashings that bind crutch connectives, yoke, and brace to the boom.

a, from outboard side. (Only the outboard pair of crutch connectives is shown.)

1, yoke (walieng); 2, lashing attaching yoke and booms to float;
3, booms (gio); 4, crutch connectives (amw); 5, float (tam);
6, holes in float through which lashings pass.

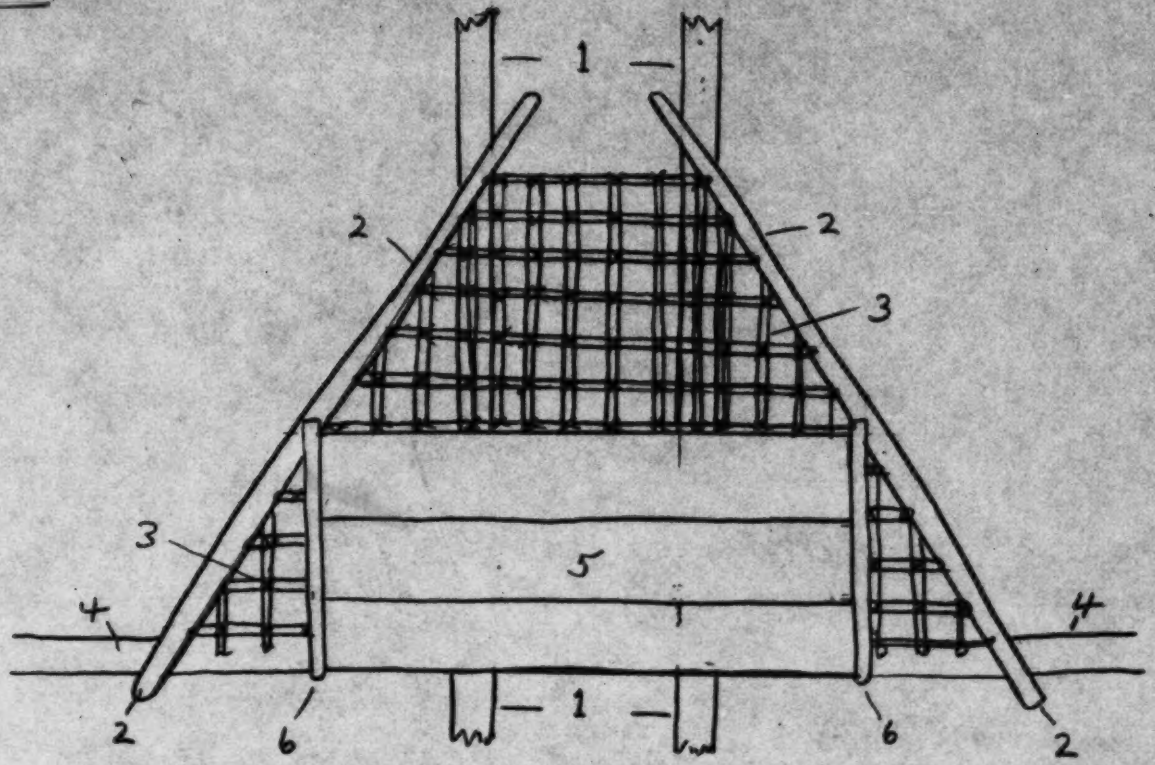
b, end view. (Only one boom, with the inboard and outboard connectives and strut attached to it, are shown.)

Numbers designate the same parts as in (a), with the following additions:
7, brace; 8, strut (rege); 9, light brace between booms;
10, light brace between inboard connectives; 11, light brace between outboard connectives."

1: Burrows--60-B
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



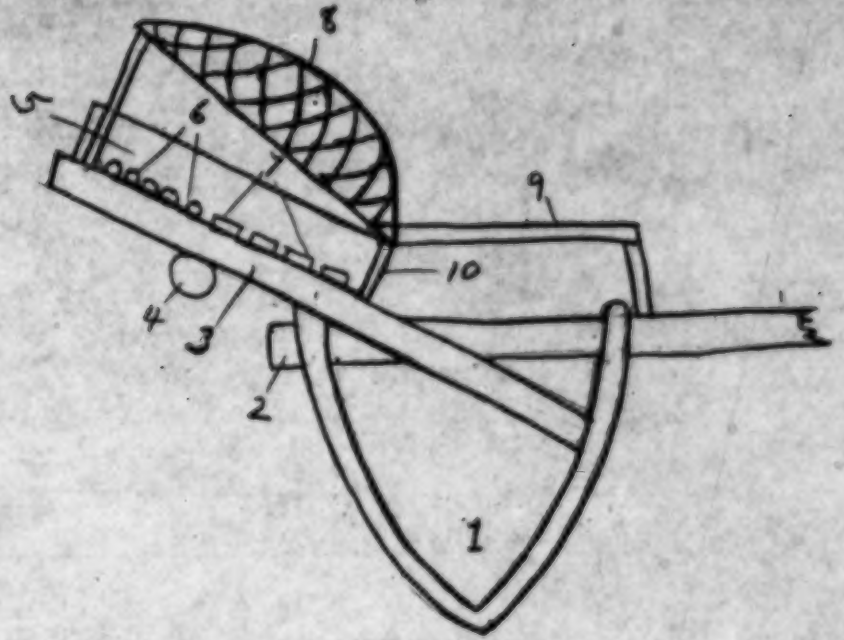
"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform." See adjoining page.

1: Burrows--60-B (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform.

1, booms; 2, diagonal spars (metare vang) between booms and gunwales;
3, withe platform (vang), spaced to show lower layer of transverse withes.
(Actually they are laid so close together that the lower layer does not show);
4, gunwales; 5, plank platform (peraf);
6, shaped upright planks (mwale maor) at forward and after ends of plank platform."

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep)." See next page.



1: Burrows--60-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

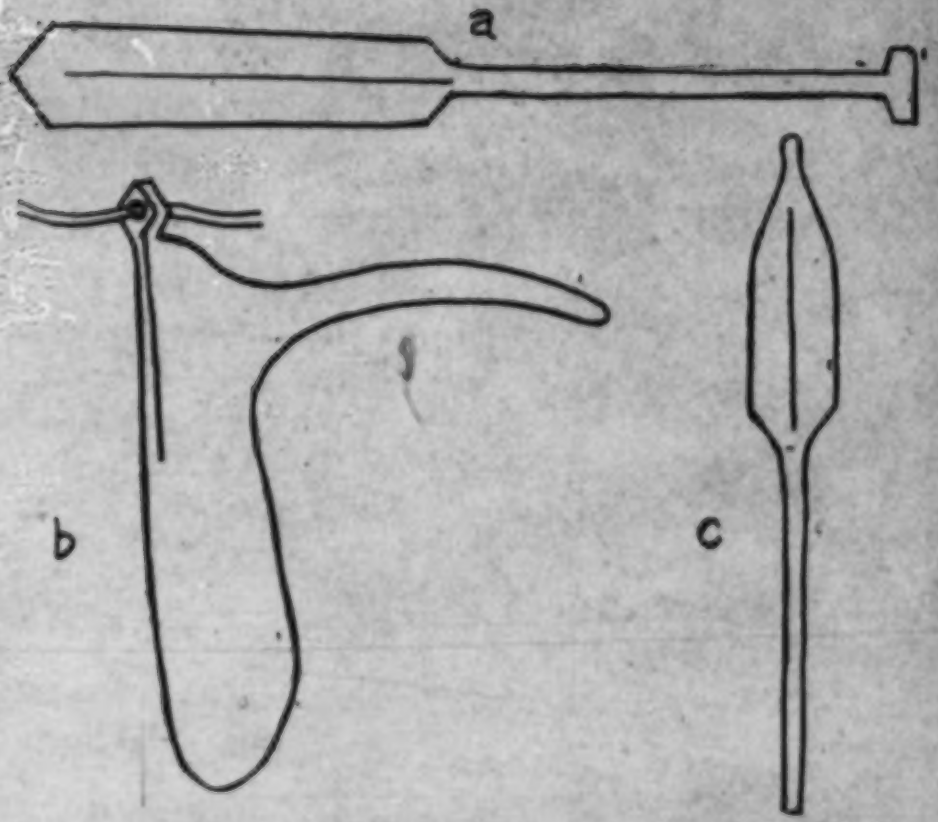
"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep).

1, hull; 2, boom; 3, supporting spar. There is one supporting spar at each end of the platform; only the nearer one is shown. Midway between them is a squared beam, not shown, which forms an additional support to the platform but does not extend across the hull. It is called outeni i pep.
4, longitudinal spar (walieng); 5, end frame piece (pal i pep; only the farther one is shown);
6, withes forming floor of outer part of platform (fang i li pep); 7, slats forming floor of inner part of platform (ujili i li pep); 8, pandanus-leaf roof or shelter over platform (gaimwemwe; this consists of whole pandanus leaves, overlapping, laid over a light frame of withes lashed together. A top layer of sennit netting prevents the leaves from being torn off by the wind); 9, transverse board (folak; there is one at each end of the platform; only the farther one is shown); 10, inboard frame place (weliwā)."

1: Burrows--63-A
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 14. - a, steering paddle;
b, quarter rudder;
c, paddle."

"Fig. 15. -Traditional design for painting a canoe.

The colors are red, black, and white. Portions painted in red are shown by shading. The little panels of white, outlined with black, are called rajūm; the red portion (perhaps only the wide parts of it near bow and stern?), metegal; the black line through the middle of the red, fare; the narrow lower strip of red, lanīlap; the boundary between red and lower black, meteitralo; and the black under portion, amīs."

1: Burrows--107-108 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 501, 643 Ifalik 1-2

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence; but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

There must have been a great many boats in olden times, because Lütke declares that he was greeted by twenty-five, with around a hundred men in the crews. The Ifaluk canoes are similar to the ones of Polowat and the other Central Carolines in that they are made of boards (uá) of bread-fruit wood, and beside the out-rigger they also have the familiar fork-tail crest. There were various kinds of canoes :

a) wāliwuéī: a large sailing boat for long trips. They had their own names, and, as a matter of fact, they were named for the place where the breadfruit tree stood, the one that was used in the construction of the boat. The canoes were divided among the various clans as follows: [50]

The clan:	before the typhoon had:	in 1909:
Lawuáú	8	3 (one boat went directly to Faraulip.)
Sawōlób	1	1
Ledjōurǫ́u	5	1
Gajudólin	3	0
Sāgo	4	0
Jiwán	6	3(Of these one was in Faraulip and one in Lamutrik.)

b) manuwĭli: a smaller sailing canoe, used for fishing.
c) kafadŭle: a paddling canoe, which will not hold more than 4-5 men.
d) djašemăli: paddling boat for 1-2 men.
e) fofăt: float.

The natives also had play boats of various sizes; small ones were called galăl, and larger ones ligĕli. Drawing 146 shows a type, that was unusual in Ifaluk. This kind, which is called gauat, has a crescent-shaped ornament; they are often seen on Satoan, and there was one of them on Ifaluk before the last typhoon (1907).

[AN: For terms for the various parts of the canoe see source pages 50-51] [52]

The cooking apparatus (felan[illegible]ligăb) for long trips consists of a four-cornered (50 cm. square) raised frame with slender little sticks, which serves as a grill. This contrivance (drawing 151) stands on legs over the belăf. A small coconut leaf mat (ilafe) is laid in this polygonal frame, and then sand is sprinkled on top. Fish are roasted here. When the natives are on the high seas coconuts are used for water vessels. The men catch rain water in a hat, which is turned upside down, and its tip sticks into a coconut flask.

2: Damm et al. --133-135 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 501, 552 Aurupik

The canoe (uă) is a wooden boat of the typical Central Carolinian form. The various types have particular names; for example, Sarfert went in a maiwŏle to Uäu in the atoll. There is a very small number of them today; on the largest island there were three big sailing canoes, and seven small ones, on the second island there was one small craft. Lütke and his companion von Kittlitz noticed "many boats on the beach" formerly. [CS: Omission of the names for the various parts of the canoe, pages 134-135).

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 501, 505 Lamotrek

paliŭ, the captain of the canoe, sleeps on the sea in the barong, while his wife stays in the gaimoém. The paliŭ sleeps in the kimoém on the lee platform, but on the canoes of the western islands that is the place assigned to the women; for that reason there is a hole, ngatalie bĕp, in the floor for the relief of nature. Sexual intercourse is not allowed on board.

Provisions:

The captain has the provisions with him in the barong but the coconuts are stored in the bul room or basebas barong; they may not be touched.* The pallŭ always eats first and then the crew, rŏliva. No one asks for food; everyone waits until the captain eats and then the others are given their share. Food is always very limited. The boat carries mar which tastes very well with tak, Belone.

The Canoe, oa̅
(cf. photos 15 and 17) [VMM: see source]
Native terms of Kotzebue see his Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 62.

canoe	oa
mast	gkeus
sail	ui
float	tham
stern part of canoe	muril, mol
steer	ekailioth
row	fathel
drift	sasol
turn	thou
tack	tattagul
run aground	eckail [260]

The canoes of Oleai were considered very good.

Besides the large sailing canoe there exists a smaller type (Born: wa mar), and lagoon boats with the same forked tail figure-heads (Born: rassim); only the outrigger and the lee platform are much simpler. On the weatherside, on the baraf plank, where the outrigger begins, there is an enclosure for receiving goods and provisions (Figure 27)

4: Krämer--259-260 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 501 Woleai

[VMM: see source]. A fishing canoe is called máluvil (Born: small rowing canoe, tschosmal; the larger type which holds 10-20 men is called wa fetal). Women are good oarsmen.

Krämer mentions bilis, breadfruit sap used for caulking. After 25 years it had a hellish smell. According to Born, cement is made of breadfruit milk, lime, ashes of coconut shell and the juice of pandanus roots.

6: Senfft--55
116, 396, 501

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Their canoes are made of the wood of the species of breadfruit tree which bears seed. The canoes may be as long as 10 meters from bow to stern; the keel curves downwards and the end pieces are forked. On one side of the hull there is an outrigger and a sturdy bar running parallel to it, on the other side there is a broad platform where members of the crew may rest and where the supplies are kept. This platform is provided with a roof as a protection against the rain and the sun. The sail is made of plaited pandanus leaves; it has the shape of a triangle two sides of which are framed. The corner of the sail formed by these two sides is inserted into a groove in the end piece. The fore and aft end pieces are constructed in the same way. All parts of the boat are sewn together with coconut strings and the cracks are calked with fibers and the resinous sap of a plant. They do not groove the planks used for the canoe; for that reason, and because of the fact that there is no cover for the hull of the canoe, it is always necessary to bail water. A sturdy paddle with a broad leaf is used for steering. The canoes used for shorter trips, within the lagoon or for fishing expeditions, are built according to the same pattern.

There are two basic types of canoes, which again have two subdivisions each, those used for sailing and those used for rowing. The generic term for canoe is w(u)a. The canoes for rowing are privately owned; of these, some are built for one or two persons, tschosmal, and some are larger, accomodating 11 or 12, wafetul. They are made of wood from breadfruit trees, and the separate pieces are lashed together with coconut yarn and glue. This glue is made of burned pulverized coral lime, ashes of coconut shells and the juice of fatsch roots. The two outrigger, tamur, poles are placed in the center of these canoes [182]; these are forked and are set into the outrigger and made fast with coconut ropes, golgol, tied in elaborate knots. In the small canoes, a board made of wood from the breadfruit tree is placed over the outrigger poles to be used for sitting. The large canoes have eight or nine narrow benches for the men who are rowing, and a rectangular wooden platform with a reenforced edge, faref, which is used to store equipment and supplies; it takes up half the length and the entire width of the canoes and is placed on the outrigger poles, toward the outrigger and outside of the canoe proper. The canoes are equipped with short paddles which are easy to handle, fatel; there are made of safang (Calophyllum) wood and are slightly curved at the points.

All of these canoes have an attractive, slender shape. They have forked end pieces like those of Jap, rassim. On Jap there are no canoes for rowing; they are very handy for the people of Oleai, however, who use them for short trips among the neighboring islands.

The natives here are experts in the construction of canoes for sailing. There are two types of these: wamar, small canoes used within the lagoon, and waluwe, the large canoes used for deep water fishing and for the large expeditions to Ruck. By European standards, these large canoes are also quite useful for shorter trips. There are wide benches with back rests, falak, in the center of the canoe; for protection from wind and rain on longer journeys, there are huts, geimeru, on the outrigger.

The natives use carefully finished blocks of wood for the tackle. They learned this device from merchant ships; on Jap it is still unknown.

12: Lutke--140 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
501 Woleai

We saw several canoes in front of nearly every house and there were a great many in process of construction.

28: Spiro--38 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 784, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--39 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 396, 226, 501 Ifalik

"There is one ritual ceremony connected with the construction of a large canoe. After the canoe is painted, a fire is lit outside the canoe-house for four consecutive nights, the canoe remaining in the canoe-house for that time. Failure to light the fire, would result in the men being unable to catch fish from that canoe--the fish would simply not bite."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You die.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

6: Müller--307 E-5 (1909-1910) 1917 OR22 Yap OR22
Wolgai OR21
Faraulep
Ulithi OR20
Mokemok

/Between pp. 176 and 177./

Plate 57

Y
CW
501
Y
501
Y
501
343

2.

4. Gĭpăr̆ĭ canoe. On the right a dilapidated clubhouse with tobacco planting. Village of Gatnäth.

1.

3. Raised high-sea canoe with the canoe shelter, viewed longitudinally. Village of Gătšăpăr.

1. Raised high-sea canoe with the canoe shelter, village of Gătšăpăr. 2. Cargo canoe, Jauăv, manned by Faraulip and Mogemog people, Tămil Harbor.

113, 502, 805, 821

Nomoi	OR14
Puluwat	OR17
Southwest Islands	OR18
Ulithi	OR20
Woleai	OR21
Yap	OR22

/For information on native astronomy in the central Carolines, especially the Sidereal Compass, and the Calendar and Almanac, see 18: Goodenough, OR19 Truk, category 116./

"Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me,--a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire. [11]
Turn aside, wind and cloud!

Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked 'like a charm', --which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.
. . . . . .

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.
. . . . . .

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches.
. . . . . .

Now the food is nearly gone.
We watch each other eat.
Look up, and there are no trees,
Here, where it used to be so fine."

"The mast [KS: of a canoe] is supported to windward by a shroud running from the masthead to a hole in the middle of the yoke which connects the two outrigger booms directly over the float. Fore and aft it is supported by a running stay attached in the middle to the masthead and at the ends to the projecting endmost thwarts. The sail is let in and out by a sheet attached to the boom, much as in sails of European type. To shorten sail in case a squall threatens to capsize the canoe, the boom can be raised by means of spilling lines reeved through the masthead. *

In order to change to the other tack in beating to windward, or to make any sharp turn of more than a right angle, the canoe does not go about like European sailing craft, but changes ends. This is quickly done, while the canoe swings toward the new direction,

---

"* This rig is shown, more clearly than words can do it, in some of the illustrations in Haddon and Hornell; particularly Vol. 1, Figs. 269 and 270. Fig. 268 shows more clearly the shroud from masthead to yoke, but the sail is either in the wrong position or is of a different type from that used in Ifalik. Abb. 150 on p. 53 of Damm's book shows how some of the lines are attached to the mast. But the artist who redrew Sarfert's sketch made the mast too long and the apex of the sail too high, like a European lateen, rather than an Oceanic one."

by the following procedure: raising the boom to shorten sail, unfastening the apex of the sail, swinging the sail around the mast to leeward, and stepping the apex in the other end. This converts what was the stern into the bow. The steersman takes his post in what was the bow, which now becomes the stern. The boom is lowered, the sheet let out. The sail catches the wind, and the canoe moves off in the new direction. Obviously, the reason for this procedure is to keep the outrigger on the windward side, and so balance the vessel against the sidewise pressure of wind on the sail.

For maneuvering in shallow water, sailing canoes use the same equipment as small paddling canoes; paddles and even poles, though poles are rather for staving off coral heads than for propulsion, as the large canoes avoid water shallow enough for poling. The paddles have round, straight shafts, without knobs or other elaborations at the top, and lanceolate blades. These taper symmetrically from a low ridge along the middle to thin edges. At the tip, in most paddles, the middle ridge is extended and slightly expanded (Fig. 14, c). The protruding knob or spike helps to prevent the blade from splitting when the paddle is used for poling or staving off an obstacle; though such use is avoided, if there is time to seize a pole.

In open sea, canoes are kept on their course by a quarter rudder (Fig. 14, b). It is shipped near the stern on the leeward side. The line through the hole in its upper part is made fast to the projection of the stern thwart on the opposite side. The direction of the blade is regulated by the handle. To hold the lower part of the blade against the

side of the canoe, the steersman has to sit on the gunwale with one leg over the side. For this reason, steering at sea is an awkward and strenuous task. [63]

The quarter rudder not only steers the canoe, but cuts down drift like the sideboards sometimes fitted to small canoes in the United States when they are sailed.

The hulls have a total height of four or five feet, and when loaded draw from two to, at most, three feet of water. Lacking a keel, or even the flattened leeward side of some other Micronesian canoes, they can sail close to the wind, and drift rather badly. This seems to be the main weakness of the canoes, otherwise admirably fast under sail, and seaworthy for their size. One of the chief worries of a native navigator is that he may drift off his course unless he has a following wind, and miss entirely the small, low island which is the only destination he can have within three or four hundred miles of Ifalik."

1: Burrows--64 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

"The ancient art of navigation in native sailing canoes is still in use on the seas about Ifalik. Most of the voyages are short, between neighboring islands. Probably more than half of the traffic in and out of Ifalik is with Woleai, only 30 miles away. Yet trips to any of the islands within 100 miles are not unusual. And though longer distances, as to Yap, Truk and Guam, are now ordinarily left to foreign steamers or airplanes, sailing directions for them, too, are still remembered. Tom, whose claim to be the foremost 'captain' of Ifalik seemed to be generally acknowledged, said that he could still reach any of those islands by the old methods. However, he owns two compasses, and knows how to use them from his long service on foreign ships. He would supplement native lore by taking one along."

1: Burrows--65-66 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502-773 Ifalik

"The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth [66] but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on that special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky."

. 1: Burrows--66 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 502, 173 Ifalik

"In beginning one of his greatest favors to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or 'talk for cap'n', Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
Farewai

He has also four sons: Paluelap
Farewai
Valur, later known as Sagol
Wëriëng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and Langorlk, whom Tom there called his 'nephews').

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no

longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap
LongorIk
and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names."

1: Burrows--66-67 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"The myths in Tom's 'talk for cap'n' follow, in the order in which he gave them. In one or two places, as noted in parenthetical comment, some other order would seem more logical. Indeed, the whole episode of magical canoe-building by Seilangi, god of shipwrights, seems to belong with the lore of canoe carpentry rather than that of navigation. If Tom [67] had been asked, it may be that he would have accepted such changes. But it seemed that a more accurate picture of native thinking would be given by not questioning his original version, thus giving native tradition precedence over a foreigner's notion of logic."

"1. How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifalik

The god Aluluei came to Bwennap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwennap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger LongorIk.

Underneath Bwennap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

Aluluei, who was the greatest of navigators, began to teach his lore to his sons. One day Longolap came to his father and said he wanted to take a wife. Aluluei objected, because if Longolap were to marry, he would spend too much time with his wife, when he should be listening to the lore of seamanship. But Longolap was set on marrying, and finally had his way. After that, he spend [sic] a great deal of time with his wife, and did not come back and listen to his father for many days. At last he came again, but only learned a little bit.

LongorIk, the younger son, did not want to marry. He stayed with his father, and learned all about seamanship.

One day LongorIk told his father he wanted to cut a breadfruit tree and make himself a canoe. He took his adz and went out in the land below Bwennap, where there were plenty of trees of all kinds.

On the way to the breadfruit grove LongorIk met Longolap.

'Where are you going?'

'I am going to the grove to cut a breadfruit tree, to make myself a canoe.'

'I'll go along and help you.'

So they went together to the grove, selected a tree, felled it, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

In the morning they returned, only to find the tree standing, with all the chips back in place, and nothing to show that any work had been done on it. They felled it again, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

Aluluei asked LongorIk 'Is your canoe nearly finished?'

'Yes.'

On the third morning LongorIk set out again, but this time Longolap did not go with him. Coming to the tree, he found it once more standing, with nothing to show for all their work. [68]

This time LongorIk did not set about felling the tree again, but went back to his father. He said to Aluluei:

'Isn't there something about the lore of seamanship that you haven't told me?'

'What makes you think that?'

'Why, every day we fell a tree and work away hewing it to shape. When we go back

in the morning, there it is standing, with nothing to show that it ever felt the edge of an adz.'

'Oh! So that's it! Tell me, did you see a bird while you were working?'

'Yes.'

'Well, you go back and get to work again, and when you see the bird, talk to it.' And Aluluei told his son how to greet the bird.

LongorIk went back to the grove, felled the tree again, cut off a length of four fathoms, and was hard at work hewing it to shape when the bird flew toward him, uttering the high trilling spund that gods make.

LongorIk greeted the bird with the prolonged cry his father had taught him: 'Va irōu!'

At this the bird changed to the form of a man. It was Seilangi, god of canoe carpenters.

'Oho! That's better!', the god said. 'I think you didn't know me before. Who told you who I am?'

'It was my father, Aluluei.'

'Very well. Go back and tell your family that the canoe is all finished.'

So LongorIk went and told his family.

'Finished so soon?' Aluluei asked him.

'Yes.'

So Aluluei told the women to plait a pandanus mat sail for the canoe. Meanwhile

Seilangi summoned his people, the ants. They finished the canoe in one day, mast and all, except for the sail, and carried it into the water.

When LongorIk came and saw his fine new canoe, Seilangi asked him:

'Is the sail finished? ' [69]

'All finished. '

'Bring it along. '

So LongorIk brought the sail, and it was quickly bent on.

Then LongorIk told his family to make him plenty of food. He said to his father:

'I want to go to your land, Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei.)

'Very well. But take care! You will come to a place where they eat people. Follow my instructions exactly. When you come close to shore, and a man asks you 'Shall I anchor your canoe for you? ', don't let him do it! Anchor it yourself. Then when they show you fresh water to bathe in, you will see two pools. One has fine, clear water, the other has dirty water. Be sure to bathe in the dirty water.

'Another thing: before you go to sleep, cut pieces of white coconut meat and tuck them under your eyebrows. Then when someone comes and looks at you he will see a gleam like the whites of your eyes, and will think you are wide awake. And finally, while you are there you must ask the people for a big stone that belongs to me. '

But before LongorIk was quite ready to go, his brother Longolap came to him and said:

'Don't you go this time! Let me go first. You can come later.'

So LongorIk let his elder brother take the canoe and go first.

Longolap set out. He only knew a little bit. But he got to the Sands of Aluluei, and there found his father Aluluei, who had come by magic, sitting under the lone wutu tree that grows there. Seilangi had come along, too, in the form of a sandpiper.

Longolap chanted the chant he had learned, to bring his canoe safe home, and set out on the return voyage. He came to another island. As he drew near shore, a man called out to him:

'What are you doing here?'

'I am going to the land of Aluluei.'

'Whose son are you?'

'Aluluei's son.'

'Very well. Let me take your anchor rope, and I will anchor your canoe.'

Longolap, who had not heard his father's instructions, let the stranger take the rope. The man tied it about a big mweial shell under the water. [70]

Longolap went ashore to the Men's House. A man asked him if he wanted to bathe, and offered to show him fresh water. He and his sailors went with the man, who showed them two pools, one of fine, clear water, and the other of dirty water. Since he only knew a little bit, and had not heard his father's instructions, he bathed in the fine, clear water.

Then Longolap came back to the men's house. Tired after their voyage, he and his men were soon asleep. While they were sleeping, the men of that land came upon them, seized them, and put them into the rounded end of the house, where the roof overhangs. They had this walled off like a separate room. They did not kill Longolap and his men. But the one who had anchored the canoe went and unfastened it, took it out to sea, set it adrift, and then returned.

Back home in Bwennap, LongorIk worried about his brother and wanted to go and find him. For that he needed another canoe. He went into the woods, thinking over his problem, and there met Seilangi.

'Do you want another canoe?'

'Indeed I do.'

'Well, just go back and tell your people to make the sail.'

LongorIk told his people, while Seilangi and his ants finished the canoe in one day, as before, and put it into the water. When the sail was bent on, LongorIk came and told his people to prepare plenty of food for the journey.

He sailed to the Sands of Aluluei, and there was his father waiting for him.

LongorIk and his sailors came ashore, tired and hungry. LongorIk said to his father: 'We want something to eat.'

Aluluei said: 'Look about this land. There are no coconut trees here, no taro. How can you eat?'

LongorIk answered: 'You find something.'

So Aluluei talked to his people underground, as if on the telephone. The women down there got together wot and pulax. The men climbed trees and got coconuts. They brought a great feast for LongorIk, then went back under the sands.

LongorIk said to his father: 'I want to go and find my brother Longolap.'

'Very well. Go. But do not forget any of the things I told you!'

'I won't forget.' [71]

LongorIk sailed on and came to land. He went through the pass into the lagoon and was nearing shore when the man who had deceived his brother called out:

'Give me a rope so I can anchor your canoe!'

'No, you go back ashore', LongorIk replied. 'I'll take care of the anchor.'

And he tied his canoe to a coconut tree.

He went into the Men's House, and the men of that place asked him 'What did you come here for?'

'I came for the big stone that belongs to my father, the stone of Aluluei. Is it here?'

'Yes. It is here.'

'I'd like to go and bathe.'

'You'd better let some of us show you where.'

Some of the men guided him and his crew to the water. They urged them to bathe in the fine, clear water, but LongorIk refused, and he and his men bathed in the dirty water.

Then they went back to the Men's House.

Longorlk told his sailors not to go to sleep yet. He had them prepare coconut meat and put it under their eyebrows, so that when they had to go to sleep that night, the people would think they were awake. The men of the place came during the night, but thinking they were awake, did not attack them.

In the morning Longorlk told the people he wanted to go back home.

'Can you bring me my father's stone?'

'Yes, but it will take all of us, men, women, and children, to haul it. It is very heavy.'

'Well, if you'll bring it to the shore today, I'll go tomorrow.'

So the people went into the interior and tugged and heaved at the stone. They could barely move it; but they kept at it, inching it along toward the shore.

When they were all at work, Longorlk went back to the Men's House. He hewed through the wall that closed off the rounded end, and found his brother and the crew that had come with him.

Longolap muttered drowsily 'What are you doing? I want to sleep.'

'Are you sleeping or are you dead?' [72]

'Just sleeping.'

'Well, you'll be dead if you stay in here much longer!'

He took them all to his canoe, untied the mooring line, and put out to sea, leaving the

people of that land tugging and heaving at the big stone.

When they came to the Sands of Aluluei, LongorIk went ashore and talked to his father.

'Did you bring your brother back?'

'Yes.'

'You see, it's just as I told you. Longolap doesn't know the lore of seamanship. He only knows a little bit.'

'Let's go back home now.'

So LongorIk went back to Bwennap, taking his brother with him in the canoe, while Aluluei went back by magic, and was waiting for them when they arrived.

They came ashore, and Longolap went to his wife. LongorIk, who had no wife, went home to his father.

(The episode that follows seems quite distinct from the story of Longolap and LongorIk. Logically, it might well precede that story. But Tom gave it as the conclusion to what has gone before.)

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwennap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wĕriĕng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The

canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

'What for?'

'I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink.'

'All right. Bring it along.'

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said 'That is not enough.'

'Drink it anyway', the girl answered. [73]

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

'Climb into the canoe', they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

'You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father.'

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

'What is this?' the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. 'I don't understand it.'

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

'Come look at this chart!'

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

'Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship.'

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk. There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifalik and Woleai and Faraulep.

That is how the lore of seamanship first came to Ifalik."

(1947-48)

"2. Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wĕriĕng went from Bwennap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wĕriĕng's [74] wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wĕriĕng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wĕriĕng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwennap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wĕriĕng stayed four days in Bwennap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipĕre, gus, and apap. But Wĕriĕng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wĕriĕng's house.

Wëriëng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

'I'm not dead!' he shouted. 'Here I am!'

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wëriëng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wëriëng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifalik.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wëriëng threw him overboard at sea."

"3. The Overconfidence of Longolap

Farewai understands the east and the west. By looking either at the morning sky in the west, he can forecast the weather--clouds, winds, rain, or fair weather. He taught this knowledge to his nephews, Longolap and LongorIk. Longolap only learned a little bit, but LongorIk learned everything.

LongorIk looked in the east and saw bad weather coming. Longolap looked in the west, and thought he saw fine weather. So in spite of his brother's warning, he put out to sea. A typhoon came, with torrents of rain, and broke in the hull of his canoe. Longolap was not drowned, but swam beside the wreck.

LongorIk looked at the sky and saw fine weather coming. So he made a big canoe. Then he took 2,000 coconuts, loaded the canoe with them, and went to look for his brother. His father, Paluelap, went with him. [75]

After a while they caught sight of Longolap, swimming beside the wreck of his canoe. They tied the 2,000 coconuts together, making a floating drydock of them. On this they placed the wreck of Longolap's canoe, and thus repaired it well enough so that he could make his way home in it.

LongorIk said to his brother 'See? What did I tell you?'

Longolap followed his brother's canoe back to their home. When they got there, Paluelap and LongorIk told Longolap he had better stay ashore thereafter. But he said

'No. I want to find the place where Aluluei lives.'

So he set forth again. He found the Sands of Aluluei. But there are two islands by that name. One is where Aluluei lives. The other is inhabited solely by sandpipers, who spend their time singing for the god. It was the island inhabited by sandpipers that Longolap found. When he saw that his grandfather Aluluei was not there, he went on.

There is an enormous taro growing in the ocean that belongs to Aluluei. A number of little taros grow close around it. Longolap came to this, and tried to get one of the little taros to eat. But in order to do this, it is necessary to sing a certain song, and Longolap did not know the song. So the ants of Aluluei bit him when he tried to pull the taro. He tried again and again, but at last had to give up.

Then for a long time Longolap saw no land, and had no food to eat. At last he came to a lone coconut tree, growing in the midst of the ocean. This, too, belongs to Aluluei. But in order to climb it a man must sing a certain song; and Longolap had not learned the song. So he could not climb the tree. Some of his sailors starved to death.

Again LongorIk came to the rescue and found him.

'What are you doing out here? You've been away from home a long time.'

At last Longolap had to admit that he did not know all he needed to know to succeed at seafaring.

'Come with me', said LongorIk. They came to the taro growing in the sea. LongorIk sang the proper song, pulled some of the little taros, and they had food to eat.

They went on and came to the lone coconut tree. Again LongorIk sang the proper song, climbed the coconut tree, and they had ripe nuts to eat and young ones to drink.

LongorIk said 'Follow me. I'll show you the way home.'

But Longolap, now that he was well fed, had regained his confidence in himself. He said 'No. You go where you please. I know the way.' [76]

LongorIk sailed directly home. Longolap cruised about on the sea for four months, and could not find the way. He and his sailors were so famished they could not walk.

Once more LongorIk came and found him. 'I will show you the way. If you do not follow me you will die.' And Longolap, once more driven to admit his ignorance, agreed and followed his brother.

When they reached home, LongorIk waded ashore. But Longolap and his men had to be carried."

1: Burrows--76-77 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"This is not the place for a systematic analysis of these myths as examples of folklore. But a few striking characteristics are worth noting, if only to suggest some of the possibilities of such an analysis.

For one, the tales are developed to a considerable extent by repetition of incidents, one of the commonest devices in folk-tales. Examples of repeated incidents are: the tree twice restored after being felled and hewn; the two canoes built for LongorIk by Seilangi and his ants; the several voyages of LongorIk in search of Longolap; the anchoring of the canoe, choice of pools for bathing, and use of coconut meat to simulate whites of the eyes, on the cannibal island; the two visits to the huge taro and lone coconut that grow by themselves in the sea; and even such little phrases as the one about LongorIk knowing everything about navigation, while Longolap only knew a little bit.

One of the incidents in the first myth is widely distributed in Oceania, --the repeated restoration of the hewn tree by a god until he is properly placated, whereupon he builds a canoe out of the tree with miraculous speed. Frequently, as here, the god appears first as a bird. Beckwith, in 'Hawaiian Mythology' (pp. 272-3) notes the occurrence of this incident nearly everywhere in Polynesia; in one island generally classed as Melanesian (Mota of the Banks group); and in one Indonesian tribe (The Dyaks of Borneo). Probably several other incidents, such as the inexhaustible drinking nut, are also widespread.

In the story of Longolap and LongorIk, it is the younger child who is successful. This motif, 'youngest child successful', is world-wide. One variant of it is the incident of Cinderella and the glass slipper. Is this a piece of wish-fulfilment fantasy, a solace for younger children who are relegated to an inferior role? Such questions are easy to ask, but hard to answer with anything more trustworthy than a guess. A method of reaching rigorous scientific answers to such questions has yet to be developed.

Another outstanding characteristic of the two tales (or two variants of one tale?) about Longolap and LongorIk is that they serve to point a moral. This puts them in the category of fables, like those of Aesop. The moral here, or course, is: Don't let a woman distract you from your study of navigation.

Finally, all these myths have an inconsistency and shiftiness that give them a dream-like character. This shows up especially in comparison of [77] the myths with the 'genealogy', if it deserves the name, of the gods of navigation. In the genealogy Longolap and LongorIk are grandsons of Aluluei. In the myth they are his sons. In the genealogy Wërië̈ng and Valur are sons of Aluluei. In one of the myths they are strange gods from afar, who bring Aluluei the chart containing all the fine points about navigation. The other strange god does not appear in the genealogy at all.

The peculiar characteristics of the island Bwënnap reappear in the other island called 'Sands of Aluluei'. Both are sandy islands, with only one wutu tree growing on them. But underground, in both of them, is a large and populous realm, abounding with all

useful plants. Bwénnap is given a location in the Pacific. The Sands of Aluluei and the unnamed cannibal island are not located; but from Tom's statement that the gods of navigation live in a special part of the sky, I suppose that these islands may be thought of as in the sky. Yet canoes can reach them from Bwénnap.

Such inconsistencies and vaguenesses are of course not uncommon in folklore. The 'genealogy' looks a little like an attempt to pull the myths together and give them consistency; but if so, it is a very sloppy job. Evidently the custodians of these myths--that is, the navigators of Ifalik and the islands about--never got together and worked out an official, consistent version of them, as the priests of various other lands have done with their traditions.

After all, the myths serve what seems to be their main purpose without being precise and consistent. That purpose is to give the lore of navigation the dignity of divine origin. This wins respect for the lore of navigation and gives confidence in the navigators. Presumably the special connection of the navigators with the gods helps to preserve discipline aboard ship."

1: Burrows--77-78 (1947-48) Woleaians[1-3]
116, 502, 782 Ifalik

"Songs for Divine Guidance

Seven songs were dictated by Tom as part of the navigator's lore. They seem to be both prayers and incantations, if we define prayer as an appeal for help to a divine being, and incantation as a song thought to have magical power in itself. Each song is accompanied by a bit of ritual, which reinforces its meaning as gesture reinforces the meaning of ordinary speech. But these are not mere optional gestures. They are essential to the proper utterance of the song. This seems to give them the character of magic, credited with power in itself, rather than of religion, appealing to an outside power. Yet the ritual can well be thought of as obeisance appropriate to an appeal, like a bow or salute to a human superior. It is my impression that the natives do not make the distinction between the two, but regard this behavior both as what we call magic and as what we call religion.

The texts of the songs will be given in the study of native art. One of them is an appeal to Sautā, a god not mentioned in the myths, for wisdom. [78] He is asked to illuminate the navigator's mind by lighting a fire within him. As he sings this, the navigator rubs over his chest sand, mixed with sea water taken from the point where land and water meet. A similar song, using the same figure of lighting a fire but not naming any particular deity, is uttered while cutting off the bud end of a coconut and mixing the juice with leaves of aro.

A third song, which Tom said was particularly advanced and hard to get, is intended to lighten the canoe so it will stay afloat. It invokes Loulemwau, whom Tom called 'god of the canoe.' It is sung while the navigator, holding a ripe coconut in its husk, bound about with a strip of coconut leaf, wades around his canoe, tapping the hull at the water-line with the coconut.

An appeal for fair weather is sung to the god Wĕriĕng. To sing this, the captain goes aboard with a piece of white young coconut leaf. This he taps against the sail as he sings, then ties bits of it to all the lines of the rigging.

Before the mast is set up, it is swept with a strip of white leaf, while the navigator sings a song to Ilekerēp, god of the sea-lanes, asking him to bring the canoe safe to its port. A similar appeal for the return voyage is sung as the mooring line is untied from a tree, and rubbed back and forth against the landward side of the tree. In this song Soupalele, god of the navigator, is asked to anchor the canoe in the woods, in the center of the home island.

Far the longest and most comprehensive of the songs was described by Tom as his own special prayer for success at sea. It had been given by one of the gods of navigation--he did not know which one--to a navigator of ancient times, and handed down to his pupils from generation to generation ever since.

This song invoked not one god but a multitude of them, running up the number in a

final stanza from one hundred to ten thousand. It appeals for most of the gifts asked separately in the other songs: wisdom in seamanship, divine guidance of the canoe, strength and health for the navigator, fair weather, and shortening the distance between Ifalik and Woleai. As he begins singing it the navigator ties about his wrist a strip of white coconut leaf. He drinks a coconut for the gods, and offers a piece of taro and an umule fish."

1: Burrows--79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Ifalik

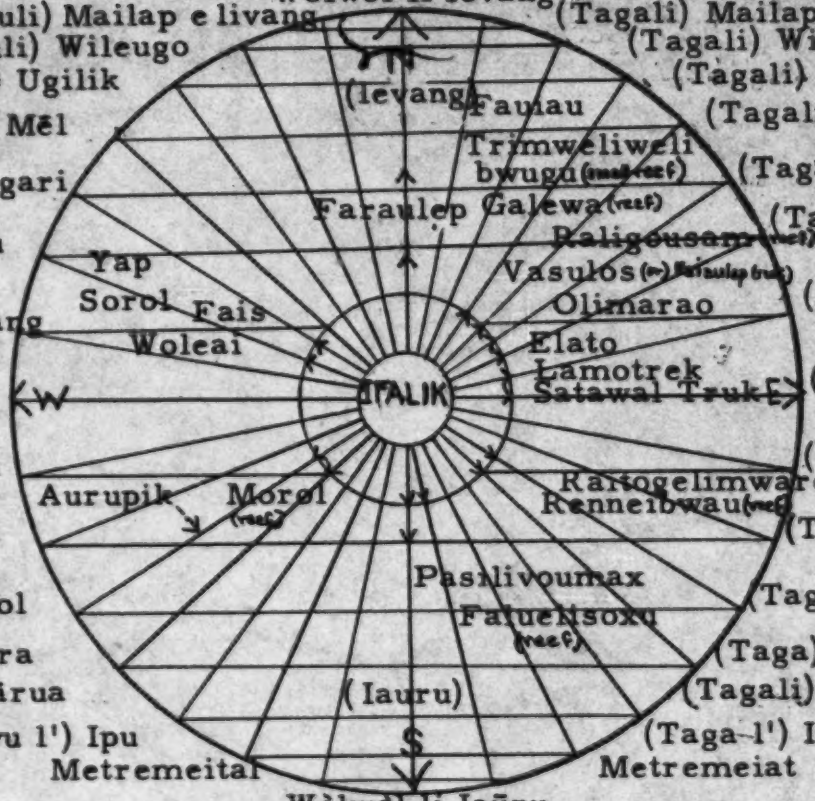
"For some reason, Sarfert was told that the old lore of navigation had been mostly forgotten. But the two best navigators of Ifalik were away at the time. He did collect names and positions of 28 stars, which correspond fairly well to the 32 given me; and some other details. However that may be, Tom had a remarkable amount of 'talk for cap'n' in his memory. The supernatural part of it has been given. What we would consider the practical part follows. Even this has many details that seem to us fantastic and impossible; notably the bits about sighting particular birds and fish at particular places. Some of the guiding stars named for certain islands, even, are not accurate, according to our charts. Yet conceivably they may serve the purpose, for some reason of wind or current. It is noticeable that the directions have not the vagueness and inconsistency of the myths. At any rate, canoes are able to reach neighboring islands most of the time, though being lost at sea is unquestionably one of the people's haunting fears. Directions for more distant points are little used and may be more dubious.

Fig. 16 shows the positions of the stars used for navigation in Ifalik; of the nearer islands and reefs; and a few of the more important ones at greater distances. Tom gave them to me from memory, but with a compass before us; and I wrote them down on sheets of paper with circles drawn on them like those on Figure 16, marked to show the points of the compass. This kind of notation was suggested to me by Tom's occasional use of English terms for points of the compass. He approved it, and at times supervised my notations closely, so far as directions are concerned."

(1947-48)

Woleaians 12

Ifalik



"Fig. 16. -Star chart."

See next page.

1: Burrows--79-A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502 Ifalik

"Fig. 16. -Star chart. Names outside the circle are those of stars used in navigation. Taga means 'rises'; tubwu, 'sets'; li being the definite article. Horizontal lines indicate the paths of the stars across the sky. Inside the circle, the two words in parentheses indicate the most clearly conceived cardinal directions: (Ievang) north, (Iauru) south. Names inside the circle and not in parentheses are those of islands or reefs said to be reached by steering for the rising or setting points on the same radial line."

"Damm, from a sketch by Sarfert, shows positions of some stars on a rectangular figure. Undoubtedly Tom's approval of my use of circles came from his familiarity with the European compass. It is questionable whether natives unfamiliar with the compass would conceive the universe with either square or circular boundaries. What they would have in mind, pretty surely, is something corresponding to the horizontal lines of Figure 16, which represent the courses or paths of the stars from rising to setting. When I asked Tom what a navigator would do when his guiding star was not in sight, he said 'He must know the road for that star.' Damm, too, speaks of the road of a star (die Bahn dieses Sternbildes) and may be quoting, via Sarfert, a native expression.

To save space, the corresponding charts for other islands are summarized in Appendix I. This does not exhaust the lore in Tom's memory. After giving me the lists from several islands, he asked me whether I wanted them all. As the process was taking a good deal of precious time, I decided that lists from the nearest islands and from the three most important farther ones--Guam, Yap, and Truk--would do to illustrate the nature [80] of native lore and suggest the extent of it. How many more he could have given I am not sure. Perhaps not many; but I recall his speaking as if he knew a similar list from Puluwat, which seems to have been a center of particularly high development of native navigation. And probably he could have given several others.

It is noticeable that the lists from the farthest islands are the least complete and

exact. That for Guam, which because of the east-west direction of prevailing winds is the most inaccessible by sail from Ifalik, is the worst of all. Putting Europe north by west from Guam is the nadir. But in that Tom was, of course, departing from anything in native tradition. I suspect that the mistakes in locating Saipan and 'Nuta' (Rota?) from Guam are not errors in his knowledge but in his use of English. He was subject to lapses in which he would say 'south' for 'north', and vice versa. One such would account for these errors. In spite of this, the Guam list is not impressive. Yet the total amount of his memorized information, and the accuracy of a good deal of it, do speak well for native mental capacity."

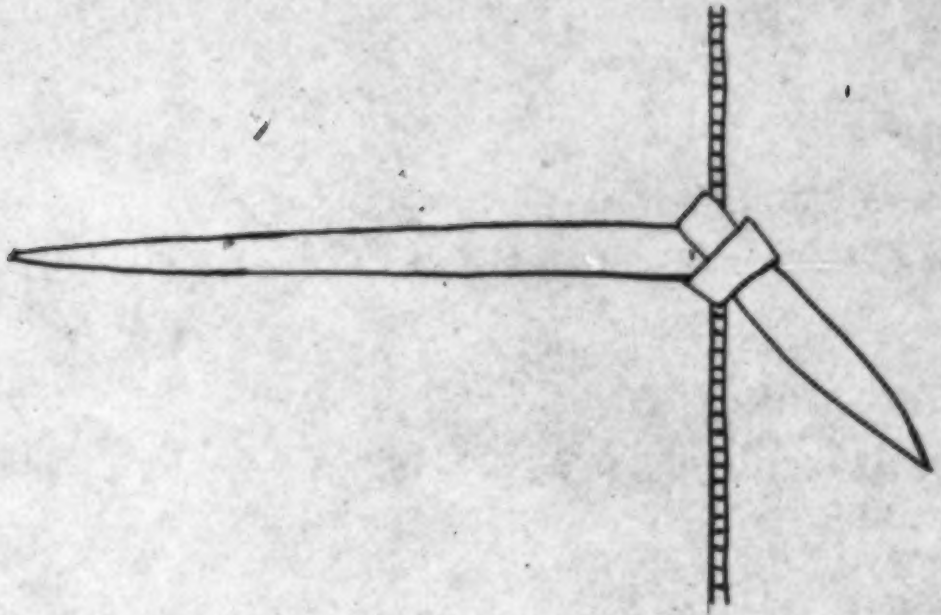
1: Burrows--80
116, 821, 132, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Stars as Weather Signs

Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ūlu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west."



"Fig. 18. -Weather vane, lowered into the water to show the direction of the current."

1: Burrows--81-82 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 823 Ifalik

"Lore of Currents

On any voyage, as soon as the canoe is out of the pass and far enough from the island it is leaving to be clear of currents affected by that body of land, the direction of the current in the open sea is tested. First the sheet is let go and the sail left flapping until the canoe loses headway. Then several light lines, weighted with sinkers, are lowered over [82] the sides. Each has attached to it a strip of coconut leaf, as shown in Figure 18, to act as a weather vane. The lines are lowered until these strips are far enough below the surface not to be knocked about by waves, but are still in plain sight. The current will then swing them around until the longer end points in the direction in which it is flowing. The several lines provide a check on each other, and prevent the navigator from being misled by some accident, such as a swirl of water around bow or stern, that might affect one of the vanes.

The captain then picks his course to allow for the current. If, for example, the current is flowing from north to south, he will choose a guiding star farther north than the true direction of the island he is heading for. Thus he guards against one of his great perils, --drifting off his course (mennāxo)."

1: Burrows--82-83
116, 487, 502, 823

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Detailed Sailing Directions

The following directions include, besides guiding stars, some further directions: a rear sight on Ifalik while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been misled. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali-or tubwuli-for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifalik to Woleai and Return

Guiding Stars- Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.

Rear Sight- Keep Matolo, the channel between Falārik and Falālap, 'open'; that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ellā in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falālap are visible to the south of it.

Birds- If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it). [83]

Stars for Return Trip-The star indicating the true direction is Elieli. If the current flows north, take a course between Elieli and Mailap; if it flows south, between Elieli and Sarabwol."

1: Burrows--128-129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 439 Ifalik

"It has been noted in the account of native navigation that canoes from Ifalik sometimes went as far as Truk to the eastward, or even farther. Whether these long trips accounted for most of the supply of rang [KS: powdered turmeric root used for body painting] from that direction, or whether most of it came by trading along the chain of low islands in between, is not clear. But certainly some of the supply from Yap was brought directly, in the course of the regular visits to the village of Gatschapar (Ifalik Garpar) in Gagil district, whose chiefs are regarded as overlords of Ifalik. The political aspect of these voyages will be considered in the chapter on government. As to the economic aspect, Fonachar of Yap told me that the people from outer atolls like Ifalik would bring cloths, mat sails and other pandanus mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy' (what he meant by 'candy' I could not make out). Yap gave in return, he said, rang, canoes of the larger and better timber available on the high islands, mats of Yap manufacture, betel nuts (but betel chewing is not customary on Ifalik), and foods not obtainable on the atolls, such as Tahitian chestnut. Since foreign vessels from the high islands have been making fairly frequent trips to Ifalik, most of the turmeric has been brought on them, though [129] the trade in it seems still to be in the hands of native sailors or passengers."

1: Burrows--163
116, 177, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Eastern Influence

The only story attributing important influence on Ifalik to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 67). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, ehich, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that troublt; but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; wIrIs Truk, Truk banana, and wIrIs Valupē. Valupē is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifalik in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, rang, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'. Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as

---

"* The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

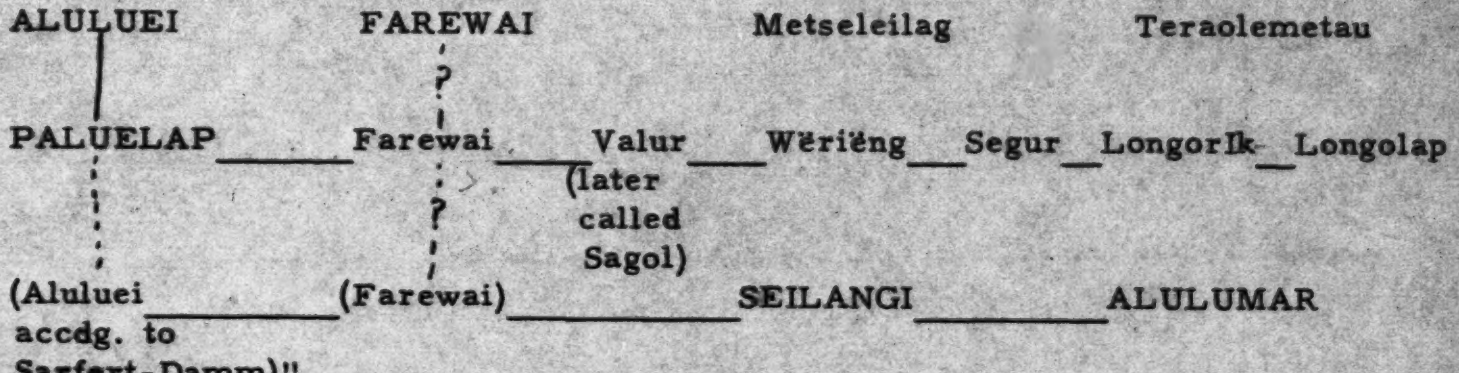
the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifalik and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifalik and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph."

"Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.



"Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of Aluluei.

Teraolemetau - Aluluei

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wĕriĕng to kill him.

Wĕriĕng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to

kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wĕriĕng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap - LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerĕp - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sautā - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galĕt.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer.

According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliăr - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
502 Ifalik

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them."

"Appendix II. Further Sailing Directions.

A. Ifalik to Faraulep & Return

Guiding Stars - Wolwol, due north, indicates the true direction. But because of prevailing currents, take first Tagalemailepalevang (on the chart as (Tagali) Mailapelivang) for 4 miles; then Tubwulemailepalevang for 1 mile; then Wolwol. After following Wolwol for 1 1/2 miles, Faraulep should be sighted.

Rear Sight - Keep Ella just touching the northwestern tip of Falārik.

Bird - If a metalipangerāle, with long tail feathers, is sighted, the canoe is off its course. Then the star Ulu (whether rising or setting not stated) will bring it in to Faraulep.

Fish - If a shark is sighted, follow the star Metremeiat.

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is Wolwol. To allow for currents, take first Metremeiat for 4 miles; then Metremeital for 1 mile. From there, Wolwol will fetch Ifalik.

B. Guiding Stars, Faiau to Ifalik.

Metremeital for 5 miles; then Tubwulemetara (on chart as (Tubwu li) Metarua) for 2 miles; then Tubwul'Ipu for 2 miles. This will bring the canoe in sight of Ifalik.

C. Rear Sights for Voyage from Ifalik to Lamotrek.

Put Ella just touching the end of the long stone pier on Falālap.
On the return trip, put the islet Falaite just touching the north end of Valipi.

D. Courses from Yap to Ifalik, with Intermediate Stops

First course: 1. Yap to Ulithi; guiding star, Tagal'ulu.
2. Ulithi to Fais; Tagalielieli.
3. Fais to Woleai; Tagatumūra.
4. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Second Course: 1. Yap to Sorol, Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Woleai; Tagalielieli.
3. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Third Course: 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Eaurupik; Tagatumūra.
3. Eaurupik to Woleai; Tagalimēl.

To sail from Ifalik to Yap, the preferred course is by way of Woleai and Sorol. The star Tubwul'ūlu is followed the whole way.

E. Courses from Truk to Ifalik. [236]

First Course: 1. Truk to Satawan, Tubwulimailap.
2. Satawan to Ifalik, Tubwulimailap.

Second Course (recommended because gaps are shorter):
1. Truk to Puluwat; Tubwul'ūlu; (2 nights).

2. Puluwat to Satawan; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).
3. Satawan to Lamotrek; Tubwul'ūlu (1 night).
4. Lamotrek to Elato; Tubwul'ūlu (1/2 day; these islands are in sight of each other.)
5. Elato to Ifalik; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).

F. Courses from Ifalik to Truk.

First Course: Ifalik to Satawan, Satawan to Truk; Tagalimailap the whole way.

Second Course (recommended because distances are shorter).

1. Ifalik to Elato; Tagal'ulu.
2. Elato to Lamotrek; by day, in sight; by night, Tagalielieli.
3. Lamotrek to Satawan; Tagalielieli.
4. Puluwat to Souk; Wolwol. (Why this detour to the south?)
5. Souk to Truk; Tagal'ūlu. [237]

G. From Woleai.

Tagaliwileugo - Faraulep.
Tagalimailap - Vasulos (reef).
Tagalielieli - Ifalik.
Tagalitumūr - Moroe (reef).
Tubwulitumūr - Aurupik.

Tubwusarabwol-Bugueluelu arem (reef). On the way, one man o' war bird.

Tubwulūlu-Sorol.

Tubwulimwarigari-Ulithi.

Tubwulimēl-Fais. (One of the Ifalik dance songs, the Peiran of Falālap, disagrees. According to its text, the star Tubwulimwarigari will bring a canoe from Woleai to the rock Rimwelivarougoue in Fais.)

H. From Faraulep.

Tagalimailap e li vang -Saipan.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 fish, gapile.

TagaliugilIk - 1 big fish - seu etag.

Tagalimēl - Faiau.

Pauievang - Kalūa (small reef).

Tagalimailap - Religousām - (reef).

Tagalielieli - one man o' war bird, (called in 'captain's language' neurevas.)

Tagatumūr - Trimaliwelibwugu (reef); farther, Olimarao.

TagalIpu - 2 whales, ualeliga jewetoxu.

Metremeiat - Vasulos (reef).
Wolwol li Iaūru - Ifalik. [238]
Tubwul'Ipu - Woleai.
Metārua - 20 porpoises, guatrIk.
Tubwulielieli - 1 bird with long tail-feathers, metalipangerele; Sorol.
Tubwulimailap - 1 whale, ualimen.
Tubwul'ūlu - 1 red fish, ig i seram; Fais.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 shark, trImeijou, with 2 small fish, sIlelīa, ' under his arm'; 2 big black diving birds, igotōro.
Wolwol li Ievang--many small black birds, asuval; Guam.

I. From Faiau.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Trilial (tinian).
Tagaliwileugo - Saipan.
Tagalimel - Tipipi (uninhabited island).
Tagal ' ūl - Tipapa (uninhabited island).
Tagalimailap - Getūa.
Tagalipauiaūru - 1 shark, laigelalo; his head keeps coming out of water.
Tagalielieli - Pigela (uninhabited island).

Tagatumūra - Satawan.
Taga limetārua - Lamotrek.
Tagal'Īpu - Elato.
Metremeiat - 1 shark, with 1 man-o'-war bird over him, saumātol.
Wolwol li Iaūru - Olimarao.
Metremeital - 4 whales, nāgmetau.
TubwulIpu - Vasulos (reef).
Tubwulimetārua (? designation undertain) - Ifalik
Tubwulitumūra - Faraulep.
Tubwulielieli - 1 shark with 2 small fish 'under his arm' - shemeijo.
Tubwulimailap - Fais.
Tubwul'ūl - 1 large fish with black head and white tail, tagural.[239]
Tubwulimēl - Vasielus (reef).
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'- war bird, gapilē.
Wolwol li Ievang - Guam

J. From Lamotrek.
Tagaliwileugo - 10 small fish, linked together like a chain - fātaleimware.
TagaliugilIk - Pigello (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalimēl - Uraiseivetāl (small reef).
Tagal 'ūlu - Pigennot (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)
Tagalipquievang - 20 big porpoises; very bad, will try to crush canoe.
Tagalimailap - Puluwat.
Tagalielieli - Satawan.
Tagal'Īpu - many birds, tepāl, with strong odor.
Mętręmeiat - 1 whale, uauumaiaūru.
Wolwol li Iaūru - 2 pagennai birds, called in captain's language lairomwara.
Tubwulipauiaūru - Ifalik
Tubwulimailap - Olimarao.
TubwuliugIlĪk - Faiau.
Tubwuliwileugo - Faurĕp (reef).
Tubwulimailapliievang - RŭtIk (reef).

K. From Olimarao. (Two versions were given of this. Intended to supplement each other, they disagreed at some points, as noted.)
Tagaliwileugo - many porpoises, called in captain's language naigām.

Tagaliugllīk - black mwili birds, called in captain's language pongenor.
Tagalimēl - Tipapa.
Tagalimegarigari - (other version - many mweli birds, called pongulōr.) [240]
Tagal'ūlu - Pigella (uninhabited island).
Tagali pauievang - (other version - Pigella).
Tagalimailap - Pigennot.
Tagalielieli - Lamotrek.
Tagatumūra - Elato.
Tagalīpu - 2 paugennai birds, called aurovālu.
Wolwol li Ievang - 1 commop shark and 2 very small white sharks called laorumetau.
Metremeital - MIsailealu (reef).
Tubwul'Ipu - Ororang (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Weraitogelimware (reef).
Tubwulisarabwol - Ifalik (? one version dubious, as Aurupik is south of Ifalik.)
Tubwulielieli - Aurupik.
Tubwulipauiauru - Ifalik (? one version).

Tubwulimailap - Woleai; Vasulos, one version; other has next star south for Vasulos.
Tubwulipauievang - Gautā, (reef).
Tubwul'ūlu - many porpoises, called in one version Falepeipeilalai; in the other Misailiealu, which the other uses for a reef under Metremeital.
Tubwulimwarigari - 40 fish, arōng.
Tubwulimel - SImweliulibwugu (reef); farther on, Faraulep.
Tubwuliwileugo - many small porpoises, uouwelinIran
Tubwulimailipelivang - OratIk (reef), one version; other has Galuā, apparently a little farther sw, under a star for which no name is listed.
Wolwol li Ievang - Farāp (reef), 1 version; other has Rajeivetāl, and, farther on, Faiau.

L. From Satawal (Satawal-aito).

(This list as given contained only directions toward the east. Two for the nearer islands to the west, however, were given 'in reverse' with the list for those islands - Lamotrek and Faiau - and are added here.)

Tagatumūra - Orejeivetan (reef). [241]

Tagaaarabwol - Souk (Pulusuk?).
Tagalielieli - Oroural (reef).
Tagal'ūlu - TruatalevalerIk (reef); farther on, under same star, Truataligapelalei (reef); still farther, under same star, Puluwat.
Tagal'ugIlīk - Pënënnot (Pikelot? Recorded elsewhere as Pigënnot). From Pëgënnot, the star Tagalielieli will lead to the reef Autaxileor, thence to the reef Autailemetau, and thence to Bwënnap. From Pegënnot, Tagatumūra will lead to Puluwat. From Bwënnap, TubwulIpu will lead to Puluwat.

M. From Yap.

Tagaliwileugo - Gaverot, island; 'steamer and canoe come close, go down in water.' (The name is virtually the same as Gaferut, which is about n. n. e. (?) from Ifalik, but about e by s from Yap.
Tagalimegarigāri - Ulithi.
Tagalielieli - Sorol.
Tagal'Ipu - Tongelap (reef).
Wolwolliiaūru - Ngolu (Ngulu)

Tubwul'Ipu - Gologol (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Palau.
Tubwulisarabwol - Olāt (long reef).
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwulimēl - 1 shark, ugelingaj.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 fish, sōm, whose dorsal fin slants toward the head instead of toward the tail; also seaweed, lem.
Wolwol liievang - 1 whale, walimIl, with many white birds perching on it,

N. From Truk.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 big man-o'-war bird, arIgemoa.
Tagalimēl - Pish (inhabited island).
Tagal'ūlu - Tennōmar (sandy island, with low trees and many fish).
[242]
Tagalimailap - Falepei (Ponape).
Tagalipauiaūru - Losap.
Tagalielieli - Leme.
Tagatumūra - Gotū.
Tagalimetārua - Satawal-airek (called Satawan on our charts; the suffix distinguishes it from Satawal-aito farther

west, near Lamotrek, which is called Satawal on our charts.

Tagalīpu - Namoluk ('Mortlock', Tom explained).
Wolwolliievang - Pelap ('much surf')
Metremeital - 1 whale, called uauemaiauru.
Tubwul'īpu - Pijemware.
Tubwulimetārua - 1 fish, lāgvIt.
Tubwulitumūra - 1 big shark, Oleleimwal, will crush a canoe.
Tubwulielieli - Souk. (Pulusuk?).
Tubwulimailap - Puluwat.
Tubwul'ūlu - Tamtam.
Tubwulimēl - Bwennap
Tubwuliwileugo - Oloulo ('atoll, white men live there').
Tubwulimailap elivang - Faiau-aiat (East Fayu?).
Wolwol li Ievang - Namoin (Nomwin?).

O. From Guam.

Tagaliwileugo - Pāgang (Pagan?).
Tagalimēl - Songorol ('no more people').
Tagal'ūlu - Tipipi.
Tagalipauievang - Tipapa.

Tagalielieli - Saipan.*
Tagaliṣarabwol - Nuta (Rota?).*
Tagatumura - Trilial (Tinian?).*
Tagal'Īpu - Lamotrek.
Mẹtrẹmeiat - Elato. [243]
Wolwol liiauru - Faiau.
Tubwul'Īpu - Faraulep, Ifaluk
Tubwutumūra - Woleai
Tubwulielieli - Yap.
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'war bird, called Vālemerizu.
Tubwulimailapelivang - Europe. "

"* These were given by points of the compass instead of stars. It seems likely that Tom said 'south' in these cases when he meant 'north'."

2: Damm et al. --39
502

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Compasses were unknown.

2; Damm et al. --45 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Ifaluk

In 1909 the knowledge required for seafaring was no longer preserved. Not one of all the men on the island knew how to sail by the stars. Only one had a vague idea about trips to Oleai, Faraulip and Lamutrik, but that was all that he knew. According to the islanders, there were still two experienced Ifaluk captains on Yap and Ngulu. Under these circumstances it was impossible to make a sailing chart.

2: Damm et al. --45-49 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-3
116, 502, 821 Ifaluk

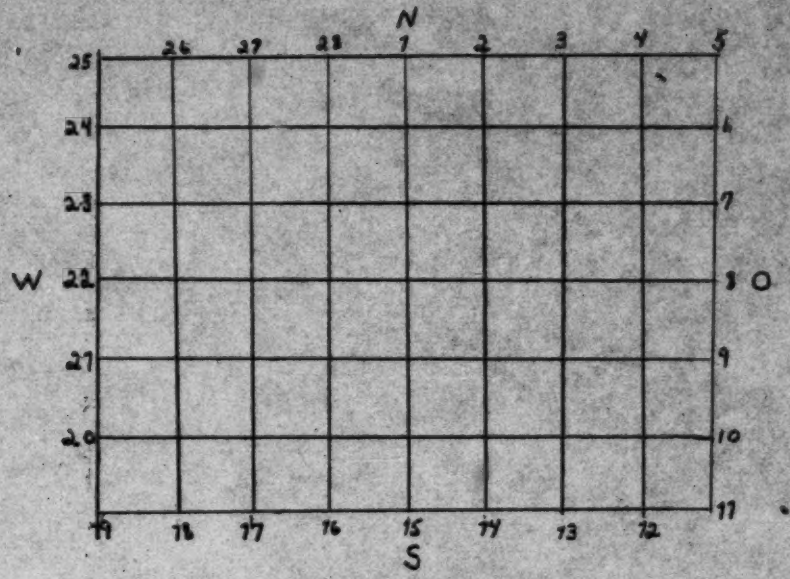


Fig. 143. Compass Rose (sketch by Sarfert).

A knowledge of the stars is the basis for all nautical information. The natives knew the following stars: (fŭs).

mōl	Lyra	eruol	Three Kings (in Orion)
ugelĭk	Orion	dumul	Virgo
măriger	Pleiades	djerewol	Raven
ŭl	Aldebaran	lup	
măilŏb	Eagle	wolewole	
gŭi	Fish, an enormous star, which travels all over the heavens; ugelĭk and erüŏl belong to it. [46]		
lăke		dagalĭp	
dŏbi		mōlărŭ	
ĭdj		măidjĭk	
mălu		ălalimĕi	Milky Way

măl̆ăm moon, the natives knew about the man in the moon, or Liganós: but they had no more exact information about him. The sun had no significance, whatsoever. Sarfert did not give a native term for it. They had no conception of the stars; the Yap inhabitants had told them that they were stones! Shooting stars - jajāle fŭs.

Drawing 143 shows a picture of the compass rose; the horizon was conceived in a rectangular form; point 1 is the place where a star rises in the vicinity of the polar star;

it sinks in number 15, so line 1-15 represents the course of this constellation. The same is true of the other constellations. [47]

Drawings 144, 145 show the position of the stars in the heavens at various times; when Altair goes down , and when it is at the zenith.

The natives know the following directions:

north	jífaṅ	northwest	ilodolífaṅ
south	jǒr	northeast	kodolífaṅ
west	ilodǒu	southwest	ilodolijǒr
east	jǒdou	southeast	kodolijǒr

[AN: the terms for the directions of the winds, pages 47-49 of source have been omitted.]

2; Damm et al. --49 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502 Ifaluk

The sailing trips, which are still known are:

Ifaluk - Oleai 9-23 of the compass rose.
Ifaluk - Faraulip 1-15 of the compass rose.
Ifaluk - Elato-Lamutrik 21-7 of the compass rose (Lamutrik is visible from Elato!)

Sarfert said that in olden days the natives also dealt with Satoan, which was settled by Ifaluk people, who came by way of Lamutrik.

Only one ship was known to have got off its course; the Hamburg South Sea Expedition saw the arrival of an Ifaluk canoe on Élato; coming back from Faraulip the boat was driven to Olimarau.

The nautical knowledge of the Aurepik islanders is not inferior to that of the other Caroline natives, for example the Polowat men. Sarfert's authority, Captain Wasäu, had visited all the islands between Ngulu in the west, and Satowal in the east, in his canoe; he had also sailed to the Marianas (Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan).

The heavens (star is fūis)

1.	Eagle	mâilōb	9.	Three Kings (in Orion)	elūel
2.	Aldebaran	ūl	10.	Raven	serewŏl
3.	Pleiades	măregīr	11.	Virgo	dūmur
4.	Procyon	măl	12.	?	medărū
5.	Orion	ugelĭk	13.	?	dagalĭbu
6.	?	wŏlago	14.	?	madje - măidŏl
7.	?	măilŏb barăwăn	15.	?	wŏlewol - elĭbu
8.	?	wŏlewŏl			

The moon is măräm (new moon - lūgulaŏli măräm, full moon woninäbäli măräm, waning moon - äliolăn, waxing moon - jaurugili măräm).

Fig. 222 shows the Aurepik compass. Numbers 1-15 give the starting points of the stars in the preceding list, and with the same numbers; 16-28 show where they disappear below the horizon (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 89). [132]

The names of the points of the compass are:

north	jíwaṅ	northwest	lodoăwäṅ
east	chodŭ	northeast	chodoăwäṅ
south	jŏr	southwest	lodoăr
west	ilodŏ	southeast	choduŏru

2: Damm et al. --133 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 463 Aurupik

The courses [CS: omission of sailing voyages, pages 132-133] show how well informed the Aurepik Captains (damól ídit) are. They certainly sailed east as far as Kusae (native name Chatáu)and Ponape, which is called Wulebéí here; perhaps they went even farther; to the north they traveled to the Marianas and to the west to the Philippines (Dawogán). According to the native accounts, Dawogán lies south of Chatowei, * and it is supposed to be much larger and higher than Truk, Yap and Palau. We can not say definitely how far south they had travelled.

---

* This is certainly Tobi; the map of the Polowai Captain Igurälli proves it; (compare Damm and Sarfert 1935, drawing 205).

2: Damm et al. --133 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Aurupik

The natives had nothing to say about people, who had been blown off their course and drifted. But we can read about them. The missionary Snelling was adrift for 93 days in a native boat which he had taken from Piherar; he finally reached Aurepik and then went on to Oleai. Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 108, tell about a canoe from Aurepik, that was blown to Hok.

There was naturally little material available about their nautical information. Among the stars (star - foi-l) they knew the

polar star -	olūol	Eagle	mailop
?	uolāgor	Three Kings	
?	ugeliga	(in Orion)	ɓliɓl
Procyon	mål	?	ɬarawūon
Pleiades	maraegiri	Virgo	tumur
Aldebaran	oūl	?	metarū
?	matjomáidan	?	tubulūp

2; Damm et al, - 173
116, 502, 778

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

Krämer obtained an old string pouch with snail shells; it belonged to the head chief, and was considered to be holy. It hung from the ridge pole of the canoe house, and was supposed to have been used to teach navigation in former times; the snail shells represented islands (or stars?).

2: Damm et al. --173-174 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502 Faraulep

The compass rose (drawing 249) is on the same pattern as the one in Polowat. [CS: Omission of the native terms for the various points.] [174] The wind directions are:

etők e lap	wind from the west
xotón e mái	wind from the east
eáur u láp	wind from the south
efáń e láp	wind from the north
xotóu a fáń	wind from the northeast
netó a fáń	wind from the northwest
xotóu eáur	wind from the southeast
netó eáur	wind from the southwest

From the east and the west the sea is called la e lapaláp; from the south it is la e l'eáur, from the north la el'efáń.

2: Damm et al. --175 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 484 Faraulep

Hambruch only heard about one boat, that drifted; it was an empty one, which came from Pur about five years before (about 1904). People were certainly blown off their course, although Hambruch did not hear of any instances of this. Kadu, Chamisso's authority, told about a Faraulip chief, who wanted to sail to Guam, but who was blown to Mogemog; he went home from there.

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

In connection with the canoe...it has been mentioned that Alúluei is the god of the navigators.... There he is referred to as the son of Paluelap and is called Alului, whereas on Truk he is thought to be identical with Aluelap. In other instances it has been claimed that he is identical with Paluilap. I learned that in addition to five gods there existed seventeen auxiliary navigators. Their names are:

Gods:

Alúelap	Olofat
Lugeileng	Alúluei
Eidjal	

Auxiliary Navigators:

1. Alulápelap	7. Sābug
2. Maselëlog	8. Fágara
3. Tarailemetau	9. Olopëlipen
4. Vórieng	10. Madjebol
5. Faludj	11. Lëbútobut
6. Gapiumolefádj	12. Uman

"Pandanus fruit"

Carpenters:

Legedjilab	Sëlang

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

Semèligóror Meseisseit
Semeligodjúat

The large number of spirits is to be explained by the fact that every navigator has his own spirit, whereas Luluei is common to them all.

4: Kramer--123 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Lamotrek

Teachings of navigation: Similar to those on Pollap. Canoes drifting in rain and wind recognize the direction of the current from the great north-eastern ground-swell, 16lablab, and from the south-eastern and north-western ground-swell which raises and lowers the canoe at the points in question.

Unsuccessful Voyages: In spite of the extensive knowledge of currents and stars...it is not a rare occurrence that canoes are thrown off their course, especially when the ground-swell has been changed by storms and the sky is overcast. One story tells that a year before our presence on the island, two canoes had sailed to Faiau to fish for turtles but the boats were shipwrecked. Six months before this accident, a canoe had set out for Oleai and Faroilap but had never arrived. Others that were considered lost: Uleisap with the canoe Falegarorong, two boats from Ifaluk, and one from Oleai.

Voyages: to Oleai and Ifaluk are undertaken at the end of November (bale aremoi...); the return voyage is made between July and September. If the destination was Guam, the canoes first took their course to Pikelot and then 3-4 course NNE-E and then NNW; in the latter position many birds are observed and as the boat follows them, the Marianas are soon sighted.

4: Krämer--123 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
115, 502, 484 Lamotrek

Chamisso learned the following from Kadu, after he had talked of some unsuccessful voyages...(see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, III, page 94:) "Every year more Carolinians sail to Guajan. Their flotilla of boats from Ulea and the surrounding groups, from Lamureck and Setoan, is assembled in Lamureck. From here the voyage starts in the month of April. From Lamureck to Fayo, the deserted island on which one stops over for a few days, the voyage is expected to take two days and from Fayo to Gajan three more days. The return voyage is again by way of Fayo and Lamureck. It falls in the month of May and at the latest in June, before the west monsoon that may be dangerous sets in."

Below he continued: "It was in this year (1807) or the following that a canoe of the eastern island of Tuch (Truk) drifted to Guajan. The canoe carried a crew of 15 and the name of the pilot was Kulingan. The strangers were received hospitably, but a procession which happened to be held during the days of their stay and which was accompanied by salvoes of artillery weapons caused fear and terror among them. They hid in the forest and that very same night, though without all necessary provisions, returned to the ocean. --It was their good fortune that as they fled from the island they happened to meet the arriving flotilla from Lamureck which provided them with food and gave them instructions about the voyage home. In the year 1814, the flotilla counted 18 boats. On Guajan the Carolinians exchanged iron, glass beads, and textiles, for canoes, shells and rarities; trepang transactions may develop into an important branch of their trade."

Hambruch learned on Elato that the following stars served as guide-stars on voyages to these islands:

Faraülip	möl	Vega
Ifalük	uliul	Orion's Belt
Uleai	between üliül and mai i lop	Orion's Belt and Altair
Auripik	zare u ol	Corvus
Sorol	ul and margaregir from Uleai	Aldebaran and Pleiades
Fais	tagal e mâl lap a ie fan from Sorol	βursi minoris (rising)
Mogemog	tubul e mailop a ie fan	βursi minoris (setting)
	tubul e uelego from Sorol	Ursus major (setting)
Yap	tubul e zare u ol	Corvus (setting)
Ngulu*	tubul bup	Southern Cross (setting)
Palau	zare u öl from Ngulu	Corvus
Yap--Sorol	tagai i tumul	Antares (rising)
Mogemog—Fais	tagal i uliül	Orion's Belt (rising)
Fais-Uleai	tagal i tumul	Antares (rising)
Fais--Faraulip	between tagal i zare uol and uliul	between Corvus (rising) and Orion's Belt

*From Yap: i Centauri.

4: Krämer--124 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502 Elato

Faraulip--Uleai	tubul bup and meta riu (eye two)	Southern Cross (setting) and Scorpion
Faraulip--Ifaluk	uliul and matsumelit	Orion's Belt and (middle of the sky) Southern Cross, Southern tip
Lamutrek--Satoan	mai i löp, uliul	Altair, Orion's Belt
Lamutrek--Poluat	mai i löp	Altair
Lamutrek--Truk	mai i löp	Altair
Lamutrek--Sog	tubul bup	Southern Cross (setting)

This is the extent of Hambruch's information.

4: Krämer--126-127 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 175, 502 Lamotrek

In the London Nautical Magazine of 1862, the well-known report of Rev. L. H. Gulick on Micronesia (page 174, Ulie-Wolea) was published and in the year 1866 (beginning the preceding year) there appeared a report of Captain B. Eugenio Senchas y Zayas of the corvette "Narwaez (Viaje de la corbeta de guerra Narwaez desde Manila a dichas islas), of the first steam-boat which was seen out on the high seas. In it he also reports on the settlement of the Carolinians. . . . In Garapan on Saipan they formed a colony of 415 heads (in January 1864, 433 were counted). At the very time when the captain and his ship were in Tinian Carolinians arrived from Elato-Lamotrek; they came aboard to see him and related their surprise at what they had seen. They were very muscular people, their entire bodies oiled and almost naked; in their ears they wore shell ornaments. On Saipan, where the captain visited the colony in Garapan, he heard a great deal about the navigation of these [p. 127] courageous people. They first had come to Agaña in search of new land, because their own had been devastated by the typhoon. For all their islands, with the exception of Ilap, were very low. Arumiat was considered their best navigator who knew all the stars and that the Polar Star does not change its position and that the rising and setting of Orion's Belt indicated east and west. He rejected the compass claiming that it was dispensable for navigation. For the stars in the zenith, a bamboo stick filled with water was used.*

*Cf. Samoa, where one goes all the way down into the hull of the ship in order to observe three stars.

4: Krämer--17 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 396, 502, 288 Lamotrek

In Garapan tere was a shipyard where the Carolinians could learn the construction of boats; connected with the shipyard was a school of Carolinian navigation. Anyone who wanted to e independent and in charge of a boat had to pass an exam before a council of pilot. Close by was a rope-making establishment. There the material for the ropes-to-b was hung high on a palm tree and the strands were twisted and each one had a circmference of 4-5 inches. Ropes were made up to a length of 100 fathoms.

Anchors do not exist. If it is necessary to fasten a boat, one of the crew jumps overboard and belays one end to a rock. A similar procedure is followed when the canoe is to be cleared for departure. The islanders do not worry about deep water and sharks.

The boats built had a length of 30 feet in the keel, a width of four feet and a depth of 6 1/2 -7 feet from the deck to the keel, with a draught of 2 1/2 feet front and aft. The stern-post strakes are alike, and the bow and stern are identical in shape. No nails are used in the construction; the planks are fastened together by means of strong coconut yarn and the holes are stopped up with cement. The frame-planks are less than one half inch in thickness and do not have any ribs. All the work is reinforced by strong dollboard gunwales of considerable size; they are connected by thwarts, all of them in the same height. The two sides are different in form and one is more beautiful than the other. They do not attempt any tacking with these canoes. The weatherside is fuller and more rounded than the leeside and the ratio is almost 3:5. The outrigger is attached to the weatherside--on the Philippines batangas--and is a strong tree trunk; on the end rest two transverse beams, which are 8-10 feet outside of the canoe. On the leeside there is a platform outside of the dollboard gunwales and it is formed of long poles; on this platform a cabin--a bamboo construction--is placed. This little hut resembles a large basket and in it provisions, freight, and sometimes passengers are kept. The crew is generally crowded together in the hull of the boat. The mast usually has a height of 22 to 24 feet and is not planted on the keel, but on the gunwale of the weatherside. It

is kept in its position by stays, by means of which it may be lowered if the velocity of the wind requires it. The sail is made from very fine mats and is almost triangular; it is stretched between two bamboo poles and at each corner is manipulated by lines, halyard, tack and sheet. [128] The rudder is not at the stern* but on the leeside and has the shape of a paddle; the Carolinians say that it does not only serve to steer the canoe but also to keep it straight; the latter proves the skill of the person steering and requires a good deal of dexterity. It is difficult for navigators to establish a clear picture of this in their minds, but it is probable that we should believe the Carolinians. It is not unlikely that it is their intention to sail against the wind (in den Wind anzuluven?) when it becomes stronger, so that the lateral pressure on the sail may be decreased. In any case a good deal of experience is needed and all possible care and attention in order that the canoe will not capsize or be flooded over the leeside gunwales. Ten or twelve persons may stay on board and most of them sleep in the hull of the ship. They fill the basket with coconuts, and if they have a passenger who is not a Carolinian, he, too, is put into it. They loosen the anchor ropes, set sail and go out to sea. The sheet is never belayed: all day and all night during the entire voyage the person steering must hold it regardless of how long the boat is out sailing. Some of the steersmen have assistants on their long voyages. When he lets go of the sheet, and the boat capsizes, the crew has to swim like

*The meaning is that it is not all the way at the stern like our steering rudder.

the basket with provisions. The steersman without help re-establishes the balance of the boat; if the equilibrium is lowered on the weatherside the canoe is put back into position almost by itself and little aid is needed. Then the crew goes back on board, catches the basket, and the voyage is continued.

4: Krämer--128 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Lamotrek

Thus the ships sail across the wide Pacific. They take their course by the sun, the stars, the direction of the wind and that of the currents. If the weather is bad and the sky is overcast for a few days, they haul in the sail and are ready for the coming storm. When the storm has passed, they need three days to sail eastward and make up for the time and distance they have lost. Then they make their observations: they fill a bamboo pole and observe the stars at the zenith and from them are able to calculate the position of the boat. Accordingly they are able to take their course. Naturally many of them are lost.

4: Krämer--128-132 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 502, 821 Lamotrek

At a meeting of pilots, presided over by Arrumiat, the captain fixed the lines of their compass cards. On the table in the cabin a figure was laid out with the aid of beans and the captain copied it on paper as well as possible. "When I thought that I had set up the wrong figure by the choice of my points and wanted to improve it and to make it into a more perfect quadrant I was not allowed to do so. When I repeatedly rounded the corners of the square figure I was requested to leave it as it was and for that reason it must be accepted in the condition it is."

They divide the horizon up into four quarters or perhaps better into two semi-circles: the [129] eastern and the western, Uebuel* is the name of the Polar Star and Mailab** is Orion's Belt. The three points which are meant to represent east and west are all called Mailab and Tubule mailap. None of the three has a special name, but only the general term for all of them is known. It is noteworthy that there is no term available for East to North or West to North. On their compass card the corresponding points are North to East, Northeast to North and Northeast to East, but East to North is not included; the place for it remains empty. The same thing happens in the four quadrant, although the points of these angles seem to equal ours. Their third quadrant resembles the fourth, but the second does not bear similarity either to the first or one of the

*Hambruch on Elato: uĭluĭl
** Hambruch: ŭliŭl; Altair, mai i lŏp.

others. Their first quadrant is divided into 8 parts, for Tagale mol corresponds to NE; of the eight only seven are marked and have names. The others are not divided up evenly but are arranged in the manner shown in the figure. I was unable to find an explanation for this peculiarity.

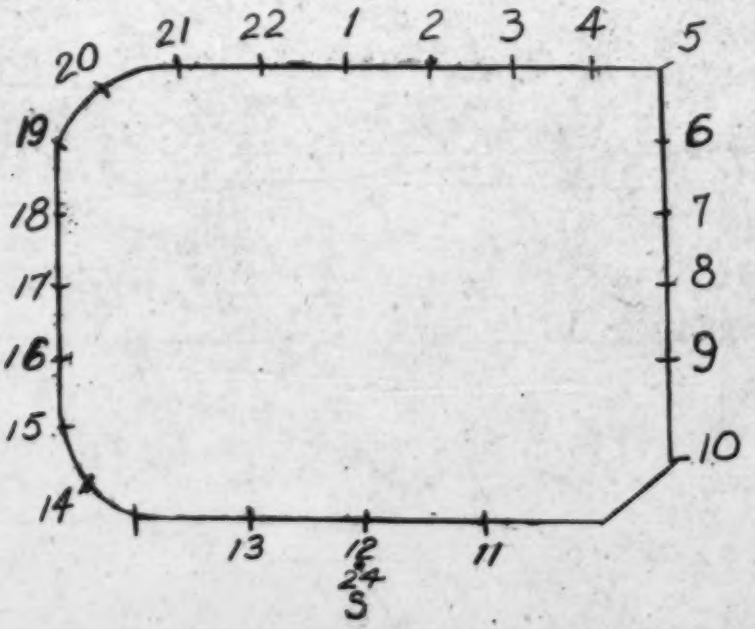


Fig. 66 Compass Points of the Carolines according to Sanchez

4: Krämer--128-132
116, 502, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Lamotrek

Compass points of the Carolinians, Sanchez 1866, Figure 66	Record by Krämer, 1909.	Compass points of Ikeram on Pollap with the number of little stones.
1. Mailab Ueleuel	1. volevol iefang N.	1. volevol, star fümaket from Sog to Póloat [130]
2. Tagale mailes pelevant	2. mailap ále fang 15° (little bear)	2. mailűpélefang
3. Tagale olego	3. volégo 30° great bear	3.
4. Tagale iguelie	4. űgulűg 36° Cassiopeia (island of Pikelo)	4. ugulik
5. Tagale mol.	5. mäl 51° Vega	5. mol
6. Tagale mangariguec	6. magariger 63° Pleiades	6. moiriger to Póloat, Tamatam
7. Tagale ul.	7. tagalul 73 1/2° Aldebaran (Island of Goteu)	7. un
8. Maitab	8. mailap 81° (Sëtoval, Poloat, Djug, Rálug, Falepei, Gadjau)	8. däl mailap voyage to Botelés (ku.), from there to Truk by un

4: Krämer--128-132 116, 502, 821	(1909) 1937	Woleaians-4 Lamotrek
9. Tagale eliel	9. tangali elüel 88° Orion Gürtel Orion's Belt between 8 and 9 Atair 99° sarabol Raven 68°	9. a liel
10. Tagale lumur	10. tumur 64° Antares (book by Faroilap) metaru (2 eyes) 52° Scorpion	10. tumur voyage to Póleat return by mõl arebol mareg galu
11. Tagale liup	11. tagal lup 27° (Pikeram from Sog, back by 3.) medje meiet (medj in between)	
12. Mailab delub	12. volevol iaur S. medje-meitol	12. volevol to Sog galu mareg arebol

4: Krämer--128-132 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 502, 821 Lamotrek

13. Tubule liup	13. lupu metaru (Pikelo back by)	
14. Tubule lumur	14. tumur sáraboi	14. tumur
15. Tubule eliel	15. tubul elüel	15. e liel
16. Tubule mailab	16. tubule mailap W. (Ifaluk, Volea, Sorol, Ngolu)	16. túrun (tóron setting) e mailap
17. Tubule ul.	17. ul (7)	17. toron un
18. Tuble magarigueo	18. magariger (6)	18. moériger
19. Tubule mol	19. mël (Faroilap 5.)	19. mõl
20. Tubule igueli	20. ugulüg (4.)	20. ũgũlik
21. Tubule olego	21. voelëgo (3.)	
22. Tubule mailab pelevant	22. mailapalefang (2.)	22. mailũp elefang dolel fũmáket
23. Ueluel = N.	23. volevol	23. volevol fumaket
24. Olelup = S. [132]		

The reporter cannot recall the names of the stars of the unknown points in the lower section. There existed some analogy with the upper points.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Zelang is called Sëlang and is considered the inventor of the figurehead, its shapes and is one of the five assistants of Lugeileng and the carpenters; the other four are:

2. Semălegóror, the guardian of the form, of the outrigger, the planks; he draws and marks the lines, speeds up the work. Perhaps he is identical with Semágor the brother of Morva Feis in story 2. . .
2a. Semadjek looks after the thwarts, the ebĕp and fáraf and he helps with them.
3. Ligadjălap or Ligĕdjilab, the painter, takes care of the paint (lap), the line and the cement.
4. Simalĕgodjuát the "turner," from godjuat "to turn over" does the first rough work on the tree trunk in the bush and he checks on how the wood can best be used.
5. Meseîseit improves the work of Sëlang with his fine eye (mes).

In addition, Hambruch mentions Alülemez who helps the men with the caulking so that the boat will prove water-tight. In general he is responsible for the safety of the canoe, protects it from breaking and helps with repairs.

Above all these ranks Lugeileng. He hovers over the place of construction and his people execute the work. His dwelling is Falesidj* in heaven.

*sidj is supposed to be the word for bamboo on Yap, but is not found in Müller's book on Yap.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

For the voyage itself Paluelap is important because he is the "great pallu"; he is mentioned principally in connection with Pollat. According to Hambruch he married the woman Ilagaiidjor on that island and from her learned all about navigation and for that reason Pollap leads all other islands in that art.

4: Krämer--191
116, 502, 721, 411

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson said of the natives in 1797]: They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling.

4: Krämer--195 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Woleai

L. H. Gulik in the Nautical Magazine of 1862 speaks of Wolea--Ulie: he says that in 1788 a native had sailed to Guam, a distance of 600 nautical miles, and that the canoe had arrived safely.

L. H. Gulik mentions a population of 600.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 502 Woleai

The boats of the Oleai islanders generally sailed only to Feis [VMM: for trading], but occasionally they went to Mokemok (Ululsi) and Yap. They remained on Feis for a month or two and finally sailed back when a good wind came up.

4: Krämer--271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 643 Woleai

Navigation

When a chief wishes to go on a voyage, for instance to Feis, he tells his people to get a boat ready. He himself, before setting out on his voyage, uõfalū, spends a month in the fal'lap, which women may not enter. Here he also spends five months upon his return from his first voyage, one month after his second voyage and half a month after the third; after the fourth this period of time has been cut down to five days. No seclusion is necessary after additional voyages. In outside places no taboos are observed. This rule does not apply to fishermen.

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Woleai

Prerequisites for a Successful Voyage to Feis

favorable seas, djeger ali ēle métau
favorable winds, djeger ali gūi (gūi, month of August)

during the good season, murilíefang, which is the name for the monsoon period at the end of the gui month. At that time, the star māl (Sirius) is visible in the sky and in the north the ūgelík is seen.

When e álimeto appears in the morning sky, the wind is favorable (on the return voyage it is the gáp, Spica and the eramoi=aremoi, Arcturus). Unless these stars are out, the sails are hauled in and the canoe is left to drift until the stars become visible once more.

The voyage is divided into stages, gátag; a certain number of them apply to one course. The first gátag, for instance, is determined by the period of time needed by the canoe to sail out of sight of the island; it is checked by a member of the crew who climbs the mast for a better lookout. The first course by the ūgelik lasts until the fourth gátag (northwesterly direction); the second course is taken by the constellation magëreger, the Pleiades, and amounts to only one gátag (west); the final course is taken by the māl and it includes only two more gátag (northwesterly).

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502 Auripik

The voyage from Woleai to Arurpeg (Aurepik) includes four gátag [VMM: see 4: Krämer 272] of a course taken by the tubutumur, the setting Antares.

The voyage from Oleai to Ifaluk has three gátag [VMM: see 4: Krämer 272] and is taken by the star ëliol, the Belt of Orion (E); if the wind is favorable, the distance may be covered in 8-12 hours. (First gátag, Oleai is visible; second gátag, sailing on the high seas; third gátag, Ifaluk is sighted). The voyage from Ifaluk to Lamotrek is made by the constellation ul, the rising Aldeboran, and is divided into five gátag. Three gátag are taken by the tagal-ügelik, one by the tagalemailap (Atair rising in the east)... and one by the tagal e golëgo.

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise...Vol III, page 64: course north, puc; south puilung; east, puitag; west, puitug; morning, nissur; noon, egwol; evening, eppong.

The winds and constellations here are the following:

	Wind	Constellation
N	fangilap, eangíefang	vólevol
S.	eangeaur, aurilap	tágalup rising
		magemeiat 45°
		volevol apogee [273]
		madjemeitol 45°
		tubulup setting
W	notóelap	gauár (Venus)
E	gotimei	fusidjál (Venus)
		others:
NW	lotóafang	mailap, vul, magereger
NE	gotuáfang	môl, gúgelik, volégo
SW	lotoár	mailap--lélafang
SE	gotuór	vélavel

Kotzebue: 24 rhumbs: efangalab, caululor efangeles, caululor coteafau etc.

E. éliol, sáravol, túmur, metáru, tágalu, mat, volevol

N. Kotzebue: Polar Star fissimogedigit.

moon	máram
small moon	maramatheg
red moon	edjá matal i maram

monsoon	eángugodj, eagŏteu
gotuórikom	(star tumur)
gotuáfang	(star mâi)
gŏtimei	(star mailap)
good weather	rálimei
bad weather	ralengau

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 128: "On every voyage they seem to observe the rising and setting of another constellation." "The steering member of a canoe crew--according to Don Luis--places a little piece of wood, a small stick, flat in front of himself and believes that he will be guided by it, as we take out course by the compass." Apparently he lays the stick down in the direction thought correct for the course.

4: Krämer--275 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 127: "The two boats which Cantova saw, together with four others were on the voyage from Faloilep (Faroilap) to Ulea when they were seized by the west wind and scattered. Most of the crew and the passengers in these canoes were natives of both the island groups mentioned, and we assume that the canoes themselves must have come from those islands. The first, larger canoe, which carried 24 persons and had three cabins, is described in all detail because of some of its strange features: "a strange canoe, little different from the type common on the Marianas."

Through Chamisso, the shipwreck of the native, Kadu, became known. He was cast adrift and floated eastward and drifted around on the open seas for eight months. "The meager provisions saved lasted for three months, and for five months they lived without fresh water, merely on the fish they were able to catch. To quench their thirst, the native, Kadu, dived deep down into the water to bring up cooler water and, in their opinion, less salty water in a coconut shell. The northeast trade-wind finally carried them to the group of Aur of the Radack island chain where they had landed in the west of Ulea. A very old man on Eap had once spoken to the native Kadu of Radack and Ralick; mariners from Eap once were said to have drifted to Radack and to have come ashore at the island group of Aur; from there they found their course back to Eap by way of Nugor (Nukuor) and Ulea. The names of Radack and Ralik were known to a native of Lamureck whom we met on Guajan. Frequently boats of Ulea and the surrounding islands drift to

the islands of the eastern chains. Five natives of Lamureck are still living in the southern group, Arno of the chain of Radack; the same fate, along the same route, took them there."

These strong changes in the current are due to the equatorial counter current which extends over an area of approximately 100 nautical miles north of the equator to the west and east. On the surface, it seems to disappear before the monsoon seas of the NE; but under the surface it is active with elementary power, especially at times when calms make sailing impossible. That means that boats north of the line may drift from the extreme west of the Carolines to the Ralik-Ratak Islands.

Many additional shipwrecks might be listed but they are exceptions due to irregular weather conditions and wrong currents. A report of Mertens proves the reputation of the Carolinians as navigators as early as 1800. Mertens tells us that on Oleai the captains of native boats had shown letters to foreign visitors which had been given to them by white captains in order that, when the occasion arose, they might take them to Governor Don Luis de Torres on Guam.

Cases of ships driven off their course are known in large numbers.

6: Senfft--55
116, 502, 778

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Like many European sailors, these native seafarers are superstitious. Thus it was the custom formerly that a talisman for the wind ("Windmann") was taken along for every expedition. This lioss was a figure made of baked coral limestone which represented the upper part of a man's body; four spines from the tail of ray formed the legs, and a coconut leaf was wound around the neck.

11: Born--177
116, 502

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

It frequently happens during stormy weather that a canoe is overturned...In that case, some of the men hold on to the food supplies, coconuts, breadfruit pudding, dried fish, etc., while the others turn the canoe over and swing it from side to side to bail out the water. Then they sail on, although the same thing may happen again within a few hours. Fortunately, few lives are lost on these daring trips. If a canoe loses its course, it usually drifts to another island, to Ululssi, Jap or Sorol.

14: Born et al--572-573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-1-3
116, 502, 731 Woleai

We [MR: Captain Martens] reached Oleai again on the afternoon of March 27, 1907 and returned to the same anchorage....From...[MR: about 3 o'clock] sea watch was kept because the weather did not look good. At 5:15 we dropped the second anchor. A strong swell and sea without wind came up in the lagoon; trees and parts of houses were driven by the ship from the corners of the island, torn down by the breakers; it seemed to be a tidal wave, for there was not much wind. Rapid sinking of the barometer, however, warned me to expect trouble, and also the wind and sea were gradually rising considerably.

A full fledged typhoon blew on Friday, March 29 from 7:30 P.M. on. It is impossible for any of us to describe the strength of the wind. We took [573] on deck all the anchor chains we could find on board and made moorings as necessary with the increasing wind. We saw no more of the land then, though the moon was full. One squall followed another.

It must have been about 8:30 when we began to drift; even before that, at about 8 o'clock, all the boats, the gasoline in the galvanized tanks, and all the deck ladders, the chicken house and the joiner's bench were washed from the deck by heavy waves. How and by what route we went out of the lagoon no one can say, the ship was wheeling frightfully; no one could stay on his feet. We sat in life-jackets in the saloon and awaited the worst. On deck heavy waves were hurtling across from both sides; one would have been thrown overboard immediately. Around us trees, coconuts and plants of all kinds were swirling about, some of them thrown up onto the ship. From 10 in the morning on (the 29th) the

barometer began to rise; but the typhoon continued to rage. The sails were blown out into shreds between the rudders. Only the schooner sail stayed whole. Judging from the appearance of the water we must have been already outside the lagoon at 10 o'clock; it was not possible to confirm this by sounding.

Our little ship did very well, and thanks to her exceptional seaworthiness we survived the storm. Many times the ship was thrown over 40 to 45 degrees and completely enveloped in water, but she always righted herself in a few seconds, only to be thrown over again. We used quantities of oil to calm the sea. Towards noon we realized that a great deal of water must be in the ship. The bulkhead was broken down from the saloon, and now we saw that the water was up over the machine platform. Now I ordered volunteers to the pump, for to command anyone directly would have been an outrage; the heavy waves continued to break over the deck without cease. The machine pumps could not be used, because the batteries were completely destroyed. The water had come in chiefly through the ventilators on deck to starboard. At 4 o'clock the barometer had climbed to 29. 10, the sea continued high and rough, the typhoon continued to blow in full strength. I think it can be assumed that nothing is left of Oleai, for the trees which floated by us were all very large and came from the interior of the islands.

On Saturday March 30 it was squally, but somewhat brighter. I was not able to determine the ship's position, for the sun did not come through. In the afternoon we cleared out the hold, of necessity, and found there some dry rice. At 2:30 the corpse of

a native floated close by our ship on its back. The wind now declined steadily; the barometer rose slowly. There was still a heavy sea. On Sunday at noon I held a conference with my officers, in the course of which we decided to go to Saipan or possibly to Guam. For it was not possible to get to Jap, because the current was too strong towards the northwest and we did not have enough sail surface. The engines were not damaged and possibly usable.

From April 1 to 4 we had moderate weather. At daybreak on the morning of the 4th we sighted Tenian and Agiguan. We sailed and steamed towards Garapan. Shortly we sighted Saipan. At noon we anchored with our kedge-anchor in Tanapag harbor.

28: Spiro--41-42
116, 463, 502, 341

(1947-48)1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The arts of the palu [WPM: navigators] and zenap, [engineers] were both supernatural dispensations, according to Ifaluk tradition, having been taught by 'gods', and were then handed down orally from generation to generation. These arts are taught to an apprentice over a considerable period of time, by the practitioner, for which instruction he receives gifts of lavalavs, skirts, tobacco, food, and other valuables. Though there is no hard and fast rule both these arts usually run in families, in the widest sense of that term, a practitioner giving preference to his own bilateral relatives, as well as to his in-laws. For example, the palus are Tom, his brother, his wife's brother, a distant kinsman, and two whom Tom is training, his son, and his sister's son. The Palu and the Zenap are among the most respected men on Ifaluk, and their offices are aspired to by the young men. In the Bavilais Moral Ideology Test a significant number of young men, when asked what they would like the most, answered that they would like to be a palu and/or a zenap.

That these two crafts are highly respected should occasion little surprise. Almost any adult male knows how to construct a house or a small canoe, or how to navigate a canoe in the open seas around the atoll. But the construction and repair of a canoe-house, or the navigation of a canoe on an overseas trip requires a highly specialised skill, which only the specialist possesses. The need for great skill becomes obvious when one

considers the engineering principles that are necessary for the construction of a large structure or the knowledge required to sail as many as hundreds of miles over open sea, without aid of a compass or navigation chart, let alone Radar or Loran. (5) When any such task is to be performed, therefore, the specialist is called in, and payed for his services with lavalavas, rope, and food.

A few men have acquired skills in all these fields. Tom, for example, is a navigator, as well as a canoe carpenter and structural carpenter. This is unusual, for there are some who are canoe-carpenters, but who are not competent to build or repair [42] buildings, and there are very few who are navigators as well as carpenters."

"5. The skipper of the LST that brought us home, informed me that his Radar was not working on his trip to Ifaluk, and he was worried lest he not find the atoll since the slightest deflection of the needle of his compass would cause him to by-pass the island. The native navigator has only the stars, sun, moon, currents, and physical signs, such as reefs, flying birds, and schools of porpoises, to guide his directions."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--17 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 502 Woleai

We were convinced that Kadou was well-versed in a knowledge of the stars, but he preferred our compasses because he saw that even in foggy and cloudy weather, one's course could be determined with this instrument, while the island inhabitants, having only the stars to guide them, are at a great disadvantage when they do not see them.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 Ted dealt out his forty-eight cans of beef as a going-away present.
[227] The chief palu acknowledged this with a short but elegant-sounding speech.

We rowed out to the pass to watch the canoes put up sail when they had passed out of the lagoon—a pretty sight. Three sturdy canoes
[502] starting out confidently across the Pacific to hit another tiny atoll—perhaps no staggering distance away, but still something to find without instruments.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 depths. The lagoon deepened rapidly, but there were areas, even in
006 the center, where it was only thirty or forty feet deep, and the shadows
[133] of coral heads below could be made out.

Presently the water began to shoal again, as we approached the
502 reef. For a while the boat could be maneuvered through the sandy
226 channels among the coral heads but all hands had to walk across the reef itself while the boat was pulled through a narrow, shoal, "canoe pass" which, although only a few inches deep, was clear enough of coral to enable the canoes to be floated across the reef.

123 I was wearing alpargates, South American canvas sandals, excellent
133 for rain forest, but no good for coal reefs—this was the last day in the life of those sandals, and I had to use great care to make them last even for the walk across the reef. Yani and Bakal were managing nicely in their bare feet, which showed the incredible toughness that the human hide can reach, but even they were walking carefully.

It was something over a thousand feet across the reef. On the far side, on this still morning, there was only a gentle surf from waves averaging only a foot or so high. This was the lee side of the atoll, in terms of the trade winds, but at this season when the trades were not blowing and when the rain was often from the west, the breakers here could be very high, a pulsating line of white on the horizon from the view point of the Fan Nap.

The BWUP was pushed out beyond the breakers and boarded again.
[136] Here, outside the reef, was the shark zone, but none were seen all day. Yani said one of his relatives had been attacked by a shark in this region, but had saved himself by pulling off his loin-cloth and covering the eyes of the shark as he charged by.

226 The reef shelved off gradually and details of the bottom could be
133 made out clearly in twenty-five or thirty feet of water. The bottom was solidly encrusted with life—corals, coralline algae, sponges and the like—except for the narrow, smooth "surge channels," kept clear by the rush of water along the bottom returning from the surf. They were like ravines along a mountain front.

226 The canoes started playing out the coconut-bedecked rope, finally forming a huge semicircle out from the reef. The rope was weighed down with coral-block anchors and attached to each of the regularly-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

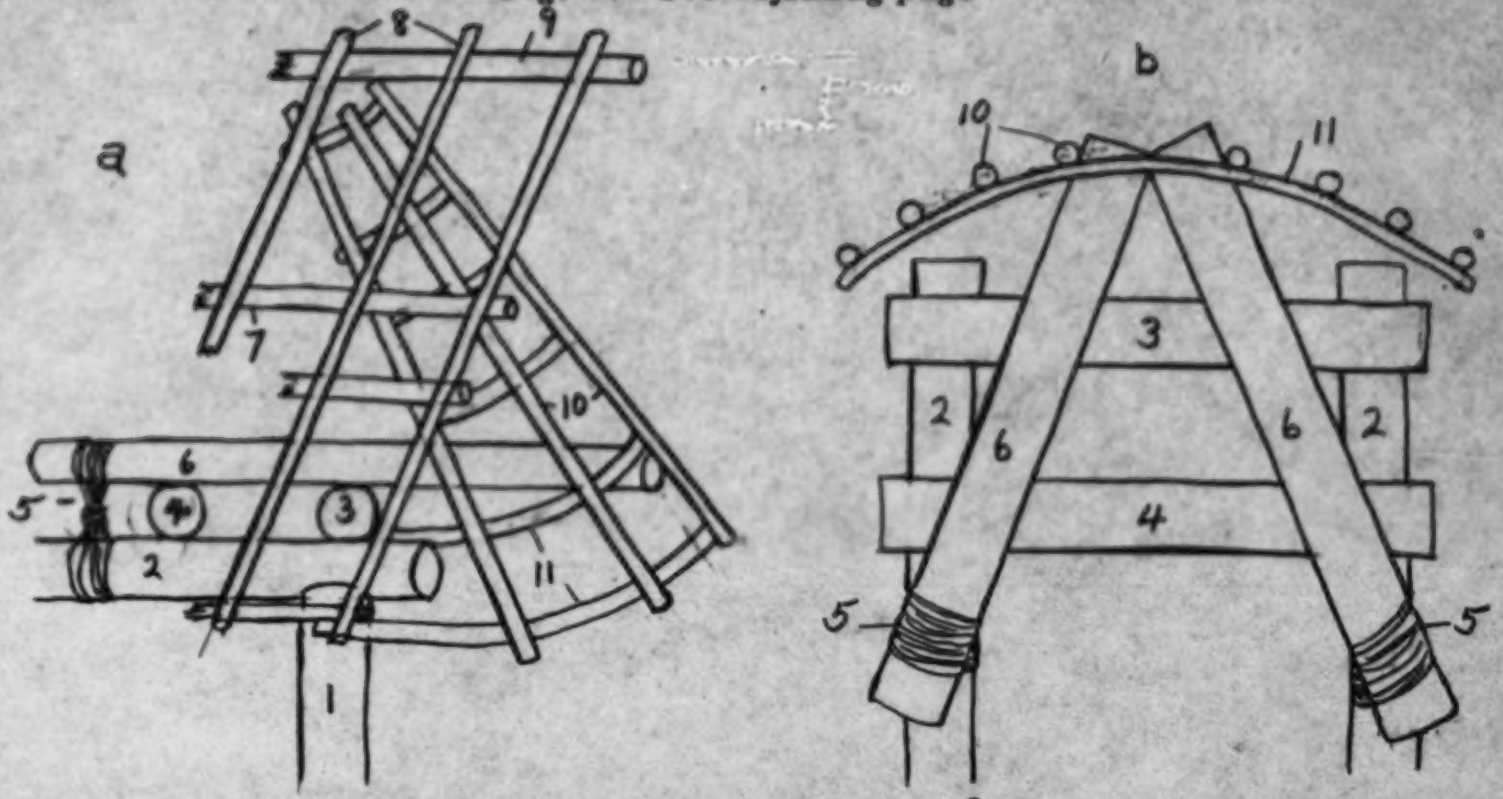
My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

"Traditionally each of the eight main canoe-houses faces a pass. All but one of these, however, are too shallow for anything larger than a canoe. The steamer pass is on the south, between Falārik and Ellā, the larger of the uninhabited islets. Because of a few large coral heads the entrance is narrow and winding. Their removal would straighten it, and make it wide enough for large ships. In the lagoon there is ample room and depth for anchorage, sheltered during the trade-wind by the two larger islands. Outside the lagoon there is anchorage to the southwest, near the entrance to the pass, sheltered during trade-wind weather by the islet Ellā. Natives say that in a west wind ships used to anchor on the eastern side, off the channel between the two large islands. Landing there must have been difficult at any time, because the reef is steep-to and a high surf nearly always running."

Fig. 5. -See adjoining page



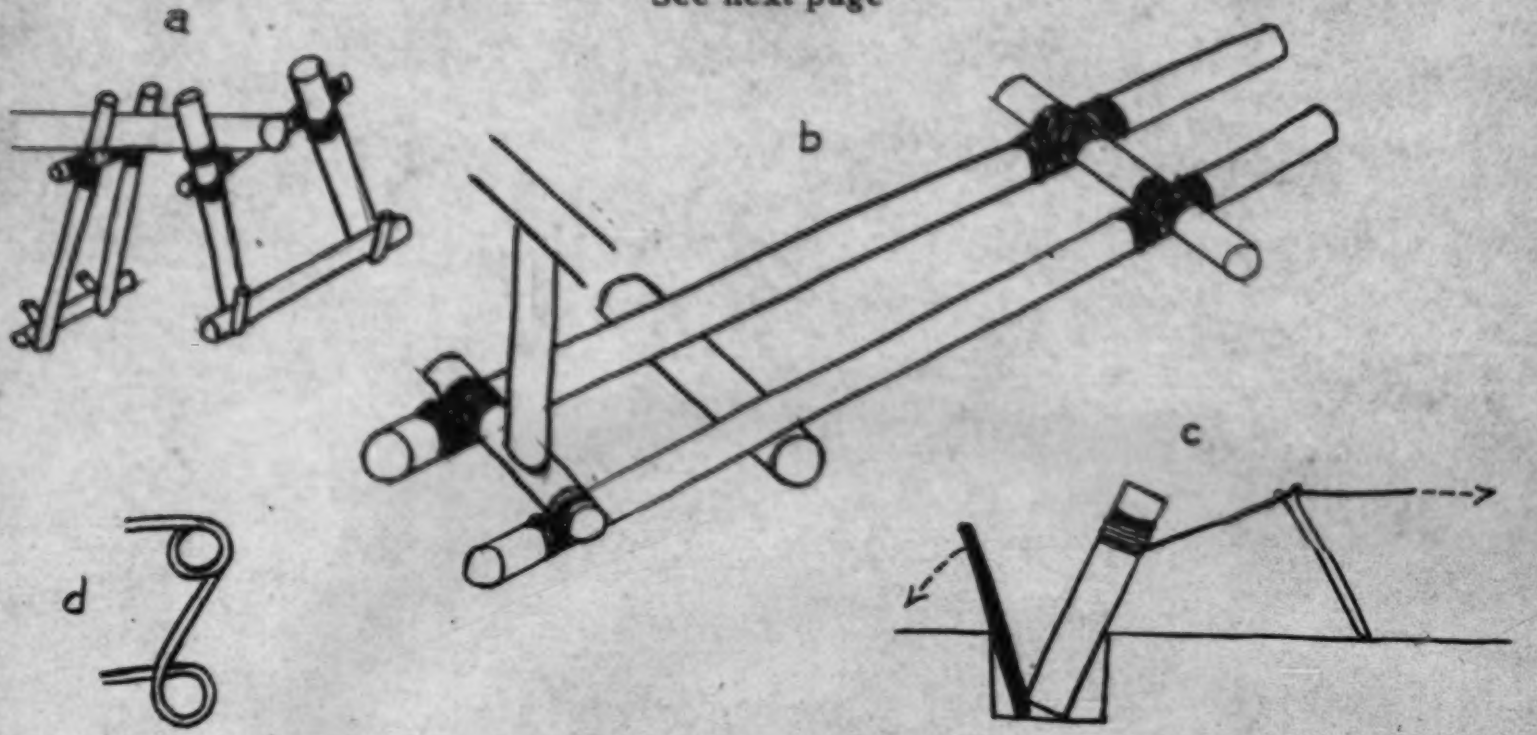
'Fig. 5. -How the projecting gable end of a canoe-house is supported without obstructing the space below, where canoes are hauled in and out.

a, side elevation. b. plan. 1, corner post; 2, stringer; 3, end tie-beam; 4, tie-beam (auten ni lalo); 5, lashing; 6, gable support (tibweli); 7, purlins; 8, rafters; 9, ridge pole; 10, gable rafters; 11, curved gable purlins."

1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 343, 504 Ifalik

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house."

See next page



1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 343, 504

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a, temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown).
b, double lever for raising the roof.
c, removing the old corner post by means of hauling line and levers.
d, hauling line snubbed around two trees."

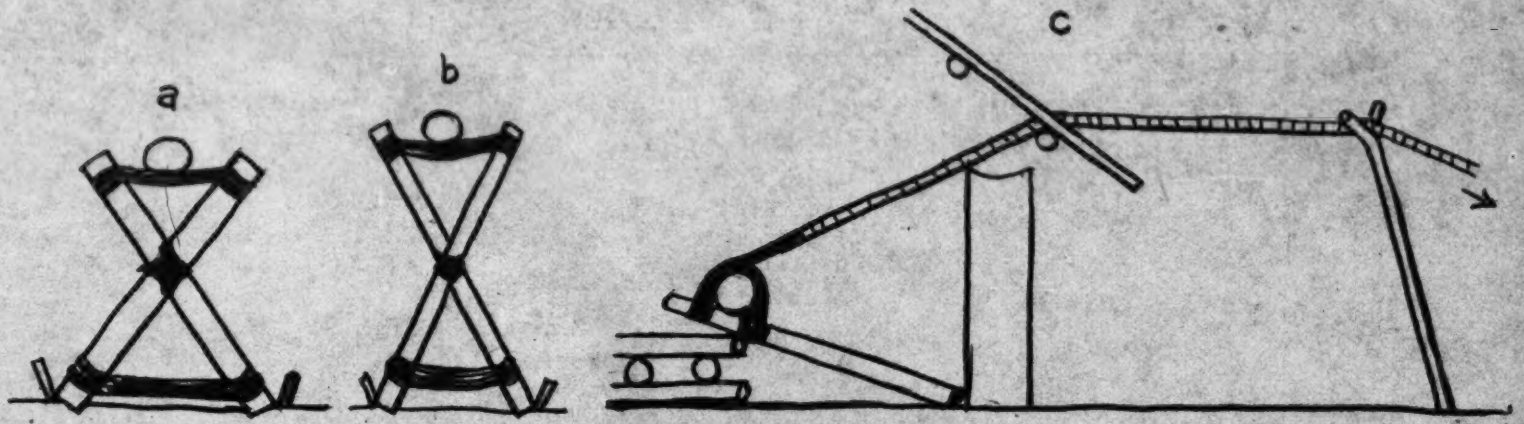
1: Burrows--51-A
116, 343, 504

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Fig. 8. -Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

a, X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
b, X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
c, method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post."



1: Burrows--111
116, 424, 868, 428, 504

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palū. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

fanüuá is the boat house. Externally it is like the dwelling house, except that it is open on all sides, and has larger dimensions. (see drawing 157). The canoe houses are erected by the various parts of the villages, and belong to them. Before the last great typhoon the number of canoe houses was considerably larger than it was in 1909. The division of the canoe houses was as follows:

Part of the village:	in 1909:	Number of canoe houses before the typhoon:
Gajudőllin	1	1
Ledjőurőu	1	1
Lawuáu	1	1
Jiwán	1	3
Jór	1	3
Ságo	0	1
Sawőlöb	0	1

Ságo and Sawőlöb do not have any more canoe houses; the natives in the former part bring their boats to Gajudőllin and Ledjőurőu, while the men in the latter shelter theirs in Lawuáu.

2: Damm et al.--136 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
504 Aurupik

fanuá: canoe-house; it is open on all sides; the poles support a heavy roof. The canoe-houses are the abode of the men, for there are no real men's houses. They also sleep here very frequently, when they do not want to be with their wives. However, there were also two little houses on poles on the lagoon side; these also served as sleeping huts, and they were set on poles as a protection against the mosquitoes.

4: Krämer--84-86
116, 342, 504, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

On Elato there may be a semi-conical roof so that the gable slopes; here the lower part of the house, the wall, is made of coconut mats (Figure 12a [VMM: see source]). Sometimes coconut fronds are hung directly from the ridge, and their stalks are pointed up.

Such semi-conical, sloping roofs may also be observed on the canoe-houses (Figure 53 [VMM: see source]) which are open all around, e.g., they do not have any walls. In this case, the lower frame beams do not exist [86], but only the upper framework is there and consists of square roughly worked beams (Plate 9c [VMM: see source]). They are often elaborately ornamented and the same is true of some of the square purline (Color Plate 2 and Plate 4a) [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--185 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 504 Woleai

Anchorage. West of Raur, large ships can drop anchor in a depth of 24 to 36 meters; here they are well protected when due attention is paid to the sandbanks in the eastern lagoon that are charted on the German Admiralty Map (Tit. XI, 403).

4: Krämer--186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 504 Woleai

Two white houses are visible on the southwestern beach of Woleai, the northernmost of the islands of the group, but they cannot be seen distinctly. Two wooden landing bridges are found in the center of the southern side of the island of Marion approximately 4 cable lengths west of Woleai; the northern pier is weak. There is another pier at the southernmost tip of the island. In 1930 the population of the group numbered 539 persons.

4: Krämer--256-259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-5
116, 504 Woleai

Large community houses on Oleai were the canoe-houses, faleoā, photo 13 a, b, c, [VMM: see source], which occur throughout the entire island region, and which served the men during the day. These houses numbered three or four on every island and one on Tagaulap and Mariong. The eaves almost touch the ground; gable spaces are lacking.

In addition there existed bachelor's quarters, which for short were called fal'lap, "great house" or falepai, according to Born. I saw them as late as 1907 when I passed Oleai on the way to Truk. Four months later, upon my return to Palau, they had been destroyed by the typhoon and had not been rebuilt. If my wife had not happened to paint a small water color of the southern tip of Paliau and the northern tip of Raur (Figure 80) on the occasion of our first visit with a fal'lap showing in both instances, these testimonies of western society* would have disappeared unknown. [257] These houses stood projected on stone wharves (Born) at the open inner beach and that was why they could be so sompletely destroyed by the typhoon. The picture with the house of Paliau presents the walled enclosure and many doors, two in the front gable and three in the longitudinal wall. On the occasion of the expedition's visit in 1909 I had the chief Agupelior make me

*I learned on Kapingamarangi that natives of Oleai who had drifted ashore had erected bachelors' quarters; but the building was no longer standing at the time of our visit. These islanders were also credited with the introduction of the breadfruit.

a model of such a fal'lap and the long side of the building is shown on Figure 124 [VMM: see source]. Born says that there was one falepoi on every island and two on Falalis.

The first striking feature was that the framework of the house did not rest on wooden posts, sur, but that there existed no more than four stone pillars, sur, which supported the two longitudinal frame beams called tanelap--in the same manner as on Feis. On the longitudinal beams rest the transverse beams, the gŏusam, on which stand the king posts, bŏt. The two king posts carry the roof tree, ung, which determines the size of the inner gable house. Above it lies the second upper roof tree, the ungaseg or ungnaseg, with the size of the roof itself. Finally, above it, there is a third long roof pole, sogoram (sogoramar), the roof tip of the projecting gable roof. On Figure 125, the three roof beams are shown in front view:

the first, ung, rests on the king posts or the ornamented middle rafter of the gable,
the second, ung ngaseg, is supported by the strong rafters, the vŏi.
and the third, the sogoram, is supported by the thinner outer rafters known as gat. [258]

On the vŏi rafters rest the heavy purlins which are called gapangag and the lowest marginal purlin known as gapilivoi. The small round purlins are named i fag, and the small rafters and the long purlins of the roof eaves are the bailimelug; the long rafters

and the small purlins of the gable are called langolimetalias (Figures 124 and 125).

Gable ornamentation: tēbaų.

the two lateral frames, eao, show shark's teeth, ngi le boggo.

the lower transverse framework, gapileping, shows a triangle pattern ngi sum "tridacha teeth" which are very popular on Palau V, where they are known as klivuk; but the arrangement is different.

the middle plank has black triangles, basal e vulegalei (basal bedjel his foot or tail of the bulegalei, the acanthurus fish.)

the white lozenges with a dot in the middle are called pup and thus are meant to represent the lozenge-like Baliste fish?

Thus the gable ornamentation has the fish as its leading motif.

The interior of the house, like the gable, is divided into two halves:

the half facing the water, jetab fal matalifal, is reserved for the chiefs, the tamol;

the half facing the land, the jetab fal apelifal, is used by the common people, the e aramat;

the interior is called nifal (nim)

the exterior is called lugilifal (lugilim)

Construction.

When a fal'lap is to be built, all the men bring coconut yarn from the various islands.

They place their contributions on the beach and are paid for their work with coconuts.

The women, all dressed up, come to the assembly house carrying food and perform a dance, ur.

The women of the place where the building is to stand sit in the house and do not allow any strangers to enter although they make attempts to get in from all sides. Finally they sit down outside, with the head chief, while the local chief stays inside with the women, to whom he gives coconuts. [259]

When the construction is completed, a great coconut taboo, ēvaū, is declared.

Huge quantities of coconuts are collected and piled up around the building. When the collection is over, the owner of the building invites everyone for a certain day when the house is to be dedicated.

On that day the guests come from everywhere. The women are all dressed in an elaborate fashion, with a great deal of ornamentation, and dance around the house. At the end of the festivity they give their necklaces, etc., to the departing men, after the latter have received their share of coconuts, They all sit on the ground, and the supervisor gives a speech in which he announces that payment is to be made in the form of coconuts. He adds that he hopes that no nasty talk will be heard about his men and that they will all remain in good health. When the ceremony is held on Volea, Falalis is assigned 1000 nuts. Votagai 3000, Tagaulap 1000, Mariong 500, Paliau 500, and Raur 500, After that the group breaks up.

4: Krämer--256-259 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 504 Woleai

Stone posts: It is noteworthy that the house of the spirits on Tagaulap has stone posts like the dwellings on Feis (Figure 126) [VMM: see source]. It has been said in the discussion of the religion of the islanders that foreign influence has come in the past and undoubtedly it must be held responsible for these facts. The stone slabs used as house posts are a true characteristic of Feis.

6: Senfft--53
116, 133; 504

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The harbor in the southeast of the atoll is very good; the passage is large enough to admit even the largest boats. Flalap and Mariom Islands are now connected by a dune on which some plants are already growing. The channels which admit of passage by boats between Flalap and Paliau and between Paliau and Raur are now very narrow.

12: Lutke--138 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 504 Woleai

On the western side of Raour [AN: Raur] Island there are four or five artificial harbors which were something new to us in the Caroline islands. A jetty of large stones extends from the shore into the water for a distance of about fifteen meters; and then rows of stones extend both right and left from the end at an angle of about 60°, so that the whole thing looks something like an anchor. There are no harbors of this type in the other islands of the group; the reason seems to be that the west winds bring most of the waves on to Raour island.

14: Born et al--567 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

...we succeeded in negotiating the difficult entrance into the lagoon of the atoll, which winds between large coral blocks. On the chart only an entrance for small boats is shown, and ships usually anchor outside the reef at a depth of 9 to 16 fathoms.

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik Islands (7°15'N., 144°27'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 9 miles southwest of Garnen Reef and 81 miles southward of Faraulep Islands, lie on a small atoll reef. The three largest are wooded and have coconut palms on them. Between the two southernmost of the three largest islands is a shoal passage available to small boats; it is also very narrow due to a reef immediately inside. There are two jetties on the southern part of the western shore of Ifalik Island."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--543-544 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 131, 504 Woleai

"Woleai (Anangai) Islands (east end, 7°21'N., 143°55'E., H. O. Chart 5426), 32 miles westward of Ifalik Islands, consist of several islands covered with coconut palms and other trees. The reef on which they lie forms two lagoons, open to the southward. A number of reefs and shoals are scattered throughout the lagoons. Motegosu, on the western side of the entrance to East Lagoon, is composed entirely of sand and pebbles, and cannot be made out from a distance. . . . Raur, the southeastern island, was formerly the trade center, but was devastated by a storm that took place over 15 years ago. . . [544]. . . .

Entrances. -- Raur Channel, at the southern end of East Lagoon, is about 1/4 mile wide and has depths of 6 to 12 fathoms in it.

West Channel, on the southwestern side of West Lagoon, has a 3 1/2 fathom patch in midchannel.

North Channel, on the northeastern side of West Lagoon, is about 200 yards wide and has depths of 3 to 7 fathoms.

A shoal and narrow channel, suitable only for small craft, leads into the western part of East Lagoon from northward of the atoll. The tidal currents in it are strong.

Tidal currents. -- In the southern entrance to East Lagoon the flood current sets eastward at a maximum drift of 0.5 knot, and the ebb west-northwestward at 0.3 knot. The currents turn at about high and low tide.

Anchorage. -- East Lagoon is too limited to afford anchorage for many vessels;

West Lagoon, however, is extensive and deep, but its shoal entrance is a hindrance to large vessels. Since both lagoons are open to the southward, a swell sets in during the season of south-west winds. At such times small vessels will find suitable anchorage in the northwestern part of East Lagoon. Northward of Tagaulap, about 1 mile southwest of Woleai, is a comparatively shoal area which affords good anchorage during southwest winds.

Of two wooden piers in front of the South Sea Trading Co.'s office, the southern is safe for small boats to come alongside. The northern pier and another at southern end of the island are not secure. Row boats can land inside the coral reef on the southwestern part of Utagal, where there is a sandy beach."

15: U.S. Hydrographic Office--544 1938 Woleaians
116, 131, 504 Aurupik

"Eauripik (Kama) Islands (east end 6°41'N., 143°05'E., H. O. Chart 5426), about 58 miles southwest of Woleai Islands, consist of six small islets, all except the westernmost of which have coconut palms on them. They lie on an atoll reef which is 5 1/2 miles long east and west, and which is steep-to with over 100 fathoms at a distance of 400 yards off. The reef on the southern side is generally low. The sea breaks on the northern side during southwesterly winds of force 1 to 2, but not on the southern side. At high tide small boats can land at a jetty on the southern side of Eauripik, the easternmost island."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O.--501-502 (no date) 1933
116, 131, 504

Woleaians-1-2
Woleai

"Entrance Channels.--Raur channel, leading into the southern end of East lagoon, is about 2 1/4 cables wide between the reef extending south-westward from the southern end of Raur island and the reef surrounding Motogozu islet, and has depths of from 10 to 25 fathoms (18^m3 to 45^m7) in the fairway, but the depths may be less in the approach.

[502]West channel, on the south-western side of West lagoon, close south-eastward of Falulap islet, has a 3 1/2-fathom (6^m4) patch in the fairway.

North channel, on the north-eastern side of West lagoon, between Farailes island and Jalangigereil is land, south-eastward of it, is about a cable wide between the reefs on either side, and has depths of from about 3 to 7 fathoms (5^m5 to 12^m8).

There is a passage between the reefs extending from the eastern end of Tagaulap and the southern end of Mariaon island, but it is narrow, and as the tidal streams in it are strong it is unsuitable except for small craft.

Shoals.--There are numerous shoals in West lagoon, which can best be seen on the chart. In east lagoon there is a shoal ridge, with depths of from one to 6 fathoms (1^m8 to 11^m0), situated about 8 cables south-eastward of Mariaon island. There is a 2-fathom (3^m7) patch about 2 3/4 cables south-westward of the south-western extremity of the ridge, and another 2-fathom (3^m7) patch situated 3 1/4 cables northward of the southern extremity of Raur island.

Anchorages.--Large vessels may obtain anchorage in East lagoon, in depths of from 15 to 20 fathoms (27^m4 to 36^m6), fine sand, with good shelter about 4 1/2 cables

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --501-502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians-2
116, 131, 504 Woleai

westward of the northern part of Raur island.

Small vessels may obtain anchorage during the south-west monsoon off the south-eastern side of Mariaon island, and also off the northern side of Tagaulap island (Lat. 7° 22' N., Long. 143° 53' E.)."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --502 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Ifalik

"Ifalik islands, about 30 miles eastward of Woleai island, lie on the eastern and southern part of the reef forming the atoll. Flarik and Flalap islands, on the eastern side of the atoll, are covered with coconut palms; Ella island has a few coconut palms showing above the other trees.

There is a narrow and shallow boat-passage between the reefs extending from Flalap and Ella islands. There are two piers on the western side of Flarik island, at the southern end, which can easily be reached."

16: Gt. Britain, H.O. --504 (no date) 1933 Woleaians
116, 133, 504 Lamotrek

"Lamotrek islands, about 5 miles eastward of Elato islands, consist of three wooded islets on a triangular atoll. Lamotrek islet, 107 feet (32^{m}6) high to the tops of the trees, lies at the eastern extremity of the atoll.

The passage about three-quarters of a mile southward of Pugue islet, the northernmost islet, is the widest and best of those leading into the lagoon, but during the north-east trade a heavy sea sets into the lagoon and caution is necessary. There is a passage about 2 cables wide, nearly in the middle of the southern side of the atoll; its position is difficult to detect, but it is a good passage when the north-east wind is strong. The next passage westward is about 1 1/2 cables wide; all the other passages are narrow.

Anchorage may be obtained on the western side of Lamotrek islet (Lat. 7°28'N., Long. 146° 24'E.), sheltered from north-easterly winds, but it is reported that during westerly winds the sea becomes rather rough. Landing can be made on a sandy beach on the western side of Lamotrek islet."

17: Meinicke--372
116, 504

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie and Palau they have made artificial harbors with large stone dams.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and then pace directly toward him. Don would sight on Tony (or me on arrival) to get the direction, and I would call back the paces so that Don could draw directly on the base map.

The main trail of Falarik, which I got in the habit of calling "the broad highway," or sometimes "el camino real," ran through the coconut grove parallel to the lagoon shore, generally twenty or thirty yards in from the water. It was about two yards wide, and neatly marked on each side by a row of moss-covered coral rocks. This broad highway ran between the Fan Nap and the lagoon, and passed directly in front of five of the big canoe houses that faced the lagoon along the Falarik shore. The sixth canoe house on Falarik was away from the trail on the point of land that jutted toward Falalap. There were also two canoe houses on Falalap, one facing the lagoon, and the other facing the pass between the two islands.

The canoe houses, clearly distinguishable on the aerial photographs, were convenient reference points in mapping. They served not only for the storage of canoes, nets, lines and other gear, but also as social centers for the men of the atoll. Groups gathered there to talk, or rest, or weave nets, or carry on the never-ending job of making twine or rope from sennit, coconut fiber. A big sea-going canoe was being built in the Falepenach canoe house near the Fan Nap, during the summer of 1953. This provided me with a convenient and continuing subject for photography.

The broad highway ran for almost a mile along the lagoon shore of Falarik, extending considerably beyond the last habitation, toward the north end of the island, ending abruptly in the middle of nowhere. This northern tip of the island, beyond the end of the trail, was a wild tangle of vegetation, relatively little visited and little used. Except for this northwest tip, the whole of the lagoon margin of the island was a park-like coconut grove, kept clear of weeds or shrubs with almost no other kind of tree—only an occasional breadfruit tree near the household areas, and a few other things like the big *Barringtonia* by the Sabolap canoe house.

The entire course of the broad highway was thus through the open coconut grove. The habitations were mostly set at some distance back from the highway, near the "boondock line."

1: Burrows--64-65
116, 505, 132

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"A glimpse of the extent of interisland voyaging is afforded by the list of sailings to and from Ifalik during our six months there:

Aug. 18. --A visiting canoe from Faraulep, which had been at Ifalik since our arrival (July 28), awaiting a wind from the south, set out for home, accompanied by an Ifalik canoe.
Sept. 2. --Ifalik canoe returned from Faraulep.
Sept. 11. --An Ifalik canoe set out for Woleai.
Sept. 17. --Ifalik canoe returned from Woleai, accompanied by a Woleai canoe.
Sept. 19. --Woleai canoe returned.
Oct. 3. --Another canoe arrived from Woleai.
Oct. 11. --Visiting canoe went back to Woleai.
Dec. 6. --Ifalik canoe went fishing to the reef Faiaulap.
Jan. 14. --Woleai canoe that had visited Ifalik in October came again.

The long interval from Oct. 11 to January 14, with no sailings except one overnight fishing trip, was partly accidental, but largely due to the prevailing winds. During October and November they varied in both direction and force. They were mainly from the west. A west wind is good for reaching Elato, Lamotrek or Satawal from Ifalik.

But Tom was the only one who wanted to go that way (to visit a son on Lamotrek). And he was kept at home by two considerations: first, he had the visiting anthropologists to look after; second, his new canoe was not finished. [65]

Another deterrent at that time of year is that the westerly wind may blow up, with little warning, into a typhoon. Ifalik was not struck by a typhoon at that time; but twice --once in November, once in December-- was in the edges of one whose full force was felt on Yap. On those days the wind blew hard enough to uproot trees. That is far too strong for a canoe to venture out in, though one caught in such a blow may menage to ride it out.

From late November on, the trade wind blew from the east nearly every day. During the early part of its season this wind, too, is often too strong for safe sailing. Later on it dies down, and is more often a mild sailing breeze. Moreover, beginning about May, there would be occasional days of west wind; so that a canoe that went to Woleai before the trade might expect a good wind for the return trip without too long a wait. (A similar situation accounts for the frequent sailings to and from Woleai during September and October.) More frequent sailings might be expected during our spring and early summer months; but as we left Ifalik before then, no record can be given."

1: Burrows--65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 554 Ifalik

"An accredited navigator is called palū. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, palū e lap, great captains, and palū gitigit, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a palū when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recognized palū on Ifalik during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man; and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a palū gitigit. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called palū e lap. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recognized as palū.

The position of palū is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The palū is higher in general esteem than the sennap or canoe carpenter; higher also than the tau bwongbwong or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of palū does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring."

2; Damm et al, --179 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 505, 484 Faraulep

The five men on the crew were provided with two hundred coconuts and fifty coconut bottles of water; if they miss their goal, they must use fish, rain water, and if necessary, salt water. The cooking is done in a small sand box (fenán).

4: Krämer--122
116, 501, 505

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

paliŭ, the captain of the canoe, sleeps on the sea in the barong, while his wife stays in the gaimoém. The paliu sleeps in the kimoém on the lee platform, but on the canoes of the western islands that is the place assigned to the women; for that reason there is a hole, ngatalie bèp, in the floor for the relief of nature. Sexual intercourse is not allowed on board.

Provisions:

The captain has the provisions with him in the barong but the coconuts are stored in the bul room or basebas barong; they may not be touched.* The pallŭ always eats first and then the crew, rŏliva. No one asks for food; everyone waits until the captain eats and then the others are given their share. Food is always very limited. The boat carries mar which tastes very well with tak, Belone.

4: Krämer--127-128 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
505 Elato

[VMM: For the construction and description of canoes, see Water transportation Lamotrek 4: Krämer--127-128.]

28: Spiro--38
116, 476, 764, 505, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

4: Krämer--221
116, 511, 515

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

The islanders get up early. The men wash at the beach, bathe, and rinse their mouths with salt water. The women wash on another part of the beach. The children may go with either their fathers of mothers (Lütke).

According to Kotzebue, Endeckungsreise...page 87, the inhabitants of Ulea excel the Rataks in prosperity and in many other matters. But these remarks of the conceited native, Kadu, do not apply in actuality.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

177 tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing,
164 in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

161 The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of [167] 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories [164] of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

161 The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the
131 atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and [511] this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

141 The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is
561 difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

"Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones."

28: Spiro--144
116, 512

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the daily routine varies seasonally, and even daily and though it varies from individual to individual, and according to age and sex, certain over-all patterns may be described.

Usually the entire population is up at dawn. The first to get up are the mothers with infants, for they must take their babies to be washed in the lagoon. If a woman has decided to work in the taro patch that day, she rises with the crowing of the cocks. Men and women wash in the lagoon upon waking in the morning, unless the woman is going to the taro patch, in which case she waits until her return. The young men and women do not usually wash until the afternoon. For upon rising the young men usually have the responsibility of getting toddy, and the young women go in the bush for flowers, or may prepare food."

28: Spiro--144 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 264 Ifalik

"People do not eat immediately upon rising; indeed it would be difficult to indicate any general pattern of regularity of meals. People may or may not eat, as they please, when they awaken. And they eat whatever happens to be at hand-- a coconut, or leftover food from the day before. The women of the household may prepare some food in the morning, which may then be eaten about 9:00 by anyone who happens to be present."

28: Spiro--144 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 272 Ifalik

"Everyone has his toddy in the morning. A person could no more begin his day without toddy than the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the 'national drink.' There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not make toddy, he is accused of violating one of the important marital and familial obligations. Since the toddy is one of the few sources of concentrated sweet or sugary foods the people have, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, I do not believe is a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice for toddy certain conveniences they would sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rainy and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But one activity that continues, however, no matter how bad the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the big blow, which the natives called a minor typhoon, was to collect their toddy."

28: Spiro--144 [4]
116, 264, 512, 462

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is no family noon meal either. There is usually some cooked food in the house by noontime, which the members of the family may consume together. If the men have no special economic activity which keeps them busy, they may return to their homes to eat. On the other hand, if they are occupied in some communal work, they do not eat at all until they complete the job, and then will eat in the canoe houses, the food having been prepared by the women. If engaging in ordinary sustained work, such as construction of a canoe, the men will eat about noon, but again they will eat in the canoe houses-coconuts, small fish caught in the traps, and/or prepared taro or breadfruit brought by the women. The boys, young and old, may eat with the men, if they are helping in the work, they may go home to eat, or, if they had caught some small fish, or crabs, they prepare them themselves, and eat along the beaches, rather than take them home. This means that the women and girls are the only ones at home at noon, and they usually eat together."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

28: Spiro--145 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 261 Ifalik

"Furthermore, with respect to the sheer physical fact of eating, there is no compulsive ritual about eating in Ifaluk. People eat when hungry, there being no compulsion to eat at certain regular intervals or times. As already mentioned, any person is offered food whenever he enters a courtyard. This is true of children, as well. Ordinarily, therefore, people are not famished when 6:00 comes around. Furthermore, since no one has pressing appointments, it is not necessary that everyone eat at the same time, so as to enable the individual members of the family may get away on time for an evening engagement. There is nothing that cannot wait."

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Unless there is something special the men are doing in the way of communal construction or communal fishing, their average day involves no special committments. Usually they go to the canoe houses, where they may make rope, or may just sit around talking, (5) gossiping, and smoking (6) or perhaps take a nap. Rope making is [146] probably the activity that consumes most of a man's time. While making rope, of course, the men continue their conversations. Often, however, they just sit in the canoe-houses,

---

"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the bare ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered the real reason is much more prosaic. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

6. [See following sheet for footnote 6.]"

28: Spiro--145-146
116, 512, 276, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"6. [Footnote p. 146] Smoking is a cooperative enterprise. When a person lights a cigarette, he invariably passes it to the person near him, after he has smoked a short time. That person, in turn, passes it on, so that it might change hands five or six times until it is consumed. When we first arrived on the island, I not only did not pass on my cigarette, but I would put out my cigarette butt, rather than pass it on. I soon noticed the questioning look on the faces of the people at this anti-social behavior, It was not till a few weeks had passed that I learned the native pattern, and conformed to it."

engaging in no activity at all, not even talking. This is quite strange from a western perspective, where a congregation of people always leads to conversation. The Ifaluk men, however, may sit for long periods of time, just staring into space. In any event, the canoe house is the place where men spend a great deal of their waking hours. It is really, as we have already indicated, the men's club house, as well as the locale for most economic activity. That the canoe-house serves a basic social need is indicated by the fact that men never make rope at home. The twisting of rope involves no great activity nor is it messy, and could very well be done at home, either in the house or alongside it. The reason for going to the canoe-house, therefore, is entirely for the purpose of conviviality."

28: Spiro--146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

28: Spiro--147 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 222, 512, 515 Ifalik

"In the late afternoon the young men again collect their toddy. And at the same time, they take their afternoon bath. Everyone bathes in the late afternoon. The women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water, wearing their skirts. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and change loin cloths, which they keep in the canoe houses. Both sexes use grated coconut meat as soap."

28: Spiro--147 [4]
116, 512

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There is little activity after bathing. [WPM: in late afternoon] The people retire to their own homes, or to the homes of someone else. The cânoe-houses and beaches are empty."

28: Spiro--147 [6]
116, 512, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After dinner, activity again breaks down into sex and age categories. The families sit about, talking, drinking toddy, smoking, and exchanging news of the day. Often, a couple visits its in-laws. Some families may sing a chapeng until they retire, others may visit the home of a sick person. During the dark of the moon, the family usually retires to the interior of the house when it gets dark, and go to sleep shortly after. The children usually going to sleep at the same time as the parents.

On moonlit nights, the people do not retire until much later. They remain out-of-doors, with seemingly great spirits, and laughter may be heard ringing out from many courtyards."

28: Spiro--147 [7]
116, 512, 517, 533, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

28: Spiro--57-58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 513, 776, 753 Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--92 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 513 Ifalik

"The infant sleeps between its parents. It continues to sleep with them until about the age of three, or until the birth of another baby. With the birth of the baby, the older infant is not only deprived of its mother's breast, but is also compelled to relinquish its sleeping position."

28: Spiro--96
116, 857, 513, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

28: Spiro--148 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 513 Ifalik

"Formerly all unmarried males slept in the club houses. This no longer obtains. But after the trade winds set in, the young unmarried men of Rauaua slept in one of the canoe houses. They would retire to the canoe-house after dark, and sing and talk for a long time before going to sleep. Before long, everyone is sleeping."

"Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violence of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, lever approach, so that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and

second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--143
116, 646, 522, 514

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

28: Spiro--21 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians
827, 514, 177, 636 Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--90 [2]
116, 854, 863, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this timé, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-7
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--129 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514, 827 Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--130
116, 831, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

29: Spiro--200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 514 Ifalik

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
515, 264 Ifalik

"A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal."

4: Krämer--221 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 511, 515 Woleai

The islanders get up early. The men wash at the beach, bathe, and rinse their mouths with salt water. The women wash on another part of the beach. The children may go with either their fathers of mothers (Lütke).

According to Kotzebue, Endeckungsreise...page 87, the inhabitants of Ulea excel the Rataks in prosperity and in many other matters. But these remarks of the conceited native, Kadu, do not apply in actuality.

6: Senfft--54
116, 515

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

They are a very clean people and bathe every day.

11: Born--187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 515 Woleai

The women of Oleai are very particular about cleanliness. They go into the sea to bathe about three times a day, and wash their entire bodies as well as their clothing with coconut scrapings. They wash the children at the same time, beginning with the youngest infants. They wash out the ears, mouth, nose, and eyes with leaves, a process which is, of course, accompanied by cries and shrieks on the part of the children.

28: Spiro--95 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 866, 515 Ifalik

"Dependency training has its inception at this time as well. The child who can walk is expected to wash himself, for example. Often, if the child is very dirty, it will be washed by an older sibling or adult, even at the age of eight or nine."

28: Spiro--147 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 222, 512, 515 Ifalik

"In the late afternoon the young men again collect their toddy. And at the same time, they take their afternoon bath. Everyone bathes in the late afternoon. The women bathe in the lagoon directly in front of their houses, walking into the water, wearing their skirts. The men usually bathe in a secluded beach far from habitation, and change loin cloths, which they keep in the canoe houses. Both sexes use grated coconut meat as soap."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

unusual about the food except our corned beef. But always, after a communal activity of any kind, there was a communal meal. I drifted from group to group taking pictures and eating a snack of breadfruit with this friend, a hunk of taro with that, and letting them play the always-amusing game of peering at one another through the sights of my Graphic camera.

The day was shot as far as "work" for us was concerned. By the time we had got film and notes taken care of, we were ready for our afternoon swim in the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

From the beginning, we had formed a habit of going for a swim in the lagoon toward the end of the afternoon. Many people on Ifaluk bathed in the lagoon in late afternoon, so we were right in line with local custom. As an old Floridian, I really preferred swimming in the bright sun of mid-day and I tried to make our lagoon schedule as early in the afternoon as I could; but what with one thing or another, we often didn't get into the water until rather late.

We always wore goggles. I wonder now why anyone ever goes swimming without goggles. Man, under water, is blind without them. In many places, to be sure, there is little to see; but one can never be sure of this without trying. And in the lagoon at Ifaluk there were unending marvels to be looked at.

We were caught at first by the sheer pleasure of drifting around, exclaiming at the forms of the corals and of the colors of the fish. Then we got to thinking that if we were to spend an hour or so in the water every afternoon, we might as well be trying to make some systematic observations.

The fish, we noticed, paid very little attention to us. Apparently a large brown object of human shape plopped into their environment had no connotation of danger. The fish went on about their business as usual, indifferent to the observer. The contrast with the land, where birds and mammals clearly regard observing man as a potential enemy, was great. We didn't have to resort to field glasses or blinds—we could just float pleasantly on the surface and watch the fish. In coral seas, at least, fish watching seems to me to have it all over bird watching, though I doubt whether I would be so enthusiastic about fish watching in colder waters.

"5. The people rarely, if ever, sit on the ground. They always sit on a mat, and if there is none around, they will sit on a coconut husk, or any other object that happens to be about. At first I thought that sitting on the bare ground is tabooed behavior, perhaps the soil is holy. Upon inquiring I discovered that the real reason is much more prosiac. The natives simply do not like the feeling of the damp ground. I must have seemed boorish to the people when I first came, because I would sit on the ground without bothering about a mat or a coconut husk.

Usually the men sit on their haunches with their legs under them. The women sit with their legs stretched out, or with one leg stretched out, and one under them."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

123 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifalik

114

ABOVE Canoe of food walled the kitchen area: Tol Burrows sometimes propped himself cozily there to read at night.

BELOW Don prepared a trade of English lessons for lessons in Ifalukian.

142
123
516

[P. 32(B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

142
291
516
353

ABOVE There was little clutter on the floor of the houses: most family possessions were slung from the rafters.

BELOW The people of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation.

126
285
142
291
342

[p. 64 (A)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
192

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and adviser.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief; and Gavileisei, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
693
192
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
142

RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Canainig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

622
516
142

[P. 64(c)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

137

ABOVE The boondocks were not exactly wild; they were not exactly cultivated either.

BELOW We tried to collect botanical specimens of all of the kinds of plants on the atoll.

126
302
●516
192

[P. 64 (D)]

28: Spiro--42 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women's tasks are more numerous and time-consuming than the men's, so that it is not unusual to see the men sitting in the canoe-houses with nothing to do, but quite unusual for the women."

28: Spiro--146 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 462, 517 Ifalik

"The women spend their days in various activities. If they work in the taro patches, they remain the entire morning and part of the afternoon. Otherwise, they may cook or work on a skirt, or look after the house. Like the men, the women do not like to work alone, and usually gather in groups for their work, at which time conversation and gossip, as well as singing, are all part of the day's activity. Some of the work, like cooking is enhanced by the women working in groups. But usually, the work itself is entirely individualistic, the gathering together, being entirely for reasons of sociability and conversation."

28: Spiro--146 [4]
116, 883, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The adolescent boys may sit around the canoe houses with the men, or may, as in the district of Felarik, have a canoe house of their own in which they congregate. The activity, however, is the same as in the case of the older men. They, too, often sit about, just staring blankly into space. One favorite activity of the young men is the sharpening of knives. Whenever they have nothing to do, or if conversation lags, they will take out their knives and sharpen them on the whetstone, with the result that their knives are razor-sharp and it is no surprise that they shave with them. (7)"

"7. There is little rationality in their almost compulsive knife sharpening. The knives are already sharp. It is likely that this preoccupation has unconscious, symbolic significance. I have no evidence but suspect that is is related to certain sexual anxieties, perhaps a castration anxiety."

28: Spiro--147 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 517, 226 Ifalik

"Often, the young men will go fishing in the afternoon, and what they catch is eaten by them immediately. The playing of checkers or cards may take up an entire morning or afternoon."

28: Spiro--147 [6] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517 Ifalik

"After dinner, activity again breaks down into sex and age categories. The families sit about, talking, drinking toddy, smoking, and exchanging news of the day. Often, a couple visits its in-laws. Some families may sing a chapeng until they retire, others may visit the home of a sick person. During the dark of the moon, the family usually retires to the interior of the house when it gets dark, and go to sleep shortly after. The children usually going to sleep at the same time as the parents.

On moonlit nights, the people do not retire until much later. They remain out-of-doors, with seemingly great spirits, and laughter may be heard ringing out from many courtyards."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

461
517
567

Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

643

This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

28: Spiro--147 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517, 533, 123 Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

29: Spiro--197 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 521 Ifalik-1-2

"November 25, 1947. Yesterday as I was sitting in a canoe shed, near Tarev's house, I heard some of the weirdest sounds I have ever listened to. I could not identify them at all, but one of the men said that they were emitted by Tarev. I went to investigate, but his door mat was covering the entrance to the house. He was talking and 'singing' in a falsetto, the kind of falsetto these people employ when quoting another person. (13) It was as if he were another person or were talking in the tones of another person. I asked one of the men what he was saying, but he said that he did not have the slightest idea. It seemed to him that Tarev was speaking a foreign language. Tarev stopped this talking, but after a brief pause resumed--this time in a deep, masculine voice. I lifted the door mat and called to him. He was standing in the middle of the house, but seemed not to hear me. I called twice more, but he still did not respond. As I turned to leave, he came towards me. I asked what he had been doing. He said that he had been dancing.

"13. When a person in this society reports a conversation that he has had with someone, the report is always in the form of a direct, rather than an indirect, quotation. In quoting the remarks of the other person, the reporter resorts to a falsetto. Tarev's conversation was in the falsetto that is employed in such conversations."

and as he spoke his face was radiant and his whole attitude was completely euphoric. He said he enjoyed his dance immensely and when I asked how he was feeling, he said that he was very happy. I gave him a cigarette, and he seized my hand to smell it. (14)"

"14. The contrast between this manic state and the state of complete anguish that characterized him the previous day was most striking."

1: Burrows--143 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 522, 514 Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

28: Spiro--22 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
622, 276, 522, 576 Ifalik

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight fnto the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

28: Spiro--130 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [502] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 524, 245 Ifalik

"Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops."

Sarfert found all the games (ūlu, Mogemog: rágam), by watching the children; he never saw men and women playing.

a) gárefa: ball game. The cubic ball (garefa) is plaited of coconut leaves, and it is tossed from one opponent to the other.

b) gedādal: wrestling match, both overhand and underhand grappling are used.

c) limés: jumping with both feet.

d) ligefát: walking on the hands.

e) djūderū: it is a game of tag between two people. Each one erects a pile of sand to serve as his base. Then each opponent tries to catch the other, and to reach his base.

f) liwas: a sand game, in which the players make holes in the sand with their index fingers, while reciting a verse; then they say another verse and pull them out again.

g) dilidīli: a running game; two groups take hold of hands; one runs past the other, and the last one must hold on to a boy in the other row.

h) sawófá: a tug of war between two groups. They take hold of each other after reciting a verse, and then pull in opposite directions.

i) lifolúr: a game like the German "Fox in the hole." A circle is formed, and a "sleeping spirit" kneels in the middle. The players in the group sing, then the spirit

wakes and tries to break through the group, by throwing himself on the arms of the players. In the spot where he gets through the line, one of the guilty children must be the "spirit."

k) fisilāle: a circle is formed, and each player puts his right leg over his neighbor's. Then they sing a song, and everybody makes a quarter turn to the right, and hops around in the circle. The position is so awkward that some of the players naturally tumble down, to the general amusement of all concerned.

l) ńōudáulugubāī: four players stand in the corners of a rectangle, [96], and four others sit between them. The latter put their feet together, and give their hands to their neighbors on both sides. Then the children, who are standing, run around in a circle, and keep the others swaying back and forth.

m) imădirāu: it is the German "blind cow" game. The eyes are bound with a coconut leaf.

n) gafibōi: a chain is formed, then the first player crawls between the 2nd and the 3rd, and everyone keeps his arms folded. Then they turn around suddenly, and swing their arms over their heads, so all the players hold hands again.

o) igalimŭd: the children squat in a line. Then the last one is grabbed by two larger boys, and swung over the whole row.

For toys they have a ball, bow, toy boats, a bull-roarer (legawŭliwuli) of coconut

leaf, a little windmill (legafilăn) of leaf strips with an axis of coconut nerve, a pipe (gădigedik, gădik) of coconut leaf.

2: Damm et al. --144
116, 524

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

Toys and games.

a) bagisöfisöf: bow,
b) gannni: a whirler made of a strip of coconut leaf, which is bent together, and over which a coconut leaf nerve is stretched into a bow. The bull-roarer is unknown.
c) There were string games too, and a kind of hand clapping game.

2: Damm et al. --208 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 534, 202, 524 Faraulep

The only musical instrument is the conch shell (taúi; mouthpiece - eoál, sound hole - nán, to blow - xánum), and it is used for signalling and for religious invocations rather than for musical edification. Bull-roarers and leaf pipes are used for children's toys.

2: Damm et al. --210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 524 Faraulep

Hambruch noted the following toys:

a) boats (maravai) with sails made of taro leaves. We have already referred to their religious significance.
b) String figures (xatōte) which one or two can make; usually there are ten manipulations in one figure.
c) bull-roarer (xanum) of the same form as the ganini of Aurepik.
d) spinners (nigaferen) of palm leaf strips, made in the same shape as the ones on Ifaluk.
e) ball (garofa) of the common Carolinian form.
f) different kinds of woven toys: bird (gataf) of woven leaf strips, married couple, pipe (atifetix), little pouch (?).

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Lamotrek

Play and Sport, ur.

Hellwig 2132 =5912 is a small loom which children set up to play and work.

Hellwig 2133 =5913 is a toy canoe, vá, with paddles for children.

yarn game	gafif
ball game	ɣarefa (see Feis)
pinwheel	gadjogoiá, four ends
catching game including throwing into salt water	tūgūrik

livōvō, breadfruit blossom; to throw it at one another. The point is to duck in order not to be hit by it because the person hit must get out of the game.

porettetiu buai, "not allowed laughing": the players form a circle; in the middle stand one or two persons who try to make the others laugh. Anyone who laughs is thrown into the water.

4: Krämer--270-271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 524 Woleai

Hellwig shows a paddle for children. Length, 90 centimeters. Figure 130 [VMM: see source]. [271]

Dolls are simply called lios (Truk: picture) and they do occur. The wooden figures (see Figure 131) [VMM: see source] bear a certain resemblance to the objects used for storm-magic (Figure 132). [VMM: see source]

Hellwig shows a pin-wheel (gu), at the mouth of a wooden fish which is tied to a bamboo pole.

6: Senfft--57
116, 411, 524

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are no weapons besides the spear for fishing and the adze. Slings (chaoil) were used formerly, but are no longer found today. There are miniature bows (baok) and arrows (gafisch) which are used as toys and have no other purpose.

"A few general notes on children's play may be in order. Generally, one is impressed (after long and constant observation) with the egocentricity of the children's play. (21) Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies, in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integrated or meaningful interraction, in the sense of role taking, but each child is trying to serve his own ends, which may be served by playing with others. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that the child, if he is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, will drop out of the group, and play by himself. Another characteristic is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play over a sustained period of time. They precipitately change from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Another characteristic of the older children is the randomness and/or lack of goal directed activities. When I was still new to the culture, I would ask a group of boys what they were doing, and they would answer, 'tar', nothing. When I got to know them intimately, I began to understand the truth of the remark. At the same time, their behavior may be completely random--throwing of stones, not at any target, or goal, just throwing of stones.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, but one would expect it in them, since they are still in an exploratory state, and at the same

"21. Susan Isaacs states this as a general characteristic of the play of children."

time their behavior is more egocentric. Theirs is isolated play, in which the contact is geographical, not interractional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which the women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on a blade of grass, laughing to himself, as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger, then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around and around the twig to which it was attached. The other boy began to play with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one."

28: Spiro--105-106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"On windy days, the boys make human-like figures from coconut leafs (karigeli), with long legs', and when they are placed in the wind, they 'walk' for some distance.

The older boys make kites from coconut leafs, which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, and sail them in the lagoon on windy days.

Some of the boys made a wagon, which I saw used only once. They used four wooden disks, as wheels, used long poles as the body proper, and pulled each other around, having great fun.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. A coconut stem is inserted into a coconut bud, which when twirled in the hand and released on the ground, will spin very well.

The younger children, both boys and girls, play with these tops, but do not spin them too well. Usually they merely throw them into the air, retrieving them when they fall, repeating this pattern incessantly. This retrieving pattern is a favorite one. They roll plates on the ground, balls and other objects, running after them to retrieve them. Or else they play 'catch' with some object, throwing it, or batting it, back and forth."

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--106-107 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"Another game was a semi-wheelbarrow game, in which one child would hold the leg of another, the latter thus attempting to walk on one leg. [107]

The children also had a game of 'it.' Two children would stand opposite each other at about a distance of thirty feet, and another child would be 'it' in the center. The two on the outside would attempt to hit him with a coconut leaf 'ball', and the one who succeeeded would then take his place in the center.

Playing 'house', I observed only once. Two pre-pubertal girls had erected a house of coconut leaves, and had spread mats on the floor inside. They sat outside the house, like two Ifaluk matrons, making wreaths, while a number of younger children were playing in the house, and were treated as the children of the two girls."

28: Spiro--107
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Much of the play and games occurs on the beach or in the water. One favorite was jumping head first into the lagoon from the run-way that led from the shore to the over-water-head. Another was just swimming or splashing in the water, or playing tag in the water. On the beach, many kinds of activities were indulged in. A few examples might be of interest. One afternoon some children dug holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys became weary and lay down, and the girls covered them completely with sand, and then ran off leaving them. The younger children would often build and destroy one sand pile after another. The following description is a complete account of the sand play of an entire afternoon. Talemelemar (boy) and Iliakong (girl) were kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until the laps were covered. After tiring of this, they each filled a basket with sand, filled it with water, and threw the mixture into the air. Iliakong threw a basket of sand at Talemelmar who became angry, and retaliated by throwing some at her. They both seem to enjoy this, so they continued throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire proceedure immensely. They suddenly tired of this and returned to the task of filling their baskets. When hers was filled, Iliakong threatened to throw it at Talemelmar. He screamed and ran into the ocean. He then returned and played in the sand about fifty feet from Iliakong. She knelt by me, playing in the sand, then came over and tried to

look up my shorts. Failing in this, she returned to her play in the sand, this time making a ball from the sand, and kept patting it, and shifting it from hand to hand--singing at the same time, oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumped up, threw the ball of sand into the air, then tried to walk on her hands, failed, and returned to her play in the sand, Talemelemar saw her trying to walk on her hands, and attempted to imitate her. They both decided to do it together, and insisted that I watch them. They soon tired of this play, and Talemelemar ran off by himself, while Iliakong reverted to the making of balls. Soon Talemelemar came running back insisting that I watch him as he jumped up and down in the shallow water. When Iliakong finished making her balls she ran to the ocean and threw them into the air. She then returned to pile sand on her legs, as Talemelemar began to make balls. Iliakong too returned to the ball-making, and both of them continued, almost monotonously, to shift the ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they did so. Iliakong accompanied this activity with song, coordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She made three sand balls and put them beside her basket. I touched one and accidentally broke it, at which she shouted at me, threatened to throw sand at me, and ended by burying the other two in the sand. In the meantime, Telemelemar had built a little hillock out of sand, scraping sand away from it, so that it was separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picked it up and placed it beside the ball he had made. He then made another ball and buried it too in the

sand. Then, taking the other two balls on shore, he began to pack them with great care with mud. At that point, Iliakong ran to him and deliberately broke one of the balls, but he said nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulled it away. The ball she was carrying fell accidentally to the ground, and broke, at which they both laughed uproariously. She then threw sand at him, which he dodged. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house."

28: Spiro--107-108
116, 857, 524, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--108
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The Germans, as we have pointed out elsewhere, induced the people to make dolls for export. But no one thought of using them as dolls to be played with. Apparently the play of the children with actual babies takes the place of play dolls. However, I did observe play with dolls once during our stay. Two little girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked them what it was, they said it was a cat. Later they said it was a baby. They held it in their arms, and sung to it, as a mother would to a child. They then put it in a 'cradle' (a basket leaf), and swung it from the roof pillars. They played with this cradle interminably, constantly taking it down, and putting it back again, tying and untying the string. But this is the only doll play I had seen in our entire stay."

28: Spiro--105 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116', 857, 526 Ifalik

Another characteristic on all levels of child play is the absence of competitive sports, or any other competitive activity involving physical skill or prowess. One might expect to find fighting or wrestling matches, tree climbing contest, canoe races, etc., but they are completely absent."

6: Senfft--56
116, 535, 527

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The festivities of the natives consist of banquets and dances. The dances are very beautiful; there is a great deal of variation in the patterns and both the composition and the presentation are perfect. Most of the dances are held in cool nights. The motions of the dance are accompanied by singing and by clapping the hands. There are no musical instruments.

28: Spiro--35-36 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 527 Ifalik

"There are a number of institutional, as well as non-institutional characteristics of these communal undertakings. All are completed with a feast, prepared by the women, at which the men sit about in small groups by the structure on which they had been working. Furthermore, when the men assemble for their work, they bring coconuts which are deposited in a common store, it becoming the sole function of certain [36] of the men to husk them. At the completion of the work, the chiefs distribute the coconuts among the men who receive them with great pleasure. This distribution of food, at other times of tobacco at communal gatherings raises a perplexing problem: Why should coconuts or tobacco, which all people possess in abundance, be distributed by the chiefs at the completion of these affairs, and why should a handful of tobacco or 4 coconuts be received with such obvious pleasure by the people, particularly when as in this case, they bring the coconuts themselves, and they are now merely being redistributed? We shall have occasion to discuss this point in some detail in our chapter on psychology."

28: Spiro--42 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 252, 527 Ifalik

"The women's economic activities have been enumerated above, and need little technical explanation. The cooking is done in the cook-sheds, usually a number of women in the household working together. In the preparation of food for feasts two and three households may cooperate. Most cooking is performed over the open fire; the um, the underground stone oven distributed universally thoughout Oceania, being used only on the occasion of feasts."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes, Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
[539] *They have given us a paper.*
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

529 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

unusual about the food except our corned beef. But always, after a communal activity of any kind, there was a communal meal. I drifted from group to group taking pictures and eating a snack of breadfruit with this friend, a hunk of taro with that, and letting them play the always-amusing game of peering at one another through the sights of my Graphic camera.

The day was shot as far as "work" for us was concerned. By the time we had got film and notes taken care of, we were ready for our afternoon swim in the lagoon in front of the Fan Nap.

From the beginning, we had formed a habit of going for a swim in the lagoon toward the end of the afternoon. Many people on Ifaluk bathed in the lagoon in late afternoon, so we were right in line with local custom. As an old Floridian, I really preferred swimming in the bright sun of mid-day and I tried to make our lagoon schedule as early in the afternoon as I could; but what with one thing or another, we often didn't get into the water until rather late.

We always wore goggles. I wonder now why anyone ever goes swimming without goggles. Man, under water, is blind without them. In many places, to be sure, there is little to see; but one can never be sure of this without trying. And in the lagoon at Ifaluk there were unending marvels to be looked at.

We were caught at first by the sheer pleasure of drifting around, exclaiming at the forms of the corals and of the colors of the fish. Then we got to thinking that if we were to spend an hour or so in the water every afternoon, we might as well be trying to make some systematic observations.

The fish, we noticed, paid very little attention to us. Apparently a large brown object of human shape plopped into their environment had no connotation of danger. The fish went on about their business as usual, indifferent to the observer. The contrast with the land, where birds and mammals clearly regard observing man as a potential enemy, was great. We didn't have to resort to field glasses or blinds—we could just float pleasantly on the surface and watch the fish. In coral seas, at least, fish watching seems to me to have it all over bird watching, though I doubt whether I would be so enthusiastic about fish watching in colder waters.

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
531 Ifalik

" ...weaving is entirely in simple check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures."

2: Damm et al. --97 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 345, 531 Ifaluk

The men's houses are the only ones, which have colored ornaments (kawoluắl), arranged in a rather artistic decoration. Formerly the central supports and the roof supports (wắu) were very ornate. In the men's house Sarfert found an old beam under the roof; two sides of it were decorated with the rašŭ́m pattern [AN: see drawing 176 of source]...while the third had a double rhomboid design, wŏ́wo, which was supposed to represent a fish of the same name (drawing 177 of source).

On the pillar of a small dwelling Sarfert saw the vertical karebắli wulugắlâi pattern, which was supposed to reproduce the tail of the wulugắlâi fish [AN: see drawing 178 of source].

There were practically no wood carvings; however, Krämer found a wooden fish in the chief's house; then the waliwŏ́l for Ällülĕ́ï should also be mentioned among the artistic products.

4: Krämer--38 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 304, 531 Lamotrek

Tattooing and painted ornamentation on the island are not, or rather, no longer subject to the strict rules of the West Carolinians; I say no longer, because Lütke shows that 100 years ago it still at least partly existed on Lukunor. The truth of this thought seems also to be expressed by Kittlitz. But by now definitely inscribed patterns are no longer in effect and ornamentation is confined to groups of it on the legs--examples of it are given in the illustrations--; the patterns of women are more elaborate. Men, on the other hand, wear little or no ornamentation of their legs, but instead have designs on their arms; see Figure 9 [VMM: see source] of two insides of arms, which show numerous rows of patterns one above another and among them apparently spear heads rastim (Figure 9b [VMM: see source]): The outer sides of the thighs [VMM: see source Figure 10a-d] usually have only two vertical pattern rows of shark teeth or fish; the favorite species are the pup and the küe. These patterns are included in the ornamentation of the women, Fig. IIa, b [VMM: see source] (the woman Netailemoar) and Fig. 12, and rank next to the many other patterns which are presented in Figure 79 [VMM: see source], The illustrations mentioned show the arrangement that on the woman Loalimul (Figure 13 [VMM: see source]) is particularly elaborate. In this instance we see ornamentation on the side and extending forward from the seat so that it occupies the space over the hip bone; from here a wide decorative stripe runs down the outside of the thigh to the knee, where a few rings--open to the side--encircle the entire leg. Around the back of the leg there appear a few unconnected patterns.

4: Krämer--38
116, 304, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

It is noteworthy that on Lamotrek the Mons veneris is ornamented with the black triangle puáre, which also occurs on Ponape, but was not observed on Truk. Hambruch noticed it on Elato where it was used as house ornament Mák e boár [VMM: it is illustrated on page 30--see source.]

4: Krämer--38-41 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 301, 531 Lamotrek

In the discussion of ornaments (Fig. 79 [VMM: see source]) we might add that the species of fish mentioned with the same name occur on Truk, but that in the latter instance the fish are dolphins, but not in double form. Another feature identical with Truk is the shark tooth that is so common. But the other patterns are usually different and the same is true of the names. [41]

With the exception of those mentioned above, no interpretation is possible for the many types of ornaments given in Figure 79 [VMM: see source]. An ornamented house gable (as is known, for instance, on Palau) is called tabau and the fact of the existence of the term proves its occurrence.

4: Krämer--41
116, 531, 386

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

No details are available on the subject of painted ornamentation. Turmeric is acquired by trade transactions and is thus available like on the other islands, but it is rarely used. The red paint of the canoes has its origin in red earth, lap, from Yap or Truk; that of Yap is considered better in quality. From it the expression tabbi en lap, paint bowl, is derived and the word for paint brush is golelië.

Vessels tëbbi (Hellwig: tapi), Plate rölig.
(cf. Plate 7.) [VMM: see source]

These vessels are made of wooden blocks or boards; see Plate 8b [VMM: see source]. bóati--lugs are found on them as the illustrations show (the same as on Truk, Palau etc.). Bowls may vary in shape: the foot may be roundish and raised; the total height is 13 centimeters, and the width of the bowl amounts to 32 centimeters. The brim of the bowl is often almost hexagonal, as the specimen in Figure 26 a [VMM: see source]; the base sometimes is two-legged (b). The round bowl in Figure 27 (Kramer 452=3207) has two high feet which stand on a base and which facilitate eating; the entire height of the bowl is 25 centimeters, and the length of the roundish bowl amounts to 24 1/2 centimeters (Hellwig 209k: foot--perël).

The bowl in Figure 28 shows a somewhat lower foot, for the latter is only 6 1/2 centimeters in height; it is actually a low stool with four legs on which rests a longish bowl which has a length of 21 centimeters and a width of 13 centimeters. Hellwig 2336 is similar in shape.

Figure 29 [VMM: see source] shows a tray for eating fish which does not have a high base; nevertheless, we may notice a slight elevation at the right of the illustration. The plate is oval and pointed at the ends, 42 centimeters long and 22 centimeters wide and has a low molding along the edge, which in effect seems to be [64] a little fence; there is a hole in it at one side for the suspension cord.

Hellwig 2226-6006 is called tapi lemălu wulól; it is longish in form but is not painted red and does not have any inlay of mother-of-pearl.

There are three bowls in the Linden museum in Stuttgart which are said to come from Lamotrek: one is flat and oval, one is round and flat and shallow, and one is deep and oval in shape and has two bird heads instead of lugs; in the latter case the foot is low and represents a closed square.

Bowls with lids. The box in which the fish hooks are kept, the sóp is such a chestlike vessel; see Figure 30. The length of the specimen pictured is 12.4 centimeters and the width may vary from 3.8 centimeters, while the height is 4 centimeters; Hellwig has a bowl with a lid which he calls sáp; for the box itself he uses the word bassobasso, the lid is gárebal, the knob bóatil, the brim nadjel, and to open is sugi.

A peculiar bowl is a specimen with a lid and a decoration of Greek figures; one of the figures is represented seated on the long side whereas a person is shown standing on the short side. It is said to have been made by the Spaniard Gulio, who happened to be on Lamotrek at the time of the typhoon of 1907; the box is 77 centimeters long, 27.6 centimeters high and 27.5 centimeters wide. Figure 31 [VMM: see source].

The bird bowls resemble those from Truk. Kramer 493-3247" has a horse-shoe shaped base formed by the two feet of the bird as in Figure 32 [VMM: see source]. The length of the bowl is 37 centimeters, and its height is 20 1/2 centimeters. The model

must have been a frigate bird; Hellwig calls the bowl tapi a gataf and says that it is meant to hold the color substance that comes from Yap. Krämer 453-3208 is called tapi e lāp; it does not have a foot and for that reason is suspended; it is 48 centimeters long and has a piece of wood which is used for painting since the bowls are used for paint. One specimen is pictured in Figure 33 [VMM: see source].

A bowl very similar in form to the one last mentioned is in Berlin, and one with a bird hiding its head and a pointed head and forked tail comes from Elato; it is 50 centimeters long.

Among the vessels we must also count coconut shells; one of them, known as dagág a lül, is set on a round base as in Figure 34 [VMM: see source], and has [65] a handle. It is said to have been invented by the boy Malüvit, when he was between 7 and 8 years old; this boy is credited also with having started this type of vessel in trade. Naturally we are in this instance dealing with foreign influences or else we must interpret it as an old Indonesian motif since bowls on stands and some with handles occur in West Indonesia. It is used as a drinking cup for water or garri (palm juice) (13.5 centimeters wide).

Containers of coconut are called ware; their shape may be that of a nut as in Figure 35 [VMM: see source] where the length is 15 centimeters and the width 8 centimeters; in other instances they have lids (pelipelal) and bottoms; Hellwig 2246-6023 Figure 36, has a height of 7 centimeters. Purpose: for keeping fish hooks, medicine etc.; they are also used as containers for fire wood, gulegul. In addition there are containers of

bamboo which are decorated in the same manner as in Indonesia. [66] Hellwig 2228-6008 Figure 37, has on it arepél e bulugale "tails of the b." and shark's teeth, and the patterns are arranged in six rows. Hellwig 2330-6099 Figure 39 shows various ornamental patterns, e.g., 9, 11, 22, 33, 43 and the pup-like little men of 23; they are either half or double. Hellwig 2118 has a scratched decoration of tirigi points.

In Berlin there is a bamboo stick with many designs scratched into it including birds, crosses, suns, teeth; it is similar to the specimens that have come from Oleai,

4: Krämer--75-76
116, 386, 285, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

c. Dyeing [VMM: of fibers to be used in mats]

Both gilifer hibiscus fibers and uidj banana yarn are dyed black when special designs are to be brought out in the textile. The yarn is first dyed in a greenish juice which is brewed from crushed terminalia leaves and water. Then black pumice stone with water is scraped on iron and young coconut husks are thrown into the liquid; a special greasy type of soil that drifts ashore is added; the fibers are put in this liquid with its coloring substance for twenty-four hours. Then they are rinsed and dried. In more recent times occasionally red threads have appeared in mats; they have been dyed with artificial dyes --red, green, blue, and violet--that must have been acquired through trade and are not readily available on the island. [76]

An example is Krämer 518, a mat with three red stripes, which resemble Krämer 519 (najelle malu galapal with small stitches gukudj); Krämer 460 dõr peig. . . has three green stripes and the same applies to Krämer 520; Krämer 521, paliälüf, has a red stripe along the edge and three stripe patterns--1 red between two green ones (similar to the mat on Plate 7e [VMM: see source]); Hellwig 2272 along the edge has two green and, in the middle, three stripes--green, black, green--; Krämer 515 is similar; it has spotted stripes and red transverse ornaments which are known as galut ma dab.

First Type of Mat
(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

The following types of striped mats are known: marŭp made of gilifer with five or six stripes; it is a coarse, plain weave which is often dyed with traded dyes. The black, green or dark blue stripes are broken by white, red or other colors and the intervening sections appear uniformly light. I did not see these mats in the unfinished state while work was done on them; they occur identically on Sëtoval and thus it is possible that they have been traded on that island. They look very modern; I learned that on the surrounding islands of Sëtoval, Pollap and others no weaving had been done, because it was taboo. [77]

I shall now go on to describe the characteristic mats with three stripes; additional ornamentation of them are the black patterns which are produced by fibers introduced in the direction of the weft, which constitute the transverse bands at the beginning and the end of the mat. In the course of weaving black gilifer fibers are sent through the warp threads between every weft by means of a little wooden rod; they are fastened and held secure by the following weft. This is plait weaving known as dab.

Second Type of Mat.

The peig mats have three stripes and are woven of fine, white uiɖj fibers with narrow black marginal stripes and a wider black stripe in the center* and very narrow red threads may be used in the center; Plate 6a-f [VMM: see source].

*Plate 6b [VMM: see source] has three wide stripes peig na tas.

4: Krämer--76-79 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 285, 531, 177 Lamotrek

We must add in the case of the majority of the peig the dab pattern, latitudinal stripes at the beginning and the end of the mat, which are very delicate in these fine mats.

The black stripes in the longitudinal direction may either be weaves of uidj or gilifer; the dab patterns are always made of gilifer fibers, which in their dull blackness contrast very nicely with the glossy, light uidj.

My studies of native weaving were greatly aided by the assistance of Bessi (Plate 3d [VMM: see source]), the half-breed daughter of the English trader Lewis....In order that I might become familiar with the various dab patterns, she wove for me an exceedingly beautiful, abundantly ornamented mat (Plate 7d [VMM: see source]) with a great variety of latitudinal designs (Figure 49 [VMM: see source]). It has the name najile malugelep al--dab o fasch and belongs to the group of the three-striped peig alali pelach (with plain weave). The wide stripe in the center is broken by two white, and one red, lines. In the plaiting work, dab, red and green threads have been used in addition to black ones and this variety is a concession to modern times. The patterns however are of the true old type and have names and significance. Some of them are said to have originated on other islands. [VMM: see source Figure 47, for illustrations of the following designs.] When one begins at the upper end, one comes first to

1. A. uasstich — pattern for the beginning of the mat
2. B. langodab — a very narrow border which serves to outline a pattern

		and which appears immediately above C.
3.	C. sepasse iliuil	canoe sails of several boats that sail together.
4.	B. langodab	see B, directly underneath C.
5:	D. uadj	neck tattooing of a man
6.	B. langodab	see B. [78]
7.	E. fäsilümat	eye (from Faraulap)
8.	B. langodab	see 6. B.
9.	D. uadj	see 5. D.
10.	F. uägüpä	unexplained
11.	G. garrach	plant design from Ifaluk
12.	H. ngingi	neck tattooing of a man
13.	J. bub (pup)	a fish (see Truk, page 150 X) [79]
14.	K. päülümel	a flying bird
15.	J. bub	fish, see 13.
16,	C, kusae	pattern from Kusae
17.	M. fäülümat	eye, from Ifaluk (see 7)
18.	C, kusae	see 16
19.	N. gogotjub	see 12
20.	O. pöulul	"round thing"
21.	P. ngilipaggo	shark's tooth (Truk, page 188 b).

22. Q. ligongare Ifaluk pattern
23. R. B =Bessi, the plaiter
24. S. fatarigavŭong small animals of the sea lined up

The majority of these plaiting patterns definitely have a left side, but there are some among them which look alike on both sides. If the latter are used for a fine peig mat, and if the decorative stitches appear alike in the black longitudinal stripes on both sides, then we are dealing with a rare and valuable mat, which is called peig galut.

It has been mentioned above that peig also exist without dab patterns; they are shown on Plate 6d and f [VMM: see source]. Finally we want to refer to the lugüllü uidj, mats of coarsely split banana fibers, which may be compared to the peig, except that they are much coarser. As in the case of the peig, there exist various sub-types: 1. completely white without any ornamentation, 2. with black stripes along both sides and with or without dab (Plate 6h [VMM: see source]) 3. with a central stripe in addition to the stripes along the edges, which makes the mat three striped, 4. three-striped and ornamented with dab, having at both ends coarse, simple patterns of black gilifer fibers (Plate 6c [VMM: see source]). All these mats have plain weaves. In addition to the local weaving products, one sees mats imported from Truk; especially men are fond of the plain, white banana fiber mat, which is called aliel; a yellowish type is known as garite. ngăremus and pagutiu are two types of mats for women that come from Truk.

4: Krämer--76-79
116, 285, 531, 177

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-5
Lamotrek

Words:

fisudab	lattice weave (of dab pattern)
djuidab	needle used for the lattice weave
famalidab	pattern of the dab

4: Krämer--84-86
116, 342, 504, 531

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

On Elato there may be a semi-conical roof so that the gable slopes; here the lower part of the house, the wall, is made of coconut mats (Figure 12a [VMM: see source]). Sometimes coconut fronds are hung directly from the ridge, and their stalks are pointed up.

Such semi-conical, sloping roofs may also be observed on the canoe-houses (Figure 53 [VMM: see source]) which are open all around, e.g., they do not have any walls. In this case, the lower frame beams do not exist [86], but only the upper framework is there and consists of square roughly worked beams (Plate 9c [VMM: see source]). They are often elaborately ornamented and the same is true of some of the square purline (Color Plate 2 and Plate 4a) [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 531 Lamotrek

No special attention is given to art. But the canoe-house, dwellings, mats and looms of Lamotrek are the most beautifully ornamented of all. Also tattoo patterns and bamboo boxes show a variety of designs; the most important are represented below.

The chart of the following designs is taken mainly from tattooing, but some of them are patterns of chip carving....[VMM: For designs see source.]

4: Krämer--243 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 531 Woleai

A large number of patterns occur on the bamboo vessels and containers that have just been described. Among them are the ray tattoo designs which in large numbers are shown in Figure 79 of Lamotrek [VMM: see source]; but the ornaments pictured in 107b-109b [VMM: see source] are not very different. As on Lamotrek the houses on Oleai have decorated gables.

11: Born--179-180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
301, 531, 437 Woleai

This ornament [ML: jil, a belt worn by women] is an admirable example of Micronesian art, and shows a great deal of taste and aesthetic feeling. It is made on the islands of Ululssi, Feis, Aurepik, Ugulu, and Sorol, where the people of Oleai buy it in exchange for mats, canoes, and food. The best jil are made on Aurepik. They are about 60 to 70 centimeters long, and 4 or 5 centimeters wide; they consist of shell disks and coconut beads strung up on nine strands which are held together by ten tortoise shell buckles, pak-ele-jil. The basic pattern is always the same, with only a few slight variations in details: there are two black areas with a [180] white line through the center, three smaller areas with a black line through the center, and two white areas at each end with a black cross, which again has a white area in the center.

The value of these belts varies considerably, depending on the care with which the work has been executed and on the type of materials chosen. The most highly valued belts are those which have black beads made of tortoise shell rings. These are made on Ugulu and Aurepik. Those made on Sorol and Feis have the lowest value. Here the separate strands are shorter and they are not held together as firmly as in the other belts, and the beads are not made with as much skill and care as those on Aurepik.

Few of the houses have ornaments on the gables or the equipment. The only attempt worth mentioning is a pattern on the front and back of the houses, consisting of a row of fish painted on a white background. I found no carved human and animal figures such as those made on Jap. I saw one carved canoe, [190] but the workmanship was crude and careless, and could not be compared with that of Jap. The reverse is true of the actual canoes used. The crude, unattractive canoes of the Jap natives cannot compare with those of the natives of Oleai.

28: Spiro--80 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 531 Ifalik

"Though there are no 'fine arts' in the atoll, there are, of course, industrial arts, as we have seen, and some of these display very fine decorative art. The canoes are painted with fixed color and design patterns. And it is this fixity that is most impressive. Not only is every canoe made the same, according to the same design, but every canoe is painted identically the same as every other canoe. No one diverges from the cultural pattern. This design, it is of interest to observe, is universal in the Western Carolines, as is the actual structure of the canoe."

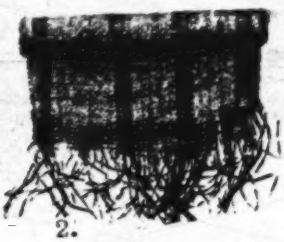
6: Müller--196 E-5? (1909-1910) 1917 OR22 Yap OR22
Woleai OR21
Truk OR19
Ulithi OR20

/Between pp. 114 and 115./

Plate 32

Y
286
531
184

1.



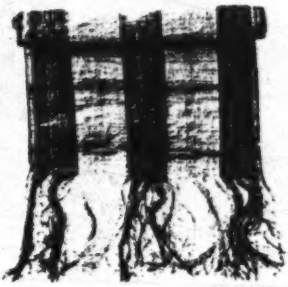
2.

3.

YUW
286
531

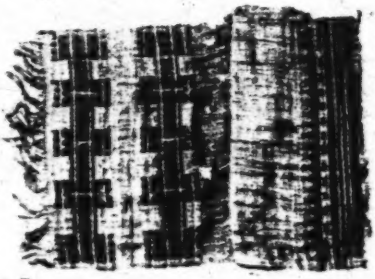
4.

5.

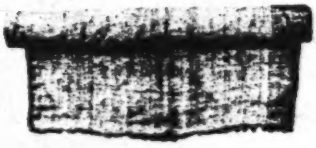


6.

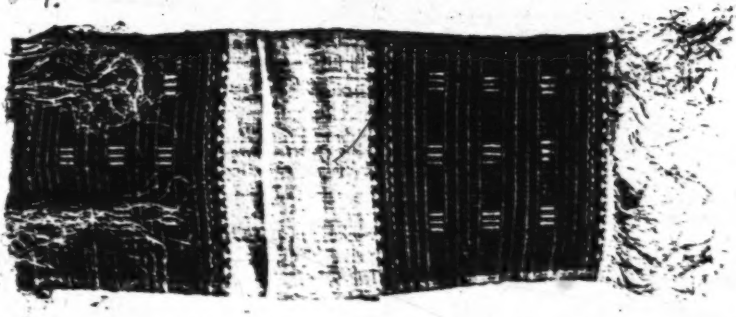
YTW
286
531



7.



8.



9.

1. Old weaving, fāgă̆ĭl. Village of Māvŭ, 102: 41 cm. Mŭ. Coll. 189.
2. Old weaving, fāgă̆ĭl. Village of Māvŭ, 116: 43 cm. id. 308.
3. Weaving vāgĭ. Village of Gătšă̆laju. 132. 5:25 cm., id. 55.

(cont.)

6: Müller--197 E-5 (1909-1910) 1917 OR22 Yap OR22
Truk OR19
Woleai OR21
Ulithi OR20
Y
W
U
286
531

/Captions for Pl. 32 cont./

4. Weaving from Mogĕmŏg. 134:37 cm., id. 194.
5. Weaving from Gătšălaj or the central Carolines, 125 cm., id. 53.
6. Mat from Fĕlŭg (Ifaluk), 150:51 cm., id. 162.
7. Old Lūĕtš weaving. Village of Lūĕtš, 44.5: 126.5 cm., id. 188.
8. Mat from Truk, 205:54.5 cm., id. 193.
9. Mat from Ănăn̆ăj (Oleai), 129:35 cm., id. 39, 1/10 actual size.

T
W
286
531

/115 cont./

U
286
192

10. ĭlŏŏ: bamboo tube around which the whole warp runs, corresponding to the Yap vŏtšăvŏts.

11. tăpăn: the bamboo tube separating the two primary warp-layers, corresponding to the tārăn.

12. vālŏn̆ŏn̆ and n̆ŏn̆: the lifter of the lower primary warp-layer, with its spiral thread. On the Mŏgĕmŏg loom this arrangement is doubled; the second raises individual threads of the other primary warp-layer, so that here another, but not equivalent shed is formed.

13. ɟīv or ɟiɣ: little bamboo stick that divides this warp-layer in half.

14. ɟiv or ɟiɣ: four little sticks at the beginning of the weaving, corresponding to the two "mĭt."

U
286

The arrangement of the warp is also different and more complicated, although the woman doing the weaving contents herself with four sticks (Pl. 30, No. 2). The separation of the warp-layers is done by the stick to the right of the woman, around the outer half of which the spiral thread is drawn. Despite the fact that the Yap people can observe this method every day, they have not imported it.

Y
[177]
286
436
462
184

Mat-money Weaving. A little remains to be added about the technique of weaving the mat-money, which is done only

'[see page 188.--Analyst]

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 345, 532 Ifalik

"The construction of the men's house (fan nap) is shown in Figure 6. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving (Pl. 4, a). The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free."

1: Burrows--78-79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 532 Ifalik

"An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single [79] image. They are said to be vangvang (? Dann uses bangwang for 'prayer', but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifalik when we were there."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 532, 463 Ifalik

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was WètrIliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skilfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called perou. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called sur perou (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called ŏngarIk. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The ŏngarIk, unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 532 Lamotrek

Of the sculptured woodwork only the birds shall be mentioned here; one of them hangs from the eaves of the canoe-house (color photograph 2). [VMM: see source]. The chest with its figures (Figure 31) [VMM: see source] is foreign work, as has been indicated above.

28: Spiro--80 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 532 Ifalik

"Ifaluk has practically no plastic or graphic arts in the strict sense of the term. Since contact the people have been encouraged to carve wooden statuettes, which are traded for western trade goods. They are called lios, and are made by the young men. They are distinguished by their almost monotonous similarity, all the men making the identical figures, with only minor variations. All these figures have disproportionately, large flat heads, and flexed knees. Practically all the figures are male. But those figures have no native use, and the people look upon them as just another Western eccentricity.

The only native carving, of a representative value, is the wooden phallus attached to the front pillar of the fanap.

Native graphic art is lacking, as well. In some of the canoe houses, there are painted figures of men and fish, but these have been made by the young men who had returned from the Japanese school in Yap, where they had received some training."

1: Burrows--165
466, 533

(1947-48)

1-2
Woleaians
Ifalik

"German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon
And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.

The first mate takes them aboard."

1: Burrows--197-198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 832, 533 Ifalik

"Another gap in the pattern is love magic. Lovemaking is perhaps the dominant [198] interest during the early years of maturity, and this interest is slow to wane. Throughout life, if only by reflection, it is one of the major interests. Study of sexual life was left to Spiro but this point was apparent even in casual observation and conversation. It is reflected, too, in song texts. The very name of the love song and accompanying dance (bwarux) is forbidden in mixed company, itself an indication that the subject is exciting. Yet love songs are the most numerous, and the most frequently heard of any kind of song. There is divination in the course of lovemaking, and it is mentioned in the songs. If there were any attempt to win love by magic, that would undoubtedly be mentioned too."

2: Damm et al. --94 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifaluk

The natives love songs. In addition to dance songs, there are others (gúli and walugulumále or gulumále), which are composed by women. They are love songs, in which the qualities of the swains are praised. Men do not know anything about composing. Shark and turtle songs, like the ones on Sorol, are not known.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 533 Woleai

A native from Wolea informed Hellwig that various lyrics had been quite new to him [LEM: in the spectacle on Utagal], and he went on explaining that new songs were constantly springing up and that just as many would be forgotten again due to the preference given to those tunes which were liked best, due also to the death of the composers in case they did not have any male relatives. Occasionally, one of the many old, forgotten songs was recalled and studied again; he himself [the Wolea man], like any other man, knew several songs since his days of youth, and these airs were studied anew, so that certain songs had a long life, though, frequently, they were not understood anymore since the acting persons and the basic events had become unknown.

4: Krämer--58-59 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 789 Lamotrek

I present here some poems in their original text although they are said to have come from Oleai; but Agupelior of the latter island was not familiar with them.

[ER: The songs are omitted here. Their subject matter includes the following:

1. Songs sung on fishing trips.
2 Song to drive away rain.
3. Song to drive a wind spout away.
4. Song against sharks.
5. Canoe song sung when passing a shoal.
6. Song sung when a boat starts out on a fishing trip.
7. Fish song.
8. Catching of the Bonito.
9. Bonito song.
10. Song about turmeric leaves. [59]

This is followed by a breadfruit prayer, the gatóketok ali mai which refers to the growth of breadfruit. At the time when the prayer is uttered crushed ongorik leaves are shaken up and scattered.

4: Krämer--102 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 396 Lamotrek

There are many canoe songs, because the principle is that everyone should invoke the gods' assistance in his own particular way in order that the canoe may turn out to be beautiful, luck may be with its passengers on their voyages, etc. In particular, every measuring line has its own song....

[ER: The native texts and translation are given for some of the canoe songs, but are omitted here.]

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Wolesians
116, 533 Lamotrek

[ER: The text of some of the songs sung on the occasion of the confinement of important women is given but is omitted here.]

4: Krämer--175 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533 Lamotrek

Music

No details are known about it.
Hellwig collected a flute, a tigetig, made of Yap bamboo, ait.

4: Krämer--262 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
533 Woleai

[ER: The words of some boat songs are given in the text, but they are omitted here. The songs are:

1. Song before the voyage. With or without storm magic (goselefei).
2. Canoe construction.
3. Song after the completion of the canoe.
4. Prayer for the coming voyage offered in order to catch a large number of fish. Request for great heat, because it brings many fish.
5. Song used on the occasion of angle fishing.]

4: Krämer--291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
533 Woleai

[ER: The words of some songs are given in the original text, but are omitted here, pp. 291-294.]

[ER: No studies were made of the music of Oleai.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 533, 535 Woleai

The development of art among the Oleaï natives is on a very low level. I saw no musical instruments of any kind. There is said to be a kind of jew's harp for children, consisting of a single string which is plucked to produce different notes.

The dancing songs of the natives here are, if possible, even more monotonous and lacking in melody than those of the Jap natives. The dances, baruk, are more rapid and lively. Here, too, clapping the hands and beating the thighs and armpits are the chief movements of the dance. In some dances the performers produce a peculiar sound by puffing out their cheeks and snapping their index fingers against them.

28: Spiro--37 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 533, 181, 571 Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 755, 868 Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--78
116, 533, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though composed by women to be sung at specified occasions, the men know the bwarux and sing them often. In the evening when the young men congregate in the canoe houses, one of the favorite activities is the singing of some bwarux, which affords them great amusement, and whose words elicit the same undercurrent of tittering that the corresponding activity evokes in our culture. Women too, sing bwarux when working together in the house or in the malum, that children, both boys and girls, are exposed to them at an early date."

28: Spiro--78 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The aruaru is the second category of songs. This is a miscellaneous category that includes lamentations for the dead, songs of praise for good chiefs or skilled fishermen, shanties, fishing and construction songs, and others. These do not seem to be very popular as they are not sung as freely as the bwarux or the chapengapeng."

28: Spiro--78 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533 Ifalik

"The chapengapeng (usually shorten to chapeng), including all religious songs, whether they be the incantations for the ill, or the hymns sung at the medicine ceremonies. These are popular, for they are not only sung on the appropriate functional occasion, but like the bwarux, are sung by individuals sitting around their homes in the evening or in the canoe-houses.

The music to which these songs are sung is simple. The scale has only two notes, and there is rarely more than a half-note interval between notes. Furthermore, it seems that all songs in any of the three categories are sung quite similarly, that is there is no tune appropriate to any one song, but rather, all songs are improvised within the traditional two note scale, so that no song is ever sung twice identically."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro--134-135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
533 Ifalik

"That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy, is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband."

"19. This is shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

28: Spiro--147 [7] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 517, 533, 123 Ifalik

"After dinner the young men rarely remain at home, but return again to the canoe-house, or in the case of a moonlit night to the beaches. Like the adults they talk about the events of the day, or of some projected plan, or just small talk. They often sing songs, mostly bwaruch, though chapengs are also sung. If I were with them, they were eager that I tell them of America or teach them some English. On a dark night they return to their homes at dark, but on a moonlit night they may fish from the beach, and often they would along the reef in their canoes.

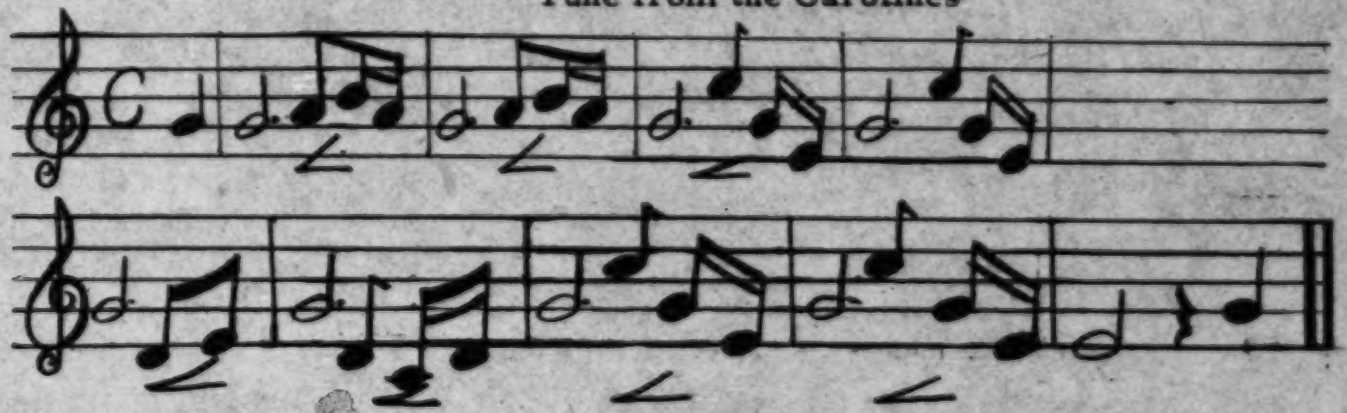
The young women never leave their homes after dinner, except in the company of their parents, again the boys enjoying greater freedom than the girls."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21-22 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 533 Woleai

During his first days on board. . . [LEM: Kadou's] curiosity was excessive. He wished to see all. Soon he regarded everything with indifference, becoming satiated with novelty, and finally he came to consider everything as possible. [22]

Kadou was gay, and he knew how to endear himself to the officers and the sailors. Often to us he sang all the songs that he knew. He was proud of having travelled so much. He particularly loved to sing a tune from the island of Eap, which greatly resembled another one from Radak. This tune has often rung from the summit of the snowy mountains of Ounalachka. Kadou sometimes spent hours repeating it and then the memory of his homeland and of his voyages moved him to tears.

Tune from the Carolines



41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [522] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eli
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 534, 778 Ifalik

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to Langorik in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning.

Gargeligar had one of these whistles. Its sound at night was usually the first indication to us that the gods were abroad again. Wolpetau, paramount chief, had one too. He held it in his mouth and blew it occasionally during performances of religious dances, when he walked behind the rows of dancers, holding up a bit of tobacco or other little gifts which anyone was privileged to snatch from his hand. The suggestion seems to be that these are gifts of the gods. Attribution of divinity to the chief himself was never suggested, and would surely be denied. For that matter other chiefs, and even

commoners, might distribute gifts in that way if they wished. At least once, Tom took that road to the glory he craved.

Another occasion for blowing the whistles was during one of the nightly rehearsals of the uru dances. According to an ancient custom, women, muffled from head to foot in cloths, came up behind the dancers, and each put a garland on the head of the man of her choice. The complete wrapping-up was explained as a disguise, so that neither the favored men nor the woman's husband could recognize her. If the husband found out, Tom explained, he would be very angry. This institutionalization of jealousy must be left to Spiro to interpret. As to the religious significance of the whistles, it is diffuse and dim. I got no verbal explanation. All that is sure is that the whole performance, song, dance, and all, is essentially a religious ritual. As already noted, it seems to be taken lightly; and the blowing of the whistles may have no more vital connection with the supernatural than the costumes of ghosts and witches worn by children, among us, at Hallowe'en.

A final use of the whistles may have no religious significance at all. At least two of the whistles were sounded one night - and with them, conch trumpets - from canoes on the lagoon, surrounding a circle of seines in which a school of bonito was impounded. So far as I learned, these were simply noise-makers to frighten the fish and keep them from escaping. As noted in the account of fishing, it did not work. The point here is that these instruments seem to be not restricted to sacred uses."

2: Damm et al. --94
116, 534

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Sarfert did not find any real musical instruments, unless you want to put the common conch shell trumpet in this category, and it is more like a signalling instrument. Drums are unknown.

2: Damm et al. --208 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 534, 202, 524 Faraulep

The only musical instrument is the conch shell (táui; mouthpiece - eoắl, sound hole - nắn, to blow - xắnum), and it is used for signalling and for religious invocations rather than for musical edification. Bull-roarers and leaf pipes are used for children's toys.

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Half a coconut leaf, tied about the waist over the loin-cloth, forms part of a man's costume when he is dressed to take part in a dance. For most of these ornamental kilts, freshly cut green leaf is used. A few prefer brown, withered leaves."

1: Burrows--83M (1947-48) Woleaians
535, 784 Ifalik

"Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)"

Dancing (wăluk). There are dances for men and women. All of them, with the texts, are supposed to have been brought from Yap and Mogemog. The natives have no idea about the invention of the dance. The Ifaluk people do not know how to devise texts (ewadŭlu); they only knew one man, who died before 1909, who had composed the words for a walugisăb.

a) Men's Dances (jalomăle):

1. Laulă (stick dance). It is danced in two rows, and the performers have their faces turned toward each other. The stick (gŭlugŭlu) is held by both hands in the middle. The song, which accompanies this, is relatively soft, and only rises to a crescendo at the end. The dance consists of single turns, which are distinguished by various movements and speeds; the characteristic feature is the way that the men strike the people standing beside them, and across from them with the ends of the stick. Then places are exchanged frequently, so that no dancer is in the same position, at the end of the dance, and yet he has the same partners beside him and across from him. The striking is quite complicated, and demands great skill. This dance is often performed in groups of four.

2. Kabaňăk is a dance, that is performed standing; it is rather similar to the walugisăb.

3. Walugisăb is partly a standing, partly a sitting dance.

4. Wuliál; Sarfert did not see this dance. [95]

b) Women's Dances (jalorá́wud); there is only the dá́gar, which is partly a sitting and partly a standing dance.

c) Mixed Dances (gabalíelue), in which women and men dance together; they have no particular name.

d) Children's dances and girls' dances are known; the movements are especially graceful and fine. While Sarfert was staying on the island, a youth brought some girl's dances from Lamutrik, and they were performed every evening; even women took part. Sarfert never saw boys dance alone.

2; Damm et al. --208-210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 535 Faraulep

Dances: (ŭru). The natives know the stick dance (noi ŭra), which you find nearly everywhere in the Caroline Islands, and the hand dance (huafărux). The women have a sitting dance (apĭtax); according to Hambruch, the various phases of it are:

1. a slow introduction, in the form of a choral, hand motions: closing, opening, and turning in measure according to the rhythm of the music, that is sung as an accompaniment to the song. It is in 3/4 time, but at the close it goes more rapidly, and there is a sudden pause.
2. a faster tempo and gestures which accompany a lively song.
3. like 1.
4. clapping the hands.
5. turning the head and twisting; toward the end there are gestures.
6. standing up, arranging the lines, striking the upper part of the thigh, raising the leg, shuffling the feet, turning around, then to the sides and back again, stomach dance (it is displayed in three different ways, very erotic).
7. dissolving into a dance, where there are rows, ballet style.
8. stomach dance, twisting the hips, then shuffling the feet, and toward the end there are movements of the hands, which become gradually slower.
9. coitus dance, imitation of the surrender.
10. like 6.

11. clapping the stomach with the hollow of the hand, then the breast, then a lively song, coitus dance, ballet.
12. like 11.
13. clapping, a woman chanter sings a solo, then it proceeds like 11.
14. walking forwards and backwards, then like 6, and they call: Hŏ́ka, fetắi ŭ́ra tipéĭ.
15. coitus dance, provocation, clapping the upper thigh, spreading the upper thighs apart, striking the vulva.

The dancing costume (śrŭ́p) consists of an apron with long coconut pinnates, and the men also wear combs in their hair, which are decorated with feathers and [210] leaf bands around their tufts of hair. The men's dancing sticks are simply sticks or nerves of a coconut frond.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--256-257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians -1-2
116, 535 Woleai

[AN: A lively crowd had gathered in front of the canoe house where dancing and singing were in full progress.]....It was a marvellous sight...to view this column of some twenty young, well-built men who, clad in foliage-skirts and adorned with flowers on the breast and on the head, accompanied their singing now with graceful, and now with brisk motions; they often emphasized the rhythm by striking with their hands more or less loudly the parts of their bodies; each dance was terminated with a final stanza which was marked by wild yelling and clapping and which was appended with an additional "a hăka"-cry. These column-dances, many of them of an erotic nature, alternated with sitting dances and with dances with a stick (nauru). Hellwig was surprised to find here dances with a stick, since he had been told on Wolea that since the typhoon this kind of dance was not practised anymore. And here he saw not only the neatly worked dance sticks, but he witnessed also the rhythmic accuracy of beat which indicated considerable practice.... the first two sections of the dance could not be seen clearly. In the third section each one of the two groups of dancers of 8 and 10 men respectively formed two concentric circles which moved around a common point in opposite directions. This made it possible for the dancers who met after a few steps to stop and to beat stick against stick, thereby alternately turning the hands up and down: click-clack, click-clack; thus four blows sounded before the circles moved on. The fourth section was similar to the third one, but the four small circles had united into two large ones each, and the tempo had been increased, while a chorus of small boys was singing a frequently repeated text to the

accompaniment of the click-clack-rhythm... The sitting dances had an amazingly large selection of texts and movements. Immediately after the final cry "a hăka" which concluded each of the generally quite short sitting dances, one of the dancers proposed another text in a loud voice, and this proposal was instantly accepted and carried out. Two boys, 3-4 years of age, were the most fervent ones: they attended to their business ardently; they did everything more accurately and more carefully than the grown-ups, they made proposals and provided humorous incidents, for instance by singing faster toward the end and by gesticulating, so that they might come to the end eariler than the others, and this always made a very comical effect for, at the end, they always sang at the top of their shrill voices. [257] The evening before, Hellwig and especially the old people had been diverted by these two droll youngsters who had entertained them with solos and duets.... Another specialty was offered by seven little girls. They had seated themselves behind the column of dancers and at first they accompanied several pantomimes with their clear and loud voices, afterwards they accompanied motion-dances during which the dancers jumped and turned so briskly that they were dripping with perspiration. Later on, during the sitting dances, they seated themselves at the side of the row of dancers and were able to bring a wonderful contrast and yet harmony into the tone-color (timbre) in a manner which cannot be described. Around midnight the spectacle was over.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Lamotrek

Cantova, on page 315, tells us something about the dances of the West Carolinians, e.g., that the chief holds up a beautiful mat at the end of the performance which becomes the property of the person who manages to seize it first.

Müller, in Yap, page 309 says that Lugëlëng is tamë rang ko toru, the dancing sorcerer of heaven; the situation is similar on Lamotrek...

The word for dancing rod is gurrugurru, Wood, songo; knob, olále; piece by which it is hung up, tawólo.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Woleai

(Kotzebue: waruk; dance in a circle, walebong; others kapangach). There are dances in sitting positions for women and standing dances.

6: Senfft--56
116, 535, 527

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The festivities of the natives consist of banquets and dances. The dances are very beautiful; there is a great deal of variation in the patterns and both the composition and the presentation are perfect. Most of the dances are held in cool nights. The motions of the dance are accompanied by singing and by clapping the hands. There are no musical instruments.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 533, 535 Woleai

The development of art among the Oleaï natives is on a very low level. I saw no musical instruments of any kind. There is said to be a kind of jew's harp for children, consisting of a single string which is plucked to produce different notes.

The dancing songs of the natives here are, if possible, even more monotonous and lacking in melody than those of the Jap natives. The dances, baruk, are more rapid and lively. Here, too, clapping the hands and beating the thighs and armpits are the chief movements of the dance. In some dances the performers produce a peculiar sound by puffing out their cheeks and snapping their index fingers against them.

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

"We have already described the dancing performed at the medicine-dance in our discussion of religion. There is another dance, the Ur, which is also a religious dance, which is performed standing, and is not performed as part of a ceremony. Its purpose is unknown, as the natives say it was borrowed from Ulithi and Woleae.

We witnessed this dance at the request of Dr. Burrows. At one of the public meetings, the chiefs announced that an Ur was to be held in the not-too-distant future, and that the men should begin rehearsing for it. The rehearsals took place every night for at least two weeks before the dance. Each district held its own rehearsals, and at the formal dance itself, they danced by districts. Each district has at least one man that is recognized as an especially good choreagrapher, or as knowing the dances especially well, and it was he who led the rehearsals.

As in the medicine-dance, the men wore skirts of coconut leaves while dancing, and here, also, the same reason was given for this practice-- 'from before, before.' (musuwe, musuwe). Only the young and middle-aged men took part in the dances, since some of the movements are strenuous, and an older man could not last long in the pace. I shall make no attempt to describe the dance, since Dr. Burrows is making a special study of this, as well as the other arts, except to tell its general nature. The men stand in a row, facing the audience, though there are movements which require them to kneel.

But even the standing dances, involve no mobility, all the foot movement being a kind of intricate pivoting, and a simultaneous movement of body and arms. The men themselves sing a vocal accompaniment to their dancing.

The rehearsals are great fun for the participants as well as for the 'galery.' [79] They are held in front of the main canoe houses in all three districts, and the women and children, as well as the older men, assemble to watch the dances, praising, or criticising a dance or dancer, as the case might be, or making wisecracks. The young girls are kept busy tending the fire, since the coconut branch fuel is consumed rapidly."

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husband's anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--79 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"When the chiefs were satisfied that the dancers were adequately prepared, they announced that the women should prepare food the next day, and on the following day the dance would be held. The dance [WPM: The Ur, see pp. 77-78] was held in Rauau by the central canoe house. The dancers were dressed very elaborately. They wore the coconut leaf skirts, of course, as well as the women's belts. Their faces were painted, ankles and arms were decorated with coconut strips,' and around the necks were coconut leaf necklaces. A ball of cotton was attached to their hair combs, and in the cotton were inserted two white chicken feathers. The entire body was smeared with turmeric. The only two colors used were red and white, though there are other colors available. Certain individuals added other decorations of a personal nature, which included anything gaudy or garish they might have possessed.

The Felarik men danced first, followed by the Rauau men. After the dance, the food which was brought by each household was distributed by the chiefs, as was tobacco that the chiefs had contributed. (36)"

"36. As usual, we contributed beef, tobacco, and perfume."

28: Spiro--79-80 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Another dance is the laura dance that is performed with bamboo sticks, though the scarcity of bamboo on Ifaluk dictates the use of sticks of any hard wood. This, too, was performed at the request of Dr. Burrows, but unlike the ur, was performed without rehearsal, and has no religious significance. It is a young-man's dance, and the one we witnessed was performed only by the young men of Rauau and, Falalap, those of Felarik not participating. The la-ura is performed in a standing position, again to the accompaniment of their own singing. The men stand in two rows, each having a partner, and strike their poles against the poles of their partners in complicated gestures, while moving their feet and bodies in the patterned formations. [80]

The la-ura was performed very informally, and without any great interest. Neither the observers nor the dancers seemed to display any real enthousiasm, and the dancing began before the arrival of the chiefs, something which is never done for something important. After the dance, coconuts and tobacco were distributed as usual."

28: Spiro--113 [2]
116, 858, 535, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--117 [3]
116, 535, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--123
116, 832, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual behavior of sweethearts and of married couples is the same. Often, both man and woman will bathe and annoint themselves with coconut oil, use perfume, and generally beautify themselves. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux, for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [599] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
535 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

1: Burrows--142-143
116, 646, 537

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-3

"Other evidence on rules of conduct is verbal. Yet much of it is in a native setting, hence probably more representative of native behavior than replies to questions from a foreigner would be. It consists of the harangues delivered by the chiefs to the people at three public meetings held in the men's house. At these meetings the chiefs not only make announcements and issue specific orders, but lecture the people about their conduct in general. These speeches or sermons are a traditional way of 'laying down the law'.

There were three of these meetings during our stay. One object of the first, held on August 14, was to issue as formal chiefly commands the suggestions of the American physician about hygiene, made during the visit of the ship that had brought us to Ifalik two weeks earlier. But the immediate occasion of the meeting was a chance remark of Spiro's that there were Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik.

Unexpectedly, this stirred up considerable excitement. The whole expedition, or set of expeditions, seemed to be taken as a kind of competitive examination, in which the visiting Americans would give the various islands a comparative rating in conduct, particularly in cleanliness. In other words, it touched off the lively sentiment of rank--in this case, comparative rank among islands. The people of Ifalik were eager to get a high rating--to gain in rank, if possible, at the expense of their neighbors, in the eyes of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as their superiors; or at least, not to

sink lower. The occasion of the 2nd meeting, held on September 4, was similar; to carry out the suggestions of the American governor and physician, made when the ship called on September 2. The occasion of the third meeting was, at least in part, my request to the chiefs for a performance of the men's religious dances (ur), which otherwise would not have been seen during our stay.

There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings [KS: public meeting]. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers [143] projecting into the lagoon from Katēlū, and blew repeated long blasts. The meetings were held at the highest-ranking site on the atoll, Katēlū. The people assembled in and about the men's house or big house (Fan Nap), highest ranking building on the site. When they were gathered, the chiefs took their seats beside the highest-ranking part of the building, the ÓngarIk or front ridge-post, decorated with symbols of rank. After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if 'introducing the main speaker'. In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs. The second speaker, at least in the first and last of the three meetings (this point not noted for the second one), was Wolpetau, paramount chief. Other chiefs spoke, as the spirit moved them, in no fixed order. This was partly a matter of individual gifts

and inclinations. Old Paliuilimar, who had a reputation as an orator, always spoke, and was the most vehement and dramatic; indeed, at the close of some of his speeches he looked alarmingly exhausted. Wolpetau always spoke, ex officio; but seemed not to revel in it as Toromann and Paliuilimar did. Ordinarily he was a man of rather few words. Maroligar spoke only once, and then briefly, in a low voice. WolpaitIk never spoke at all. Not only was he the youngest in years and length of service, but he was fat, had a very high voice, and was a bit of a clown and butt of ridicule, though the jokes were always good-natured. Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like 'amen-shouting'. In this the most frequent expression was Rongrongo! (Hear, hear!)"

28: Spiro--24 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 537, 184 Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
784, 538 Ifalik

"For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

4: Krämer--285 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 538, 177 Woleai

The repertoire of stories was meager and it seems that the tradition and relation are not furthered very much.

A certain substitute is the long story of Palúelap which was mentioned in connection with Pollap.

I heard it on Lámotrek and recorded it there and that fact ought to serve as some indication that it came from a region further east, from Bon'nap [VMM: see 4: Krämer 291]

28: Spiro--77 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 538 Ifalik

"The arts: The arts on Ifaluk are sparse.

Oral literature is negligible. The myths and legends are few, (34) and are known only by the chiefs and by Arogeligar. There is no taboo on their public knowledge, but the people seem to show little interest in them. There are no invented folk tales, all narative being real or true, so that there is no category of fiction, of stories invented and told for amusement. Nor are there any riddles, proverbs, or sayings, that we generally classify as part of a people's folklore."

"34. The collection of myths and legends will be published separately."

28: Spiro--97
116, 857, 538

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no children's stories to stimulate the child's imagination, nor any other tales of fancy."

"HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, Ganauliwlr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. Ganauliwlr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took Ganauliwlr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galēt had two brothers, Wētreilok was the husband of Seramaliwōk, sister of Ganualiwlr.

Wētreilōk said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wētreilok went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwōk came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wētreilōk replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing <

compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle, until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it.

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wētreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wētreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wētreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her

---

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer."

genitals.

Wētreilōk, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwōk went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galet wins

---

"** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

[56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly, the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe."

1: Burrows--66-67 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"The myths in Tom's 'talk for cap'n' follow, in the order in which he gave them. In one or two places, as noted in parenthetical comment, some other order would seem more logical. Indeed, the whole episode of magical canoe-building by Seilangi, god of shipwrights, seems to belong with the lore of canoe carpentry rather than that of navigation. If Tom [67] had been asked, it may be that he would have accepted such changes. But it seemed that a more accurate picture of native thinking would be given by not questioning his original version, thus giving native tradition precedence over a foreigner's notion of logic."

1: Burrows--67-73 (1947-48) Woleaians /-//
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"1. How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifalik

The god Aluluei came to Bwennap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwennap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger LongorIk.

Underneath Bwennap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

Aluluei, who was the greatest of navigators, began to teach his lore to his sons. One day Longolap came to his father and said he wanted to take a wife. Aluluei objected, because if Longolap were to marry, he would spend too much time with his wife, when he should be listening to the lore of seamanship. But Longolap was set on marrying, and finally had his way. After that, he spend [sic] a great deal of time with his wife, and did not come back and listen to his father for many days. At last he came again, but only learned a little bit.

LongorIk, the younger son, did not want to marry. He stayed with his father, and learned all about seamanship.

One day LongorIk told his father he wanted to cut a breadfruit tree and make himself a canoe. He took his adz and went out in the land below Bwennap, where there were plenty of trees of all kinds.

On the way to the breadfruit grove LongorIk met Longolap.

'Where are you going?'

'I am going to the grove to cut a breadfruit tree, to make myself a canoe.'

'I'll go along and help you.'

So they went together to the grove, selected a tree, felled it, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

In the morning they returned, only to find the tree standing, with all the chips back in place, and nothing to show that any work had been done on it. They felled it again, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

Aluluei asked LongorIk 'Is your canoe nearly finished?'

'Yes.'

On the third morning LongorIk set out again, but this time Longolap did not go with him. Coming to the tree, he found it once more standing, with nothing to show for all their work. [68]

This time LongorIk did not set about felling the tree again, but went back to his father. He said to Aluluei:

'Isn't there something about the lore of seamanship that you haven't told me?'

'What makes you think that?'

'Why, every day we fell a tree and work away hewing it to shape. When we go back

in the morning, there it is standing, with nothing to show that it ever felt the edge of an adz.'

'Oh! So that's it! Tell me, did you see a bird while you were working?'

'Yes.'

'Well, you go back and get to work again, and when you see the bird, talk to it.' And Aluluei told his son how to greet the bird.

LongorIk went back to the grove, felled the tree again, cut off a length of four fathoms, and was hard at work hewing it to shape when the bird flew toward him, uttering the high trilling spund that gods make.

LongorIk greeted the bird with the prolonged cry his father had taught him: 'Va irðu!'

At this the bird changed to the form of a man. It was Seilangi, god of canoe carpenters.

'Oho! That's better!', the god said. 'I think you didn't know me before. Who told you who I am?'

'It was my father, Aluluei.'

'Very well. Go back and tell your family that the canoe is all finished.'

So LongorIk went and told his family.

'Finished so soon?' Aluluei asked him.

'Yes.'

So Aluluei told the women to plait a pandanus mat sail for the canoe. Meanwhile

Seilangi summoned his people, the ants. They finished the canoe in one day, mast and all, except for the sail, and carried it into the water.

When LongorIk came and saw his fine new canoe, Seilangi asked him:

'Is the sail finished?' [69]

'All finished.'

'Bring it along.'

So LongorIk brought the sail, and it was quickly bent on.

Then LongorIk told his family to make him plenty of food. He said to his father:

'I want to go to your land, Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei.)

'Very well. But take care! You will come to a place where they eat people. Follow my instructions exactly. When you come close to shore, and a man asks you 'Shall I anchor your canoe for you?', don't let him do it! Anchor it yourself. Then when they show you fresh water to bathe in, you will see two pools. One has fine, clear water, the other has dirty water. Be sure to bathe in the dirty water.

'Another thing: before you go to sleep, cut pieces of white coconut meat and tuck them under your eyebrows. Then when someone comes and looks at you he will see a gleam like the whites of your eyes, and will think you are wide awake. And finally, while you are there you must ask the people for a big stone that belongs to me.'

But before LongorIk was quite ready to go, his brother Longolap came to him and said:

'Don't you go this time! Let me go first. You can come later.'

So LongorIk let his elder brother take the canoe and go first.

Longolap set out. He only knew a little bit. But he got to the Sands of Aluluei, and there found his father Aluluei, who had come by magic, sitting under the lone wutu tree that grows there. Seilangi had come along, too, in the form of a sandpiper.

Longolap chanted the chant he had learned, to bring his canoe safe home, and set out on the return voyage. He came to another island. As he drew near shore, a man called out to him:

'What are you doing here?'

'I am going to the land of Aluluei.'

'Whose son are you?'

'Aluluei's son.'

'Very well. Let me take your anchor rope, and I will anchor your canoe.'

Longolap, who had not heard his father's instructions, let the stranger take the rope. The man tied it about a big mweial shell under the water. [70]

Longolap went ashore to the Men's House. A man asked him if he wanted to bathe, and offered to show him fresh water. He and his sailors went with the man, who showed them two pools, one of fine, clear water, and the other of dirty water. Since he only knew a little bit, and had not heard his father's instructions, he bathed in the fine, clear water.

Then Longolap came back to the men's house. Tired after their voyage, he and his men were soon asleep. While they were sleeping, the men of that land came upon them, seized them, and put them into the rounded end of the house, where the roof overhangs. They had this walled off like a separate room. They did not kill Longolap and his men. But the one who had anchored the canoe went and unfastened it, took it out to sea, set it adrift, and then returned.

Back home in Bwennap, LongorIk worried about his brother and wanted to go and find him. For that he needed another canoe. He went into the woods, thinking over his problem, and there met Seilangi.

'Do you want another canoe?'

'Indeed I do.'

'Well, just go back and tell your people to make the sail.'

LongorIk told his people, while Seilangi and his ants finished the canoe in one day, as before, and put it into the water. When the sail was bent on, LongorIk came and told his people to prepare plenty of food for the journey.

He sailed to the Sands of Aluluei, and there was his father waiting for him.

LongorIk and his sailors came ashore, tired and hungry. LongorIk said to his father: 'We want something to eat.'

Aluluei said: 'Look about this land. There are no coconut trees here, no taro. How can you eat?'

LongorIk answered: 'You find something.'

So Aluluei talked to his people underground, as if on the telephone. The women down there got together wot and pulax. The men climbed trees and got coconuts. They brought a great feast for LongorIk, then went back under the sands.

LongorIk said to his father: 'I want to go and find my brother Longolap.'

'Very well. Go. But do not forget any of the things I told you!'

'I won't forget.' [71]

LongorIk sailed on and came to land. He went through the pass into the lagoon and was nearing shore when the man who had deceived his brother called out:

'Give me a rope so I can anchor your canoe!'

'No, you go back ashore', LongorIk replied. 'I'll take care of the anchor.'

And he tied his canoe to a coconut tree.

He went into the Men's House, and the men of that place asked him 'What did you come here for?'

'I came for the big stone that belongs to my father, the stone of Aluluei. Is it here?'

'Yes. It is here.'

'I'd like to go and bathe.'

'You'd better let some of us show you where.'

Some of the men guided him and his crew to the water. They urged them to bathe in the fine, clear water, but LongorIk refused, and he and his men bathed in the dirty water.

Then they went back to the Men's House.

LongorIk told his sailors not to go to sleep yet. He had them prepare coconut meat and put it under their eyebrows, so that when they had to go to sleep that night, the people would think they were awake. The men of the place came during the night, but thinking they were awake, did not attack them.

In the morning LongorIk told the people he wanted to go back home.

'Can you bring me my father's stone?'

'Yes, but it will take all of us, men, women, and children, to haul it. It is very heavy.'

'Well, if you'll bring it to the shore today, I'll go tomorrow.'

So the people went into the interior and tugged and heaved at the stone. They could barely move it; but they kept at it, inching it along toward the shore.

When they were all at work, LongorIk went back to the Men's House. He hewed through the wall that closed off the rounded end, and found his brother and the crew that had come with him.

Longolap muttered drowsily 'What are you doing? I want to sleep.'

'Are you sleeping or are you dead?' [72]

'Just sleeping.'

'Well, you'll be dead if you stay in here much longer!'

He took them all to his canoe, untied the mooring line, and put out to sea, leaving the

people of that land tugging and heaving at the big stone.

When they came to the Sands of Aluluei, LongorIk went ashore and talked to his father.

'Did you bring your brother back?'

'Yes.'

'You see, it's just as I told you. Longolap doesn't know the lore of seamanship. He only knows a little bit.'

'Let's go back home now.'

So LongorIk went back to Bwennap, taking his brother with him in the canoe, while Aluluei went back by magic, and was waiting for them when they arrived.

They came ashore, and Longolap went to his wife. LongorIk, who had no wife, went home to his father.

(The episode that follows seems quite distinct from the story of Longolap and LongorIk. Logically, it might well precede that story. But Tom gave it as the conclusion to what has gone before.)

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwennap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wëriëng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The

canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

'What for?'

'I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink.'

'All right. Bring it along.'

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said 'That is not enough.'

'Drink it anyway', the girl answered. [73]

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

'Climb into the canoe', they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

'You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father.'

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

'What is this?' the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. 'I don't understand it.'

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

'Come look at this chart!'

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

'Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship.'

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk. There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifalik and Woleai and Faraulep.

That is how the lore of seamanship first came to Ifalik."

"2. Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wëriëng went from Bwennap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wëriëng's [74] wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wëriëng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wëriëng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwennap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wëriëng stayed four days in Bwennap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipëre, gus, and apap. But Wëriëng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wëriëng's house.

Wĕriĕng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

'I'm not dead!' he shouted. 'Here I am!'

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wĕriĕng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wĕriĕng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifalik.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wĕriĕng threw him overboard at sea."

"3. The Overconfidence of Longolap

Farewai understands the east and the west. By looking either at the morning sky in the west, he can forecast the weather--clouds, winds, rain, or fair weather. He taught this knowledge to his nephews, Longolap and LongorIk. Longolap only learned a little bit, but LongorIk learned everything.

LongorIk looked in the east and saw bad weather coming. Longolap looked in the west, and thought he saw fine weather. So in spite of his brother's warning, he put out to sea. A typhoon came, with torrents of rain, and broke in the hull of his canoe. Longolap was not drowned, but swam beside the wreck.

LongorIk looked at the sky and saw fine weather coming. So he made a big canoe. Then he took 2,000 coconuts, loaded the canoe with them, and went to look for his brother. His father, Paluelap, went with him. [75]

After a while they caught sight of Longolap, swimming beside the wreck of his canoe. They tied the 2,000 coconuts together, making a floating drydock of them. On this they placed the wreck of Longolap's canoe, and thus repaired it well enough so that he could make his way home in it.

LongorIk said to his brother 'See? What did I tell you?'

Longolap followed his brother's canoe back to their home. When they got there, Paluelap and LongorIk told Longolap he had better stay ashore thereafter. But he said

'No. I want to find the place where Aluluei lives.'

So he set forth again. He found the Sands of Aluluei. But there are two islands by that name. One is where Aluluei lives. The other is inhabited solely by sandpipers, who spend their time singing for the god. It was the island inhabited by sandpipers that Longolap found. When he saw that his grandfather Aluluei was not there, he went on.

There is an enormous taro growing in the ocean that belongs to Aluluei. A number of little taros grow close around it. Longolap came to this, and tried to get one of the little taros to eat. But in order to do this, it is necessary to sing a certain song, and Longolap did not know the song. So the ants of Aluluei bit him when he tried to pull the taro. He tried again and again, but at last had to give up.

Then for a long time Longolap saw no land, and had no food to eat. At last he came to a lone coconut tree, growing in the midst of the ocean. This, too, belongs to Aluluei. But in order to climb it a man must sing a certain song; and Longolap had not learned the song. So he could not climb the tree. Some of his sailors starved to death.

Again LongorIk came to the rescue and found him.

'What are you doing out here? You've been away from home a long time.'

At last Longolap had to admit that he did not know all he needed to know to succeed at seafaring.

'Come with me', said LongorIk. They came to the taro growing in the sea. LongorIk sang the proper song, pulled some of the little taros, and they had food to eat.

They went on and came to the lone cpconut tree. Again LongorIk sang the proper song, climbed the coconut tree, and they had ripe nuts to eat and young ones to drink.

LongorIk said 'Follow me. I'll show you the way home.'

But Longolap, now that he was well fed, had regained his confidence in himself. He said 'No. You go where you please. I know the way.' [76]

LongorIk sailed directly home. Longolap cruised about on the sea for four months, and could not find the way. He and his sailors were so famished they could not walk.

Once more LongorIk came and found him. 'I will show you the way. If you do not follow me you will die.' And Longolap, once more driven to admit his ignorance, agreed and followed his brother.

When they reached home, LongorIk waded ashore. But Longolap and his men had to be carried."

"This is not the place for a systematic analysis of these myths as examples of folklore. But a few striking characteristics are worth noting, if only to suggest some of the possibilities of such an analysis.

For one, the tales are developed to a considerable extent by repetition of incidents, one of the commonest devices in folk-tales. Examples of repeated incidents are: the tree twice restored after being felled and hewn; the two canoes built for LongorIk by Seilangi and his ants; the several voyages of LongorIk in search of Longolap; the anchoring of the canoe, choice of pools for bathing, and use of coconut meat to simulate whites of the eyes, on the cannibal island; the two visits to the huge taro and lone coconut that grow by themselves in the sea; and even such little phrases as the one about LongorIk knowing everything about navigation, while Longolap only knew a little bit.

One of the incidents in the first myth is widely distributed in Oceania, --the repeated restoration of the hewn tree by a god until he is properly placated, whereupon he builds a canoe out of the tree with miraculous speed. Frequently, as here, the god appears first as a bird. Beckwith, in 'Hawaiian Mythology' (pp. 272-3) notes the occurrence of this incident nearly everywhere in Polynesia; in one island generally classed as Melanesian (Mota of the Banks group); and in one Indonesian tribe (The Dyaks of Borneo). Probably several other incidents, such as the inexhaustible drinking nut, are also widespread.

In the story of Longolap and LongorIk, it is the younger child who is successful. This motif, 'youngest child successful', is world-wide. One variant of it is the incident of Cinderella and the glass slipper. Is this a piece of wish-fulfilment fantasy, a solace for younger children who are relegated to an inferior role? Such questions are easy to ask, but hard to answer with anything more trustworthy than a guess. A method of reaching rigorous scientific answers to such questions has yet to be developed.

Another outstanding characteristic of the two tales (or two variants of one tale?) about Longolap and LongorIk is that they serve to point a moral. This puts them in the category of fables, like those of Aesop. The moral here, or course, is: Don't let a woman distract you from your study of navigation.

Finally, all these myths have an inconsistency and shiftiness that give them a dream-like character. This shows up especially in comparison of [77] the myths with the 'genealogy', if it deserves the name, of the gods of navigation. In the genealogy Longolap and LongorIk are grandsons of Aluluei. In the myth they are his sons. In the genealogy Wëriëng and Valur are sons of Aluluei. In one of the myths they are strange gods from afar, who bring Aluluei the chart containing all the fine points about navigation. The other strange god does not appear in the genealogy at all.

The peculiar characteristics of the island Bwènnap reappear in the other island called 'Sands of Aluluei'. Both are sandy islands, with only one wutu tree growing on them. But underground, in both of them, is a large and populous realm, abounding with all

useful plants. Bwénnap is given a location in the Pacific. The Sands of Aluluei and the unnamed cannibal island are not located; but from Tom's statement that the gods of navigation live in a special part of the sky, I suppose that these islands may be thought of as in the sky. Yet canoes can reach them from Bwénnap.

Such inconsistencies and vaguenesses are of course not uncommon in folklore. The 'genealogy' looks a little like an attempt to pull the myths together and give them consistency; but if so, it is a very sloppy job. Evidently the custodians of these myths--that is, the navigators of Ifalik and the islands about--never got together and worked out an official, consistent version of them, as the priests of various other lands have done with their traditions.

After all, the myths serve what seems to be their main purpose without being precise and consistent. That purpose is to give the lore of navigation the dignity of divine origin. This wins respect for the lore of navigation and gives confidence in the navigators. Presumably the special connection of the navigators with the gods helps to preserve discipline aboard ship."

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the SauvelārIk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupik), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--151-152 (1947-48) Woleaians ~2
539 Ifalik

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands.

[152] On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelē clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwèl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwèl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimëng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today."

1: Burrows--154-157 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 539 Ifalik 1.6

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimĕng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimĕng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and

cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifaliḳ, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimëng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewaú, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālus. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālus and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimëng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katélū.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangaluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raūr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungā, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungā.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katēlū. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wĕtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wĕtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungā on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its

men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wëtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in

canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the

same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tomi translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwèl Ifalòk, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a

denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

"Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other islands made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw

that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Farfulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time.

Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past."

2: Damm et al. --202-207 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-11
116, 539 Faraulep

The deeds of Olufáth

Taiauǒx was to have a child by Lugéileń. She lived on an island (the name is not known) where the woman's body was cut open at birth... Lugēileń said to her: "When the pains start, sigh deeply, pull in the upper portion of the stomach, and then the child will appear!" When she reached this point, Olufāth emerged from her head (bregma). Shortly after he was born, he ran to a palm tree. The mother said: "Wait; you are all covered with blood, let me wash you!" "Oh, I can wash myself!" And he washed the blood off on the palm trunks, which have been red ever since. He grew quickly. Taiauǒx said: "Come, I will cut off your umbilical cord!" "Oh, I can do that." And he cut it off. He remained on the earth, and played with the other children. But one day there was a quarrel. Then the children said: "Go to your father!" "I do not have one; alas, he is in the heavens!" And Olufāth ran to his mother. When he began to ask questions about his father, she complained and did not tell him anything.

One night Olufāth was thirsty. The other boys had opened coconuts themselves, and drunk the milk from them, but Olufáth had not; his father had bidden Taiauǒx to pour the contents of the nut into a vessel, and to have him drink from that. But now Olufáth cracked a nut himself, and raised it to his lips; then he saw his father. "I want to go to my father! How can I go to him, tell me!" "You shall go to him very soon", said the mother. And Lugeiléń said to Taiauǒx: "If my son wants to come to me, light a fire,

and put wood on it until it smokes." Taiauóx obeyed. Olufáth seated himself on the smoke, and was born up to the heavens. As he arrived, he saw a group of boys who were playing with little boats. "Come and lend me a canoe!" "Who does he think he is? Whence does this strange boy come? We are not going to give him our canoes." And they went on playing. Only one boy let Olufáth play with his boat. Olufáth amused himself with it, then gave it back to the boy and went on his way. But the boats that belonged to the other boys sailed away, and only the one remained.

Elsewhere some boys were playing with sharks, which were still tame at that time. "Let me play too, and lend me a fish!" "Who is he? Where does this boy come from?" And they paid no further attention to him; but one boy [203] loaned Olufáth a fish. After he had played with it, he returned it. Then when the other boys wanted to play with their fish again, they found that the sharks had big teeth; and all of the boys were bitten save only the one. This same episode occurred with the small nex fish (gar?).

When Olufáth climbed a mountain, he saw some men cutting palm leaves to make a new roof for Eluelap's house. "Let me have the knife; I want to cut leaves too!" "Nonsense! Who knows the Boy?" Only one man gave him the knife. Olufáth cut some palm fronds with it. Then night fell. When the men wanted to work the next morning, their hands stuck to the tools, while others, who grabbed hold of the palm trunks or the fronds could not let go of them. And so it was for all of them, save only the one.

A path led past the palm tree; Olufáth urinated on it, and then crouched in the thicket. Lugeilḗń appeared in a little while. He walked in the puddle, made a big fuss, but did not know who had caused it. Olufáth sat in the bushes, and made a sound like a bird: "Hi, hi!" Lugeilḗń went on his way, and he came to the place where the workmen were stuck fast to the trees. Then he knew that Olufáth had come, he was glad, and he set the men free. He entered the big house, and Olufāth came, but not as a man; he looked much more like the bird golṵ́ń. Lugeilḗń said: "Come"! But Olufāth ran away. Then Lugeilḗń cried: "Go away!" And then Olufáth approached. And now he did not look like a bird, but he lay in front of his father like a pile of mud. "Come out!" said Lugeilḗń, and then Olufāth appeared in human form.

The people in the large house said: "One beam has decayed; tomorrow we shall go to get another." Then they all went to sleep, and Olufāth also. When the sun rose, the men hastened into the thicket, cut a post, brought it into the house, and wanted to put it in the place of the soft one. But first they had to dig a hole. They told Olufáth about it. He took the nerve of a palm leaf and a small leaf, stuck them in his loin girdle, and then made the hole. He had scarcely finished it when the men took the post, and rammed it through his body into the hole. They thought that he must be dead now, but such was not the case. When it was night, he took the coconut nerve, hollowed out the post with it, and climbed up through it. He sat down on the ridge pole, and watched how the others ate coconuts and told each other about his death. Then he took the one little piece of

coconut leaf, which he had stuck into his belt on the previous day before he dug the hole; he enchanted it, and out of the little piece of leaf came a nut, which grew larger all the time. He took it and threw it in the midst of the assembly. "See, I am not dead at all!" Then they saw that Olufáth was sitting up on the ridge pole. Later the men in the big house made a fish weir. It was still not completed, for in the interior parts of it had to be drawn together; Olufáth was supposed to do this. He got some wood out of the thicket, put a plant in his mouth [204] and crawled into the weir. The men hastily pulled it up, put it on a canoe, and took it out beyond the reef. Here they threw the weir into deep water, and now they believed that Olufáth was finally dead. But the plant which he held in his mouth, kept him up on top; and he even succeeded in getting out of the weir; then he caught a number of fish, and stuck them inside the basket. He made himself look like a man suffering from ringworm, and then he reached land before the men who had wanted to kill him. And the weir lay full of fish on the beach. Then Lugeilén came, and so the two were together in the big house when the others arrived. When they entered, they said that the man was Lugeilén. "No, it does not look like him. Could it be Olufáth?" "But he lies in the deep water beyond the reef." When they came into the house, they found that it was indeed Olufáth. And he told them about the weir, which was full of fish on the shore. The men went to fetch it at once, and found that it was completely full. Olufáth took a fish and went to the Thunder's house; he took his wife,

gave her the fish, and slept with her. Then the Thunder came and saw what Olufáth had done. When he tried to catch the culprit, Olufáth ran into the big house. The same thing occurred with the wives of the Lightning and the man Poís; the husbands always discovered that they had been deceived, but they never could catch the agile Olufáth. However, Olufáth almost came to grief with the last one. Poís was a very strong man, and Olufáth was afraid. So he took a stone, and threw it into Poís' eye before he fled to the big house. Then he got another fish, and ran with it to Féla's house. It happened that Féla was in the thicket, and so Olufáth treated his wife as he had the others. But the husband returned just as he was getting ready to leave. Olufáth ran immediately, because Féla had a fish line. He caught Olufáth's ear with the hook, pulled him back, and whipped him until he was nearly dead. Féla also stuck both of his eyes out, and buried them beside his house.

Then Lugeilén came and looked for his son. He smelled the decay, and found that Olufáth was dead. He made a spell quickly, and Olufáth came back to life. Now he was supposed to go with Lugeilén, but he did not want to leave until he had killed Féla. So he entered the house, slew him, knocked his teeth out, and threw them into the sea. Then he joined his parents in the heavens; he loves dancing and singing, and directs them on the squares in the heavens and on the earth.

Lugeilén

Two women, Wavú and Pugelú, lived on the earth. Each one had a daughter, and each daughter had an orange tree (these were introduced by Europeans). But they were not alike, for one bore better fruit than the other. Then one maiden stole an orange from the other [205]. The sister noticed it, and whipped the culprit. Finally they both began to weave a clothing mat at dawn. But one of them stopped at noon, for the other, the weaker woman, had used magic charms, and had completed her task.

Then Nisarela came; he seized the one who had completed her mat and took her up to the heavens. A little king, Mesenienótu, lived in the eastern part of the heavens, and he married this woman. In a little while, she bore a son, but he did not have a name; he was a good and likeable child. Eluelap was fond of him, took him, and called him Lugeilén. He made him a great king in the heavens.

How Nimegei Gave Men the Coconut

In olden days there were palms, but no nuts. Then Eluelap had a daughter, Nimegei. She was pregnant, but she did not give birth to a child; a coconut appeared instead. She filled it with earth, and let it alone. After ten days it sprouted. Nimegei did not know what it was. The thing grew quickly, and became a palm tree which had many, many coconuts. Then Eluelap said to four men: "See to it that nobody steals the nuts from the tree, or carries away the fallen ones!" But Lugeilén took one secretly, carried it to

Mogemog, and planted it there. It grew rapidly, and bore a fine crop of nuts. Then all the people sailed to Mogemog in their canoes, and got coconuts. And this is the way that the coconut came to the islands.

The Origin of Thelắn and His Brothers.

Eluelắp had three more sons, Thelắn and Alülemắth. They were carpenters. Thelắn went to the colored people, and Alülemắth to the whites, and taught them how to build canoes. Thelắn built a boat in Mắlip on Ponape; and the art spread from there to the west; he also constructed houses, but his mind was always set on practical matters. Alülemắth went to the white men, taught them sciences, showed them how to make ships, and made them clever.

According to another version: two men, Thelắn and Themarứx, are the brothers of Alülemắth. The first two stay with the natives, and Alülemắth with the whites. The three are not the real children of Eluelắp; they really sprang from the woman Legobứ and the man Nigoburonialüắl, and both of them came from the woman Eôitsắn. The couple had the three sons whom I have named; they were very clever, and Eluelắp loved them so much that he adopted them and gave them their names. Another son (of this couple?) is Palứelap, who has a son Elülứe. [206]

Eluelắp spoke to his sister Eôitsắn: "Create men!" Eôitsắn communicated this order to Legobứ. She obeyed, but she had nothing to eat. When she woke up the next morning,

she found a great deal of food, because she had dreamed about it. But if she dreamed that she did not have anything, nothing was provided in the morning. Eluelap always let her dream about what she needed to live. Themarux built the house, Thelan the canoe. Paluelap is the man who points the way on trips, and it is he who invented the sail. His son Elulue helps him.

The Women Nage.

Two friends dwelt in Ifaluk: Nageibioru (1) and Nageirifan (2). Once when they came to Ifaluk, they began to quarrel. Then Nage 2 took a coconut husk, filled it with sand, and went out to sea. She scattered the sand in the water, and an island appeared; it was Faiieu. There were no palms on it, just low underbrush, and so nobody could live on it. This woman had a son, Fagem e tau, and a daughter Lewauuot, but she died. When the son had grown up, he said to his mother: "Make me a canoe!" The mother made a toy boat for him. "If this canoe ever sails away from you, climb on to it!" Later the boat sailed off, so the lad swam after it, and got into the craft. It carried him to Ifaluk. He saw a number of boys there, and he taught them how to build toy boats. Nage 1 had stayed in Ifaluk. One day a boy said: "Where does this boy come from, and why have we not seen him before?" Nage 1 heard this. Since Fagem e tau looked very like his mother, she asked him whence he had come. He told her, and then spoke about his mother. Then Nage 1 took him in her house, and he dwelt with her.

Ponijoū

Ponijoū was a man who died a short time ago. During his lifetime he was renowned on account of his fish magic, which was particularly effective for flying fish. Since he died nobody knows the charm, and so the natives built a small spirit house for him. When Sauerū is asleep, Ponijoū appears to him occasionally, and tells him that it is a propitious moment for the men to go fishing. If the expedition is not successful, the fisherman goes to Ponijoū's house, and leaves a present. Ponijoū orders and prohibits the fishing expeditions, but the chief is always the intermediary.

How Fire Came to Men.

Eluelāp made fire, and gave it to Olufāth, who hid it in a bamboo, and then brought it to men on earth. He showed them how you can bore a fire with the help of pieces of wood. [207]

How Lugeilēn Taught Men Coitus.

In olden days women did not have any genital organs, and men knew nothing about sexual intercourse; they could only eat and drink. Then Eluelāp sent Lugeilēn down to earth, and he came to the man Niparāra, and to the woman Temoriemōn; he said to the latter: "Do you not have a husband?" The woman replied: "Why yes!" "Well, where is he?" "He is fishing." "Is that all you know? Don't you know anything else?" As he spoke these words, Lugeilēn removed the woman's clothing mat, and he saw that she

did not have any organs. So he stuck two fingers inside, and formed her genitals. Then he used her and finally he departed. Then the husband came home and said: "I have brought some fish, go and fasten the canoe!" "Oh, never mind the boat!" And the canoe remained lying half way up the beach. The woman continued: "I will show you something fine, that I have just learned. I did not know it, and nobody here knows about it. Come, get on top of me!" He obeyed, but his organ refused to stiffen, so she rubbed the penis and so they had intercourse. And all the people came and watched this process. Then the wife said: "Look after your canoe!" "Oh, never mind the canoe, this is nice!" And so they lay together the whole day.

The Bird Bath.

Once upon a time, there was a bird called Báth which always made a great deal of noise with his call "Bri-bri". When you looked at him in the air, he seemed sometimes to be white, but again he was red or black. All the people were very afraid of him, because many of the ones who saw him, died. Then the survivors complained to Olufáth. So he took a young báth bird, put him on the earth, and said that he should remain small, and not make such a noise. When the bird sang on earth, he only managed to make sounds like "kikeriki" and "gakgak". He is supposed to have been a very large bird. (Could they be talking about the hen?) On one occasion two Yap natives noticed

it while they were fishing. They made a charm to catch it, but the bird attacked one of them, and killed him; and he wounded the other. The bird is said to have traveled to Palau, and to have died there.

4: Krämer--285-291 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-B
116, 539 Woleai

The Story of the Sons of Paluelap, Rongerik, Rongelap, Aluluei and Faravai.

Paluelap of Polap had two sons, Rongedjik and Rongelap. The latter took little notice of his father. Rongedjik, the younger, always gave part of the food that he was given or that he was given on Truk and other islands to his father, on the other hand, and for that reason his father loved him and introduced him to the secrets of navigation. When Rongelap heard and saw this, he was angry and complained and beat his father and his father asked him why he was behaving as he did, and Rongelap asked: "Why don't you pass your knowledge on to me?" And the old man answered: "What reason would I have for doing it?" Rongelap replied: "But you happen to be my father!" "That is true," said Paluelap, "but you do not take care of me like your brother, and because he has been good to me he has learned everything." But to pacify his son, he started to instruct him, too, but not very thoroughly. When Rongelap went out on a voyage he missed his destination. He came to a large coconut palm bearing fruit, which stood in the middle of the ocean, and he told a man to climb the tree and to throw the nuts to him into the boat which was waiting below. But a large black lizard sat on one of the nuts that were thrown down; it seized Rongelap and bit him in half and he toppled into the ocean.

When Rongelap did not return Paluelap said to Rongedjik: "Your brother has not returned; go and look for him at the palm tree!" Rongedjik quickly sailed to the spot and he found the crew of the canoe of Rongelap and he asked them: " Where is Rongelap?"

Their answer was: "He lies in the salt water!" and they told his brother about the happenings. And Rongedjik practiced some magic which his father had taught him, and thus he found the two parts of the body of his brother and he put them together. When he had returned to life, Rongedjik asked him what he had done and Rongelap answered: "I have slept."

Rongedjik had more questions: "What? Didn't you lie in the water? Why did you try to pick the nuts?" Rongelap answered: "We were hungry!" Thereupon Rongedjik brought the nuts and they ate.

When they had finished their meal, Rongelap wanted to leave and started on his course. His brother called to him: "Whence are you sailing? The course which you are steering does not take you to any land." Rongelap did not pay any attention to the words of his brother [286] and sailed off. After a long voyage he found a man called Sauperon who was standing on a reef and fishing. Rongelap asked him for some fish but he refused to give him any. Rongelap flew into a rage: "If you don't give me any I shall kill you." And the fisherman seized him and drowned him. Rongedjik sailed after him and asked for his brother. He was pointed out as his body drifted in the water. Rongedjik asked the dead man: "What are you doing?" And the body answered: "I am sleeping." "No," he called, "you are dead." And he made magic once more and Rongelap revived.

And again they took a meal together. And Rongelap wanted to sail away. His brother

warned him: "You will not find any land and you will lose your life once more!" But he did not heed this renewed warning and left and Rongedjik followed him to protect him.

On his way, Rongelap saw a large taro and he tried to pick it. But the plant dived down into the water like a fish. Rongedjik watched and he jumped into the water and brought up the taro and the brothers ate it together.

Rongelap continued on his voyage. Next he came to the small island of Pianipaluelap where two old women lived in a hut. They were sisters of his father Paluelap and they were busy plaiting a sail for him. Rongelap had lost his sail and he wanted the new one, but the two women would not give it to him in spite of his threat to kill them. "It is better to die than to give the sail away," they called. When Rongelap lifted his arm for the fatal blow, it suddenly became paralyzed; Rongedjik found him thus and asked him what he was doing. And he told him of the happenings and said: "Don't you see that I am unable to deliver the blow?" And Rongedjik replied: "Do you really want to kill the sisters of your father?" "Yes, they are not good!" Then the younger brother asked the two old women for the sail and they gave it to him most willingly, and he handed it over to his brother.

The evil spirit of Rongelap was not yet broken. He sailed off once more and his younger brother followed him. Soon Rongelap ran out of food and water. When Rongelap was lamenting this fate, Rongedjik called: "What, don't you know the water of Paluelap?" There were great breakers around them but Rongedjik made his magic and brought water

up from the ocean although they were far from any land. He gave this brother a drink; the latter was by now overcome and the evil within him was conquered and he gave in and returned to Polap together with Rongedjik. Remorsefully he went before his father and from this time on he strove to treat him well.

At that time there was a kulung bird on Truk which devoured so many humans that almost all villages were wiped out. The bird also ate all taro, breadfruit and coconuts. From Truk it went to Poloat and acted in a similar manner and then it moved to Sog. [287] Sätowan, Namodjek, Ifaluk, Voleai, Aurupek, Feis, Mogemog, Sorol, Eap, Ngolu, and Bannoč. And on the way back it came to Polap.

Inesavo, the daughter of Paluelap, had been ordered by her father to receive all canoes coming from other islands and to take them to the village. When the Kulung came flying she said: "Come, you may have some food." "What," shouted the Kulung, "all the other places have not had enough food to fill my stomach and this small spot is to satisfy my appetite? Yours is mockery!" Inesavo took a taro and crushed it, put it into a coconut shell and poured expressed milk on it; then she cracked a young coconut and took both into the house where the Kulung sat. The Kulung laughed: "That is to be my food?" The girl answered: "Go ahead and eat, there will be enough." And the Kulung ate and drank and he could not finish it; more and more new food grew in the bowl. When his stomach was so full that he could not eat any more, he wanted to return to Truk.

Inesavo and Paluelap gave him more food to take with him on his flight--200 huge baskets filled with taro and two gigantic coconuts; all this they fastened under his wings or tied around his neck. The bird flew off completely satisfied and happy. But when it was over the open sea Paluelap made effective magic so that the wind died down, and the Kulung fell into the ocean and was devoured by sharks.

The wife of Paluelap was pregnant. He said to his sons Rongedjik and Rongelap: "The boy, Aluluei in the womb of my wife hears everything; when he is born he will soon sit around the house." And that is what happened. Aluluei had extraordinarily evil powers. When Paluelap took a meal he always gave food to his youngest son. His two older brothers hated him for this privilege, and favoritism which was obvious at all times. They constructed a large canoe but they did not supply it with outrigger booms. And their father asked: "Why did you not cut any outrigger booms?" The two sons answered: "Send us your men so that we shall be able to cut the two booms." Paluelap told the little Aluluei to go into the bush and to cut the booms. Ringelap first ordered the boy to climb a faliap tree. While he was working on top of the tree, the two brothers threw stones at him so that he fell off. And they "scratched" him and beat him until he died. When they had killed him they wrapped the body in coconut leaves, weighted the bundle with stones and dropped it into the ocean. Then they returned to their work.

Paluelap came and inquired about his youngest son, although he knew quite well what had happened. He went into the bush and made magic, and called Aluluei back in the

form of a spirit invisible to the others. As a protection against attacks, he set many eyes into his head* so that he was able to look in all directions and his eyes were like the stars on the firmament. Paluelap from now on suggested to him continuous theft and told him to carry off anything that he could get hold of, coconuts, taro, women, etc. [288] And Aluluei did as he was told. Soon Rongedjik and Rongelap came to their father and shouted: "who is it who takes all our belongings? Who is it?" Paluelap answered: "I don't know. But if you wish to find out make a canoe** with a hut on deck and set it

*That explains the janus head of the storm magic.

**A finished canoe had to have rigging and the father told the sons to get it ready. He showed them the sheet. When they asked for the name of the rope he said it was moel, because it means to scratch, and because they had scratched Aluluei. Similar words of vengeance were:

halyard	urur to snatch away
stay	tenegaj
luff stay	eangalap to fight a great deal
bail	gamat to leave underneath upon death
sail	eu rope around the neck upon drowning
rope	sos blood, ḑja.

And the two were so startled and frightened that they did not dare ask any more questions.

afloat; then he will come." The two brothers did so, and when Paluelap saw the canoe afloat, he sent men into the bush to call: "How beautiful is the canoe of Rongedjik and Rongelap." Aluluei soon heard their calls and in visible form went to the beach and looked at the boat which was indeed magnificent. He went on board and observed all details and then returned to the bush. When the two brothers noticed the man aboard their canoe, they told Paluelap about it. And the old man asked: "How many deck huts are there on the canoe?" Their answer was: "One." "Very well" the father went on, "you will have to build a second one." They did so, and when the second hut was finished and stood on deck, Paluelap once again sent people into the bush to proclaim the beauty of the boat. Aluluei heard it and thought: "That is good for me." He called 40 rats together and went aboard the canoe with them while Rongedjik and Rongelap sat on the beach and in amazement saw the boat set sail. They only saw one single man and could not understand how he alone was able to do such heavy work. "That must be our dead brother Aluluei," they said. When Aluluei went on board he took sand and pandanus along. When he had sailed out on the high seas, he dropped the sand and an island resulted. He took one of the huts on deck with him ashore to live in it and he planted the pandanus. He dwelled on his sand island, Pialaluluei, for a long, long time and lived there long after his two older brothers were dead.

In the meantine a fourth son, Faravai, was born to his father. He also was instructed in the art of navigation, of which Aluluei was now considered the god; and one day he set

out with five canoes to visit some of the outside islands. When he was on Truk, he and his four companions received gifts of food. The other four men took part of their fish and coconuts and laid them aside as a sacrificial offering to Aluluei, but Faravai put away only the skin of the fish and the coconut husks and covered them with taro leaves as his tribute to the god. Aluluei, who saw everything, noticed it and said: "All have given me good things, but Faravai has not had enough to give to me." [289]

When the five boats sailed homeward, to Polap a storm arose and shattered the canoe of Faravai. The other four reached their native islands, but Faravai was forced to try and see how far he could get on rafts. He arrived on Pialaluei. When Faravai stepped ashore, Aluluei sat with his back to him and said: "Ah, you are coming, Faravai?" The latter was surprised that the stranger who had never seen him should know him, and he asked him: "What is your name?" and Aluluei replied: "Don't you know me? How is it possible that you should not know me although I know you." Faravai spoke: "I don't know you!" and Aluluei: "What, you don't know me? I am Aluluei." And the questions and answers went on:

"What are you doing?"

"Nothing. Whence are you coming?" Faravai related his adventures.

Aluluei thereupon said: "Well. Come and twist some rope for me."

"I am hungry."

"I have nothing to eat. Look at my land. But here are taro-leaves and underneath them the skins of fish and coconut husks."

"That is not good food."

"What, that is not good food, although you yourself have given it to me; now go eat it yourself."

"But over there lie taro and fish and breadfruit."

"Yes, they were given to me by your four companions and they do not belong to you."

Faravai became very sad. Aluluei continued:

"Here is a bellik shell with water; you may drink it."

"Oh, that is nothing at all."

"Go ahead and dring it, it will be sufficient."

Faravai drank and drank and quenched his thirst. Then once more he started to complain of hunger and Aluluei finally said:

"Go to the water where there are fish. Catch them."

Faravai saw a karangab fish and he went and was easily able to catch it by hand and he took it ashore and lit a fire. Upon order of Aluluei he cut up the fish to fry it. First he removed the tail: thereupon the flesh disappeared from the legs of Aluluei; then he cut off the belly of the fish and the body of his brother vanished and the same happened to his intestines, the head, the back and the sides. As soon as he cut off any

part of the animal, the corresponding parts of Aluluei's body disappeared and when Faravai looked around he noticed a skeleton sitting next to him. And he shivered with fright.

"What is the matter with you?" asked Aluluei

"I am dying, I am dying."

"No, don't be afraid of me, I shall not eat you."

"Why do you do such evil?" [290]

"You have not treated me right. In the future consider the following: the tail belongs to me and the belly with the stomach, and the back and the eyes of the fish."

"All right, I shall remember and observe this."

Now Faravai did not feel like eating but Aluluei said:

"Do eat. When you get home always lay the mentioned parts aside as belonging to me. Not until you have eaten the others may you eat my share."

"That is fine. I shall now go home."

"All right."

"But I don't have a ship."

"Delouse me."

Faravai did so but became scared when he noticed the eyes hidden under the hair. He trembled:

"What is wrong with you?" Aluluei asked.

"You have eyes in your head and on your head."

"They do not matter, they are not eyes, but stars."

And he explained all their names to him, the stars of the east, the north, the west and the southland. Then he said:

"Now you can go."

He drew the outlines of a canoe in the sand and uttered a magic formula, and suddenly a beautiful canoe was afloat in the water. Faravai set out on his voyage to Polap, but his canoe broke on the way, because it was made of phantom sand. A shark swam towards him. And Faravai called: "Take me to Polap."

But the shark would not take him. Then there came a dolphin.

Faravai called once more: "Take me to Polap."

But the dolphin did not want to take him. Finally a turtle came as his saviour. She let him ride on her back and took him to Polap. When they arrived outside the reef she said: "Well now get off." But he begged her to take him a little closer to land. When they approached the beach, the turtle once more asked him to get off her back, but he wanted to ride a little further, and even when they stood on land he ordered her to take him up to his house. When he had finally arrived there he called his people and shouted: "Catch the turtle." And they caught, and killed and cooked her.

Faravai had two sons who were his confidants in all matters: they were Vorieng who married bad women, and Falus who married good women. Vorieng desired the wife of

Falus. He thought up a scheme to remove his brother. He invited him to sail with him to Truk to get mats, turmeric, red shell slabs, and breadfruit dough. Falus sailed with him and they were lucky in their purchases. When the canoe was on the return voyage and was once more approaching Polap, [291] Vorieng was astern steering while Falus was holding the sheet. Vorieng called to his brother that he should come aft and take over the steering job. When he came, Vorieng pushed him so that he fell overboard into the ocean. "Save me, save me, Vorieng!" he called, but Vorieng answered: "No, you shall die," and he left his brother behind. Vorieng reached Polap alone and told the people that Falus had lost his life. Then he married his brother's wife. But Falus swam and found a bamboo, and he crawled into it and thus drifted to Polap. His former wife happened to come down to the beach and Falus called to her: "Don't you know me?" 'What," she said, "you are not dead." Falus told her what had happened. Both went into the house, and Falus hid under the roof. Vorieng was in the large canoe-house, and told his wife to cook taro because others had already gone out fishing.

The wife cooked a large quantity of taro and took it into the living house. Falus came down from his hiding place under the roof; he climbed into a large wooden bowl from Truk and the woman covered him with the taro so that he could not be seen at all. Then she called to Vorieng that the taro was ready and that they could eat. When the fish were hauled in, Vorieng had the bowl brought into the canoe-house. Many people got

together for the fish meal. Vorieng touched the bowl to dish out the taro, and Falus bit his hands. When Vorieng suddenly saw his brother, whom he had believed murdered, he was so frightened that he died. Falus climbed out of the bowl and told the people of the evil deed of his brother. Then he distributed the food and was mindful of the shares of Aluluei, Paluelap and Vorieng. And all the people ate and rejoiced.

28: Spiro--66-69
116, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-/0
Ifalik

"The following chapeng is the song sung at the ceremony that we witnessed in September, the two day affair. It is in the nature of an invocation. The text was collected by Dr. Burrows and the translation is his.

I

Nite-it is nite now.
Today when morning comes
the god Tilitc will talk to us all.
Hearken, people of high or low degree!
I was sent to listen to your talk.
I have come and found that all is well.
First I was sent down
to the chief of the nether world
to learn his bidding and ask his help.
He will look after you,
so will my son Tilital.

The coming of the god delights the people,
they gather to see the man he possessed.

First the god speaks from the housetop,
calls to the people to wake. [67]
They all rise from their mats when day is dawning,
when the sky is growing bright
Eager to hear what the god has to say.
All long to hear the words of the god.
When the sun is past the zenith
all the women gather flowers
Bring ritri flowers to the shrine.
If any fail in this they may sicken,
All will suffer unless they come.
Tilitc and Tilital.

Pelele and Laliaro did
not heed the god's words and fell sick;
He cured them by giving them new names.
He wants an end of all evil talk.

II

We are all weary waiting for the god.
'What nite is he going to come?
He has not yet appeared.
As they sing to him, the people grow afraid.

Tilitc and his son are like the wind.
When any of our people are lost at sea,
Rain or shine they go to find them,
Search the seas for the canoe.
If they do not find it in one direction they try another.
At last they find the castaways.

He comes down from Lengilialo
Back from his search comes the god.
The men want to sing for him;
All rejoice at his coming
Down from Lengilialo.

He tells the women to dance for him.
All the people rejoice together.

III

He leaves his home in the sky
To come to us here on earth,
Coming along the road of the gods.
He finds us obedient to his commands.
He sees a fire, hears someone singing to him in the nite.
His son Tilalo comes with him.

Listen all you people!
If you do not heed what the god says
Sauteti and Saurek will come after you!
The god comes to frighten them away.
When he appears they scurry off.
The god's sister, Leurulalo, asks him to help us.

'You have my word,' he told her.

IV

Our chief remembers well what the god said,
When he appeared before all the people. [68]
The chief praises Tilitc,
In words well pleasing to the god.
Praises him and divine family.
The chief thanks the god and bids him farewell.
Now we will experience happy days.

He roams over all the islands,
All the length of the Carolines.
He visits Truk and Yap
To see that people behave as they should.
He watches over our boys working (for the Japanese) at Yap.
And all the length of the Carolines,
He gazes about as through a telescope.

He can see everywhere.
He has not come back from his voyage.

He goes to visit Europe,
Goes all about that continent.
Long he looks about their [sic]
like a curious traveler
To see what they are doing, what the fighting is about.
Then he leaves that land and comes back to us.
'The war will soon be over now.
'The end of the fighting is near.
'Do not be afraid any more
'Soon the Americans will come.
'All you women and children who brought me flowers,
Fear no more.

V

The god is resting in Langiliolu
At his house Ngiligejap.

The people want to invoke him,
how many moons before he comes?
They come to his earthly house
All the people of this island,
Waiting to hear his word.
If he comes, he will summon them.
A woman brings flowers
To bedeck the rod on his shrine.
The long leafy branch of aro
is dipped and twirled in time to the song,
The aro that gives health.

The god came down from Langiliolu
To tell us to make medicine
So that nobody would be sick.
He said, 'Since you heed me, you will thrive this month.
All are healthy and wise while he is here.
They heed well his words.

The flower for the god is the warong
Tilitc give us your benediciton.
He goes to find a blessing for us,
Finds some gift to bring us.
Far and wide he roams in search of a blessing.
Some do not understand,
Do you know what a gift he will bring.
Whatever is good in distant lands he will bring us. [69]
He travels like a wind.
He goes to find all lost mariners.
He has little time to linger here.
He must travel about like a wind,
The wind that blows on lost sailors,
The wind that blows them home.
He watches over sailors far from home.

Like a great sea bird
He flies over the canoemen

Ramale and Tilvwemeau.

'Do you know where your course lies?
'You are going astray, you will drift off.'
They thank him for coming to save them,
Iletigi and Ilearo. (the women in the canoe with the men above)

The farewell is to Aluelap, Lugeiling, Wolphat, Solal and Tilitr.

Good-by now, good-morning my chief, good-morning my chief.
(addressed to Solal)
Good-by, oh my chief, who dwells in the heavens.
(addressed to Aluelpa)
Good-by, good-by,
I return, and the people depart, good-by, good-by, good-by.
(this spoken by Tilitr, who continues)
I am lonesome for my chief (Aluelpa), for he is my mentor,
my protector.
Depart. Your chief is weary, he has descended to the earth,

But no mortal has come.

(Tilior to Tilitr)
Descend, you descended to Ifaluk, and protect its people
and its chiefs, (Aluelap to Tilitr)
Protect them from the arms of the Americans and of the
Japanese,
Instruct your people to make flower garlands, and to
place them on your alter.

It is finished,
It is finished."

28: Spiro--71-72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 539 Ifalik

"The name of this song is Aluselitimes, and is traditional.

Sickness and devils: Depart, depart
Depart from this island of Ifaluk,
Depart.
Cease! all illness that comes to these shores.
Depart Maselepi and Tria. (Maselepi seems to be the common cold.
Do not enter, Nesuaregeruch, Tria is a slight illness that comes to
Oh you mighty devil. those who do not excuse themselves when
If you come, be you thwarted. they walk above those who are sitting.)
If you bring illness, may it
be turned away. (nesuaregeruch is a devil).
Depart Nesuaregeruch, Mesuanepelap. (Two devils)
May illness visit us not in the future.
If, you come, you will surely die.
Come not, you cough,
for if you come, the tarewa will devour you. (Tarewa is a big fish)
Oh you illness, come not directly, but be deflected from your
course, as a drunken man.
If you come, Times will rise, and you will be thrust aside.

Come not on top of our houses.
If the devil comes, he will surely stumble.
If illness comes, Times will surely protect us.
The mouth of Maselipik shall not open. (to eat people, or give them illness).
If illness comes, I hover over the men, and the illness will depart [72]
I turn to the gods, I sing their song, they will surely remove the illness.
Oh, wave, and remove the illness.
People will not die, they will not be cast into the ocean.

(When a man is ill, Arogeligar drives out the illness by waving a coconut leaf over him. The Times serves this function for the entire population).

The ill will not die. They will remain here as does the ground.
If illness comes, it cannot prevail.
If illness comes, my song will encircle me, and protect me.
(the song is like a magic circle, protecting those inside it)
If I take ill, the god will come to me.

Myriads of illnesses will not enter me.
Many illnesses will not prevail against me, for my song protects me.
If a man should fall sick, he shall not succumb.
The god will protect me.
He will protect me as a barricade against the illness.
Go! (says the god to the illness)
Illness will not see you.
Do not enter that man.
Do not enter. Do not enter.
You are not powerful.
You, you, you (to the devil)
enter not, enter not.
Enter and die. (The song of the times will kill the devil).
These people will not die, nor will they ascend to the heavens."

28: Spiro--72 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 539 Ifalik

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!
This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly?', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in a typhoon)
Not too close to shore,
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

28: Spiro--126
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing
And says stand up;
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

(Ted [Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of arueru. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the aro
And the wut, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end..
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die..
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

2: Damm et al. --189 [9] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 548 Faraulep

Prostitution exists, and the girls give their mothers the compensation which they receive; there is no special name for them.

28: Spiro--127 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 837, 548 Ifalik

"As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution. However, a woman might sell her favors. A man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him."

5: Kittlitz--150
116, 595, 551

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Elato

We asked about their [MR: a tamol from Elato and others who were occupied in trade in the Marianas] families too, and learned that [MR: tamol] Orolitau has no less than three wives (although they might be sisters or other near relatives). Their names were: Letaurúru, Lagűol and Lamðarup. One of his assistants, Sepa, named two: Mairuk and Mesa-uro; the third, Orotak, only had one; Namðarimet.

28: Spiro--91 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 551, 851, 183 Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

28: Spiro--141 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765, 784, 551 Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 552, 501, 782 Ifalik

"Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol, after a breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an overseas voyage:

Lay the anchor in the woods!
Lay the anchor in the woods,
O Soupalele!
Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!
Right in the middle,
The very middle of the land.
When my canoe goes,
Let me return to this land!"

2: Damm et al. --133-135 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 501, 552 Aurupik

The canoe (uă) is a wooden boat of the typical Central Carolinian form. The various types have particular names; for example, Sarfert went in a maiwŏle to Uău in the atoll. There is a very small number of them today; on the largest island there were three big sailing canoes, and seven small ones, on the second island there was one small craft. Lütke and his companion von Kittlitz noticed "many boats on the beach" formerly. [CS: Omission of the names for the various parts of the canoe, pages 134-135).

4: Krämer--97
116, 552, 396

(1909) 1937

Wolesians
Lamotrek

The name of the boat is chosen after the tree whose trunk was used, or the land on which the tree stood.

28: Spiro--6 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 552 Ifalik

"Each homestead is named and the natives, down to the small children, when informing you of their movements, say that they are going to Rapevelu, or Alingliu, not to see Maroligar or Taroman."

2: Damm et al. --77
116, 553

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Children are named when they are about five months old.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 553 Woleai

Name giving: According to the information of the native, Kadu (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 134) "the chiefs give their first-born the name of their father, the second son the name of the father of their wife, the third again the name of their own father and so forth. The masses of people on the other hand, give their first-born the name of the father of their wife and the later children other names." That is to say that here we are dealing with a mixture of father and mother rights. And the first and the third sons would have the same name! According to the genealogical table of Agupelior this would not be true; or maybe it is no longer true?

Sick people often like to assume different names and this sort of thing is also frequent for lovers.

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 245 Ifalik

"Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on ubwūt as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (paɬū) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear ubwūt ornaments as insignia of his new distinction."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 554 Ifalik

"A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifalik. Anyone can build a little one; but the construction of that master-piece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-shipwrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands."

1: Burrows--65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 554 Ifalik

"An accredited navigator is called palū. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, palū e lap, great captains, and palū gitigit, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a palū when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recognized palū on Ifalik during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man; and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a palū gitigit. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called palū e lap. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recogn[illegible]d as palū.

The position of palū is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The palū is higher in general esteem than the sennap or canoe carpenter; higher also than the tau bwongbwong or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of palū does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (ʻongarIk) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

1: Burrows--200-201 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 771 Ifalik

"Rank figures less prominently in religion than the other sentiments discussed here. That may be because it is a center of less emotional [201] tension. Yet the opportunity to emphasize it afforded by communal rituals was not lost. The chiefs appointed the time for the ceremonies. During the proceedings they sat together, in a prominent position. When Gargeligar reported the admonitions of the god, he included praise of the chiefs and instructions to obey them."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

1: Burrows--201-202 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The positive value of the sentiment of rank, for those whose position is relatively high, is obvious: the satisfaction afforded by a feeling of superiority. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for recognition. The negative value, for those whose position is low, is of course humiliation or a sense of inferiority.

As individual rank is so largely settled by birth, a man can not do much to improve his position. Most of those of rather humble status seemed content with their lot. Presumably Spiro will penetrate into this matter farther than I can. But even the foregoing account, focussed as it is on formal, shared patterns of behavior, has repeatedly shown how two individuals were driven by craving for a higher position than their genealogies [202] allowed them. They are the two most prominent individuals on the atoll, in our eyes, except for the chiefs; and there is some doubt about even that exception--namely, Tom and Gargeligar. Though the writer is by no means qualified to diagnose a neurosis, he can not help pointing out how the behavior of these two resembles the standard picture of an inferiority complex."

1: Burrows--202
116, 554, 578, 159

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-2
Ifalik

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalũ clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

28: Spiro--11 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 186, 554 Ifalik

"The people are very proud and jealous of their prestige, would often remind me of it. One evening, for example, while talking with a young married man usually ungiven to bravado of any kind, he bragged of Ifaluk superiority, and of the deferential treatment accorded to an Ifalukian who visited another island.

This consciousness of rank extends to their relationship with the outside world as well. As a matter of fact, I first became aware of the importance of rank by an incident that betrayed the people's concern with maintaining their high position in the eyes of the Americans. One evening, while talking with a number of men about what we intended to do during our stay, I mentioned that other islands were being studied by other anthropologists. The men responded as a man: that means that they will have to cooperate with us to the fullest, lest the other anthropologists receive better cooperation, submit superior reports, and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' The men immediately told Tom, our interpreter, to pass this information to the chiefs, and the next day a special meeting of the entire island was convened by the chiefs, and the people instructed to carry out all our demands."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i. e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--137 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 888, 561, 554 Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"

28: Spiro--33 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 462, 283, 556 Ifalik

"The one ubiquitous activity engaged in by the men is the making of rope. Rope is indispensable for it is the universal fastener. In the absence of nails every object that requires the adhesion of parts requires the use of rope. But rope has other uses as well. One of the important objects used in Ifaluk's inter-atoll trade is rope. Rope forms part of the tribute that Ifaluk pays to Yap. And finally, when a person dies, his corpse is wrapped in an almost fantastically copius amount of rope. Rope, functions both as a crucial element in the subsistence economy, as well as an important factor in the prestige economy, since it is a sign of wealth. A man with little rope is looked down upon. Every man, then, desires to accumulate as much rope as possible, and spends the major part of his productive energies in its manufacture."

28: Spiro--44 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 565, 422, 556 Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565, 558 Elato

Families, ge i leng

On Elato there live four families of which always two and two intermarry; in addition there are two families which constitute the lower class.

The nobles:

1. Mailupūe
2. Gemairēng
3. Mańau li fŭs
4. Zau fēle

The lower class:

5. Ali ti lia
6. Zau ŭil

In the past No. 2 ranked higher, but in the course of time it has been replaced by 1. The first chief on Elato is a member of the family Zau fēle.

1: Burrows--85
116, 561, 882

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Some groups formed on the basis of age-those of children and (approximately) adolescents-have a more continuous existence. They are united also by common residence, for it is only the children, or the youths, of one particular neighborhood who play together regularly. Quite young children play in groups that include both sexes. (By 'quite young' is meant here old enough to talk and be fairly sure-footed, but too young to wear clothes, which are put on at about the age when our children begin school.) But when they reach adolescence their only distinct groups are limited by sex as well. It is only the young men who form groups of any permanence. Adolescent girls, more restricted by custom to their own households, may go out together to gather pandanus leaves for a mat, or carry on some similar task; but these gatherings, like other work gangs, disband when the job is finished. Formerly, when the unmarried men slept in a men's house, of which there were several at one time, or in one of the canoe-houses, they were almost continuously together. But of late they separate every night to sleep in the households of their relatives. Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifalik as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip."

2: Damm et al. --77 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 561, 192 Ifaluk

Terms used to designate age:
nursling sălidali
little boy, little girl sălidali măl or sălidali djăwud.
big boy dăli măl
big girl dalăiwid
man măl
woman djăwud or făifil
bachelor, also widower ?
old maid, also widow libĭdj
old man dufĕi
old woman djăwud dufĕi

4: Krämer--268
116, 561

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Stages in the Life of a Woman

taraivel — girls before menstruation

daurang — girl menstruates and wears the grasscloth which is called sivisif.

nikabal — single or married women who wear the mat gabalabal

malioüteg — married woman with mat. Other terms for a married woman are: ril, fitial, ĕsagal, djoelevúgetal, djoele, gáneal, ĕtial, djoele iti telivulemel djal.

nipes — spinsters or widows

esamesoutagel — "her husband dead," widows and widowers. The former is in mourning for a year and usually is a hetaera.

4: Krämer--269
116, 561

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Stages in the Life of a Man

boy	tharemal
youth	taremāl
man	mal
old man	tógobei
very old man	málelap

28: Spiro--24
116, 623, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another fairly constant factor at the meetings is the contrast between the attitudes of the older and younger people. Whereas the former take the meetings very seriously, with one exception--that of the priest--doctor--the younger men seemed little interested in the proceedings. For example, at one of the meetings, the young men were very slow in arriving, and did not sit in or around the fanap, but sat in the canoe house quite a distance from the fanap. Taroman rebuked them for this, and ordered them into the fanap, and they were quite slow in obeying his directions."

28: Spiro--32 [2]
116, 575, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no sodalities in Ifaluk, no groupings of a voluntary nature, that is. Professional, secret, or religious societies do not exist. Neither are there age grades. It is true that there are five categories into which all ages are classified, but they are highly nebulous and fluid, and are, by no means, organized into groups with definite social responsibilities and privileges."

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--108-109
116, 857, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Children are seldom alone, or out of the sight or ears of the adults. Usually the locale of their play is a courtyard, in view of the women, or in front of a canoe house, in view of the men. Often sit around the canoe houses with the men, doing nothing in particular merely engaging in random movement or rest. The children are not separated from the adults by age differences, and are permitted access to adult groups and activities, so that in the canoe houses they are accepted without protest by the men, and no attempt is made to create bars, or barriers. Though children and adults have differenential [sic] interests, and though there is little question as to which group is dominant and which submissive, there is no marked dichotomy between the children's and the adults' worlds. They both live and interract in the same world, though they play differential roles. It is natural, therefore, that they should play in the canoe houses, or enter them as equals of the men. The little girls may do so as well, something which the adult women may not do, for once a woman has reached puberty she may not enter a canoe house, except with the permission of the men.

A brief quotation from my field notes may illustrate this point. The behavior here described is typical of the daily routine in the canoe houses. As I entered the canoe house, three young men were making rope, as was one of the older boys. A man in his middle twenties was just sitting, while an older man was holding his baby granddaughter

on his lap, and another young married man was lying with his baby son on his stomach. Three young children were lying about. I lay down on a mat, and one of the little girls came over to lie down beside me, putting her arms about me. The baby girl began to mess up the rope of one of the young men, who only laughed, picked her up, and began to play with her. She was then taken by another of the young men, who passed her on to another, until she made the round.

One of the young boys began to make rope, the other watching him. In a little while the latter attempted to wrest the rope from the former, whereupon he became [109] angry, threw the rope at him, and ran out of the canoe house. The baby boy left his father's lap to sit on a board, and began to chew on sugar cane, part of which he offered me. One of the young men called him over, and had him puff on his cigarette. He enjoyed this tremendously, jumping up and down, and clapping his hands with glee. Another man came in, and shortly after his step-daughter came in, and sat on his lap. One of the boys now tried to pull the penis of one of the young men, but the latter rebuffed him. He attempted the same on some of the others but met the same reaction. He lay down, chewing on a twig. The little girl was singing to herself. Suddenly one of the children left the canoe house, and called to another and together they began to throw their tops in to the air. Soon the third child joined them, and they were at their games again."

28: Spiro--122 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 805, 561 Ifalik

"The people, as we have seen, do not know their ages, since they do not count the passing of time. The exact knowledge of a person's age would be useless information in this culture. There are, however, five categories of age classes, which serve to classify people, but these classes are not age-grades, and the distinctions between them are not marked by abrupt discontinuities. They merge almost imperceptibly into each other, with the exception of the change from the state of zari-rauwut, girl, to that of tari-veivel, young woman, which is abrupt, being brought on by the first menstrual flow, and marked by the menstrual ceremony. These age classifications are:

Male	Female	Translation	
		M	F
ligau	sauwau	infant	infant
zari-man	tari-trauwut	boy	girl
Tari-man	Tari-veivel	young man	young woman
Mann	trauwut	man	woman
Tuvai-man	tuvai-trauwut	old man	old woman"

28: Spiro--137
116, 888, 561, 554

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"

28: Spiro--146 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 561, 868 Ifalik

"In both the case of men and of women, age differences imply no social differences. An older woman might be requested by a younger woman to examine the skirt she is making if she has a difficulty. A younger man may ask an older man for help on a fine point in the making of a fish trap. But, in all cases, there seems to be no social differentials based on age."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

tural changes brought by the West—changes in clothing, in housing, in diet, in customs—have tended to increase the disease problem rather than to alleviate it. But that is a pet peeve of mine.

The population history of Ifaluk itself is not clear. Counts by anthropologists during the period of German control showed populations of 281 in 1903 and 208 in 1909, with an estimate of 300 for 1914. The drop between the first two counts may be a result of the typhoon of 1907—not only direct mortality, but also emigration to other islands as a consequence of food shortage.

The older Ifalukians thought that more people had lived on the island formerly; and from their stories I got to thinking that the population might at some time have reached as much as 500. This was based on accounts of times when even coconuts were carefully shared and nothing was wasted. Abandoned household sites in the village areas might be evidence of some population decline and there were stories of an epidemic, soon after the Japanese appeared, when as many as a dozen people died in a day. This, clearly, was smallpox; and the Japanese started vaccination, which has been maintained by the American authorities.

The island, in 1953, was not overpopulated. The land surface of the atoll was about a half a square mile, so the population of 260 people would represent a density of about 520 persons per square mile: a rather dense population, but we must remember that the people of Ifaluk had also the resources of their lagoon and of the surrounding seas. Ifaluk seemed to me to represent an economy of abundance, and this probably in part explains the idyllic living conditions that prevailed. With more people, with the same resources and the same cultural equipment, life might have been more difficult and unpleasant.

The Ifalukians certainly seemed not only happy, but healthy. It is difficult to make exact comparisons between the Ifalukians and other people because of our uncertainty about precise ages, so that one is likely to be averaging fifteen-year-olds with thirty-year-olds. In general, however, the men seemed to be somewhat smaller and lighter than the American average. The tallest man of the island, Sepemal, was a half inch under six feet. The heaviest (Wolpaitig, the number

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5′ 7½″. Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch.

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5′ 1½″ tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses.

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians.

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
562, 285 Ifalik

"Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner."

1: Burrows--107 (1947-48) Woleaians
562 Ifalik

"Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house; rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

1: Burrows--115
116, 462, 562

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: 'But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy.' Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked."

1: Burrows--182
116, 562, 343, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from FalārIk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

2: Damm et al. --168 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 262, 562 Faraulep

Certain food restrictions apply to the women, and they are never allowed to touch the following kinds of fish: bŭp, liwelŭ, faĭ, bă̆xo, nawŭt, mŏ̆ru, nŏ̆s, uăt.

2: Damm et al. --190 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 422, 562 Faraulep

Personal possessions are divided between the sexes;

the man has:	the woman has:
the dwelling	taro swamps
coconut palms	kitchen utensils
tools	occasionally a canoe
fishing utensils	

2; Damm et al. --190 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 562 Faraulep

Together they [KS: men and women] own bananas and bread-fruit trees, while the large canoes and the big canoe-house belong to the village. The chief has to look after the repairs, but the villagers are ready to assist him.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 562 Woleai

The natives Hellwig had to deal with were friendly and courteous, and the children were by no means shy. The visit of the whites was a rare event and due to this event everybody seemed to be stimulated into a good mood. It became apparent that the women were allowed a great deal of freedom. It did not matter that a white man was sitting alone with a [native] woman in a hut, or that a woman sold her property to the white on her own accord. They joked and laughed... and on every occasion they mixed songs, recited or sung, into the conversation or with business, and sometimes these songs were accompanied by rhythmic dance movements. The information which was given about a weaving loom on which a mosquito net of Hibiscus fiber was woven, was constantly and in the most funny manner interrupted by an old lady. Her flow of words had been acclaimed by the women with laughter even before the woman had squeezed herself in through the low door opening. She seemed to be a popular "jestress." In front of the narrow door of another house another gray-haired woman sat weaving so that Hellwig was unable to enter. In her stoical calmness she remained unimpressed by the persuasion of either Hellwig or the female occupants of the house. Finally, Hellwig pushed the old woman aside and went into the hut; with a little gift he atoned for his tour de force, and, after that the old woman became the friendliest person of all.

4: Krämer--76 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 285, 291, 531, 562 Lamotrek

First Type of Mat
(cf. Plate 6, 7, 10 [VMM: see source]).

Mats of hibiscus with a pattern of seven stripes are worn by women, whereas mats with seven stripes worn by men are made of banana fibers.

The éllepat a le gílifer is such a hibiscus mat for women; it has seven black stripes and six light stripes of yellowish natural color between them; the effect in the case of the latter is produced by some groups of white, shiny, banana fibers. Some white banana fibers. Some white banana threads are even introduced into the black stripes; they are used either one or two at one time and are so fine and thin that they do not weaken the impression of blackness. The effect of most of the double threads in the black fields is purely ornamental. In order to produce this effect, four shed formations are necessary, whereas the entire remaining part of the mat is woven with the two sheds of the plain weave. To weave ornamental stitches by means of the four shed formation is known as gásuitieb, two shed or plain weave--aláli pelách. From now on I shall talk about these types of weaves using the native terms; the word for banana fiber is uidj, that for hibiscus fibers gilifer.

garier is the name for the seven striped men's mat which is made of uidj. It is woven with finer threads than the women's mat and, when especially fine, it is known as garier kénusch (Plate 6i [VMM: see source]).

Most common are plain weaves, aláli pelách, but also three and four shed patterns,

gásuitiĕb, with the above described ornamental effect in the black stripes occur. galut is the term for a seven-striped mat, in which the pattern appears as in gásuitiĕb on both sides. It is a four shed pattern.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 562, 837 Woleai

Mertens says that the women had a lot of freedom and that, as on Feis, they came on board alone without paying much attention to the men. Occasionally they pulled up alongside of the ship in their canoes and called the names of their friends. Everything needs their consent. On the other hand, men have been known to offer their wives to their overnight guests.

At meetings and on the occasion of visits of strangers, the women keep silent.

Lütke says that many terms are taboo (pennant) in the presence of women; in case of negligence, exile threatens the offender.

5: Kittlitz--155-56
116, 562, 609, 834

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

12: Lutke--137 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 562 Woleai

We went to the eastern side of the island and round its northern tip. We were accompanied by a very joyous little troupe; but when we came to the places where there were women imprisoned, we heard again the annoying farak! farak! as we did on Lougounor.

12: Lutke--141
116, 562, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

As usual we were surrounded by most of the male population of the group, and this time there were women too. Several canoes full of them kept circling around the schooner, and they made more noise than all the other boats put together. They did not ask if they might come on board; perhaps they were waiting for the invitation which we did not extend. That may be because they were all dreadfully ugly. It is not likely that there are not some pretty ones on the island; possibly the jealous men do not permit them to leave the house.

13: Lutké--147
116, 562, 609

(1827-1828) 1836

Woleaians
Woleai

The inhabitants of the Ouléaf group, as well as those of the isolated island of Feiss, were less severe towards us, as far as their women were concerned, than the inhabitants of the Lougounor group; they allowed them to be found in our company, and it needed only a short time for an intimate connection to become established between us; in spite of this sort of intimacy and the boundless confidence accorded us, there is not a single individual on the "Séniavine" who can boast of having obtained any favors from a beauty of the low islands of the Carolines.

13: Lutké--149-150 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians
116, 562, 437 Woleai

At Ouléaï the women came quite close to our vessel, but they never arrived in the men's canoes. They took pleasure in crying and calling us by our names, which they sometimes pronounced in the most comical manner. Though they reiterated their demands [AN: for ornaments] unceasingly, in order to obtain more than we had given them, they appeared to receive our gifts with a kind of disdain, and this greatly amused us. Some of them wore pretty belts, of the width of about two fingers, made of the wood of cocoanuts and of white shells put together in a way that recalled mosaics...as I wanted to [p. 150] own one of these belts very greatly, I offered them a considerable price, in their eyes, for this single article; but these women multiplied their demands to such an extent on every occasion I yielded to their instances, that I could not succeed in obtaining one for myself. It seems, besides, that the women set great store by them; I sometimes saw men adorn themselves with them, but they were no more inclined to give them up, alleging, to justify their refusal, that this ornament belonged to their wives.

28: Spiro--22
562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Quite significant was the attention devoted to the women [WPM: See pp. 20-22], for despite the fact that women shoulder most of the work, it was they who were told that they were not to be indolent, but must work, must prepare food and make lavalavs. The men, too, were warned to exercise greater diligence, but not to the same degree as the women."

28: Spiro--78
116, 533, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though composed by women to be sung at specified occasions, the men know the bwarux and sing them often. In the evening when the young men congregate in the canoe houses, one of the favorite activities is the singing of some bwarux, which affords them great amusement, and whose words elicit the same undercurrent of tittering that the corresponding activity evokes in our culture. Women too, sing bwarux when working together in the house or in the malum, that children, both boys and girls, are exposed to them at an early date."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--113-114
116, 462, 858, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen

going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 573 Ifalik

"As the children grow older, the sexes begin to separate. The boys form all-boy gangs, ranging in age from boys ten or eleven years old, through the very young married men. These gangs, completely informal and uninstitutionalized, are definitely local groups. On the island of Felarik, for example, there are two such gangs, one in Rauau, and one in Felarik. The younger members are part of the group, but occupy an inferior status, obeying the older ones. Each gang has a canoe-house in which it spends its time, doing nothing in particular, but sitting around, talking, playing checkers or cards and making rope. At night they assemble in the canoe houses or along the beach, where they remain until it gets dark, returning home or going to meet their lovers. In the past the boys and the young men of the district used to sleep together in the men's club-houses, but no longer do so, because of the fear of the alus, as we have already indicated. However, the young men in the Rauau gang do sleep together, at least during the trade wind season in one of the canoe houses. These young men are together constantly."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--130 [2]
116, 522, 831, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--135 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562 Ifalik

"Consciously, there seems to be no 'battle of the sexes.' The men told me that women are more important than men ('more high'), because they 'give people', that is, they give birth to children. 'No have woman, no have people. (Therefore), man take talk for woman.' (that is a man will obey the woman.) But this statement seemed to contradict some of the overt practices. For example, a woman who passes a group of men, lowers her head, in the same fashion that all people do when they pass the fanap. When a woman walks from one end of the village to another, she takes the back path, whereas men take the front one. When men gather to eat, women may not join them. Women are not permitted in the canoe-houses."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

28: Spiro--136 a (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 611, 591, 622 Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

28: Spiro--136 a [2]
116, 562, 828, 764

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--147 [3]
116, 562, 883, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young women do not, as we have already pointed out, associate in gangs, as the young men do. Young women, in their late adolescence are already married, and, like the older women, remain near or about the homes. This means that the young women are integrated earlier into the adult female world, than are the young men into the adult male world."

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

123 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and [562] how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

five chief) weighed 182 pounds with a height of 5′ 7½″. Wolpaitig came closest of any man on the island to having a paunch.

The women were considerably more under American averages for height or weight. They were generally only an inch or so over or under five feet, weighing not much over a hundred pounds. The heaviest, a matron named Ietili of the Garotrong household, weighed 150 pounds, and was 5′ 1½″ tall. Ted suspected that the small size and light weight of the women was a consequence of the fact that they carried out the regular toil of the island—the heavy gardening work of the taro swamps as well as the work around the houses.

The Ifalukians would be classed as Micronesians: but what that means is anybody's guess. "Micronesia" is a geographical term to cover the hundreds of "tiny islands" of the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Gilberts. The inhabitants of these island groups, the Micronesians, are hardly to be distinguished from the more famous Polynesians: a rapid survey of several anthropology texts shows that the two are more often classed together than not. The inhabitants of the various island groups of Micronesia are certainly more diverse, both culturally and physically, than the inhabitants of Polynesia: but the similarities among all of these light-skinned people of the Pacific are greater than their differences. And the problem of the origin and history of the Ifalukians, of the Caroline Islanders, of the Micronesians, cannot be separated from the much-discussed problem of the origin of the Polynesians.

I think part of the European fascination with Polynesia (which would apply equally to the people of the central Carolines) comes from the fact that these people look very much like ourselves. The features of the Ifalukians were very European, and I amused myself by noting resemblances in certain individuals, in features or apparent characters, to particular friends or acquaintances in the States. The people were not really dark-skinned: both Don and I acquired a skin color within a month that matched the Ifalukian average, as determined by frequent comparisons of arms placed side by side. A pair of naked legs walking by the Fan Nap, observed under the low over-hang of thatch, could not be identified as Ifalukian or American. The Ifalukians

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

461 517 567 Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion 643 in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225, 262, 565 Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

"Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's [83D] monopoly on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps

two or even three times that.

The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (witigo terag) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (ui) over the belly. The intestines (tal) were then hauled out

into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (sha), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all [83E] three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamōl. Valū means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelarIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamōl';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

Kailangaluaiea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and SauvelārIk's to yellow-fin tuna."

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalu, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--115
116, 283, 565, 461

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--115-116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 565 Ifalik

"Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-8--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar--would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katēlū, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the [116] seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifalik--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

1: Burrows--132
116, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Rank is so highly valued and respected that it stands out as one of the master-values of this culture. A hierarchy of rank runs through the whole society. In it each individual has a place; and standards of good behavior require each to show by his conduct that he 'knows his place'. This involves not only deference toward superiors, but a certain lordliness toward inferiors, --not in informal contacts, but on occasions of state. For example, when the highest-ranking chief of Faraulep was visiting Ifalik, and came to the canoe-house where the local chiefs met, Wolpetau remained lying on his back and paid his visitor only a negligent attention; this although he is personally an affable man, rather diffident in manner. The point was that traditionally he outranks the Faraulep chief, and was in duty bound to mark the distinction by his conduct.

It has already been shown (pp. 90, 131) that the chiefs are aligned in a definite order of rank; that the clans which hold chiefly titles have an order of rank corresponding to that of their chiefs; and that clans which have no chiefs rank below those which have."

1: Burrows--132-133 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 565 Ifalik

"Rank, then, is a graded continuum. The sharpest line of cleavage is between chiefs and commoners; and this is in effect a part-time distinction, perceptible only on formal occasions. Ordinarily it would be hard to tell, from the behavior of a group of men, which among them were chiefs. All work and talk together like equals. The chiefs are treated courteously, to be sure, but so is everybody else; for courtesy is another of the master-values. The distinction in rank only becomes apparent in moments of formality. For instance, as already noted, communal tasks of any importance are made the occasion for communal meals, --not to use the word 'feast' for anything so unpretentious. Such meals always begin with the offering of a little food to the gods, with a brief spoken prayer, like the 'grace before meals' customary--or formerly customary--in our culture. When there is a chief present, as there usually is, he is the one to make this offering; or if there is more than one chief, the senior one. That bit of ritual over, he again becomes indistinguishable from the rest. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the chiefs, elevated only by such part-time distinctions, can not be said to constitute a social class, as that term is ordinarily understood. Still less can they and their kinsfolk, whether households or clans, be said to constitute a [133] nobility. For what distinction there is is nearly all individual. The order of rank among clans is manifested only through their chiefs, except when a title is vacated by death and a successor has to be chosen, or--in the case of the two highest-ranking clans--on one rather infrequent occasion: when a turtle is appropriated by Kovalū, or a yellowfin tuna by Sauvelārlk.

In sum, for all the importance of rank in this society, the society is not stratified into classes.

The importance of courtesy, evident in all social behavior, is conspicuous in the treatment of distinctions in rank. When the occasion requires, the distinctions are made and accepted, but unostentatiously. They are not allowed to become invidious. So, while rank serves to enhance the authority of superiors, it is rather successfully prevented from humiliating inferiors, at least overtly. The emphasis--unless in malicious gossip, which would have to be furtive to be tolerated--is on the positive importance of rank, rather than the negative importance of lack of it. Even in the case of chiefs homage is paid to the office rather than the man."

1: Burrows--133 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565 Ifalik

"This fact is evident in the nature of the symbols of rank. They do not consist of emblems or insignia attached to the person and carried about. The reservation of turtle to Kovalū clan and yellowfin tuna to Sauvelārlk, in addition to the practical advantage of use of these delicacies, symbolizes the superior rank of these two clans. This is the symbol that comes nearest to being invidious. Tom, a Sauvelārlk man, fretted under the restriction on turtle. The requirement that the paramount chief butcher turtle in person is an individual distinction. Except for that, the symbolism of this custom distinguishes clans rather than individuals.

Only one other individual distinction was noted, --a bit of symbolic behavior. Once every rag, or twice a year, men from Falārlk district make a ceremonial offering of coconut toddy to the No. 2 chief, the senior man of Sauvelārlk. We saw it once, on November 10. About mid-morning, a file of men came along the path, each carrying a bottle of fresh toddy. Maroligar awaited them on the homestead Somat, between Katēlū and Bwagolei. He does not live there, but now that Bwagolei is uninhabited Somat is the highest-ranking Sauvelārlk homestead, hence the most appropriate site for this little ceremony. There was no elaborate speech-making. The men greeted the chief quietly, put down the bottles of toddy, and squatted on the coral house platform facing him. He saved out some for his relatives, and one bottle for the Americans, but redistributed the rest at once, and he and his callers drank it together."

1: Burrows--133-134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katēlū, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name Fan ni Wā) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is Fan Nap or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katēlū, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's club-house, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our [134] stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called perou. The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called sur perou (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called ŏngarIk. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The ŏngarIk, unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men-usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building (p. 189-190). Once a group of women, in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work."

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by Wolpaitlk, which Tom

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the ÓngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise, --to hang my placard on the ÓngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

1: Burrows--136
116, 565, 576, 487

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falărlk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katĕlŭ may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

1: Burrows--136
116, 778, 784, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of SauvelārIk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

2: Damm et al. --191
116, 565, 621

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

In addition to the family, there was the clan, as it was described on Polowat. There were the clans Wolél, in which Ligilák was the monáinan in 1909, Ellanáidjáu, Sáuwól, Sáufaláśik and Monólifer.

The population was divided into the following class groups:

a) high chief (tamól, e pi móón) and his family.
b) three lesser chiefs (poirim, áuelig and mánu) and their families.
c) the rest of the population.

2; Damm et al. --191-192 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Faraulep

Real estate is divided between the two class groups: the high chief had 24 plots, in addition to Ead and Pix Islands [192] (at times he put tabus on these properties so that no one might go there), the poirím had 17 lots, the aûelig 20, and the mánu 13. They let the villagers till their possessions, and pay for the labor with coconuts.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--255 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 423, 565 Woleai

The counting of the palm-trees... revealed that there were 9480 palms on the island (several hundred very young palm trees and seedlings had not been counted). The three chiefs owned 3430 big palm trees; 5 "minor chiefs" own 3600 pieces; 40 pieces were the property of the unmarried sister of a man from Watoai who though he is living here does not own a single palm tree; he is, however, married abroad. According to the rule of inheritance, palm trees as well as landed property of men who had died without sons or brothers are said to become the property of the chiefs of those who had died. Evidently, however, women, too, could become heirs to their husbands; for each one of 2 widows owned 300 and 850 palms respectively.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565, 558 Elato

Families, ge i leng

On Elato there live four families of which always two and two intermarry; in addition there are two families which constitute the lower class.

The nobles:

1. Mailupūe
2. Gemairēng
3. Maṅau li fūs
4. Zau fēle

The lower class:

5. Ali ti lia
6. Zau üil

In the past No. 2 ranked higher, but in the course of time it has been replaced by 1. The first chief on Elato is a member of the family Zau fēle.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 565 Elato

All men may marry into the highest ranking families, although they themselves may come from the lowest.

Poor women, the ordinary people, remain in the im ale gogóbong for four days to "fill the nights" for purification; during that time their name must not be pronounced and not until that period is over do they return to their living quarters. On them lies the sëgë bobo, the taboo of the chiefs. The evening of their departure from the imatamai the wives of the chiefs subject themselves and their servants who have been with them, to the ceremony of the frond of legát; then they go directly to the im. After the birth of the first child the wife of a chief moves as soon as possible into an imalifam (see Oleai), which is located far out on the beach on the weatherside; at night a fire is always kept burning in order that the child may be kept warm and the spirits may be scared off by the flames and smoke which they fear. The husbands do not work in the taro fields during this period of time and all fruit trees are considered taboo; the cutting of toddy is allowed as the one exception. The woman stays away from her house for four months. During the first month she may not go to the waterhole and during the second month she may go out into the taro field but may not do any work. After the fourth month the child is gauák and may be taken away. The cradle of the child is a square frame with net; the type we observed in use is shown in Figure 64; another specimen is in Stuttgart no. 41250 see above photo 7 [VMM: see source].

The woman Ledjelimar of house 10 knew how to practice conjuration of the spirits and the purification of the women after they have left the birth-hut imatamai. Elisabeth

4: Krämer--113 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 565, 846 Lamotrek

Krämer noted the following: Generally several women together leave the hut as the moon is waning completely and with their mats and food assemble around the menstrual hut of one of them. Here the female conjuror sits and makes four elulape, magic knots from coconut pinnae out of ferns (see Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and a bunch of them ealus uru poepoe* which she slowly moved in a circle; [ER: her action is accompanied by special magic words, which are omitted here].

*alus, the spirit, bŏe, the oracle knot... sometimes knots are made of young coconut pinnae; cf. above sarüjü lú bŏbŏ.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

28: Spiro--44 [2]
116, 565, 422, 556

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"All of this [WPM: see pp. 43-44] indicates a basic economic equality, and the absence of social classes based on wealth. Though the size of taro patches or coconut groves are not equal, these are so abundant that any inequality is unimportant, particularly where land and trees are viewed purely functionally and not as indicators of prestige. In perishable objects, such as canoes, or rope, or lavalavas, some may own more than others, but this inequality is a function of relative diligence, rather than wealth, for all know the techniques of their manufacture, and accumulate many or little as they see fit. Property is desired and respected, but it is not something which, though aspired to by many can be attained by only a few. It is something that any one with the requisite technical abilities can have, since every one creates his own property."

28: Spiro--136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
565 Ifalik

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, [WPM: The use of the term 'more high' can be seen on p. 136] which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

37: Keiyosei--44 (1929-30) 1930 Woleaians
116, 175, 291, 304, 565 Woleai

Mereyon is the general name of more than 10 islands. We landed on the main island at 8:30 a. m. These islanders are the most primitive people of the Kanakas. They do not wear any clothes except G-strings for men and a sarong woven of banana fibres for women. Among old people, men have tattooing on the stomach and back and women have it on hands and breast districts. This island is a level coral reef. I drank coconut juice now and then. All the men and women like tobacco here.

I saw men sticking combs in their hair. They are so-called free people (high class), and those who do not wear combs are a low class people.

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again.
571 It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty
292 much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

12: Lutke--146 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 572 Woleai

Chief Aman, in choosing Mr. Mertens for his friend justified what Mr. Chamisso said about the reciprocal obligation of friends on this group.

17: Meinicke--384
116, 837, 572

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie alone... [LEM: a formal friendship] is carried so far that when one friend visits another he is loaned his wife.

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

28: Spiro--104-105
116, 857, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The play group is comprised of all the boys and girls of a district. The ages may range from two or three to eight or nine. Always, however, when a large number of children play together, they are supervised by one or two girls in the latter ages. That is, two or three children may play themselves, but if a number of children [105] play, they are accompanied by two or three of the nine or ten year old girls, who act as supervisors. This is part of the girls' social responsibilities that the older boys do not share. The latter by this time have formed groups of their own."

28: Spiro--114 [4]
116, 562, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As the children grow older, the sexes begin to separate. The boys form all-boy gangs, ranging in age from boys ten or eleven years old, through the very young married men. These gangs, completely informal and uninstitutionalized, are definitely local groups. On the island of Felarik, for example, there are two such gangs, one in Rauau, and one in Felarik. The younger members are part of the group, but occupy an inferior status, obeying the older ones. Each gang has a canoe-house in which it spends its time, doing nothing in particular, but sitting around, talking, playing checkers or cards and making rope. At night they assemble in the canoe houses or along the beach, where they remain until it gets dark, returning home or going to meet their lovers. In the past the boys and the young men of the district used to sleep together in the men's club-houses, but no longer do so, because of the fear of the alus, as we have already indicated. However, the young men in the Rauau gang do sleep together, at least during the trade wind season in one of the canoe houses. These young men are together constantly."

28: Spiro--147 [3]
116, 562, 883, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The young women do not, as we have already pointed out, associate in gangs, as the young men do. Young women, in their late adolescence are already married, and, like the older women, remain near or about the homes. This means that the young women are integrated earlier into the adult female world, than are the young men into the adult male world."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārik, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The Watoʔai natives endeavoured in every way to make the stay of their guest a pleasant one....As was the case on Máriam and Wolea, here, too, a pathway, lined with stones run in west-easterly direction through the whole length of the island.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 574 Lamotrek

Trade is carried on principally with Truk. Attention is given to the question of tribute paid to Yap. I learned the following story in this connection: a woman, Lefagemai from Lamotrek drifted west and reached Yap, where she was hospitably received by the chiefs. When she was ready to sail back home she received presents of turmeric (reng) for herself and for all the chiefs of the islands, who in turn were obliged to make tribute payments.

12: Lutke--131
116, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

He [AN: the chief Alaberto] depicted his native country as the most wretched place in the world as it provided no food whatsoever save fish and coconuts, and you even had to drink the latter if no rain fell. We had already learned how to treat our callers, and before proceeding to any other gifts, we offered them a luncheon of biscuit and Guahan fruits; this certainly pleased them as much as did the knives and scissors.

12: Lutke--135-136 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 574 Woleai

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torrès, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--137
116, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

We did not find the same hospitality here as at Lougounor; on that island every host invited us to sit down and treated us to coconuts; here we had to ask for them, and often more than once.

12: Lutke--140
116, 574, 609

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The chief Tapeligar was one of our most frequent visitors. I found him seated on his canoe under a tent. It appears that on land as well as on the water their canoes serve constantly as thrones. We scarcely ever saw the chiefs doing anything except sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar acted on the boat as if he were at home; but he did not seem disposed to repay me in the same way; after sending for some coconuts he suggested that we return to my launch, and he did not seem too pleased when I said that I wished that he would accompany me around his island instead.

12: Lutke--141 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 562, 574 Woleai

As usual we were surrounded by most of the male population of the group, and this time there were women too. Several canoes full of them kept circling around the schooner, and they made more noise than all the other boats put together. They did not ask if they might come on board; perhaps they were waiting for the invitation which we did not extend. That may be because they were all dreadfully ugly. It is not likely that there are not some pretty ones on the island; possibly the jealous men do not permit them to leave the house.

12: Lutke--141-142 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 643 Woleai

Towards evening we received a call from the big chief of the whole group, Rooua, who is described in the Memoires of Mr. Chamisso. I had told Lieutenant Zavalichine that when he was surveying the eastern part of the group he should call at Rooua's residence, Oulemarai, and should present gifts and pay him homage. They had had a good deal of trouble in making the old man understand who was responsible for all these fine things, and by what fortunate chance they should descend upon him in this way; but as soon as he understood the situation, he insisted on coming to see us himself; [142] and he quite forgot that paralysis had deprived him of the use both of his arms and legs. I should have liked to receive this feeble old man, who could scarcely breathe; but he almost fell in the water and it took him a long time to recover. So the conference had to take place on his canoe. I gave him and his wife, who was slightly younger than he, everything that I could think of. The tamols on the sloop said that I could have him lifted and brought on board on a chair, but I thought that it would be dangerous to expose the old man to this ordeal, and we separated after paying him all due honor on his territory.

28: Spiro--11-13 [WPM: Manuscript 116, 484, 574 omits p. 12] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians Ifalik

"The natives are excellent seamen, so that inter-island travel is frequent. These voyages, though undertaken primarily for recreation pure and simple, serve important social and economic functions. All these islands are small, geographically and demographically, and the opportunity to travel, to see different landscapes and different faces, is eminently desired. [13] At the same time, most people have friends and/or relatives on other islands, and they are most desirous of visiting with them. Furthermore, visiting travelors bring back reports of their travels to their fellows, informing them of all major as well as minor events--deaths, marriages, petty gossip, etc."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleaneans

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--17-18 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 574, 622, 157 Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--64
116, 755, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [264]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

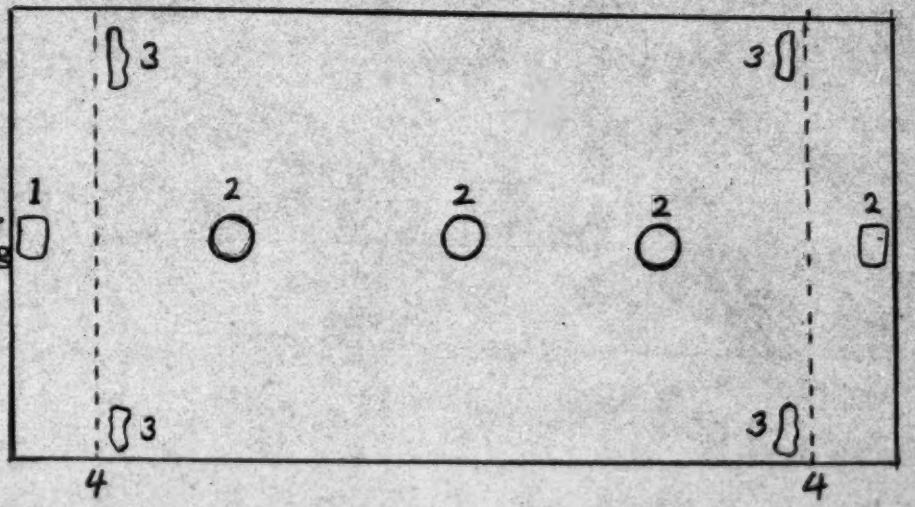
He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [431]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

"Fig. 6. -Plan of men's house (fan nap).

1, front post (ongarIk);
2, middle posts (sur oungo), supporting ridge pole.
3, stone corner posts (sur perou).
4, vertical gable thatch, extending from height of eaves to peak."



1: Burrows--85-86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 575 Ifalik

"Ifalik has nothing corresponding closely to the secret societies, guilds, or other formal associations that abound in some primitive cultures. To use the [86] convenient term recently suggested by Lowie, Ifalik lacks sodalities."

4: Krämer (1909) 1937 Woleaians
575

For data on sodalities see category 504.

28: Spiro--32 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 575, 561 Ifalik

"There are no sodalities in Ifaluk, no groupings of a voluntary nature, that is. Professional, secret, or religious societies do not exist. Neither are there age grades. It is true that there are five categories into which all ages are classified, but they are highly nebulous and fluid, and are, by no means, organized into groups with definite social responsibilities and privileges."

1: Burrows--110-111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 576 Ifalik

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

1: Burrows--136
116, 565, 576, 487

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of Falārlk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katēlū may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

2: Damm et al. --80 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 834, 576 Ifaluk

In the presence of any member of the other sex the rules of etiquette are strictly observed. No improper word may be used; for example, every term applying to sexual relationship, and even the words for apron, bälebal and siwisiʃ, are forbidden. If the group is not a mixed one, the conversation is extremely blunt. Even in the presence of little boys, the men discussed sexual matters, and the children laughed about them. In the same way, the women used obscene language when little girls were around. When Sarfert was alone with the women, they spoke in round about ways of intercourse. When he showed them a waliwot with penis, they imitated coitus movements with it, or suggested this with their fingers. They made no attempt to hide the fact that they wanted to sleep with Sarfert, but they were afraid of their husbands, and of the head chief. This bold and provocative demeanor is in striking contrast to the custom, which requires that in the presence of their husbands, the women shall be restrained, even shy and frightened. Sarfert could always tell the difference. When men were in the group, the women only dared show their affection for him by sly signals, which they made from a distance.

2: Damm et al. --80 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 576, 763 Ifaluk

The customary greeting (gawōl) for the people who are leaving is osamil, and for the ones who are staying it is gosalok. These forms are always used, even if the absence will be for a considerable period of time. There is no particular expression, that is a farewell to the dying.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 576 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III , page 59: nose greeting, feissong.

28: Spiro--20
576, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight into the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--147 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 576 Ifalik

"The generic form of greeting, when meeting someone is mauas, which could be roughly translated as, 'greetings.' On the other hand, it is also a term of gratitude. You thank a person for a gift or a courtesy by mauas. Mauas also has the connotation of reverence or respect. For example, when you take your departure, you say, hosamen, which has the meaning of, remain where you are. He reciprocates with hosaelox, meaning, you are going. But when taking leave of a person whom you respect highly, you add mauas to your farewell--hosamen mauas!

A person sitting in his home or canoe house, who sees another person approaching, greets him with ebwutog meia, literally, from whence are you coming? Now this not only has the figurative force of a greeting, but it retains its original literal meaning, so that the person addressed tells him where he has come from. At times it is almost humorous to hear a man shouting, ebwutog meia at a person who is quite far away. What makes this greeting so interesting to the outsider is the fact of the smallness of the atoll, which leaves little lattitude in answering the question."

"One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for 'bad talk', he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head."

"A sentiment that in a way counteracts that of rank--at least counteracts any tendency to take advantage of rank by arrogance--is that of kindliness. There is less evidence in the way of formal patterns of behavior to attest the strength of this sentiment than the others. The high value placed on kindliness is probably related to the absence of sorcery, though there is no telling, on the evidence at hand, just what the relationship is.

The particular form of kindliness usually singled out for praise is kindly speech. People are praised for what Tom called 'fine talk'. 'Bad talk' is condemned, and people with a reputation for what we call 'a sharp tongue' are avoided. Or so they say; we never knew an actual instance among this courteous people, who seem to live up to their ideal in this respect amazingly well. Children were sometimes scolded--mostly, so far as I noticed, for a boldness toward us that was considered presumptuous. But the scoldings were mild, as compared with tongue-lashings far from rare in our culture. The only voices I heard raised in serious anger were directed at the psychopath Tarobweliman, whose defiance of the [203] proprieties wore out the patience of his relatives.

People told us repeatedly that they liked us better than the Japanese because of our kindly talk. This was itself a case of the fine talk they value. No doubt there was flattery in it. Yet I think there was truth as well. Naturally our address to them was friendly; a considerable part of our job was to win their confidence and enlist their

help, without which we could never have worked up more than a superficial account of their culture. Besides, it was no strain to talk kindly to these masters of the soft answer.

Fine talk is particularly important in people who are important themselves; most of all in the chiefs. In discussing succession to chieftainship, I once asked Tom if a man who was first in line of succession to a title might be passed over because of undesirable personal qualities. Without stopping to refer the matter to the chiefs--though they were there to be consulted--Tom said oh, yes; if the heir-apparent was given to bad talk, he would never be considered for the title.

Songs in praise of various chiefs extoll their talk more than anything else, referring especially to the formal speeches at public assemblages. Some of the praise is for oratorical skill; a smooth, rich flow of words, 'like coconut oil'. But the main emphasis is on kindliness. More than one of the songs refers to a belief that if the talk of the chiefs is kindly, the people will thrive and live long; if the talk of the chiefs is harsh, the people will perish. How strong this belief is, I have no way of telling; but it accords so well with this sentiment of kindliness, as expressed particularly in speech, that it is pretty surely more than empty words. The positive value in the sentiment of kindliness is the joy of pleasant human relationships. It corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for response. That wish is also exemplified in the master-sentiment here mentioned only in passing: that of sexual fulfilment."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifaluk too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possilbe on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not by lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible derelicition for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

Misdeed	No. of subjects	% of subjects	Male %	Female %
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out

practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life [sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of commiting them."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
578 Ifalik

"Since evil spirits may be regarded as scapegoats, personifications of evil, the only action appropriate to them, is aggressive. That is a different matter from aggression against other human beings. Not that such aggression is altogether absent. The chiefs' structures show that gossip exists on Ifalik, as elsewhere. But it hardly ever breaks out overtly; and, from all our evidence, never summons supernatural support."

1: Burrows--202 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 554, 578, 159 Ifalik

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalũ clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory, --notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

2: Damm et al. --192 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 578 Faraulep

Insults like mánu butšo - confounded fellow, go tē pirá manemu eái-do not steal from me! or xo na fēe manemu monáianum - use your own sister! frequently lead to blows. But the contestants seldom fight until one of them dies. If this does occur, the brother of the slain man makes certain demands; otherwise these are not required.

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--103 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 578, 865, 231 Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

28: Spiro--81 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 626, 848, 581 Ifalik

"Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried sweethearts (gamar) are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The natives point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, and what difference, therefore, does it make whether they are born to married couples or to sweethearts. Thus the native name for an infant, sauwau for a girl, ligau for a boy, is the same whether its parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his sweetheart should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be scorned and called a 'very bad man' by all the people."

"In choosing a spouse, both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman or otherwise economically unskilled, a woman who can not cook well or is not adept at making skirts, would be considered a very poor marriage prospect. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a 'fool fellow', that is, domestically unskilled, and there have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The two desirable features that a person looks for, therefore, is economic skill and sexual attractiveness. But it seems that both desiderata are fairly universally found among all the people for an ecological study of the island of Felarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent were consumated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap. And of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent of the total chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the people marry the girl who lives next door. This has two important implications: It means that all the people of one district are close relatives, either through birth or marriage, partly explains the degree of intimacy, and cooperation that exists between them. And it also means that your spouse may have been your childhood playmate, with whom you have grown up, or a young girl whom you had seen grow from

infancy, whose every character and personality trait you know well, so that you enter into marriage with an intimate knowledge of your mate.

I said above that your spouse is a woman whom you observed grow from infancy, for study reveals that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of [132] young men as contrasted to young women.

There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women their age, and when I asked Talimera to bring me some tari-veivel to draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error. I had incorrectly guessed at the ages of the young married women. When I got to know the people, and had obtained information on relative chronological ages, I discovered that the young women, who corresponded in age to the young single men, were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the girls marry older, often men one generation removed from them. (13)"

"13. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

28: Spiro--133-134 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 581, 462, 831 Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

Z: Damm et al. --75-76
116, 582, 836

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Marriage is forbidden (etab) with all the women, who live in the same house with a man, that is with his sisters, etc. These restrictions apply to two generations, but not to the third; [76] accordingly, the grandchildren of brothers and sisters are permitted to wed. In olden days, when the population was smaller, father and cousin were allowed to marry. There is no objection to free love between unmarried people, and boys and girls.

2: Damm et al. --189 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 582 Faraulep

A man is permitted to marry when he can fish, sail, row, make palm wine; in short, when he can provide nourishment for a woman.

4: Krämer--110
116, 582, 836

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Girls marry as young as ten years and up, whereas the men wait until they are grown up. The parents simply express their consent or disapproval when the question of marriage is put to them without any further ado. Close relatives do not marry. Before marriage, there is complete freedom. Faithfulness in marriage is a rare occurrence. Marriages between close relatives are possible if this relationship is on the side of the man, in the sense of the totemistic matrilineal right. It has been mentioned that marriages may not take place between members of one gailang, one clan; in the same way it is possible within the first clan, but only between members belonging to different ones of the three branches.... That means that as close relatives as cousins may marry, if they do not derive their relationship through two sisters, but rather from a brother or sister, or best from two brothers.

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."

28: Spiro--132-133
116, 583, 437, 591

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-1
Ifalik

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

---

"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

28: Spiro--133
116, 583

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"There are two other ways of obtaining a wife, both known as the gavato. One is child betrothal. A young man may fall in love with a young girl, who has not yet reached puberty, and wish to marry her. Being ashamed to speak to her parents of the matter, he commissions his parents to make the overtures. His mother informs the girl's mother of her son's desire, and the latter responds inthe culturally patterned étiquette, that her daughter is 'a fool fellow, no savvy nothing.' The girl's mother replies that this should be no obstacle because she will take the girl into her household and train her in the domestic arts. Should the girl's parents agree, she goes to live in the boy's house, and is treated as an aevam in the house. She may refuse to accept this arrangement, in which case she is not compelled to. Should she agree, the two households become closely knit, and periodically exchange food until she has had her third menstruation, after which she and the boy are considered married. The girl may consent to the arrangement, but after attaining puberty, she may change her mind. Her parents exert tremendous influence on her, however, by claiming that they would be shamed if she did not comply, 'Every day and every year that boy give you and me chow, you no ashamed? I ashamed. Suppose you no take for husband, I go away.' This argument usually suffices to convince her.

The other method of obtaining a spouse, called gavato as well, is infant betrothal.

28: Spiro--133 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 583 Ifalik

Should two women give birth to babies in the Birth Hut at the same time, they may agree (if the babies are of opposite sex) that their children, when grown, should marry each other. The children, as soon as they can talk, are informed of their mothers' compact. However, when they reach their seniority they may demur from the parental agreement.

The incidence of either of the gavato marriages is slight."

2: Damm et al. --75
116, 584

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The natives marry for love. If a man falls in love with a woman he makes a regular declaration. If she responds, he says: "go and ask your father." If he agrees, he says to his daughter: "Yes, bring him!" Then the girl brings her bridegroom home, and from that time on, he sleeps in the house of his parents-in-law. There is no particular ceremony or celebration, except that more food is served than usual, but the wedding is over.

If the girl does not like the man, but he is determined to have her anyway, he has to pay a certain price. Otherwise, there is no arrangement about payment.

2: Damm et al. --189 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 584 Faraulep

A man asks a girl if she will be his; but the maiden does not reply at once, for she wants to get better acquainted with him. The lovers spend a great deal of time together; the man provides nuts, fish, decorations, etc., and the woman supplies him with mats, food, taro, etc. When she finally agrees to marry him, he goes to her father, and gets his consent; and he takes mats, fish, etc., as a present. If he is refused, it sometimes happens that the girl weds him in spite of her father.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 584 Woleai

The suitor talks to the parents, and if the girl agrees, she follows him to his house. The husband presents the girl with mats, turmeric (rang), etc, and sometimes even with land; he may make these gifts to her or the family and of course the latter is most welcome.

11: Born--189
116, 595, 584

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

There is no law against polygamy, because of economic reasons monogamy is almost universal. If a young man wishes to marry, he must make large payments to his future father-in-law, and he must have some possessions, such as breadfruit and coconut trees and canoes. Poor men are badly off; it is extremely difficult for them to find a wife. Even a wealthy suitor may be rejected by the girl with the expression, "itoai (I do not want to)", if his appearance does not please her.

28: Spiro--122-123 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 833, 584 Ifalik

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (gamar). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The gamar relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his gamar presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gamar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gamar, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the gamar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the

parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--131 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 584, 848, 837 Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

1: Burrows--126
116, 585, 431

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifalik, --the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifalik, there are no weddings."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 585 Ifalik

"Absence of any wedding ceremony is the most conspicuous gap among rites of passage. This is one of the most nearly universal of all rites; witness the generalization in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology: ' 'Ceremonies mark the difference is marked simply by the young man's coming to live in the household of a girl with whom he has usually been carrying on one of the semi-furtive love affairs expected of all young people. This moving in, to be sure, is more than just a change of residence. It is symbolic, and has to bear all the significance expressed elsewhere by elaborate sacraments and exchanges of property. But without more formal, definitely patterned behavior, it can hardly be construed as a rite. Spiro was told that when a girl is unwilling to accept a suitor he may still win her by offering gifts to her kinsfolk. This suggests the bride-wealth so important in many cultures; but it does not, of course, constitute a wedding ceremony."

2: Damm et al. --189 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 585 Faraulep

There is a big feast for the wedding; the relatives on both sides prepare it, and the whole village takes part in the celebration. The girl receives taro swamps, two or three bread-fruit trees and some coconut palms as a dowry; the man, on the other hand, pays his father-in-law 30 to 200 coconuts, 3-10 bread-fruit and some taro bowls.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 585 Elato

The marriage contract takes the form of an exchange of two baskets of food, (nuts, taro, mar). That is all there is to the ceremony. At the wedding the man announces his wishes and the woman hers; the relatives of the couple prepare food, which is exchanged. Nor are payments made upon the birth of a child.

4: Krämer--110-111
116, 585

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

No special marriage customs are observed. The families of the man and the woman usually [111] exchange presents of food after the man has slept in the house of the woman for two nights; this food exchange is called autéli got after the contents of the basket, got, which by the way, is expected to be new.

6: Senfft--55
116, 585

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Marriages are made after the parents have given their consent. There is no special ceremony at weddings; they consist simply of a banquet and a dance.

6: Senfft--56
116, 836, 585

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The man does not care whether his bride is a virgin or not. The natives have sexual intercourse as soon as they are physically mature; this occurs at an early age.

28: Spiro--132
116, 585

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"If possible, the men claimed that they prefer to marry a virgin, but virginity is obviously very rare, so that what is preferred is a woman who has not had too many affairs. The reason for this preference is that a man would be shamed by the taunts of her former lovers, who would point out that he had married a woman with whom all of them had had sexual relations."

2: Damm et al. --76 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 586 Ifaluk

Divorce is frequent. This is a very simple procedure; either a man leaves his wife, or she says that he must return to his own house. In this case the children are separated too; the boys belong to the man, the girls to the woman. Babies remain with the mother, unless the man's sister wants to have them. If the man marries again, he must pay an indemnity to the wife in the form of aprons, chests, boats etc. This is true for the wife too, only her family takes charge of the payment for her. There is a curious custom that this payment is disregarded if both partners marry again on the same day. In the other case, the one who weds first is the only one to make the payment, even if the other one is married on the following day.

4: Krämer--112-113
116, 586

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

A separation, moemoe, is initiated by the family of the husband which tries to free him by presents. To absolve someone from a marriage or to break it is known as moemoe; unless this is done well and the issue is absolutely settled, it may happen that [113] years later one party is punished by the other when a new marriage is to be contracted or even in the case of death; then they may confiscate canoes and take similar steps. The man is not free until a real separation has been effected.

6: Senfft--56
116, 586

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

A married couple can separate without much difficulty; this happens frequently in the case of young couples. No special formalities are connected with this.

28: Spiro--134-135
116, 586, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Divorce, zamotalax though its incidence is small, there being only eleven cases of 66 marriages studied in the geneologies, is very easy. The dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal proceedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. [1]. The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. [2]. One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. [3]. Either spouse is economically unskilled. The man is a poor provider. The woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband does not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. [4]. One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. 'No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?' An actual analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that four were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic, (malebush). Thus the man almost always divorces the woman. The actual reasons given for the divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse: four cases (2 men, 2 women)
Infidelity: three cases
Mental illness: two cases

Domestic ineptitude: one case (a woman)
Unknown: one case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are old and new mates of the same man and woman. They fish together, work together, care for each other's children, even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife, and who married her after her divorce, are warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every person--man and woman--has a lover. Now they may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of a personal projection.

Now, whether they do or do not have lovers is, of course, important, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of great psychological importance, since it shows that they think it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations

of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, was married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He was much in love with her, praised her highly, and was generally very affectionate towards her. One evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. I asked why he did not wish me to see her, and he finally confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me. (16)

There seems little doubt then that married people do have affairs. Its incidence, however, is in doubt, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that everyone, including one's own spouse, is having an affair with another person. And this knowledge

---

"16. Later that evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus."

creates no apparent jealousy or anxiety. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an illicit aspersion on his sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know. But the theoretical knowledge of infidelity is not disturbing, the philosophy being, apparently, that what you don't know won't hurt you."

1: Burrows--102 (1947-48) Woleaians
587 Ifalik

"When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry."

2: Damm et al. --78 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 587 Ifaluk

The interval between the death of one spouse and the next wedding of the surviving partner can be 2-3 months, or only 1/2 - 1 month; the widower or widow determines this according to the affection he feels for the dead spouse.

4: Krämer--110
116, 587

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Thus all relationships in the sense of blood relations are matrilineal. According to Cantova... the levirate does occur.

1: Burrows--87
116, 588

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Kailang exogamy is the only formal verbalized incest ban. Marriage between a girl and her father, though he is of a different kailang, seems not to occur to them as a possibility. This ban does without saying, as it does among us. Informal exogamy will be discussed further by Spiro."

1: Burrows--98
116, 588, 601, 611

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

"However, there are chiefs who favor consanguineous marriage as an aid in repopulating the island, and point to its success on Eauripik, a small isolated island east of Yap. There, they say, it worked.

So alien is this to most human experience, even among wild tribes, that I reserved a doubt on it until I could consult a recongnized authority on these islands, an old and respected Japanese trader, Miyashita, of Palau. During Spanish and German as well as Japanese times he has lived in the islands and is the only foreigner to have made his home for a year on Eauripik.

'I don't attempt to explain it,' he said, 'but it's true. The people of Eauripik are unusually big, strong, healthy people. They almost never become sick. Yet the entire population of 190 people is one family descended from one couple. All marriages are within the family. There is no mixture from the outside. Foreigners do not visit the island. It is off the usual trade routes. All the people look alike. Closest relatives marry. And yet the population is increasing slightly.'"

1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"All of the households which are not strictly matrilocal extended families include some deviation from matrilocal residence. To find out the extent to which this rule is observed, the type of residence exemplified by all the 60 married couples living on Ifalik in 1947-8 was reviewed. One case was not clear. Of the 59 others, 41, just under 70%, were matrilocal. Six were patrilocal, living on the husband's ancestral homestead. Twelve couples were heterolocal, living in various other places. Breach of the rule of matrilocal residence came to the rather high total of 18 couples, 30.5% of the total."

"In order to bring out any common factor underlying cases of departure from matrilocal residence, the membership of households that include such cases is listed below. They are divided into three categories: (1) those which constitute extended families of the matrilocal type, but are not matrilocal in residence; (2) those which include a matrilocal extended family, but have some additional members who are not living matrilocally; and (3) those which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Most of the data were supplied by Spiro from his genealogies. Each case begins with the name of the homestead on which the group is living. Then follows, in parentheses, the name of the clan to which the site is said to belong; then the personnel of the household.

1. Households consisting of extended family of matrilocal type, but not exemplifying matrilocal residence:

Atielu (Sauwēl). A man, his wife, and her sister. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home, so residence is heterolocal rather than patrilocal. If these people had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

Uluās (Sauwēl). A family: man, wife, and one child. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home. If he had not set up a new household by moving there, the homestead would have been unoccupied. [94]

Metalegop (Bwēl). A family: man, wife and one child. The property belonged

to his clan: it is not clear whether he was brought up on it. If the family had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

2. Households consisting of a matrilocal extended family, with additional members not matrilocal in residence:

Nimau (SauvelārIk). In addition to three women of the Sauvelārik clan, who apparently had been brought up here, the occupants included two families without hereditary claim to this homestead. The wives in these families are sisters, of the Mangaulevār clan. Why the families came to live here was not specifically stated. But if the household had not had some such addition, there would have been no men in it to perform the men's work necessary for subsistence.

Faleolarik (Kailangailuk). In addition to a typical extended family, the occupants included the chief Maroligar (SauvelārIk), his wife (Mangaulevār), and their adopted daughter. Their claim to the site--one rather remote from the native rule of inheritance--was that the homestead had been that of Maroligar's father. Apparently living here rather than on his wife's ancestral homestead was a matter of convenience.

Alingeliu (Sauwel). In addition to a rather complex extended family, including four adopted children, this homestead was occupied by a woman of Kovalu clan, with her daughter and the daughter's husband. They

moved there after the death of a son of the older woman. No reason was given except her wish; but she made herself most useful by taking care of the numerous small children of the household.

Apilimat (SauvelārIk). In addition to two unmarried or widowed women who were brought up here, there were the following occupants:
(a) a woman from Faleolārik (Kailangailuk), with her husband and children. She may have been adopted into this household.
(b) A woman from Nimau (SauvelārIk), distantly related to this household. (c) A family-husband, wife, and two daughters-- none of whom had any hereditary claim to this homestead. Their reason for living here is not known.

Weluāra (Mangaulevār). In addition to a rather large extended family, the occupants of this homestead included a family of outsiders. The wife (hence the children) was of Rapevelū clan. The husband was of Mangaulevār, but from another homestead, Arotrang. No particular reason for their presence here was learned.

Falitrēl (SauvelārIk). In addition to an extended family, this household included an unmarried woman, whose connection was uncertain, and a married couple, whose only claim to the homestead was a distant relationship

to the woman. She was of SauvelārIk clan, but had come from another homestead.

Fanneserax (Kailangailuk). In addition to a rudimentary extended family-two sisters who grew up here and the husband of one of them--the occupants were as follows:

(a) A widow from Nimau (SauvelārIk). Her husband had been of this clan. She had come here to live with him--a case of patrilocal residence--and had stayed on, with her three children, after his death. [95]

(b) One of (a's) sons and his wife, who came from Woleai. This was one of two reported cases of patrilocal residence after an interisland marriage. *

(c) A woman of Sauwēl clan, with her husband and their adopted son. She belonged to Alingeliu homestead next door and had moved

---

"* The other was that of a woman from Bwagolei, a SauvelārIk homestead no longer inhabited in 1947-8. She had married a man from Elato and gone there to live with his people. Cases of interisland matrilocal residence were not collected, but were more numerous."

here, it was reported, just because she chose to, regardless of custom.

3. Households which include no examples of matrilocal residence.

Foraik (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The site was occupied by two women of Kovalū clan with their families. They moved in from Welipeien, next door.

Uarigīn (Rapevelū). The only member of this household who was brought up here is the chief Toromann. He brought his wife to live on his homestead, a case of patrilocal residence. They have a son and a daughter. The daughter is unmarried. The son also brought his wife (Kovalū) to this homestead. By means of these two cases of patrilocal residence, the homestead has remained occupied and suitably manned.

Falūn (Sauwēl). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The occupants were a bachelor and a family. The bachelor's claim to the site was that his paterpal grandfather lived there. The woman of the family had some similar, rather remote connection with the site. The reason given for this choice of residence was that the occupants wished to resettle this homestead, which had been deserted.

This list of deviations from matrilocal residence indicates that the main reason behind it is depopulation. The occupants of a homestead, according to the pattern of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, die off. The homestead is kept occupied, or re-occupied, either by switching to patrilocal residence, or by acting on some more remote, sometimes quite far-fetched claim; or even without any hereditary claim to the site at all. In the case of men who keep their ancestral homestead occupied by bringing their wives there to live, a sentiment favoring continued occupation of the old homestead may be one of the motives. Another, which may be involved in all cases, and seems the most likely one when no hereditary claim in involved, is simply a wish to take advantage of the availability of a desirable site. Whether matrilocal residence would be more consistently observed if the population were constant or increasing, is a pertinent question. But no answer can be given from the data on Ifalik, where the population is diminishing. While depopulation seems to be the main reason for residence other than matrilocal, it is not the only one. Although matrilocal residence is customary, it is not insisted upon. Residence elsewhere is not condemned or punished. In Sumner's terminology, matrilocal residence is one of the folkways, but--unlike clan exogamy--not one of the mores."

1: Burrows--95-96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"Married men, as a rule, have two households. One is the household of the mother, sisters, and maternal ancestors, ordinarily the one in which a man was brought up. By analogy with a term in common use for family, this may be called the household of orientation. (In exceptional cases, as has been seen, the household of orientation may be other than that of the mother and her lineage.) The second is the household of a man's wife and her lineage, ordinarily that in which he lives with his family after marriage. This, according to the same [96] terminology, is his household of procreation. Even if he does not live there, he is closely linked to this household through his wife and children.

Women have, typically, only one household. They live on the same homestead all their lives, so for them the household of orientation and that of procreation are the same. In the comparatively few cases in which residence after marriage is patrilocal, it is the woman who has two households, the man who has only one. In other exceptional situations, where residence is heterolocal, both husband and wife may be said to have two households.

In any of these cases, an individual has close ties with more than one household. A man's welimwales--the women and children for whom he feels responsible--includes his mother and sisters, and his sisters' children, as well as his wife and own children."

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

2: Damm et al. --75 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Ifaluk

The man always goes to his wife's house and sleeps there. He also has a right to claim a share of the property of his wife's family. If several children appear in the course of time, the husband's sister takes some of them in her house, in other words, in the house of his father. If that is too small, possibly because it is inhabited by several married sisters, a second dwelling house is erected beside it.

2: Damm et al. --189 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 591 Faraulep

The husband goes to his wife's house, and works there; but occasionally he visits his parents too. At first the bride pays little attention to the housekeeping, for the parents do everything for the young couple; later the married daughter helps too. The young wife does not bother about the house of her parents-in-law; she usually just goes there when they have something to eat.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 591, 428 Elato

The woman is the owner of the house. When he marries, the man goes to live in the house of his wife (see Truk); an exception to that rule may be that he continues to live in his own house, which upon his death is inherited by the next oldest man of the family of the husband. The children are the heirs of the mother. The eldest son leads the list and then follow the younger boys, who have first claims before their sisters.

6: Senfft--55
116, 591

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Most young couples live in the house of the parents.

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

"In choosing a spouse, both the man and woman (ideally) weigh the economic skills of the future mate. A man who is a poor fisherman or otherwise economically unskilled, a woman who can not cook well or is not adept at making skirts, would be considered a very poor marriage prospect. There is at least one woman in Ifaluk who has never been married because the natives insist she is a 'fool fellow', that is, domestically unskilled, and there have been two cases of divorce for the same reason.

The two desirable features that a person looks for, therefore, is economic skill and sexual attractiveness. But it seems that both desiderata are fairly universally found among all the people for an ecological study of the island of Felarik reveals an interesting phenomenon: Of the sixty-six marriages in the genealogies (the total number of marriages on this island), fifty-five, or more than eighty-three percent were consumated between individuals living in the island. Only eleven individuals married a person from the island of Falalap. And of the fifty-five, sixty-three percent of the total chose mates from within their own districts. This high percentage of local endogamy means that a high percentage of the people marry the girl who lives next door. This has two important implications: It means that all the people of one district are close relatives, either through birth or marriage, partly explains the degree of intimacy, and cooperation that exists between them. And it also means that your spouse may have been your childhood playmate, with whom you have grown up, or a young girl whom you had seen grow from

infancy, whose every character and personality trait you know well, so that you enter into marriage with an intimate knowledge of your mate.

I said above that your spouse is a woman whom you observed grow from infancy, for study reveals that the ages of the mates are often widely separated. When we first arrived in the island, I was struck by the great discrepancy between the number of [132] young men as contrasted to young women.

There were a considerable number of single men, but practically no single women their age, and when I asked Talimera to bring me some tari-veivel to draw for me, he replied that there were none. It was not until many months had passed that I realized my error. I had incorrectly guessed at the ages of the young married women. When I got to know the people, and had obtained information on relative chronological ages, I discovered that the young women, who corresponded in age to the young single men, were all married. Most of the young women marry in early adolescence, whereas the boys do not marry until their early twenties. This means that the girls marry older, often men one generation removed from them. (13)"

"13. This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

"When a couple decides to marry, each party tells his own parents of his decision. The parents may object, but the young people may choose to ignore their objections. The only consequence of their objection, therefore, is that the couple will not live in the girl's parental home, should her parents object. The incidence of parental objection, however, is negligible. On a day decided in advance, there is an exchange of gifts between the two families. The girl's mother brings food, usually cooked taro and breadfruit to the boy's family, after which the boy's family offers coconuts to the girl's family. The boy himself brings gifts of rope toddy and fish to the parents of the girl. The food brought to the house of the boy is distributed to members of his clan. (14) [133] However, there is no public ceremony or gathering, or religious rite, the exchange of food constituting the consummation of the marriage. Should either family feel that it had given less food than the other, it will add to its gift the following day. The first night of their marriage the couple sleeps in the house of the boy's parents. They may remain longer, if they choose,

---

"14. In the event that the girl is widowed, the boy's family bring gifts of food and skirts to the family of her deceased husband."

but after some lapse of time, they move to the home of the girl's parents, where they take up residence, though matrilicality is not the invariable rule.

Of sixty-six marriages studies in the genealogies in the island of Felarik (which includes the two districts of Rauau and Felarik), forty-two, or sixty-three percent, were matrilocal. The remaining twenty-four were patrilocal, autolocal, or aevam local.

The newly-weds resume their normal routine after marriage, there being no analogue to the western honeymoon. (15)"

"15. The informants were intrigued by the description of the American honeymoon, and indicated their approval by profuse 'erats' (very good), 'one week, only chow, only copulate.)"

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"The smallest unit based on common residence is the household, except insofar as the family maintains separate residence within the household. Both these units are determined also by kinship so they will be discussed later."

1: Burrows--92-93 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 592 Ifalik

"The buildings in which the people of Ifalik live are not isolated and self-sufficient, nor are they apartments in larger buildings. They are single-room structures, always grouped in clusters. Most often the clusters include several dwellings (im) and one cook-shed (malūm); but some have only one dwelling, while others have more than one cook-shed. What gives them their unity is location on distinct, named sites or homesteads. During our stay on Ifalik 29 homesteads were inhabited, as shown on the map, Fig. 22. The number of inhabitants to a homestead ranged from 3 to 19. Of the 29 homesteads, 12 were occupied by 6 to 9 persons.

Membership in a household--defined for this culture as the group inhabiting a homestead--is determined not only by common residence but also by kinship. The kinds of kinship ties that typically unite the members of a household in Ifalik appear in the following list, which sorts out into broad classes the 29 households that existed there in 1947-8.

(a) Three households consisted of simple families--father, mother, and children.

(b) Seventeen households were made up of joint families of the type usual when residence after marriage is matrilocal, that is to say, groups to which the married men belonged by virtue of marriage, the others by virtue of common descent. More explicitly, seven of these households comprised a married couple (or one surviving member), their unmarried children, their married daughters, the husbands of these daughters, and the children of these couples. Two of the largest households--one with 14 members, the

other with 19--included two such groups. Seven more were similarly made up of kinsfolk related by common descent in the maternal line, plus the husbands of the married women. The exact membership of these varied with varying incidence of births, deaths, and marriages. But all conformed to the same type.

(c) Seven households included, in addition to an extended family, one or [93] more individuals, or families, more distantly related, or not recognized as kinsfolk at all.

(d) One household (Falūm) was made up of a family and a bachelor, the latter related only very distantly.

(e) One household (Uarigīn) was an extended family of the type brought about by patrilocal residence."

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too

remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones.*"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

1: Burrows--98
116, 613, 592

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

1: Burrows--108-109 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 592, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

1

2: Damm et al. --81 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 423, 592 Ifaluk

Land and soil do not belong to an individual, but to the family; this also applies to the stand of fruit trees. Even the five bugodăl, which the king possesses, are not his personal property, for he shares them with his brothers and sisters. The taro fields belong to the female, the coconut palm stands to the male members of the family. When a man marries, he brings his wife the usufruct of the property of his family. There is a mutual agreement about whether they shall receive their nourishment from the soil of his or her family. If the woman has any children, the husband gives one or two of his family plots to his wife's family. The amount depends upon his own wealth, and in any case they are never whole pieces of property; generally they consist of a taro field for the girls, and several palms for the boys. Some palm trees are always assigned; a group of them on the border of the property is notched in a particular way with a knife, so that a circular mark is made. This group is not for the children; it becomes the personal property of the mother's family. We can still see how the mother was formerly the central point of the family. A family has between one and seven pieces of property. The boundary lines (nibidăli bŭgod) are shown by trees.

The same regulations apply to the household possessions; the huts belong to the family, and indeed to the whole family.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 592 Lamotrek

As on Truk, we have very pronounced matrilineal rights.... The woman owns the house, etc.

28: Spiro--28 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"Smaller than the lineage, though in part comprising it, is the household, for which there seems to be no native name. The household lives in the lineage house, and is an extended family, which includes the elder woman or women of the lineage (sisters), their husbands, unmarried sons and daughters, married daughters, the latters' husbands and children. Thus, all but the men who have married in, are members of the lineage. The household is the basic economic unit in the Ifaluk social structure, for despite other economic functions or obligations that the members of the household may have elsewhere, the household is the basic production and consumption unit, as we shall see when we discuss the economic organization."

28: Spiro--33-34 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 592, 345, 283 Ifalik

"Rope is made in the canoe-houses, these most important social and economic structures. Objectively viewed, there is little, if any reason, why the canoe-house should be the locale of its manufacture. It would be just as convenient to manufacture it in the home, except that there seems to be an aversion for doing any work in the house. For that matter the house is actually used for sleeping and conversational purposes only, since the cooking is done in the malum, and the people eat [34] outside, except in the case of rain. So that despite the desire for rope, a man will never make it in his house, though his evenings could very well be taken up by its manufacture. There is no taboo on the performance of economic activity in the house; it just is not so used."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

We picked up that word "boondock" in Guam, and very useful it proved to be. It became an important part of the Abbott-Bates vocabulary, and may well have also infected the Ifalukian speech. In Guam, it was used to refer to the wild tangle of miscellaneous vegetation that had taken over so much of the island after the disruption of the war.

The boondocks on Ifaluk were the parts of the atoll that were not clearly something else—that is, not coconut grove, not taro swamp, not household area. The boondocks were not exactly wild, because all sorts of useful things grew there, including planted coconuts and breadfruit trees. They were not exactly cultivated either. Such areas could thus hardly be called "jungle" or "scrub"; and "forest" seemed rather inappropriate. "Boondock" was just the word; though we could perhaps better have used the Ifalukian equivalent, niwel.

The boundary between the coconut grove and the boondocks was sharply defined: weeds and shrubs were kept cleared out of the coconuts only up to this definite line—the boondock line. This again roughly paralleled the lagoon shore, fifty or sixty yards in. We plotted it on our map, later, when the trail mapping seemed fairly well in hand.

The habitations, deep in the coconut grove and near the boondock line, were grouped into "households." The census showed that there were twenty-six such households on the atoll, eleven on the island of Falalap, and fifteen on Falarik. The Falarik households were not scattered evenly along the highway and lagoon, but formed two clusters or villages, one called Ranau, at the south end of the island—the Fan Nap was in the middle of this—and the other called "Falarik" (the address would probably be "Falarik, Falarik") with a gap of about a quarter of a mile along the broad highway between the two.

The whole system of land ownership of the island was built around these households, each of which had a name. Later in the summer we tried to map the holdings of one household, Falepenach. These holdings included not only the immediate vicinity of the living quarters, but also several patches of boondock and coconut grove on Falarik, and patches in the big taro swamp on Falalap. The patch arrangement seemed to provide that each household would "own" its share of each of the different kinds of land.

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

326 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toromau, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 601, 593 Ifalik

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother

and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he

denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

4: Krämer--31
116, 604, 593

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Mother-right exists. It has resulted from the right of work and duty, for the man does little. The husband does not have anything to do with the family; it is the brother of the mother who does.

12: Lutke--131-132
116, 175, 593

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

I would have given a good deal to have had a man like him [AN: chief Alaberto] at my side at the beginning of the exploration of the Caroline Islands. Even now he could be very useful, and I suggested that he accompany us to [132] Ouleaï. He replied that his wife would be very upset. When I offered to take her too, he shrugged his shoulders and said that they had better stay in Farröilap in spite of the dreadful conditions.

28: Spiro--29-30
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though parents and children distinguish between biological and classificatory children and parents, it is true that the relationship between these relatives is closer than the relationship between 'strangers.' This is to be expected given the [30] existence of multiple family dwellings, where all adults function as parents to all the children. A woman treats her sisters' children with as much care and love as she will her own, though there is little question that the degree of love and intimacy that obtains [sic] between biological parent and child is greater than that between persons so classified culturally. As in our own culture, I think it fair to say that if a complete stranger were to enter an Ifaluk house, and observe the interpersonal relationships, it would take him little time to distinguish the individual family units within the extended family household."

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--82 [2]
116, 854, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adults not only want children because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason, as providers for them in their old age. 'Suppose baby he grew up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and pappa.'"

28: Spiro--91-92
116, 862, 593, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--95 [5]
116, 856, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Parents and other adults encourage children to walk, when they first show signs of walking, but they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may hold his hand, permitting him to walk, rather than be carried. (15) The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and the sides fan out as they extend from the base to the top. The infant is placed in it at certain times, and his standing is supposed to strengthen his legs. (16)"

"15. With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that older siblings have been observed knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

16. This structure presents a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, and illustrates the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds [96] only. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed: why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone. It was not till a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one used, that my question was finally answered."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

"We may now examine some of these patterned kin interractions. But the reader should bear in mind that interractions recorded here are empirical observations and/or generalizations. Any attempt to elicit ideal patterns of interraction from informants was futile.

Mother--child: once the mother has weaned her child, her major responsibility has been discharged. She has socialization functions, to be sure, but aside from these there is little that distinguishes her relationship to the child from that of others. The mother seems to have a more intimate relationship with her daughter than with her son. This may be a function of her responsibility to induct the daughter into female economic life. The girl, we shall see, assumes greater economic responsibility than the boy, and it is the mother that is her most important mentor. Generally, the mother's relationship to the young children is a very permissive one, so that here authority is not always readily accepted. She then may either use physical force, or perhaps acquiesce in the child's demands. For example, the mother of little two year old Velaut (male) called for him to come home while he was sitting with a group of children and myself. He refused. She then came over to where we were sitting, and he still refused. Whereupon, she lifted him bodily from the ground and carried him home. On another occasion the mothers of the children with whom I was playing asked the children to come home to eat. They refused, and the mothers could not cope with the situation. I came to their aid by

taking the children home. At times the child's disobedience provokes her into anger and punishment. As I was sitting in one house, two young boys (parallel cousins), about four and five respectively, came in while we were eating some taro. They were urged by their mothers to eat, and after refusing, one was persuaded to eat something. The other refused, and when the women urged him to eat he raised his voice and shouted, no. As his mother [98] continued to encourage him to eat, he began to imitate her behavior. At this she lost her temper, seized a coconut leaf, and was going to beat him, but he jumped up and out of the house, with his mother following. He eluded her, and she returned to the house, her temper gone, all-smiles."

28: Spiro--98
116, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Father--child: Though the father is kept from intimate contact with the infant for some time, when he can begin to hold and play with it, his interest is as great as the mother's. After the infant is weaned, the children probably spend more time with their fathers than with their mothers. The father takes the young child to the canoe house with him, and keeps him with him for the better part of the day. The father plays with the child and even feeds him if the mother is away in the taro patch. My impression, is that the father or men in general, make a much greater fuss over the young children than do the mothers. If a child needed medication, almost invariably the father, not the mother, would bring him to me, and would ask what could be done. When a young girl would come to draw for me, the father would accompany her. During a stiff blow in the middle of November, I met Taraveliman, a young father of three children. He was very concerned and worried about his children, saying that if the storm were to drive the family out of the house it would create a real problem since one child was a baby, and another had a wounded leg. Furthermore, the third had been adopted by a family in Felarik, and he did not know how he was faring, so that, when I met him on the path, he was on his way to see the latter. Interest of parents in children is by no means confined to their childhood. Parents take great pride in the activities of their older children. Dr. Burrows collected many songs, in which the mother praises her son for some accomplishment. During the dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the

dances, we observed, Tom was very proud of his sons and would take every opportunity to point out some feature of their dancing. Before one of the dances, Wotriliwok, a lad of about twenty was being decorated by his mother. She was making a great fuss over him, but when he saw that I was observing them he told her to stop. Parents become lonesome for their grown sons and daughters who have gone on a trip or moved to another island, and the latter become lonesome for their parents. One of the most important reasons for inter-island travel is to visit with one's departed family. Tom called his dog by a native name, which means 'You have been absent for a long time', in memory of his son who was in Yap and had not returned for a long time."

28: Spiro--99 [3]
116, 593, 867, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians·
Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 -4
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talemememar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--118 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 593, 864 Ifalik

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Adult siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may and do. They sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--129
116, 831, 593, 115

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations."

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

28: Spiro--145
116, 264, 512, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though, again there is much variation, the evening meal is usually a cooked meal, and is usually a family meal. The time of eating varies anywhere from about 5:00 to 8:00. However, except for the women, there is no regularity about the other members of the family coming home for dinner. They may eat at other homes, or they may not feel like eating at all. The food is prepared, however, if they want it. But no one is important enough that the family cannot eat until he returns. This need not surprise us. Ifaluk, being so small, the members of the family are always in close proximity to the home. A person may return to his house a dozen or more times a day. The evening meal, therefore, is not the only opportunity that members of the family have to see each other. They are always near each other, so that closeness--both physical and psychological--is always felt, without the institution of the family meal."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

2: Damm et al. --140 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 595 Aurupik

Most men have only one wife; but Sarfert found one old man on Uáu who had two.

2: Damm et al. --189 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 595 Faraulep

Generally the natives are monogamous, but a man can have several wives, and the chief had four.

4: Krämer--110 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 595 Lamotrek

The word for marriage is rŏle kannei, from rŏlim, the member of the house and kannei, to give, because the man receives everything from his wife. In connection with the description of the village, it was mentioned that usually the man moves into the house of the woman. For that reason polygamy is rare.

5: Kittlitz--150 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 595, 551 Elato

We asked about their [MR: a tamol from Elato and others who were occupied in trade in the Marianas] families too, and learned that [MR: tamol] Orolitau has no less than three wives (although they might be sisters or other near relatives). Their names were: Letaurŭru, Lagŭol and Lamŏarup. One of his assistants, Sepa, named two: Mairuk and Mesa-uro; the third, Orotak, only had one; Namŏarimet.

6: Senfft--54
116, 595

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Polygamy has been gradually replaced by monogamy, not because the ethics of the natives underwent any changes, but because of the decrease in the female population.

11: Born--189
116, 595, 584

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

There is no law against polygamy, because of economic reasons monogamy is almost universal. If a young man wishes to marry, he must make large payments to his future father-in-law, and he must have some possessions, such as breadfruit and coconut trees and canoes. Poor men are badly off; it is extremely difficult for them to find a wife. Even a wealthy suitor may be rejected by the girl with the expression, "itoai (I do not want to)", if his appearance does not please her.

28: Spiro--133 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 595 Ifalik

"Marriage is monogamous, though the informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygymy. 'We don't do that in this place.'"

1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The typical household, then, is a matrilocal extended family. Its composition is determined by common residence, matrilineal inheritance of the homestead, and matrilocal residence after marriage. Most of the households that do not conform strictly to this type have an extended family as a nucleus, with some additions on the basis of other claims or of simple congeniality. Given the predominance of the extended family as the basis of membership in a household, the few households that consist of simple families can be regarded as vestigial or incipient extended families. Only two households, (d) and (e), vary fundamentally from the type.

The extended family is not as clearly envisaged in native thought as the clan. There are several terms for groups of relatives smaller than the clan, but none of them is strictly synonymous with 'extended family'. One, tral li votai (with a possessive suffix, in this case first person singular), means approximately 'all my relatives'--all who are recognized and treated as such. Another, welimwales, is also used in reference to some individual. Tom translated it as 'man, and women and boy blong that man.' Pressed to be more specific, he included the man's wife and sisters, and the children of both. These would not all be members of the same household or extended family. In the absence of a generic term for 'household,' particular households are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy."

28: Spiro--6 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The house is an extended-family dwelling (7) and is occupied therefore by a number of people, though everyone has free range of the house, each biological family occupies a certain section of it, by usage, so that its effects are separate from those of the others, it sleeps in a certain part of the house, and it has a hearth of its own. The hearth is not used for cooking, since all cooking is done in the malum, but it is used to warm cooked food, and to give heat on a cool day."

"7. See below, section on social organization."

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27
116, 596

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To say that the airo serves no function, is not strictly accurate. It serves no institutionaled [sic] function, but there are patterns of interaction of a purely informal nature that characterize the relationships of airo members. For example, though the natives are very generous with food, to the extent that any person in the vicinity of another house will be asked to partake of available food, an airo member will be treated even more generously, and often will be offered food to take home with him. Furthermore, a man constructing a canoe can anticipate the assistance of his airo member, not because this assistance is mandatory, but again, because of the closer degree of intimacy existing between them."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."

1: Burrows--102-103 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 597, 162 Ifalik

"One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifalik is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked out an estimate of the number of people in the population less than 20 years old. (As they do not keep track of chronological ages, this had to be based on relative ages.) The total came to 81. Of these, 32, or 39.5% had been adopted. A corresponding percentage for the older people was not worked out. (This would have been more difficult as adoption among them is less widely remembered.) However, as we see no reason to suspect a change in the prevalence of adoption, the estimate for the younger people probably indicates fairly well the proportion of adoptions in the population as a whole.

A request for a child is usually made before its birth. A childless mother (or even one who has children, but wants another) will ask a pregnant woman for her baby. Such a request may be refused, but custom exerts pressure in favor of granting it. Negotiations for adoption may also begin after the birth of a child, when someone takes a fancy to it. Although the negotiations seem to be conducted by the women, their husbands share in a decision about [103] giving or taking a child. In talking about adoption with men, adopted children were commonly referred to as the vam (adopted child) of the adopting father.

The adopting parents prepare to feed the mother after the birth of the child, in order that she may have plenty of milk. The adopting mother makes a special planting in her taro patch. When the expectant mother goes to the birth house to be delivered of the

child, the adopted father goes fishing to provide food for her. Traditionally, he is expected to 'keep the fire going in the earth oven for 10 days', in order to feed the mother. Actually, the earth oven, the ancient way of cooking, is only used nowadays for cooking in greater quantities than usual, as when a turtle or large fish is caught. If a child is requested after his birth, the adopting parents are still under an obligation to give food, which then takes the form of a present to the biological parents.

Acquiring a new set of relatives by adoption does not mean renouncing the old ones. When adoption is within the lineage, it is only the parents who are changed, joint family and clan remaining the same. This is said to be the preferred kind of adoption. But the rule is not always observed. Adoption even from another clan is not uncommon. Six cases were noted in my preliminary census. Spiro's genealogical study later revealed many cases of adoption of which I was not told when taking the census, so adoptions without the clan are undoubtedly much more numerous than that.

When adopted into another household, a child's home is primarily with its adopting parents. But it knows perfectly well who its original parents were, visits freely with them, and may spend the night at their house whenever it cares to. When adopted into another clan, it acquires something like a double clan membership. It may not marry either in the clan into which it was born or in that into which it was adopted.

One of the functions of adoption is to express and reinforce good-will between two

families. Another one, obviously, is to continue a lineage which otherwise would become extinct."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 597 Ifalik

"Adoption, we have seen, does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the child to those who give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair, -- an obligation of the adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a child already bespoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as payment for the child, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty of milk to make the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifalik, does confer an obligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified price. These obligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones of our culture. No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that is expected to continue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of good will."

28: Spiro--31 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 597 Ifalik

"An obtrusive, but integral part of the entire fabric of kinship, one that is well-nigh universal in the Pacific, is the institution of adoption. (aevan) The incidence of adoption is fairly high, there being 32 aevams in Ifaluk, out of 81 children. There are basically two reasons for adoption. If the couple is childless, they wish to have a baby, because 'only they chow.' That is, being without children, they eat their meals alone, which is to say, they are lonesome. Secondly, a couple with only one child may desire a child of another sex, a girl to work the taro patch, a boy to do the men's work. If they decide to adopt a child they go to a pregnant woman of either the husband's or wife's clan, never to a non-clan member, and inform her that they would like to adopt her baby. If the woman has no other children, she may refuse the request, but if she has children, she does not, because 'all people and chief very angry at her,' though she may not be compelled to part from her child. However, the natives know of no cases of refusal, for the woman always cooperates, as she says, 'I give to you, bout (because) I am very very sorry to you.' The adopting parents give no gift or any symbolic offering to the parents of the child.

The mother of the infant, of course, feeds it. When she leaves the birth-hut, she is accompanied by the foster-mother, who spends much time in the home of her adopted

son. At the end of the three month period, during which time the mother and infant are confined to the house, the baby is taken to the home of its foster parents by its mother, both returning home in the evening. When the infant can walk it remains permanently in the home of its foster parents."

28: Spiro--31-32 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 597 Ifalik

"The aevam is treated as one's own child and the patterns of interaction, both formal and informal are identical for him as for a biological child. The child, however, is by no means abandoned by its real parents, the relationship being a close one in both cases. Since the atoll is small, it is possible for an adopted child to see its real parents daily. Actually, then, adoption means that the child has four parents, instead of two, and two houses instead of one. Talimedja, for example, joked about his having two families, so that if he were hungry he could eat in either house, if he were dissatisfied with the fare in one. The same is true of other activities. The aevam may sleep in either house, may expect to receive shelter, protection, security from either one.[32]

This dual interactional pattern applies to his entire life. He belongs to two kinship groups, his 'natural' one and his foster one. This means that he has not only the incest taboos of his biological siblings, but also those of his foster siblings. Despite his belonging to two kin groups, he inherits only from his natural group, not his foster group."

28: Spiro--32 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 597 Ifalik

"Though the cultural or institutionalised pattern of interaction between aevam and foster duplicates that of biological child-parent, the quality of the relationship displays variations. Some foster children are much more intimate with their foster parents than with their biological parents. But, on the other hand, there are instances in which the converse is true. Talimedja, a boy in his middle teens, almost always referred to his biological mother when he spoke of his mother. When I asked him to take me to his home, he took me to the home of his biological mother. On the other hand, Morolivok, a boy in his late teens, always referred to his foster parents as his parents, and he and his foster brother were inseparable. But Tom, who is his foster-father, definitely makes a distinction between him and his biological son, Alemwal. When Tom speaks of 'my son', he invariably means Alemwal. This distinction comes out in behavior as well. When I administered a battery of tests to Morolivok, Tom asked him to sit on the ground besides us. When Alemwal came to take the tests, Tom insisted that he sit with us on the mat. These subtle manifestations, I am sure, are unintentional, and unconscious, and if he were asked, Tom would say that he loved both sons equally."

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 599 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although [illegible]y officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [243] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

1: Burrows--98
116, 588, 601, 611

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 601 Ifalik

"The terms used on Ifalik to designate relationships by descent and marriage are shown in the following table. These are exclusively terms of reference, not used in address. Whatever the relationship, people are addressed by their names, often shortened in familiar speech. The only term used in address that implies a relationship, so far as I learned, is autegā. This is not a kinship term but an endearment, sometimes used by a man to his wife when they are by themselves.

Kinship terms take possessive suffixes: tamai, my father; tamōm, your father; tamān or tamāl, his father; tamāre, our father; tamāmi, your (pl.) father; tamēr, their father, [sic] The form used in the table is the first person singular. The third person singular appears also in composite terms. [99]

KINSHIP TERMS

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
+2	Paternal grandfather, tematemai. Descriptive composite terms for other grandparents: paternal grandmother, sin ni tamai, (mother of my father); maternal	Lineal terms extended to others of the same generation.	Descriptive composites, as tamatamān ni vetiai, paternal grandfather of my wife.

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
	grandfather, tamān ni silei; maternal grandmother, sin ni silei.		
+1	father, tamai mother silei	mother's brother, manenepai (sometimes manenepei; extended within lineage; sometimes further within clan. Mother's sister, silei, extended; father's brother, tamai; father's sister, silei; both extended.	Descriptive composites, as tamān ni vetiai, father in law (father of my wife).

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 601 Ifalik

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
0	sibling of same sex (brother of man, sister of woman) bwisi. sibling of opposite sex (sister of man, brother of woman), moengai.	bwisi and moengai extended.	spouse, vetiai. Other terms composite, as bwisin ni vetiai, sister-in-law (sister of wife) or brother-in-law (brother of husband); moengān ni vetiai, brother of wife, sister of husband.
-1	child, lai. (Son, lai mwal; daughter, lai rowot).	sister's child of man, vatuwei; extended within lineage. Lai extended to other nieces & nephews.	Descriptive composites, as laun ni bwisin ni vetiai, child of the sister of my wife, or child of the brother of my husband.
-2	grandchild, launei	launei extended.	Descriptive composites.

The system of classifying relatives exemplified by these terms is widespread in

Oceania, and has been called by a variety of names. The most generally used of late seems to be 'Polynesian system'."

1: Burrows--100-101 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 601 Ifalik

"Another [KS: system of classifying relatives] proposed by Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago, is 'generation system.' This specifies the distinguishing characteristic of the type: that the strongest category in classifying relatives is that of generation or genealogical level. No term is applied to relatives in more than one generation. The category of descent is weaker in that terms for relatives in the direct line are extended to apply also to relatives in collateral lines.

In so far as the category of generation is stronger than that of descent, the terminology used on Ifalik differs from the actual alignment of relatives in groups. In two of the groups, clan and lineage, the category of descent predominates. In the joint family, three categories are involved--descent, common residence, and marriage. There are no groups based on generation level, and groups based on common age, as already noted, are relatively weak.

Yet kinship terms are not so completely at variance with usage as might appear at first glance. Although people are not formally grouped by generation level, the informal grouping of males in canoe-houses follows a line of cleavage which approximates that of generation. Boys and young men (even after marriage) cluster by themselves. Much of the time they are separate from the older men, though a common task, or even common interest in the subject of a conversation, may bring the two groups together. The most distinct young men's groups were in the two northernmost canoe-houses, in the part of Falārik where there are no longer any dwellings. Older men generally

congregated in the canoe-house nearest the homestead where they lived, so much of the time the youngsters had these canoe-houses to themselves.

Relative age is more generally important in that a senior outranks a junior. The clearest formal expression of this is in succession to chieftainship. It appears also in the form of a general attitude of respect and deference for elders. This is not elaborated by formal etiquette but is constantly perceptible.

At one crucial point the kinship terms make a distinction between lines of descent. This is in the use of separate terms for what we can only translate as 'father' (tamai) and what we can only translate as 'mother's brother' (manenepai). The same distinction appears in the reciprocals of these terms; that for 'child' or 'offspring' (lai--here there is no distinction of sex) and that for 'sister's child' (vatuwei).

Tamai is applied primarily to the father and to the men of his generation--mostly his brothers--who live, or lived before their marriage, on his ancestral homestead. If there is frequent association--which would ordinarily come about through neighboring residence--with more distant relatives on his side, the term would be applied also to them. Application of it to persons outside his clan (his father's father's brother's sons, for instance) is also usual, when association with such kinsfolk keeps the relationship in mind. In any case, this term, though rather widely extended to men of the older generation, ordinarily expresses a relationship through the father. Its most immediate use

is to express the relationship to the father himself; next, that to his brothers; next, to other men, if any, of his generation and lineage. Similarly, manenepai applies primarily to mother's eldest brother; then to her other brothers; then to other men of her generation and lineage. When extended further, as all Ifalik terms can be when occasion demands, it would still express a relationship to a man of the parental generation through the mother. The distinction between tamai and manenepai, as most often used, is essentially one between father's lineage and mother's lineage.

The reciprocal terms manenepai and vatuwei express a special relationship of the kind that Radcliffe Brown calls dyadic (SS: 'all social relations of person to person'); and the kind that our students of personality usually mean when they speak of 'interpersonal relations.' The language of Ifalik, too, has a term for such relationships. Maru e malu means a pair of closely related individuals; it may be husband and wife, parent and child, siblings, or mother's brother and sister's son. [101]

The latter relationship, commonly called the avunculate, is important in Ifalik, as might be expected in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. But it is not extremely developed. It is not emphasized by ritual, nor by any formal privilege, nor reinforced by cross-cousin marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not required, nor even especially preferred.

The mother's brother can not be said to supplant the father, though his role includes some functions performed by the father in societies of a more patriarchal cast. Because

of matrilocal residence, a young person's father usually lives in the same homestead with him, while a mother's brother, once he is married, does not. Yet the mother's brother is the most closely related older male in anyone's own lineage. He personifies the main source of livelihood, insofar as a man is a more appropriate representative or symbol of that than a woman is. The relationship is most conspicuous in economic reciprocity between males. The vatuwei, or sister's son (sometimes in a classificatory sense) is the heir presumptive of the manenepai, (or one of them,) and may be regarded as dependent on him for a livelihood. This imposes on the vatuwei an obligation which he discharges by services, particularly work performed for the manenepai. Specific examples of this will be given in the discussion of economic co-operation. When the manenepai is a chief, the vatuwei may succeed to the title, though younger brothers of the chief have first claim.

There is no corresponding special term for father's sister. She is one of the 'classificatory mothers', the term silei being extended to her. In this extension of the term, the category of common descent is disregarded; a father's sister can not be of the same clan as the mother, because of clan exogamy. No special powers are attributed to the father's sister, as in some Pacific islands; and no special obligations imposed on her reciprocal, the brother's child. Since father's sisters are the most closely related older women in the father's household, the relationship is kept in mind by the generally frequent

association with that household. So the relationship is a rather close, kindly one; but there is no formal emphasis upon it."

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 601, 593 Ifalik

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother

and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he

denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

2: Damm et al. --74 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 601 · Ifaluk

The terms used to describe the family relationships show to what an extent the family circle (lewugodâi sēudŏb or sēukaidŭn) was developed in a narrower and also in a wider meaning; these are the terms for:
grandfather (on the father's side) demăl dămâi.
grandmother (on the father's side) sine dămâi.
grandfather (on the mother's side) demăl sine, demăl silēi.
grandmother (on the mother's side) sine jine, sine silēi.
father, husband of the father's sister, husband of the mother's sister dămâi.
mother, wife of the father's brother, wife of the mother's brother, silēi.
brother, son of the father's brother, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother, son of the mother's sister, bisil, and also wisil.
sister, daughter of the father's brother, daughter of the father's sister, daughter of the mother's brother, daughter of the mother's sister măanăl, also miănâi.
husband, wife, jaudăg.
son lâuuli or djirimâle.
daughter lâul or djiridjawŭd.
father's brother wisil dămâi
father's sister măanăl dămâi.
mother's brother măanăl silēi or manenebēi.

mother's sister wisīl djin.
son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, laūnēi.
wife's father demāl djāliganēai.
wife's mother sīne rāli ganēai,
wife's brother mäanāl āli ganēai.
wife's sister wisīl āli ganēai.

2: Damm et al. --140 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 601 Aurupik

Sarfert noted the following expressions to denote relationship:

father - domäl
mother - sine (silëï - my mother)
brother - wisil
sister - mianäl (this denotes the relationship between brother and sister, and vice versa.)
husband, wife - saligenëï
son, daughter - lëï
father's brother - faduäl.

Hambruch found that the following terms are used to denote relationships:

grandfather (on the father's side) puije tamai
grandmother (on the father's side) tjin i tamai
grandfather (on the mother's side) tematemax puijetjin
grandmother (on the mother's side) puije tjin temai tjine
father temai tamai
mother iin tjin
brother maneanai
younger brother puiji
older brother mar'npei
sister eietogovei
older sister maneai (this is probably identical with the Polowat term moneal; compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 143).
husband tsoginiane
wife eutay
son sari
daughter nigau
father's brother marinepai e tamai
mother's brother puijid

son's son lăn ĭn măn
son's daughter lăn ĭn rawŭt
daughter's son năuĭn
daughter's daughter năuĭn rawŭt
Certain terms are used to designate age:

man măn
woman rawŭt, faîfĭn
old man itagĭl e măn
old woman itagĭl e medŭ e fai.

Hambruch does not list any terms designating children and young people.

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."

28: Spiro--29 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk kinship system is classificatory, though as noted above its terms are not as inclusive as are those in other types of classificatory systems. It should also be remembered that the kinship terms are terms of reference, rather than of address. Every individual is addressed by his proper name, including parents. The following kinship terms are given in the first person possessive singular. Ego's generation: Bwiz-iwis, refers to my biological siblings, of the same sex, and Mongyal to my biological siblings of opposite sex, as well as my mother's sister's children, mother's brothers' children, and father's sisters' and brothers' children. Again it may be pointed out here that only the mother's sisters children are ego's lineage and clan members, yet the same term applies to the other categories mentioned here; showing the impprtance of the airo. First ascending generation: Silei, refers to my mother, my mother's sisters, and my father's sisters. The same comment made for Bwizinis applies equally here."

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Tamae, refers to my father my father's brothers, and my mother's sisters' husbands. Malelapae, refers to my mother's brothers, and is the only non-classificatory term. Second ascending generation: Sinisin, refers to any one my mother calls, mother. This technique of reduplication extends to any ascending generation, for example, Sinisinisin, Sinisinisinisin, referring to the third and forth ascending generations, respectively. Literally, of course, these terms translate, my mother's mother, my mother's mother's mother, etc. The same principle applies for the other grandparents, and I shall not repeat this example in the other cases, having mentioned it here.

Sinitamae, refers to any one whom my father calls, mother.

Temaesin, refers to any one whom my mother calls father.

Temaetemae, refers to any one whom my father calls, father.

First descending generation: Lau, refers to my children, my brothers' children, and my wife's sisters' children.

Fatuei, refers to my sisters' children. It is the complement of Malelapae, and like it, obviously, is not classificatory. Second descending generation: Launau, refers to all the children of the people whom I call son or daughter. As in the reduplication noted above, this can be expanded indefinitely to cover as many generations as necessary."

28: Spiro--29 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik

"This grouping together of a number of relatives under the same nomenclature does not imply at all, that the natives do not distinguish between them. This distinction is most emphatically made, between the biological mother, say, or sister, and the classificatory mother or sister. When a person refers to his father or mother in conversation, he invariably means biological father or mother, unless he specifically designates the classificatory relative. Even the very young children are accustomed to make this distinction. For example, when I administered the children's drawings I would ask the names of their parents and of their siblings. They invariably gave the names of their biological parents and siblings, except in the case of adopted children, in which there was no consistency, some naming them as siblings, and some not."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārĭk, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwēl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--38 [2]
116, 396, 476, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In analysing the kin relationship of those assisting in canoe construction, we again observe the functioning of patrilineal and affinal relatives, as well as matrilineal relatives. For example in the construction of Tom's ocean-going canoe, the men most in evidence were his brother, his sister's son and a classificatory sister's son, as well as his sister's husband, his classificatory sister's husband, and his wife's brother, besides a number of men of both Rauau and Felarik who were not related in any form. In the construction of a small canoe that I observed, those who assisted the owner were his mother's classificatory sister's son, his mother's brother, his foster brother, and his dead mother's classificatory sister's husband--the latter doing the brunt of the work. In another instance, the man was assisted by his father, the foster father of his daughter, and his sister's husband. I list these in detail to indicate the importance of kin other than the lineage or the clan in economic activity."

"In the construction or repair of an ocean-going canoe, a number of other men participate [WPM: other than kin], particularly the men of the man's district. When the hull on Tom's canoe was to be fitted I counted 36 men participating in the job. The owner of the canoe provides food for all the participants when the task is completed, and in the case of the main workers, presents them with gifts of rope and lavalavas.

Now, aside from kin, whose cooperation is culturally ordained, the cooperation of the other participants is entirely voluntary (4), so that the degree of cooperation is a function of the esteem and respect that the initiator holds in the society. The well-liked man will receive much assistance, whereas he who is less well liked will suffer accordingly. We have already alluded to the lack of cooperation Tom received in the construction of his canoe, and his need to appeal to the chiefs to get fuller cooperation. This may be contrasted with the cooperation that Gaveleisei received when his ocean-going canoe required a complete over-hauling. He let it be known that he would need assistance, and the next day the entire man-power of his district had turned out, as well as many men from Felarik and Falalap. This display of cooperation was unquestionably a function of

---

"4. There are exceptions to this, however. When he arrived on the island, and Tom was appointed as our interpreter, the chiefs ordered the men of Felarik to assist in the construction of Tom's canoe, since he would have little time to devote to it."

Gaveleisie's personality. He is a person highly respected by his fellows, and justly so; he is a magnificent human being, intelligent, talented, and sensitive. When I informed Tom of the great number of men who had come to assist Gaveleisei, he explained that the task was easy, and that any person knew how to perform it. Tom was correct in saying that it was a relatively easy task, but there is little question that it was Gaveleisie's personality that accounted for the large turn-out, and that Tom was trying to rationalize the discrepancy in numbers between those who assisted him, and those who assisted Gaveleisei. The simple fact is that Gaveleisei is liked and respected more than Tom."

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul.(ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas in the eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown.

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

---

"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

28: Spiro--99 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 602 Ifalik

"These [WPM: Mother--child, Father-child, Grandmother--grandchild, Mother's sister--child] are the most important relationships between the generations."

"Grandmother--grandchild: The grandmother, both maternal and paternal plays an intimate role in the life of the child, being little different from that of the mother. The grandmother feeds, clothes, washes, and trains the child. In the house, either mother or grandmother will attend to the baby's needs. The grandmother (or grandfather) will watch the young child when he plays, to prevent it from getting into mischief. She will carry it about with her. If he is ill, the grandmother is often more concerned than the parents. In the three cases of serious children's illness that occured while we were on the island (17) it was the grandmother who seemed to be in charge of the situation. She held the child, fed it, took care of it, etc. The grandmother also helps to train the child in the group values. Talemelemar, about five, refused to share food he was eating with Taraveligar, a boy of about seven. His grandmother rebuked him, saying that the latter was the elder of the two, and hence entitled to greater respect.

At the same time, the grandmother's relationship to the child is a very permissive one. Iliakong, about four, wished to have some object, which her grandmother [99] refused her. She then became angry and began to hit her grandmother on her legs, and her chest, after which she began to pull her nipple quite hard. The grandmother accepted this in good grace, and did nothing, except to exclaim 'yok', and jokingly called her a 'male-bush.' Another example, taken directly from my field notes, will illustrate this point. I was playing with Iliakong and Talemelemar when Iliakong's grandmother came

"17. Iliakong's epileptic seizure; Arivelibung's attack by a dog; Talavusman's deeply cut knee."

out and said she wanted to wash her. When she refused, her grandmother asked me if I could influence her, but even my prestige was of no avail this time, and she continued her play. Her grandmother began to plead with her, as she had already grated the coconut, which is used for soap, but her pleading was in vain. In the meantime Iliakong had found a button, and came to her grandmother to show it to her. Talemelemar came up behind her and knocked it out of her hand, whereupon she fell to the ground, in a terrific tantrum, screaming, kicking, swinging her arms. She then picked up some sand, and was about to throw it at me, when she saw her grandmother, and threw it at her instead. This proved to be the turning point, for she then got up laughing and singing, and meekly followed her grandmother to the lagoon to be washed. And all of this elicited no scolding or punishment."

4: Krämer--31
116, 604, 593

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Mother-right exists. It has resulted from the right of work and duty, for the man does little. The husband does not have anything to do with the family; it is the brother of the mother who does.

28: Spiro--30
116, 604, 593, 178

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifaluk

"An interesting problem arises with respect to the mother's brother. This relationship also seems to indicate the intermediate position of the Ifaluk social organization, without indicating whether or not it is in a transitional stage. That is, we have a matrilineal clan in which the mother's brother and the child belong to the same clan, whereas the father belongs to a different clan from his children. Furthermore, the father is classified with the father's brothers and the mother's sisters' husbands, the latter of which are fairly remote relatives, whereas the mother's brother is given an entirely different term, unique and unclassified. Yet, the avunculate does not exist here, though there are certain forms of interaction that are reminiscent of the avunculate, which in the light of our question concerning a transition in kinship system, may be 'survivials' from a full blown system."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--99
116, 604

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Mother's sister--child: The mother's sister, again, plays almost the same role as the mother. She feeds the child, plays with it, cares for it, etc. At time, if one did not know the actual genetic tie, it would be difficult to infer from behavior who the actual mother was. If the mother had two young children, it is often her sister who meets the emotional needs of the elder. One day, for example, a number of people were sitting in the home of Talavusman, playing with his baby brother. He was completely ignored, and looked very downcast. His maternal aunt, observing his dejection, called him to her, painted his face, and immediately he was all smiles again."

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians
605 Ifalik

"The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking."

1: Burrows--102 (1947-48) Woleaians
606 Ifalik

"Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided."

"Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violence of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, lever approach, so that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and

second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--151 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 609 Ifalik

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik, --to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions: and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

about recent contact with foreigners."

1: Burrows--166
116, 159, 609, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."

1: Burrows--167-168 (1947-48) Woleaians 1·3
116, 787, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

3

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

The natives were very cordial and friendly to Sarfert. The attitude of the women was most amusing, whether the men were present or not. By nature they were vivacious, but whenever their husbands were around they scarcely uttered a word. During the exchanges they turned away when they wanted to laugh; but their eyes showed what they were thinking, and the eyes glistened in a sly but quite provocative manner.

When Sarfert was alone with them, they made no secret of the fact that they were all crazy about him. They proved it by their caresses and the dancing movements, which they made; even a white haired old woman tried to allure him, and her zealous efforts aroused much mirth. The women all declared that they simply wanted him to give them tobacco; * and they promised, that they would tell all the white men who came to Ifaluk that he was much nicer in every way than they were.

---

* Tobacco has always been a very desirable commodity (Robertson 1876 / 1877 , page 50).

2: Damm et al. --118
116, 152, 609

(1909) 1938

Wolealans
Aurupik

From the first, the natives were most cordial and friendly to the white man, and they were glad to talk to Hambruch. Hellwig observes that even the smallest children were not shy, although ships come to the island only at very rare intervals.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 609, 142 Aurupik

Only Aúrepik and Oăo, the two larger ones of the 5 islands of this atoll, are inhabited. The people of Aúrepik received the strangers hospitably, and they were courteous and communicative...and even the smallest children did not show the slightest fear...The population consisted of some 60 - 80 estimated persons. With regard to their appearance two types could be distinguished: one, very frequent type was brachycephalous and had a stout stature; the other type was less brachycephalous and somewhat slenderer. In general the skin of the women showed a lighter color than that of the men, and sucklings had almost the color of white babies.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 562 Woleai

The natives Hellwig had to deal with were friendly and courteous, and the children were by no means shy. The visit of the whites was a rare event and due to this event everybody seemed to be stimulated into a good mood. It became apparent that the women were allowed a great deal of freedom. It did not matter that a white man was sitting alone with a [native] woman in a hut, or that a woman sold her property to the white on her own accord. They joked and laughed. . . and on every occasion they mixed songs, recited or sung, into the conversation or with business, and sometimes these songs were accompanied by rhythmic dance movements. The information which was given about a weaving loom on which a mosquito net of Hibiscus fiber was woven, was constantly and in the most funny manner interrupted by an old lady. Her flow of words had been acclaimed by the women with laughter even before the woman had squeezed herself in through the low door opening. She seemed to be a popular "jestress." In front of the narrow door of another house another gray-haired woman sat weaving so that Hellwig was unable to enter. In her stoical calmness she remained unimpressed by the persuasion of either Hellwig or the female occupants of the house. Finally, Hellwig pushed the old woman aside and went into the hut; with a little gift he atoned for his tour de force, and, after that the old woman became the friendliest person of all.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The Watoai natives endeavoured in every way to make the stay of their guest a pleasant one....As was the case on Máriam and Wolea, here, too, a pathway, lined with stones run in west-easterly direction through the whole length of the island.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 867 Elato

The natives were courteous, but the women displayed at first a certain shyness which was due to the presence of the five whites and their colored company.... We noticed the good behaviour of the children on the islands which we had recently visited; they obeyed older persons willingly.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Uleai islanders in the past seem to have been rather rough: I learned on Lamotrek that around 1894 an Irishman, Harry Crishom, had been murdered by 4 natives. They shot him in the back and then threw him into the channel of Paliau. Probably in this instance, as in the case of the murder on Oleai, the guilty parties are strangers. For in general, the natives of Oleai have always had a reputation of friendliness and companionship; we ourselves had proof of this characteristic and Tetens also describes it.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

5: Kittlitz--155-56 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 562, 609, 834 Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

5: Kittlitz--157 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 609, 643 Woleai

Ulemarai was the home of Kadú [MR: mentioned by Chamisso]; when he left the island, Rouá was considered the chief of the whole group, and he was still living although he had become a very feeble old man. When Lieutenant Sawalischin took the launch to survey the western part of the island, the Captain gave him some presents for the aged chief, and shortly before our departure he came to thank us for them. . . .

5: Kittlitz--163 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175, 609, 784 Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

11: Born--190-191 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Oleai natives are by nature a very friendly and peaceful people. They have never had any wars, and they have no weapons for warfare. It is all the more striking, then, that, after a longer stay with them, one becomes aware of behavior which can only be described as forward, if not impudent. [191] In their relationships with white people they make no attempt to conceal the fact that their only object is to make as great a profit as possible. This is in marked contrast to the charming and sincere behavior of the Jap natives which make all transactions with them pleasant and friendly.

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaï and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

12: Lutke--130-131 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 609 Faraulep

The natives came to us at once. One of them who had nothing in his appearance to distinguish him from the rest, surprised us by his European manners, and we were even more astonished when he came on board and began to speak a very pure Spanish. He was the chief Alaberto*, he had spent two years in the Marianas islands where he had learned Spanish so perfectly that if [131] we could not carry on a fluent conversation with him, it was our fault, and not his. His polite and charming manners made him a very interesting guest.

---

* This name does not resemble a Carolinian name in the slightest; it may be that he received it in Guahan.

12: Lutke--140 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The chief Tapeligar was one of our most frequent visitors. I found him seated on his canoe under a tent. It appears that on land as well as on the water their canoes serve constantly as thrones. We scarcely ever saw the chiefs doing anything except sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar acted on the boat as if he were at home; but he did not seem disposed to repay me in the same way; after sending for some coconuts he suggested that we return to my launch, and he did not seem too pleased when I said that I wished that he would accompany me around his island instead.

12: Lutke--299-300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 609 Woleai

Tapeligar, Aman and most of our former friends came to meet us. Aman, from his canoe cried at the top of his lungs: Maoulik Ouleaï.* They all seemed happy [300] to see us again, a joy which may have been real or feigned. They tried to make us understand that we had done well to return to their island after having been in Russia: Fragata Farak Roussia, Farak Ouleaï, Maoulik etc. Of course each one expected that these manifestations would be followed by a prompt reward, and this despite the fact that they had all come empty-handed themselves.

---

* Just as at Lougounor they cried Mamal Lougounor; this confirms the supposition that mamal and maoulik, like aidara at Radak, are used in the sense of friend.

13: Lutké--147 (1827-1828) 1836 Woleaians
116, 562, 609 Woleai

The inhabitants of the Ouléaï group, as well as those of the isolated island of Feiss, were less severe towards us, as far as their women were concerned, than the inhabitants of the Lougounor group; they allowed them to be found in our company, and it needed only a short time for an intimate connection to become established between us; in spite of this sort of intimacy and the boundless confidence accorded us, there is not a single individual on the "Séniavine" who can boast of having obtained any favors from a beauty of the low islands of the Carolines.

28: Spiro--89-90
116, 854, 157, 609

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

35: Choris (Iles Mariannes)--3 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 304, 609 Woleai

Kadou [LEM: the Caroline native] was much pleased with the Sandwich Islands [LEM: Hawaii], whose inhabitants reciprocated in their affection for him. The lobes of his ears, prodigiously elongated, drew their attention in a singular manner.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

I, of course, made the proper jeers about this culture-bound food aversion of his, which would cut him off from a rich local source of protein. Out of sheer bravado one morning I sucked turtle egg after turtle egg. I got nowhere in my effort to make Don feel foolish (he had great reserves of faith in his own prejudices) but I did make myself very sick. I suspect that the relation between the cramps and the turtle eggs was sheer coincidence; but for the rest of the summer I couldn't face a turtle egg with any more equanimity than Don could, and the eggs that were brought us were disposed of surreptitiously.

The Ifalukians were always bringing us food, more food than we could possibly have eaten with the best will in the world. We protested, but there was no stopping them. Much of it we didn't like—we were a very culture-bound trio, really, perfectly happy with our spam and canned spinach. We felt we couldn't run the risk of hurting the feelings of our hosts by admitting that we didn't much like their breadfruit and boiled pulax, so we would accept the food, eat what we could, and stealthily dispose of the rest in the lagoon at night.

We were always really grateful for gifts of fish, however, and my memories of the summer include the tastiest fish orgies of my whole life. We would turn the fish over to Bakal for fileting and Ted was really a master at rolling the filets in corn meal and frying them in bacon grease as I remarked before, and the Ifalukian fish, fresh out of the transparent waters of the lagoon, were just the right material with which to work.

But while we kept our respect for Ted and the Western method of frying things, we also fell in easily with the Ifalukian method of cooking fish. The commonest and perhaps the tastiest method was simply to roast the fish whole in coals of burned coconut husks. The hardened and carbonized skin could be easily peeled off, to reveal the tasty flesh. I have particularly fond memories of roasted parrot fish. Somewhere, from my Florida childhood, I had got the idea that parrot fish were inedible. I still don't know about the West Indian varieties, but I can certify that the parrot fish of Ifaluk were very edible indeed.

Don and I lost weight during the summer though hardly needing to. I had a gaunt and hungry look, twenty pounds below my normal weight, when I left after three months. I suspect this was our own fault, due to our careless habits of living off casually opened tins of

1: Burrows--98
116, 588, 601, 611

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 611 Ifalik

"Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected--that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation--are both patrilineal."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 643, 611 Ifalik

"The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line."

28: Spiro--136 a (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 611, 591, 622 Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

1: Burrows--98A (1947-48) Woleaians
116; 612 Ifalik

"As suggested by the bilateral extension of kinship terms, a bilateral group of relatives or kindred also exists in each individual's mind. Its existence is proved by the fact that there is a name for it, --airō. The name was used by Tom in telling me where visitors on islands other than their own look for hospitality. He said they stay with their airō.

'What does that mean--airo? ', I asked him.

'All same clan. '

Taking a wrong turn on Tom's translation, I wrote this down as a term for fellow-clansmen. Spiro, in his more intensive and more internalized study of kinship, found that the term expresses the concept of a kindred. By 'all same clan, ' Tom meant that the airō is a group much like a clan. Spiro's inquiries also showed that Tom's use of the word to me in connection with hospitality was typical; in other words, that hospitality is the main overt expression of the feeling of unity within the airō. One treats his relatives on the father's side with the same open-handedness as those on the mother's side. Another, negative expression of this feeling is the extension of exogamy to patrilineal relatives.

An airō meets as a unit. The nearest to such a meeting is the taurang ceremony, when the girl whose first menstruation is being celebrated is adorned by the women of her father's as well as her mother's household, and marches with them afterward from her mother's to her father's homestead. Indeed, it is only for a rite of passage or similar

occasion, centered about one individual or at most one set of siblings, that such a group could very well assemble. For, by definition, its membership must vary for each set of siblings. Such groups are bound to exist mainly in the mind. No doubt that is why, as Murdock points out in 'Social Structure,' the existence of kindreds is frequently overlooked by ethnographers."

1: Burrows--96-97 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too

remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones. *"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

1: Burrows--97 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"On Ifalik the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for 'lineage' in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage: vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as 'according-to-the-'. Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwēl), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored

attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited."

1: Burrows--97-98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"Although 'lineage' is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads--that is, in effect, with lineages--are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect [98] the lives of the living."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site, and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalū and SauvelārIk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepī, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalū--who live there. SauvelārIk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwēl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong WolpaitIk', though WolpaitIk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is WolpaitIk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

WolpaitIk would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwèl clan.

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110
116, 241, 423, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--132
116, 613

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Within the clans, lineages rank according to traditional seniority. Even within lineages--or, what comes to nearly the same thing, households--there is a similar order among individuals. Insofar as the division of labor segregates men and women into separate groups, this small-scale hierarchy splits into two, one of men and one of women. It is unobtrusive, and may be weakened, perhaps even reversed occasionally, by individual differences. Yet it operates more continuously than the large-scale, comparatively formal hierarchy of chiefs and clans, because the individuals involved are interacting most of the time."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

28: Spiro--27-28 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"More important than either the clan or the airo is the matrilineal lineage, known alternatively as Lebwutae ('my place'), or as Bwotae or Aramatae ('my people'), according to whether the reference is to the homestead or to the people. The lineage, by definition, includes a matrilineal descent group that is related by descent from one woman. Now, since marriage is matrilocal, with some exceptions, and since every homestead is named, this group is well defined. It includes all persons born of the women of a particular homestead, say that of Uelepi. When a man says that he is going to his 'Lebwutae', or that he does not commit some act because he would be shamed by his 'Aramatae', he refers, not to the house in which he lives, but to his maternal home, his matrilineal lineage. [28]

The clan, as we have seen, is not localized, persons from any clan living in all districts. Given the existence of matrilocality, the lineage is not localised either, but it does enjoy a certain localization, in that all the women of the lineage, as well as the unmarried males, inhabit the homestead, and the men, though scattered, do have a focal, geographic, point of reference, in that the homestead in which they were born, remains in the lineage in perpetuity, and thus serves as an integrating factor, in spacial terms. Thus, though my aramatae are scattered, my lebwutae remains fixed."

28: Spiro--28
116, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Reflection, as well as empirical evidence, reveals the relative instability of the lineage, as compared to the clan. The eight clans are fixed, and cannot be increased in number, though they can be decreased by the extinction of one or more clans. This seems to be the future fate of Kailangailuela, of which there are but three members, two of whom are women past their menopause. Normally, however, clan extinction is rare.

The number of lineages, on the other hand, may increase or decrease. Decrease, a priori, is more frequent in lineages than in clans, because of the small number of persons within any lineage. It seems, however, that the greater proportion of change in the number of lineages is by increase, which results from the setting up of new households. For a number of reasons, a person may break off from a household and construct a new house. At first this house is viewed as an extension of the parental homestead. After a time, however, this house assumes a special name, though it still looks to the original home as its source. But after the elapse of a few generations, this 'splinter group' becomes a homestead in its own right, and thereby becomes a new lineage group as well.

For example, Nesangogara married Taroman, and did not remain in her lineage house, but set up a new household, known as Warigin. Now, Warigin is actually in the lineage property of Taroman's lineage, Valevelu, but this new house now has its own name, the married daughters and their children live with their parents, and a new lineage has unquestionably been created."

28: Spiro--28 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"The lineage is the most important group in Ifaluk. It regulates property, its members cooperate in economic functions, and it is a recognized religious grouping. These functions of the lineage will be dealt with under these separate categories.

The attachment of the person to his lineage and its house and district is revealed not only in terms of personal feelings, but in certain important activities. The men do most of their work and gossiping in the canoe-houses. Should a man marry a woman from another district, he usually returns daily to the canoe-house of his own district, not the one in whose district he is now living. In fishing expeditions, which are undertaken by districts, a man often fishes with the men of his lineage district rather than with those with whom he is at present living. Finally, in the dances, the men dance with men of their lineage district. This constant return to their own district indicates that the men feel a greater sense of affinity with the people with whom they were raised, but it also indicates the attachment to the lineage house in which he spent his formative years."

28: Spiro--30 [2]
116, 613, 604, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the first place, every homestead, which is really every lineage, has its tamon, its household chief, who is the eldest male of the house. Though descent is matrilineal, it is this eldest male, not female, who is the titular head of the lineage, who manages its property, settles intramural disputes, if any should arise, and in general is the overseer of its welfare. His visits to his Lebwutae, his parental home, is frequent, since his toddy is collected from the coconut trees which he inherits from his mother's grove, and he collects his toddy twice a day, so that he usually visits his homestead at least once, if not twice, a day. This frequenting of lineage house, that is, of his sisters and their children, is also characteristic of the other men of the lineage, for they, too, return to the district of their parental home to collect their toddy. And though, it is only the eldest male who is known as tamon, the others have an influence and an intimacy of relationship in the household that strangers do not have."

"But the intimacy of relationship consists of more than daily visit. There are certain mutual obligations, that obtain between brother and sister, which are not rigidly institutionalized, but which function as if they were. A man's sister, for example, prepares food and lavalavas for her brother. That is, when she prepares taro, say, she will bring a dish to her brother, or will offer it to him when he visits the lineage house. Of course, this practice is related to the rules of inheritance, because the taro patches are held in perpetuity in the lineage, but the women work the patches and prepare and consume the taro in their homes, that is, the matrilineal homestead. Legally, however, it is apparent that the men have as much preemtive right in the taro as the women, and the sister's preparation of food for her brother, therefore, is, from this point of view, an indication of that right. However, it involves more than this legal obligation, because this would only entail the offering of the raw taro, and not the cooking or preparation.

The sister also makes lavalavas for her brother. These are not for his wife's consumption, but are used by him as gifts to be presented to his clan members when he visits other islands.

In return the brother will bring gifts of fish to his sister, if he goes fishing by himself, and will bring her presents upon returning from a visit to another atoll.

The great intimacy of brother and sister is also revealed in case of illness. [31] It

is the sister who is most attentive to the needs of her sick brother. If his illness lingers on he returns to his lineage house, where his sisters care for him, devoting as much time and care as his wife.

This relationship, it is apparent, is far from the reciprocity that characterizes Trobrian society, for example, and the same is true of the relationship between the man and his sister's children. The real influence in the child's life, despite their different clan and lineage affiliations is his father, and his mother's sisters' husbands, and the role of the mother's brother is minimal, though not entirely absent, for the latter does assume certain economic responsibilities for him. A young man, constructing a canoe can expect to receive the assistance of his mother's brother, and conversely a man can expect the same assistance from his sister's son. But this reciprocity is not uniquely characteristic of these relatives, for a man expects and receives the same cooperation from his sister's husband, his wife's brother, his father, and his own sons.

The same is true of certain avoidance relationships between these groups of relatives. For example, it is strictly taboo to mention any sexual term, even indirectly, in the presence of one's sister's children. But this same taboo applies to your own children, as well as to your brother's children."

28: Spiro--43 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Lineage property: The houses and taro patches are included in this category. Theoretically the house is owned by the eldest woman of the lineage, and at her death is inherited by the next oldest woman. This is just another way of saying, however, that it belongs to the matrilineal lineage, for it descends in that line in perpetuity. This means that the house in non-transferable, that it can not be bought or sold. Theoretically, the taro patches are owned by the men, but again analysis reveals that it is lineage property. The women of the man's household work his patch, the taro belongs to them, and they use it to feed the members of their household, including their husbands who are members of a different lineage. However, a woman gives some of the prepared taro to her brother indicating that it belongs to all the members of the lineage. That the taro patches belong to the lineage is also revealed by the fact that they descend to the man's sister's sons at his death."

28: Spiro--43 [4]
116, 423, 613

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Patrilineal group property: Coconut and breadfruit trees are owned by the males of a patrilineal descent group, so that a man's death, his trees descend to his son's and brother's sons, and like the taro-patches and houses, belong to this line perpetuity, being non-transferable."

28: Spiro--64 [2]
116, 755, 613, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

1: Burrows--87
116, 614

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"One kind of kinship tie--common descent in the maternal line--places each individual in one of eight groups called kailang. These groups have names: Kovalū, Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, Rapevelu, Sauwel, Kailangailuk, Bwel, and Kailangalualea. They are exogamous, and this rule is strictly observed. There was no case on Ifalik during our stay of a wife and husband both of the same kailang. Children adopted into a kailang other than their ancestral one may not marry members of either kailang."

4: Krämer--113-115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
614 Elato

[VMM: For a discussion of the clans, see 4: Krämer 114-115.]

4: Krämer--114-115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 614 Lamotrek

The Clans, gailang.

1. Mongaulifadj, on Truk: Mongulufadj; it comes from Poloat (see Oleai), on Pollap is is given as no. 2 but is not represented on the other eastern atolls. As for the origin, it is said that it must be traced back to the north of Eap to the island of Gáferudj--probably Sëpen--which on clear days was visible from the northern tip, from Rumung. The entrance was winding, like a snail. It is said that the island of Sëpen still existed in 1830 and occupied the position of the Hunter Reef of the maps. The word Gáferudj probably means "end of land" and is supposed to be the stem of the word Fároilap. On the island grew many coconut palms and also a large pandanus tree, fadj, with three branches:

   1a. The middle main branch was called ngolifadj and to it belonged the head chiefs Sukurang and Joseph (see house no. 24a page 26); with their deaths, the branch came to an end.

   1b. The head is Urupo (see house no. 10); furthermore there are Sopong (house no 11), Volimar (no. 24b), Somar, Rangemai (no. 24b), Sukulubou (no. 14) and Ikisera (no. 25).

   1c. The head Boésu (no. 4), Tilipou (no. 14), Gasepabau (no. 9), and Alefamal (no. 26).

   It is said that the two heads Súkurang and Boésu are descended from two sisters and that that explains the formation of the two principal branches 1a and 1c.

Members of the three branches may marry, but inter-marriage within one of the branches is not possible. The spirit, alus, of the clan is Mótaisam, who in his lifetime was a powerful chief; his father Uaîsam is the spirit of 3. This clan is represented on the island of Sëtoval by the branch of Katamáng (see 1009 Kramer 260 31: Ketemang). [115]

2. Saúfadjik is not represented in the east. It is said to be a branch of 1 and therefore everything mentioned applies in this case; on Ifaluk Gofalü is supposed to be in second place, whereas on Soról it is no. 1; and here Mangaufadj is listed as no. 2.
3. Sauel on Truk: Soualei; Uaisam see above. On Sëtoval: Volira.
4. Boll extinct; on Truk-Póloat: Boël; Pollap: Boal.
5. Sorr, see 1009 Kramer 258 10 etc. The spirit is Lebá which really applies to all.
6. Gailang ali oléa see Oleai; on Sëtoval: Falemei, see 1009 Krämer 263, no. 32: Sou Oley.
7. Uisúsu, Pollap 8. Spirit the same as for no. 1.
8. Rak; on Truk: Rek, spirit Gabós on Ifaluk no. 5.

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1-2
Woleai

Villages and Chiefs and sibs

Island:	Villages:	Chiefs:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (a house)	Malitil
or Falalap	Jefang	Gadjegélog
god Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vésavo	
	Jaur	Eagupelíor
	Lolepéleg	Gadjegélog lived
	(Born Leuleperik)	here in 1910
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelélimar(was
		on Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagaulap or Thogóelep	no villages	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai	Rógiol
4. Solŭap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop
	Jumanikil [207]	
5. Vótagai:	Dávogap	Uolegar
on the reef cap	Nikapelám (Hellwig:	Igélimar
former main island	Ligábpidam)	

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

6. Falális: "spirit land"

7. Raur †

8. Paliau †

(1909) 1937

Bigol(Bugol) (Hellwig: Pügod)
Tavokúdu
Tavokúdak
Davokulong
Logop, Lúgalapraur
Kuoi

Woleaians-2
Woleai

Mativelit

Málangau
Málipet

Daruélior †

Erurlíelit

4: Krämer--269
116, 614

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

Sibs, geilang.

1. gailang ali Volea
2. Sauel
3. Gófalu
4. Mongaulifadj
5. Saufaladjik
6. Sor

Marriages between members of the same clan may take place as the table of house #6 proves. A marriage between relatives is also recorded for house #8.

For Namoluk Hambruch names Gatamak as 8. This clan Gadamak is said to have come from Uonë (=Oleai)

1: Burrows--87
116, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name in commonest use for unilineal, exogamous descent groups like the kailang of Ifalik is 'clan.' Clan will be used here as the translation of kailang. Since the line of descent that determines membership here is matrilineal, this group would still be called a clan in the terminology formerly common among American anthropologists, whereby a patrilineal group was called a 'gens.'"

1: Burrows--87-88 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans are not localized, --that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelāchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--88-89
116, 618, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-2

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan membership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

1: Burrows--88-89 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 618, 162 Ifalik

	Falarik	Ranau	Falālap	Total
Kovalū..	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik..	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār..	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū..	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl..	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk..	9	12	2	23
Bwēl..	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea..	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"The localization of the clan Bwēl, however, seems more than accidental. The name bwēl, as a common noun, means taro swamp. The clan Bwēl is especially associated with the cultivation of taro. Traditionally no others can equal them at horticulture. Since all but a few small patches of taro swamp are on Falālap, the localization of this clan there seems related to this traditional function. However, this showing is weakened by the fact that Bwēl, too, is a small clan, and all but one of its members belonged to a single household."

1: Burrows--89
116, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No other clan is associated with a particular plant or occupation. But the name of one of them suggests former localization: SauvelārIk. Two of the clan names, and a third on Sarfert's list, begin with 'sau'. This recalls a prefix which occurs in the names of certain descent groups in western Polynesia: Samoan Sā, Futunan Sa'a, Tongan and Uvean Ha'a. In the clan name Saupolowat, collected by Sarfert, the clan is said to have come from Puluwat. Accordingly, I asked whether SauvelārIk meant 'clan (or people) of Falārik'. Tom and another member of the clan--as I recall it, the chief Maroligar--said that it did. That this was not merely a matter of falling in with any such suggestion is shown by the fact that a similar question--whether Bwēl and Sauwēl were offshoots of one original clan--was answered in the negative. Of course, the answer of natives to any such question may be wrong. Yet the probability that the name indicated former localization of this clan seemed strong enough to be worth mentioning."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: Ko is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is tamōl. Valū means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelārIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. Rape translated by Tom as 'all same tamōl';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

Kailangalualea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and Sauvelārlk's to yellow-fin tuna."

1: Burrows--90-91 (1947-48) Woleaians I-2
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalū, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--91
116, 618, 773

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

1: Burrows--91-92
116, 618, 175

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1-2

"Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifalik, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. My work with census and legends, and Spiro's with genealogies, provide so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifalik come first.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwalei	Called on Ifalik Saufalasik.	Apparently Sauvelārlk. Other name unknown on Ifalik.
Monaulifer	From Yap.	Mangaulevār. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947.
Bwol	From Pulap.	Bwēl. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for pulax, the commonest kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with taro cultivation.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwol	From Woleai.	Sauwēl. Origin incorrect. ' 'E talk lie', said Tom; Sauwēl like all the other clans, went to Woleai from Ifalik, not the other way. (See legends and discussion, pp. 139 ff.).
Saupolowat	From Puluwat.	Once represented on Ifalik. Died out long ago.
Wisusu	From Puluwat.	A clan of Puluwat and Truk. Never represented on Ifalik. [92]
Fanimei) Gadaman) Wolei)	From Yap.	Never represented on Ifalik.
Wuido	Called Djak.	Never represented on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--92 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"Conceptually and verbally, the clans are important units on Ifalik. The feeling of clan membership and solidarity is strong. People generally know the clan membership of everyone on the island, or nearly everyone. One of the commandments or exhortations that form a conventional part of the chief's speeches at public assemblies, is 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' Some of the chiefs in such exhortations address particularly the people of their own clan. Travelers from Ifalik are said to feel perfectly free to claim hospitality from their clansfolk in neighboring islands, and to reciprocate without question when clansfolk of other islands come to Ifalik, whether the claim is reinforced by previous acquaintance or not.

Yet clans never meet or act as units. Their only important effects on conduct seem to be the limitation they impose on marriage, and--a much weaker one--the effect of their rank on choice of a mate. House sites and chiefly titles are said to belong to clans, but actually are held and transmitted in the smaller groups to be discussed later (pp. 96-98)."

1: Burrows--108 (1947-48) Woleaians #1
116, 423, 643, 618 Ifalik

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 463 Ifalik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwèl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that SauvelārIk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior SauvelārIk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in SauvelārIk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

1: Burrows--153
116, 173, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

28: Spiro--48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 773, 618 Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"Discussion of the pattern of relationships among the people of Ifalik may well begin with a list of the bonds that unite the whole population. This unit has all the characteristics ordinarily cited to define a society, community or tribe. In fact, few of the aggregations called by those names are held together by as many bonds as the people of Ifalik. They share, to begin with, a common habitat and a common culture. Being so few, and confined within so little space, they are all personally acquainted by the time they grow up; though of course the degree of acquaintanceship varies widely. The chapter on government will show that they form a political unit; that on religion, that thay [sic] make up a single church or congregation.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that all are biologically akin. But that is according to our way of thinking, not their own. As long as they do not recognize kinship, it does not exist as an additional bond except within the smaller groups to be discussed later."

1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"The largest territorial subdivisions of the population are determined by residence on one or the other of the two inhabited islands, Falārik and Falālap. Although some individuals have ties on both islands, and shift their residence rather freely from one to the other, nearly everyone is clearly identified, for participation in communal activities, with one or the other. The most conspicuous case of shifting residence, within our observation, was the chief Maroligar, who had close relatives on both islands. But his title involved authority over part of Falārik island, which identified him for most practical purposes, with that territorial group.

Each of the islands is further divided into two districts (gapilām). On Falārik island these are Falārik district, to the north (households 8-8 inclusive), and Ranau (households 9-19). On Falālap they are Ievang, to the north (the name means 'north'-households 20-24) and Iauru ('south' households 25-29).

In 1909 Sarfert recorded three sub-divisions in what is now called Falārik district: Sago, Gadjudolling, and Ledjourou. There are no longer any dwellings in the area corresponding to his 'Sago,' though the site of a former men's house is still pointed out there. 'Gadjudolling' (my 'Gajuteling') is the name of a canoe-house; and 'Ledjourou' may well have been the name of another, for which I was given only Fan ni Wā, the generic term for 'canoe house.' In Rauau, too, he collected two names for territorial subdivisions: 'Lawuau,' obviously the same as my 'Rauau,' and Sawolōb, as clearly the canoe-house name I recorded as Sabwōlap."

1: Burrows--86-87 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 621 Ifalik

"Now the word gapilām, which I translate 'district', is used in two senses; (1) for the more formal territorial units of which there are now two on each inhabited island; and (2) for the smaller, informal neighborhoods made up of the households about each canoe-house. The canoe-houses, through their use by men and boys as club-houses, constitute neighborhood centers for the males. The obvious interpretation of the difference between Sarfert's list and mine is that he, or his interpreter, did not distinguish between these two uses of the native word. That would not be surprising, in view of his short stay on the atoll.

However, the very ambiguity of the word suggests another possibility: that what are now mere neighborhoods may have been more distinct units, perhaps even political subdivisions, 38 years earlier. The situation on Falālap reinforces this suggestion. There the two districts, Iauru and Ievang, are the same as in Sarfert's time. Some of the song-texts collected suggest a distinct consciousness of difference between them. (The age of a song, except for some quite recent ones, is impossible to determine.) But in 1947-8 they were distinct in little more than name. They were sometimes treated separately in distribution of food. But they had only one canoe house, Gavilea in Iauru, large enough to accommodate sea-going canoes; so in communal fishing they acted as a unit, and seemed to do so in [87] most other public activities. For most purposes the island during our stay had only three districts: Falālap as a whole and, on Falārik island,

Rauau and Falārik districts. Iauru and Ievang were well along toward merging. Further evidence of a tendency to merge former subdivisions will be given in the chapter on government (pp. 139-141)."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ur) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --rop drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of rop drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm of a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

1: Burrows--130-131 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 621 Ifalik

"....government in Ifalik might be defined as interaction between chiefs and populace, and between chiefs and foreigners. It is unmistakably institutionalized, in any sense of the protean word 'institution'. If we apply Malinowski's concept of an institution, government in Ifalik can be outlined as follows:

Group: Chiefs as the governors, populace as the governed.

Activity: Regulation of conduct in accordance with traditional rules; formulation of new rules when necessary.

Shared Environment: The atoll of Ifalik, including its reef and lagoon, and extending to the open sea as far as it is frequented by Ifalik canoes on short round-trip expeditions. (Interisland voyages take the canoes out of the jurisdiction of this institution.)

Material Equipment: The kind of property called 'property of the chiefs', and analyzed in the chapter on economics as public property: that is, the men's house, the path along the lagoon shore of Falārlk and the belt line about the taro swamp on Falālap, especially the northwestern part of it, which constitutes the main thoroughfare among the houses; the big seines kept in the canoe-houses; to a great extent the canoe-houses themselves and the large sailing canoes,

though these are nominally private property; in emergency, any other property.

Charter: (1) The legends insofar as they confer the authority of ancient standing on the principle of rank, including subordination of Ifalik to Gatschapar in Yap, superordination of Ifalik over surrounding atolls; most specifically, the passages which trace the paramount title, and its succession in Kovalū clan, to the [131] prowess of Mailias as a warrior, and the second-ranking title, with its succession in SauvelārIk clan, to the feats of Maur as a leader and orator; less explicitly, the traditional association of these mighty men of old with the abandoned site of the ancient men's house just inland from the present one.

(2) Symbols of rank in material objects and deferential behavior. These cluster around the men's house, as described later.

(3) All traditional rules of conduct insofar as it is regarded as the business of the chiefs to administer them. (It is hard to draw a clear line between these rules and rules of two other kinds: on the one hand, those administered within the household or informally by public opinion; on the other hand, those administered by gods or--in the case of tabus--by impersonal supernatural power. An

attempt to draw this line will be made later. The belief that the spirits of ancient chiefs avenge any violation of the tabu on the site of the ancient men's house is a case in which governmental and religious rules, as those categories are here defined, merge into one.

(4) The traditional, unverbalized 'constitution' - which places every individual in a hierarchy of hereditary rank, and confers authority on the holders of five chiefly titles, each of which descends nominally in a particular clan (actually, so far as observed, in the senior lineage of that clan). This constitution specifies--by precedent, as in the British constitution and the common law--the duties and prerogatives of the chiefs, some division of authority among them, and the obligations of the commoners."

2: Damm et al. --78 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 621 Ifaluk

The same things that we said about the clan relationships on Polowat apply to Ifaluk. The natives here know the Sáupólowat clans, which, as the name indicates, came from Polowat. Similarly, the Wisúsu clan originated in Polowat. The Monáulifer, the Fänimēï, the Gadamán and the Wolēï came from Yap. The last one is under the direction of the Polowat clan, that bears the same name. The Böl clan comes from Pulap; their chieftain (monáinan) was called Marēšū, and lived on Falalap. The Sáuwól clan came from Qleai. Then the Wuído clan, called Djāk, and the Sáuwálēi clan under the name Saufalāšik are also found here.

2; Damm et al. --140 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 621 Aurupik

Over the family group of Eauripik stood the clan. Its structure and organization were not different from the relationships on Polowat; for instance, the Wonĕi clan was represented.

2: Damm et al. --191
116, 565, 621

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

In addition to the family, there was the clan, as it was described on Polowat. There were the clans Wolēī, in which Ligilāk was the monainan in 1909, Ellanaidjau, Sauwōl, Saufalāsik and Monōlifer.

The population was divided into the following class groups:

a) high chief (tamōl, e pi mōōn) and his family.
b) three lesser chiefs (poirim, auelig and mānu) and their families.
c) the rest of the population.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--258-259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 361, 621

On Faraulip Hambruch had counted 2 villages under one chief and two lesser chiefs; 18 dwelling houses, 4 menstruation houses, 1 ghost house. Population figure: 96 (14 of them had gone to Yap). The island of Pig is smaller than [259] Faraulip...17 dwelling houses, 14 cook houses, two ghost houses, and 59 inhabitants were counted. In earlier times the population was larger. The deserted station of a Japanese merchant could also be seen. The third little island of this group, Eat, is uninhabited since the typhoon.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 621 Woleai

Nevertheless [VMM: although there are no obvious boundaries between villages] such a division exists, since every island has two or three small villages which are under the control of different chiefs. The highest in control is the chief in Gatschbar on Jap.

11: Born--176
116, 621, 173

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

All the natives have their houses along the coast, on that side of the islands which faces the inner lagoon. There are no visible boundaries, although there are separate communities. There are about three or four villages, each with its own chieftain, on each island. There is no head chief within the atoll, not even a "first among equals". The actual head chief is the chieftain Follebu, or rather his father Bugolrau, in Gatschbar on Jap.

There are several legends concerning the origin of this political dependence on Jap. One of the most common variants is the following: Once a woman from Oleaï lost her course and was stranded at Gatschbar. She was received hospitably, and, when the winds changed, some people from Jap provided her with the necessary supplies and took her safely to her native island. The peaceful people of Oleaï recognized their superiors in these armed, warlike men who had saved the woman, and accepted them as their masters. The consciousness of their dependence is deeply ingrained in the natives of Oleaï. They believe that if they should secede from Jap and break faith with their head chief, a huge tidal wave would wash away their island.

28: Spiro--5 [2]
116, 161, 621

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1~4
Ifalik

"The 252 natives on Ifaluk live on two islands--the island of Felarik with 151 people, and the island of Falalap, with 101. Of the total population, there are 112 males, and 140 females. The islands and the village are identical, so that there is no political name nor boundary. There are two districts on each island, which are distinguished demographically, rather than ecologically. The two districts on Felarik are called Rauau and Felarik, the former being in the southern end of the island, and the latter in the northern half. There are eleven households in Rauau, strung along the main path, which runs parallel to the shore, about twenty-five feet from the beach. Between Rauau and Felarik there is a stretch of uninhabited land, about 200 yards, and then houses appear again. There are eight households, again stretched along the path. The two districts on Falalap, Ievang and Ievol, occupy the southwestern and northern parts of the island respectively, there being six households in the former and four in the latter, and again a stretch of uninhabited land separates them.

These districts are administratively distinct. That is, men of one district will go fishing, without informing the others; or, if seines or fish traps are to be made, they will be made by districts. There is no hard and fast rule dictating this behavior, but it results from the convenience of working with those who live continguously. The districts enjoy a quasi-political status in that each of the five chiefs is recognized as the chief of

at least one of the districts. But this jurisdiction is very tenuous, since the chief of the district does not necessarily live in 'his' district, three of the five chiefs living in Rauau. It is true, however, that a chief will spend much time in his own district, or supervise their work."

28: Spiro--26 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 174 Ifalik

"Ifaluk social organization is simple, compared to other Pacific peoples. The two islands of Felarik and Falalap have eight matrilineal and strictly exogamous clans, (ailang). The clans are not localized, and vary considerably in numerical strength, as is shown in the following table.

District	Kovalu	Sauvelarik	Mangau Ievar	Rape velu	Sauwel	Kailan gailuk	Kailangai Bwol	luelea	Total
Felarik	4	8	21	0	8	10	0	0	51
Rauau	29	17	11	13	16	13	0	0	99
Falalap	19	23	24	6	4	2	13	3	94
Totals	52	48	56	19	28	25	13	3	224

The origin of the clans is accounted for by the same two traditions mentioned in connection with the origin of chieftanship. One tradition has it that these clans constituted the original colonizers from Yap. The other maintains that the clans were instituted by Autran when she created the people on Ifaluk."

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"In Ifalik, matters of public concern, except for most of the religious ones, are administered by five chiefs, who hold office by virtue of hereditary rank."

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 622 Ifalik

"The following table shows the order of rank among the chiefs, the clans in which they descend, and the names of the individuals holding these titles during our stay on the atoll in 1947-8. The official titles of the chiefs, except for those in SauvelārIk clan, are the same as the names of their clans. Apparently the names of these particular clans, as discussed on p. 89-90, originated as titles. I never heard titles for the two chieftainships in SauvelārIk clan, and the name of that clan is not, like the others, a title. Indeed, the other titles are now used only as clan names. Although it is said to be proper to address the paramount chief as 'Kovalū', the third as 'Mangaulevār', and the fifth as 'Rapevalū', I never heard this done. There is no way to test the suggestion that this was customary at some former time, unless this custom proved to be general among surrounding islands of related culture, which would of course support the suggestion. Whatever may have been the former custom, nowadays the use of these titles in address is obsolete, so far as our observation goes.

Order of Rank	Clan	Title	Holder in 1947-8
1.	Kovalū	Kovalū	Wolpetau
2.	SauvelārIk	?	Maroligar
3.	Mangaulevar	Mangaulevār	Paliuilimar (died 1948)
4.	SauvelārIk	?	WolpaitIk
5.	Rapevelū	Rapevelū	Toromann

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 622 Ifalik

[132] In addition, Fagaurateu of Sauwēl was credited with a unique status as a sort of sub-chief. Tom said this position was called by the same name (tamōl) as that of the five full-fledged chiefs. Yet Fagarateu did not meet with them, nor sit with them on public occasions. His position seems to exemplify the traditional role ascribed to Sauwēl men--to act as errand-runners and subordinate executives for the chiefs. This was the only trace found of this role in current practise; and even this was only nominal, so far as observed. Being old and in poor health, Fagaurateu seemed not to exercise any of the authority accredited to him."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods,--indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--137-139 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 622 Ifalik

"Succession to chieftainship is determined by primogeniture in the female line. Asked for a more exact statement of the rule of succession, the chiefs conferred and issued, through Tom, a series of choices, given below with the comment that seems necessary to explain them.

(1) When a chief dies, the first choice for a successor is a 'brother'. Tom said 'brother' as the only term in English to translate bwisīl. Actually, as shown in the discussion of kinship terms, this one (given there as bwisī, with 1st person possessive suffix instead of that for 3d person) applies not only to siblings of the same sex, but also to more distant relatives in the female line, --to all recognized relatives of the same lineage, sex, and genealogical generation. So this statement includes a range of choices. First would be a true brother; and among brothers, the oldest surviving one. Next would be mother's sisters' sons, with priority to the eldest son of the eldest sister; and so on, as far as kinship is recognized. As a rule, as has been noted, it is recognized only within the lineage. And as the lineage groups (living members of a lineage) are small, the usual extension of kinship terms does not take in a very wide range of relationships.

(2) If no 'brother' is available, next choice will be a 'sister's son' (vatu wei). This term is also applied to more than sons of sisters. The sons of women whom we would call parallel cousins or orthocousins of the deceased chief, on his mother's side, would also be eligible; for the chief would speak of any of them as 'my sister' (moengai); and

the term for 'son' would be used in a similarly extended sense by all of these 'sisters', So, in effect, any man of the chief's lineage, but one generation younger as generations are reckoned genealogically, would be eligible as a vatu wei. In practise, the term is not commonly extended beyond true sisters' sons and the sons of mother's sisters' daughters.

(3) If no 'sister's son' is available, the choice will pass to a son, (laŭ). This statement was a surprise, as a man's sons, or the nephews to whom the same term would be applied, are not of his lineage or even of his clan. When asked about this, Tom said that a son was a possible successor because he was of the same 'house' as the chief. The word for 'house' in this connection, he continued, would be im, the ordinary word for dwelling. He knew of no instance in which a chief had been succeeded by a laŭ. So this statement may have little or no practical significance.

(4) If none of the preceding choices is possible, the chief will be succeeded by 'some other relative.' Again it is questionable whether in practise succession would be, or ever need be, extended to such rather remote relatives. [138]

Because the people of Ifalik do not cherish genealogies, and can not trace relationships farther than their memory of living persons, the only specific cases of succession obtainable were those involving the chiefs in office during our stay. Each knew his own relationship to his immediate predecessor. Some of these statements were confirmed, from memory, by others. In the case of the two highest-ranking chiefs they could cite

names of earlier chiefs in order of succession; but did not know the relationships involved.

Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, was a 'brother', in the extended sense, of his predecessor Mul. Their mothers were true sisters.

Maroligar, No. 2 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor, Bwongalimoi.

Paliuilimar, No. 3 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor.

WolpaitIk, no. 4 chief, was a true brother of his predecessor; 'same father, same mother.'

Toromann, No. 5 chief, was a brother of his predecessor.

Succession in three of these cases followed the choice named first in the list announced by the chiefs. In the other two cases it followed the choice named as second. There is little doubt that these two choices provide a successor to a deceased chief in most instances.

Two limitations on succession were exemplified when the third-ranking title was vacated, shortly before we left Ifalik, by the death of the chief Paliuilimar. Though the matter may not have been entirely settled when we left, we were told that no successor to the title would be named for the time being, as no suitable person was available. If all members of Paliuilimar's clan, Mangauvelar, had been considered eligible, a suitable successor would have been available. But Tom explained that

within the clan, some were 'more high', others 'more down,' and that only the 'more high' could succeed to the chieftainship. Apparently this meant that succession is confined to the lineage. This is a typical example of the fact that the people do not clearly conceptualize lineages, even when in actual practise they observe distinctions among lineages. Typically, then, succession is limited to the senior lineage, except in SauvelārIk clan, which has two titles, so that members of two lineages in that clan may become chiefs.

The other limitation followed by not naming a successor to Paliuilimar was one of sex. There was a woman of suitable age in Paliuilimar's lineage. And it is said that women may become chiefs. No specific instance was found, and--unless there was a change after we left--this woman was not considered suitable. Whether female chiefs are entirely a thing of the past, or whether the elevation of a woman to chieftainship is still possible in exceptional cases, only time can tell.

One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for 'bad talk', he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head. In accordance with the general principle that the chiefs

interpret the rules, the [139] actual decision in such a case would be left to the chiefs in council. No actual instance was cited.

It is not practicable to leave the title of highest-ranking chief vacant, because final authority in matters of general importance belongs to this position. So when the senior line of descent in Kovalū clan fails, the senior chief of SauvelārIk clan, who ordinarily ranks No. 2, may take the No. 1 position. This had actually happened within the memory of our informants. Oraitiu, a Kovalū chief, was lost at sea during the typhoon of 1907, when he was returning from a visit to Lamotrek. In default of a suitable successor in the Kovalū line, he was succeeded as No. 1 chief by Daoreligar of SauvelārIk clan. Daoreligar was paramount chief in 1909, when Sarfert visited Ifalik. His successor, too, was a SauvelārIk man, Bwongalimoi (he whose name appeared in Japanese characters on the ŌngarIk). On the death of Bwongalimoi, though, the title reverted to Kovalū in the person of Mulelimar, commonly known as Mul. He was the immediate predecessor of Wolpetau, paramount chief during our stay."

1: Burrows--139-140 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 622 Ifalik

"Matters of concern to the whole atoll are decided by the five chiefs in council. Matters of concern only to one locality are allotted to one or two chiefs, each of whom has some local jurisdiction. Three accounts of this local division of authority agree both as to the general pattern and some of the details, but differ in other details. One version was given by Wolpetau, the paramount chief and presumably best authority; but this was early during our stay on the island, and Tom was not present to interpret, so I may have misunderstood some points. The second was given by Maroligar and one other chief (my notes fail to specify which one, and I can not trust to memory) with Tom interpreting. The third is made up of answers given by Tom at different times, to a variety of specific questions.

All agree that Wolpetau, ranking No. 1, and WolpaitIk, ranking No. 4, have charge of Falālap. Wolpetau said that he had charge of Ievang, WolpaitIk of Iauru. This division was not mentioned by the others, but at least was not denied, so can be taken as correct. Absence of mention of this point by Maroligar or Tom apparently reflects a gap in my questioning. It may also reflect the fact, already brought out, that the division of Falālap into two districts is not very important. The only time we saw this local authority exercised--when a dog bit Spiro, in Ievang (p. 149-50)--the two chiefs acted together.

Authority over Rauau district is divided, and accounts differ as to which chiefs are in charge. Wolpetau said that the rulers of Rauau were Wolpetau, Maroligar, and

Toromann. Maroligar gave the list as Maroligar, Paliuilimar, and Toromann. The difference may be one between theory and practise. Whatever Wolpetau's nominal authority, he did not trouble to exercise it, so far as I could observe. Neither did Paliuilimar. Not only were these two the most aged of the chiefs, but neither lived in Rauau. Wolpetau lived in distant Iauru, Paliuilimar in Falārlk. Both came frequently to Katēlū in Rauau district, to attend chiefs' meetings; but usually left for home as soon as the meetings were over. If they took part in the local affairs of Rauau--which were of a routine sort, while we were there--it must have been only as consultants. The active chiefs in Rauau were the two who lived there, and whose names appear on both lists: Maroligar and Toromann. As between the two, Toromann's role was distinctly subordinate. He was not lacking in ability or initiative. But one of the points that attest his [140] intelligence is his clear understanding of the limits of his authority, as lowest-ranking of the chiefs. He knew his place, and never overstepped its boundaries.

Asked which chief had charge of Falārlk district, Wolpetau only laughed quietly; disparagingly, it seemed to me, as if to imply that Falārlk was beneath the notice of a chief. Maroligar's answer was not incompatible. He named Fagaurateu of Sauwēl clan as ruler of Falārlk district. Fagaurateu was not a chief, but held the unique position of sub-chief. These two answers presumably express the official position. Tom, at a later time, said that Paliuilimar was in charge of Falārlk. This may have been true in practise, for Paliuilimar lived in Falārlk, and was the only chief who did; so presumably

he would be consulted about any local problem. A still later entry in my notes, based on another comment of Tom, says 'It seems that Maroligar has authority over Falărlk, too.' The situation seems to be that Fagaurateu was nominally in charge; but he, besides being inferior in rank to the chiefs, was old, sick, and perhaps senile. Under the circumstances, any chief--but particularly Paliuflimar, who lived in Falărlk district, and Maroligar, highest-ranking and most active resident of Falărlk island--might well intervene whenever it seemed advisable.

Local division of authority among the chiefs seems, on the whole, rather elastic. Yet one statement by Wolpaitlk suggests that individual chiefs are held responsible by the other chiefs, for the condition of the districts they control. The statement was in answer to one of a schedule of questions to bring out psychological characteristics. The particular question was aimed at sources of worry or anxiety. Wolpaitlk said that one thing he worried about was that the other chiefs might criticise him for the condition of his district. (Wolpaitlk was the junior, in age and length of service, of all the chiefs, as well as being next to the bottom in rank; so he might well have been more sensitive on this point than a more experienced man.)"

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that Sauvelārlk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior Sauvelārlk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in Sauvelārlk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

1: Burrows--141-142 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 622, 468, 152 Ifalik

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (ʻongarIk) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

2: Damm et al. --78-79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifaluk

The lesser chief is a kind of representative of the head chief. He has to oversee everything, and give an account to the head. [79]

The two lesser chiefs execute the orders of the head chief. They call the population together in the men's house, organize the big fishing expeditions and superintend the construction of the men's house.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 622 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: two chiefs rule over the island, the head chief, tamŏl oi i lap, Mailipue and the assistant chief, tamŏl i gitegit, O'Mairang; after him follows the ou rongäre tamŏl; previously it was the deceased Saporóu, but now it is his brother Djigedjügol.

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1 2
Woleai

Villages and Chiefs and sibs

Island:	Villages:	Chiefs:
1. Voléa:	Davokúol (a house)	Malitil
or Falalap	Jefang	Gadjegélog
god Eángelaf	Lúgulap	
	Vésavo	
	Jaur	Eagupelíor
	Lolepéleg (Born Leuleperik)	Gadjegélog lived here in 1910
2. Máriong:	Távagap	
	Ledjódjoi	Gafelélimar(was on Yap)
	Távoat	
3. Tagaulap or Thogóelep	no villages	Tórong
Thogóelep	Unamarai	Rógiol
4. Solũap:	Fáratai	
	Lugaséliap	Gafeleitop
	Jumanikil [207]	
5. Vótagai:	Dávogap	Uolegar
on the reef cap	Nikapelám (Hellwig: Ligábpidam)	Igélimar
former main island		

4: Krämer--206-207
116, 103, 622, 614

6. Falális: "spirit land"

7. Raur †

8. Paliau †

(1909) 1937

Bigol(Bugol) (Hellwig: Pügod)
Tavokúdu
Tavokúdak
Davokulong
Logop, Lúgalapraur
Kuoi

Woleaians-2
Woleai

Mativelit

Málangau
Málipet

Daruéliort

Erurlíelit

12: Lutke--129-130
116, 177, 609, 622

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Elato

To our great surprise we were not met here, as in the other places; we only saw one canoe on the water and it did not appear particularly anxious to communicate with us. When we hove to the natives tacked around us at a respectful distance and without paying attention to our signals of invitation; my passengers [AN: natives of Lamotrek], were too pleased with their gifts and their biscuits to bother much about the canoe. I was afraid that they might cause us delay and so I told them that I was going to start immediately for Ouleaf and that they would have to come with me if the canoe did not take them. This announcement produced an effect; they began to gesticulate, and finally the canoe drew along side. It held the tamol of the group, a big fat man, who knew a few words of Spanish; [130] I hastened to give him some presents, so that he would not tarry long; for I was anxious to complete my survey of these groups before nightfall. Finally, after making a few difficulties, he took the whole group, but they had a hard time to find places in the canoe.

28: Spiro--9 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 622 Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--14 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"The domestic political life on Ifaluk is characterized by hereditary chieftanship, of which there are five. Since Ifaluk is a matrillineal society, a chief inherits his office from his mother's brother, and transmits it to his sister's son. The five chiefs are formally ranged in a descending hierarchy, being designated as 'chief number one, number two, etc.' but in actual practice it is next to impossible to discover any functional differences between them, either in terms of responsibility or of privilege. The number of chiefs (tamon), and the lineages from which chiefs are chosen was already ordained by Autran, when she created the people of Ifaluk. (1)"

"1. The clans and lineages from which the chiefs are chosen, with the names of the current chiefs, in descending order of rank, are:

Wolptau: Kovalu--Ulepi
Maroligar: Sauvelarik--Somat
Wolpaitik: Sauvelarik--Falitre
Paluelimar: Mangaulevar--Linoa (Palueimar died shortly before our departure from Ifaluk. His household was abandoned because of much illness, the lineage split up, and I do not know who his ultimate successor will be.)"
Taroman: Rapevelu--Valevelu

28: Spiro--15-17
116, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-15
Ifalik

"Though informality characterizes Ifaluk culture, some attempt is made to give some formal training to the future chief. A chief will select his most likely successor, when he is in his early teens, at the latest, and will instruct him in the duties and responsibilities of chieftanship. Maroligar's successor, for example, was Uvelimun, and every afternoon I would see him taking him into the bush where they would remain for about an hour or two.

The nature of his instruction is a secret, and I obtained no information concerning it. One of the things he learns is the body of myth and legend, because the chiefs are the custodians of the cultural traditions. Aside from the formal instruction, the boy receives informal instruction from the women of his lineage, his maternal grandmother, aunts, as well as his mother. This instruction consists of general admonitions regarding his most important roles. 'Suppose I die, you savvy talk. You like my talk, you talk good that people, (then) find that place. Some man come, you look out good. That man go back, he say: "Very fine that Chief." If a place bad, he say: "Very bad that chief." You all same papa and mamma for people who come here. You give them chow. You no enough that chow, you tell people they bring to you, you give to that people from another place.'

The young boy has impressed upon him, then, his responsibilities, both with respect to his own people, and to visitors. The chief is the patriarch of his people, responsible for their behavior, so that their character and behavior reflects on him. Notice, too, the stress on the opinions of the stranger. Be a good chief, so that the visitor will tell his people of your ability and competence. Also to be emphasized is the stress laid on gift giving, particularly of food.

This lesson is learned well. The chiefs constantly offered their services to us, supplied us with a regular supply of food and coconuts. It was quite apparent from the day we arrived that we were to be the special wards of the chiefs.

Though the chiefs' authority extends over the entire island, each chief has official charge over a particular district, and is responsible for its welfare. Unlike the feeling of friendly rivalry and consciousness of prestige that characterized inter-island interraction, inter-district interraction reveals little, if any, such characteristic.

The responsibilities of the chiefs are much more than political, in our understanding of that term. They are the leaders of Ifaluk, par excellence, in all aspects of culture, not only the narrowly political. This follows from the fact that Ifaluk, like other primitive societies does not conceptualize its culture into different categories, each serving its own end. There is no term, for example, for religion, or politics, or economics, etc., all of these categories being western concepts that we shall use for convenience of

analysis, but which do not exist in the minds of the natives themselves. The very title of this chapter, [16] political organization, is a travesty on native thought. The tamon are the leaders of their people, which means that all social activities are performed under their leadership, and/or with their sanction. All activity is performed becasue the chiefs endorse it, either explicitly or implicitly. But their leadership, or direction, is unobtrusive, and neither their individual personalities, nor their institutionalized behavior corresponds to that of the western politician or statesman.. The chiefs, if I may be permitted an analogy are not only the starters that get the motor of the car running, but they are lubrication, that keeps the motor running without undue friction, the accelerator, the brakes. The chiefs serve, albeit unconsciously, as the guarantors of this culture, as a going concern, without whom it would collapse. And what makes their influence so remarkable is their lack of any mark of office that we are so accustomed to in the west. They possess no external symbol of power nor any punitive power to enforce their 'demands.' I deliberately enclose the term, demands, in quotes because this too, would be a term alien to native mentality. The chiefs do not legislate for the people, nor do they give commands to the people, but rather, they express the will of the people; they articulate the demands of the people. This culture exhibits a real benevolent paternalism. It is the chiefs who know what is best for the people, and their orders are

conceived as the objective articulation of the subjectively felt needs of the society. This is sophisticated, but I think, accurate description of the native view of the chiefs derived from many conversations with many natives. And this, I am sure, is the conception the chiefs have of themselves. Never did I see any indication of self-seeking, of quest for power or prestige. If anything, just the opposite is the case. The chiefs are retiring and selfless, seeking neither honor nor glory. Though, theoretically, their power is absolute, I saw not a single instance of abuse of this power, in the form of demanding of property or gifts or women or privileges. Their leadership is viewed as a vocation, in the Protestant sense of the term, that is, as a service to the society, a moral duty that must be fulfilled. And defection from this ideal would result in great shame. That this conception of themselves is felt by them quite consciously is born out objectively by the Bavelais Moral Ideology Test and by the Stewart Emotional Response Test. The responses to these tests by the five chiefs were almost unanimously alike, and quite different from the responses of the people. All showed a profound personal identification with their people, so that their feelings of happiness or sadness, shame or anger, were determined by the conditions or feelings of their people. If their people were wellfed or were healthy, then they were happy. But if their people were hungry or ill, or if they quarreled or were not industrious, then they were sad. Their consciousness of leadership responsibilities emerged quite clearly from these tests, as well. The activities that were praisworthy or blameworthy were not personal activities, but rather communal ones. If

they performed their duties, saw to it that the people cleaned their yards, planted taro, made rope, etc., they would be praised, but any derelictions in this regard would evoke blame. This observation, in conjunction with their response to those things that cause them shame, namely, to be found wanting in communal responsibilities, not ordering the people to go fishing, or to prepare food, etc., substantiates two further points: they conceive of their office as the fulfillment of responsibilities, and their responsibilities involve the expression of the will of the poeple, not the giving of orders that may or may not coincide with the latter's desires. It serves to emphasize the fact that the people recognize the necessity of engaging in certain social or economic activities, but wait for the chiefs to take the initiative in instigating them, so that if the latter do not do so, they are not done, with the result that the chiefs are to be blamed. These observations are of far reaching significance for Ifaluk personality development, and cultural psychology, points which we shall [17] examine later. Here, I only wish to point out that despite the absence of any of the accoutrement that we associate with democracy, with, on the contrary, all the external signs of despotism, we have as complete a democracy as is possible. The great responsibilities of the chiefs, combined with a concommitant lack of privilege, leaves little room for surprise over the fact that not one young man expressed a desire to be chief. They all informed me, in great earnest, that they would not like to be chiefs, and their reasons, to a man, were that the responsibilities were too great."

28: Spiro--17
116, 622, 226

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With these remarks in mind, we can now turn to the actual functions of the chiefs. In the first place the entire economic life of Ifaluk is under their direction and supervision. Communal fishing expeditions are never undertaken without their direction or consent. A man may go fishing any time he desires, but only the chiefs are empowered to order the entire village to go fishing. Since fish is a vital part of the native diet, it is important that these trips be successful, so that the chiefs must be well-acquainted with the habits, movements, and habitat of the various species of fish, so as not to order the men on a wild goose hunt. Once the fishing begins, certain men, who are recognized as expert fishermen direct the work, and since two of the chiefs are so recognized, their share in this responsibility is large, but they function not as chiefs, but as fishing experts.

All communally-owned capital goods are manufactured at the orders of the chiefs. Fishing traps and seins, which are vital to the Ifaluk economy are made only when the chiefs order them to be made. Now, it must be realized that every man is fully aware of the importance of replenishing these objects, and yet no one will undertake to do so, or take the initiative in getting others to do so, unless ordered by the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--17-18
116, 574, 622, 157

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--18
116, 622, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chiefs also act as the depositories of the cultural traditions. Myths and legends are almost unknown to the people, but they are transmitted by the chiefs to their successors. This is also true of religious and other cultural values. If one questions a native about any aspect of religion, morality, social and cultural values, he will tell you what he knows, and they say, that for a complete and thorough account you should speak to the chiefs, because they are the ones who really know these things.

Finally, the chiefs are the moral guides of the culture. Ifaluk religion and ethics are not connected as they are in western religion, so that the chiefs, rather than the priest-shaman are charged with the perpetuation of the mores."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

28: Spiro--18-19
116, 182, 554, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Further reflection on the nature of Ifaluk society makes us pause even longer over this phenomenon. In theocratic societies, or in societies in which the ruler enjoys divine or magical rights or protection, it is understandable that his demands should be respected. But no such concept of supernatural power or protection obtains in Ifaluk. The chief is a man among men, who happens, it is true, to descend [19] from a particular lineage. Add to this the objective fact of the smallness of the island, in which the child knows everyone from the moment that he begins to perceive and distinguish objects, and every one knows every one else as intimately as one person can know another. These people grow up together, they plan and work together and learn very soon the virtues and vices, abilities and foibles of their fellows. Now the chiefs grow up as part of this process. In huge empires the prince lives apart from the commoners, he grows to adulthood in the court, where few people can know him, so that he can maintain the aura of magical greatness. But on Ifaluk this is impossible. The chief is remembered by practically all of the people, as that young foolish kid, who would never obey his parents, or as my friend with whom I participated in a number of pranks, who is a poor fisherman, or inept carpenter. And suddenly he is thrust into the position of authority, at which time he not only receives the respect of his fellows, but becomes the ultimate sanction of their good behavior. This is indeed a perplexing question, and one to which

we shall return in our discussion of Ifaluk personality and psychology.

The people accept the chief's authority without question. One afternoon I asked a group of men why they obeyed the chiefs. This was obviously a very perplexing question for them. Apparently it had never been articulated before. Obedience to the chiefs is just accepted as part of the natural order of things. After stating the question in a number of different ways, I could get only the stock answer: 'We don't know. Before, before, all the same now.' That is, this is part of our tradition, and inheritance from the past, and we accept it. As we continued the discussion, other points were made, however. 'Suppose no have chief, all people fool. (If) chief see people very bad, he tell them "You no make that. No my talk I talk to you, talk before, talk my house, my place." If another man come, see no chief, very bad.'

What is said in this statement is that the chiefs are the ultimate guarantors of the culture, and its values. If there were no chiefs, the people would be 'fools', or 'make bad', that is, they would violate the mores, and the culture would disintegrate. The presence of the chiefs prevents the people from such violation. For, 'If people talk, no somebody afraid. Chief talk, all people afraid.' That is, the people accept the authority of the chiefs, and abide by their reprimands if they commit a wrong. But a reprimand from another would have little effect, because they fear only the chiefs."

28: Spiro--19-20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 622, 182, 115, 554 Ifalik

"When asked why the chiefs elicit this obedience, and no one else, the answer is immediate--because their lineages are 'more high.' This superiority of descent is accepted implicitly. It is not the person is personally superior, has greater ability or knowledge, but that he is descended from the 'royal family.' The obedience, then, is to the status, not the individual. When I asked, for example, how they felt about obeying a young chief, whom they had ordered around when he was a boy, and who now is their superior, though they probably have greater skills and knowledge than he, they expressed surprise. Why not? Isn't he a member of the lineage of chiefs?

No person could remember one instance of disobedience of a chief. 'Men afraid that chief. (If) one man no like talk for chief, very bad man. All people no like. Why he no like talk for chief?'

I might illustrate this point by one incident in which we were involved. One morning Tom, our interpreter, came to us saying that he would not work with us for a few days since the canoe, that he was building with the assistance of some other man, was not being completed rapidly enough because the other men were not indiligent [sic] in their work, and that he would have to devote more time to the work. Later in the day, he came to me, saying that the chiefs had heard of his not working with [20] us and were angry with him. I told him that I wanted him to complete his work as soon as possible and that

both Dr. Burrows and I would rather he worked on his canoe for a few days. But he looked at me very contritely, and in a very pathetic voice, he answered that the chiefs are 'too angry at me', and therefore he was afraid to work on his canoe because he was afraid of the chiefs. Now this is from a man who had lived in Manilla for four years, who was descended from a chiefly lineage himself, and was next in line for a chieftanship, and who often decried the chiefs to me, impugning their abilities, and calling them 'fool fellows' because they had not had the experiences that he had had."

28: Spiro--22
622, 276, 522, 576

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight fnto the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--24-25
116, 622, 184, 554

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"As I have pointed out above, informality characterizes the relationship between chiefs and people, there being no overt symbol that might distinguish one from the other to a stranger. The chiefs assume the same economic obligations that the other men have. They participate in communal clean-ups, fishing expeditions, building repairs, and all other work, working with the other men, with no special dispensations of any kind.

Socially, they receive no special recognitions. They are addressed by name, as any other man. When sitting in the canoe-house they occupy no special seat of honor, nor is their arrival or departure signaled by special courtesy. In conversation their opinions are given no greater weight than those of a commoner.' Nor are they treated with any special respect or deference. For example, Dr. Burrows administered anti-dysentary shots to five men when we first arrived, for a period of five days, one of the men being Wolptau. On some days, the men would come at least an hour after the arrival of Wolptau (he was on time, they were late), and he waited till the others came; he not complaining, they not apologizing for having kept him waiting.

Nor do the chiefs attempt to keep themselves aloof from the people. This cameraderie is carried to the extent of Maroligar, the second ranking chief, playing cards with the young men and small boys, and being kidded for making a foolish move.

But despite this informality, when they function ex cathedra, their word is law, and

obedience is immediate. When they sit in the canoe-house adjacent to the fanap, conducting a meeting, no one will enter uninvited, or else will enter through the rear, so as not to intrude upon them in an obtrusive fashion. Furthermore, the entire plot of ground, Atelu, referred to above, is the property of the chiefs, and symolizes the chiefly office (or the government, to use an abstraction foreign to native modes of thinking), so that the village path that traverses the island skirts this section, and unless a person is going to Atelu itself, he will take this circumscribed route. Furthermore, when a person passes Atelu, he pays his respect by bending his entire trunk his hands clasped behind his back. This motor behavior becomes entirely automatic, as it is already inculcated even in the very young children.

The chiefs, also, receive special seats of honor at all religious ceremonies, and no ceremony begins in their absence. Furthermore, mourning at the death of a chief [25] is more extensive than for that of a commoner. On the other hand, as far as I could determine, no special rite commemorates a chief's taking office. His successor merely assumes his responsibilities, and begins to function with no ceremony of coronation."

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him en masse bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."

28: Spiro--25 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 554, 157 Ifalik

"The most important function served by the chiefs we may conclude, is that of cultural or ethical fathers. It is to the chiefs that the people look for the source of their basic values and for their sanctions and validations. The chiefs, recognize this role, and behave towards their people in a paternal manner. This interpretation comes out very beautifully in the following incidental statement by Tom. I had been collecting folklore from the chiefs, and after finishing the mythology, they told me some stories about some 'fool fellows', Ifalukians, who had responded to certain situations in a very foolish manner. The chiefs told me that I was to keep these stories secret, since the people did not know them, and they preferred that they not be told. I asked them the reason for this secrecy, and they answered that the people would laugh at these foolish acts, and would be ashamed that their own people had committed such stupidities. Tom then added that the chiefs would not laugh or be ashamed, since they are 'all same pappa this place,' and thus would treat them as a parent might treat some ontoward act of his child."

28: Spiro--37 [2]
116, 571, 476, 622, 463

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Another characteristic of cooperative work is the seeming absence of direction or plan. No one has a definite assignment, but fits himself in where he thinks he is needed. To make matters worse, no one individual assumes over-all direction, with the result that everyone shouts orders to everyone else, and men are seen jumping from one station to another, many with the same object in mind. Now when as many as 36 men are working on one canoe, the result is utter chaos and confusion, at least to the observer. But somehow, the end result of this turmoil and absence of plan, is a unified activity, with the end-in-view accomplished, and, what is even more important, with no injuries.

This lack of plan or leadership is patent not only in the actual undertaking itself, but in the absence of foresight in its preparation. Almost invariably something that should have been prepared in advance is remembered all too late in the midst of an intricate engineering job, which precipitates much confusion, until someone finally corrects it. One would think that the men would agree upon some one individual to act as the leader of the work gang, but no one suggests this, and no one will voluntarily take over this job, with the result that there are a number of leaders.

This lack of leadership, I hasten to add, applies only to the actual process of work, not to the general undertaking. There are specialists in construction, trained in engineering principles, who plan the repair that is to be done, and who direct the operations.

It is only in the particularised aspects of the total job, such as hoisting a beam, or lowering a keel that this chaos reigns."

28: Spiro--133 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 595 Ifalik

"Marriage is monogamous, though the informants said that in the past a chief could have two wives. But today not even the chiefs practice polygymy. 'We don't do that in this place.'"

28: Spiro--136 a
116, 562, 611, 591, 622

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"By this time I had become intimate enough with the chiefs, to be able to point up difficulties or problems in their interpretations. I asked whether the two factors of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence did not indicate female superiority. This, they responded triumphantly, proves the superiority of men. For if there were only women in the house, they would live miserable lives. The houses would be small and there would be no fish to eat, since canoe and house construction, as well as fishing, is man's work. Thus if there were no matrilocal residence, the women would only 'chowchow, but no chow fish.'

The fallacy in the argument is obvious, but I admitted its validity, and then pointed out that they had answered only the matrilocal, not the matrilineal objection. To this they looked quite chagrined, and finally said, 'you talk true.' They were then silent for a long time, as if they were all meditating. Finally, Wolpatau, the highest ranking chief, came forth with a new argument, which we all accepted as incontrovertible. Men are superior to women because only men are chiefs, and women cannot be chiefs (unless there are no men in the chiefly lineages)."

28: Spiro--141-142 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

183 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was super- [502] ficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

qualms. He asked Tom if he could not arrange a crew to take his wa terach, sea-going canoe, and go along. Tom said he could, but that he would have to get permission from the chiefs.

When the decision was made to sail that Monday morning, Ted had high hopes that he could go along. He made it seem very simple. I didn't know whether to volunteer to go along or not; I don't know whether he would have taken me anyway, but I was scared at the prospect of having to make some decision. But the decision was taken away from us.

We heard Maroligar blowing on his conch shell down by the beach, to call the chiefs together. Shortly after, the three navigators from Satawal came to pay us a farewell call, along with Fagolier, Maroligar and Tom. Tom announced to Ted the chiefly decision:

"Those chief 'e say 'no'. Suppose too much wind. Suppose typhoon 'e come. That canoe 'e go roll, roll, roll. Bimeby fall down in salt water. You *die*.

"Suppose you want go 'nother island, 'e got steamer. 'E got that Navy boat. You take 'im."

I felt a great sense of relief. Ted took it nobly, though surely his last chance for this great anthropological scoop was going with those canoes. He couldn't question the chiefly decision: but he could at least use the incident to show that chiefly government on Ifaluk was operating, and that the chiefs felt secure enough to deny a request backed by the enormous prestige of an anthropologist representing the occupying American power.

Ted decided he would at least get as thorough a description of the embarkation as he could. He put a case of corned beef in the rowboat and we set out for Falalap, Bakal and a friend at the oars and Don and me armed to the teeth with cameras. We got there just in time to see the last of the three big canoes rolled down into the water, and to follow the provisioning and stowing of the baggage—mostly big wooden chests that looked as though they might be of Japanese manufacture. Finally the passengers started to embark. The few women and children among these crawled into little thatched huts built out over the water on each canoe, on the opposite side from the outriggers. It certainly looked like cramped quarters.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 Ted dealt out his forty-eight cans of beef as a going-away present.
[22] The chief palu acknowledged this with a short but elegant-sounding speech.

We rowed out to the pass to watch the canoes put up sail when they had passed out of the lagoon—a pretty sight. Three sturdy canoes
[50?] starting out confidently across the Pacific to hit another tiny atoll—perhaps no staggering distance away, but still something to find without instruments.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER IV

FISHING—AND BAKALIZING

TUESDAY morning was started by one of the chiefs blowing a series of resonant blasts, down by the lagoon shore, on a horn made from a large Triton shell. This was the signal for a general assembly. The chiefs had decided that the island needed cleaning up, and word had gone round that the start should be made today. The ground of the coconut grove along the lagoon had been littered with trash ever since the storm, particularly noticeable on the fine lawn of Japanese temple grass around the Fan Nap.

The cleaning was unhurried. The ground was swept with short brooms made from coconut leaves or from old coconut flower stalks with the branches held together by a binding of sennit cord. Much of the sweeping was done from a comfortable sitting or squatting position and the trash was gathered into neat piles to be burned later. The clean-up started at the south end of the island, the people gradually working north. At noon, when about half of the Rauau area was finished, Maroligar again sounded the trumpet and everyone knocked off for the day.

Don and I spent the morning trying to get things more organized around camp. There were Don's drums to be unpacked. He now had a typewriter and a small but very useful reference library and all sorts of goodies like specimen jars, thermometers, hydrometers for measuring salinity, and extra trousers which had been used for packing material. I promptly scrounged a pair of trousers. I had come to the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

the flies, and during the evening, to get away from the mosquitoes. Ted stuck to the Fan Nap for writing up his notes—but carefully protected with long trousers tied around the ankles, and with coils of Japanese "punk" burning to exorcise the mosquitoes. He had great faith in that burning punk.

We decided to start the plant collecting that afternoon, since the drying cabinet was ready. It was quite an expedition—Yani, Tony, Bakal, Don and me. The idea was to try to collect not only the plants, but information about them. Tony, as a Ulithi man, didn't know the local plant lore, but he was a good interpreter. Yani's English was rapidly gaining in fluency, however, and he and Don, particularly, were able to understand one another almost from the beginning without outside help. Yani did know the local plants—their names and their uses—and Don would jot down this information while I fussed with the plant press itself. Bakal, as usual, was general handy man.

The clean-up was continued next morning and pretty well finished by noon, when everyone on Falarik gathered on the lawn outside the Fan Nap for a communal meal. "Feast" is probably too strong a word for the meals that invariably followed any community activity. The food was lavish enough, contributed by all of the participating households, but it did not differ markedly from the everyday diet.

In this instance, Ted decided that the occasion was important enough for him to contribute one of the cases of corned beef that he had brought along for just such purposes. The canned beef was a greatly appreciated delicacy, called "carawao," which would seem to stem from the Spanish word for water-buffalo, carabao. Several Ifalukian words reflected Spain's dominance in the Carolines in the 19th century —the word "cat" for instance, which hardly differed from the Spanish gato.

The opened case of beef was put before Maroligar, the number two chief, but the distribution of the cans was carried out by Toroman, the number three chief, who always seemed to take over when there was anything to be divided among the island households. He called out the names of the households, tossing the cans to representatives of each; some cans were set aside for Falalap (which was having its own clean-up), and there was a small, separate pile for the chiefs.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958

OR21 Woleai OR21

Ifaluk

301
142

RIGHT Sagolimar, who often worked with us.

LEFT Gauaisig, navigator and canoe builder.

BELOW Toroman, the number three chief and official divider of food.

622
516
142

[P. 64(c)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [269]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [931]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

28: Spiro--20 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 123 Ifalik

"The chiefs assemble the people for public meetings whenever they wish to announce a new policy or some new event. Before the people are assembled, however, the chiefs meet alone to decide among themselves what actions or decisions are to be taken. And though the chiefs are ranked in a descending heirarchy, the decision is always arrived at by a concensus rather than by any one prevailing over the others. From the nature of their discussions, which we were always permitted to attend, it seems that a majority decision is not sufficient, so that they continue to discuss the matter until they can all agree on the course to be taken. At times this requires a long time. For example, Dr. Burrows and I asked Tom if we might rent a canoe for the duration of our stay. He said that he would speak to the chiefs, since a matter of that kind would require their consideration. The chiefs had a special meeting, requiring three hours to decide what objectively looked like a very simple matter. The decision, incidentally, was to give us a canoe for the duration of our stay, but with the stipulation that we confine our canoeing to the lagoon, lest we go into the ocean, and capsize, in which case the chiefs would feel 'very bad.' It is also of interest parenthetically, in terms of the Ifaluk emphasis on status, that after informing us of the chiefs' decision, Tom told us that when we return to America we should inform the people and the chief that the Ifalukians were very good to us, and had given us a canoe, and 'then, Ifaluk more high.'"

28: Spiro--20 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 421 Ifalik

"After making their decisions and deciding on an agenda the chiefs let it be known that a public meeting will be held the next day, or in two days. On the morning of the designated day, the chiefs assemble in the canoe-house next to the Fanap, the public meeting house. (1)"

"1. The entire plot of land, holding the canoe-house and the fanap, is called Atelu, and quasi-sacred property, which belongs to the chiefs, and which people seldom frequent: The chiefs had us pitch our tent on this land."

"Taroman, the fifth ranking chief then announces the meeting by blowing on a conk shell, which hangs in the fanap, and is used only for that purpose. Time is relatively unimportant on Ifaluk, and the people show no great alacrity in assembling. A delay of one to two hours between the sounding of the conk and the assembling of the people is by no means unusual. When the people begin to assemble the chiefs enter the fanap, where they sit near the front pillar. (1) There are no [21] special seating places at these meetings, any one sitting where he chooses, some in the fanap, some along the sides or

---

"1. To stand in the presence of another is an insult, this being one of the first things an Ifaluk child is taught. Not even the chiefs will stand in the presence of the people, even when addressing them. The American Military Government officers respected this folkway, as did the anthropologists, which contrasted very favorably, in the eyes of the natives, with the Japanese practice of talking to the natives while standing on a table."

in front of it. The one invariable practice in seating arrangement, however, is the complete separation of the sexes, under no circumstances do men and women sit together.

Since there is little formality in Ifaluk, the meetings are conducted in a fairly haphazard manner, any one of the five chiefs making the opening speech. The chiefs, as we shall note later, are always informal and their behavior at the meetings is no exception some reclining or actually lying flat while the meeting is in progress.

Before noting the general features of these meetings, it might be well to describe some of the individual meetings in terms of subjects discussed as this will give not only the form of the meetings, but also the values with which the culture is concerned.

There were four meetings held during our seven month stay. The first was called on the occasion of our arrival, and we did not attend as we were in the midst of setting up camp. This was on July 29, and its purpose was to discuss our arrival, the manner in which people were to respond to us, and to appoint a boy to assist us in our camp, the latter being done on their own initiative, without a request from us.

The second meeting, on August 14, was occasioned by my mentioning to the men that other anthropologists were making studies of other islands. The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military

Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1). Furthermore, they must cooperate with us, and do whatever we might request. There was little discussion by the people, but their response to the recommendations was immediate, for at the close of the meeting the men began to erect over-water heads, and the women were already cleaning their courtyards as I walked through the village. The admonition to cooperate with us had already been

---

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

practiced before the meeting had been called.

The next meeting was called on September 4, and it seems that I was indirectly responsible for its occasion. On September 2 our first (and last) station ship arrived, and after it left I informed the chiefs that the officers had commented on the cleanliness of the island (1), and had said that except for a few spots, Ifaluk was the neatest island they had seen. The chiefs were very pleased by this compliment, [22] and decided to call a meeting to instruct the people to better their efforts in cleanliness.

At this meeting, which lasted about one hour, Wolptau and Taroman, the first and fifth ranking chiefs, respectively, bore the lion's share of the talking, with Paluelimar, third in rank, making a minor contribution, and Maroligar and Wolpatitik not uttering a word. Both chiefs and people were very serious, the former speaking long, loudly and

---

"1. This was later born out by my own observations, for on our way home we visited most islands in the Yap district, and most of them revealed rubbish and litter strewn about, whereas Ifaluk was always tidy and neat."

impassionately. The people listened in silence, and the impression was that of a father admonishing his children. The chiefs began by telling the people that I had informed the officers that the village was always clean and neat, and that they would have to confirm this report in deed, by beginning a general cleanup. They then reported to the favorite theme of all meetings--the admonition not to engage in 'bad talk', and conversely, to speak only 'good talk.' This simple message was repeated by all three speakers numerous times, and in many variations.

Quite significant was the attention devoted to the women, for despite the fact that women shoulder most of the work, it was they who were told that they were not to be indolent, but must work, must prepare food and make lavalavs. The men, too, were warned to exercise greater diligence, but not to the same degree as the women.

The people remained silent throughout, neither questioning their chiefs nor addressing remarks to them. At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also, that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This

distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight into the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described.

It may be remarked here that the response of the people to the clean-up order was immediate. The following day, the entire population had retired to the bush to carry out their instructions.

The fourth and last public meeting we witnessed was held on October 23. The chiefs had been asking us when we expected the next ship, and we had told them that one should arrive any day, so they called this meeting to inform the people that a ship was due, and that they should prepare for its arrival by another clean-up. Again, as at the previous meeting, Maroligar and Wolpaitik, did no talking at all, Taroman doing most of the speaking, but joined by Wolptau and Paluelimar. Taroman began by warning the people to do no wrong, special emphasis being placed on stealing and lying. He warned the women in particular not to abscond with taro from another woman's taro patch. To be noted in this connection is the paradox of warning people [23] against a transgression of which they are never guilty, for, as we shall see, robbery or thievery never occurs in this culture.

When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity.

He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits.

He then turned to the real reason for calling the meeting--he announced the pending arrival of the ship, and ordered the people to begin another general clean-up.

Paluelimar spoke at the conclusion of Wolptau's address. He announced that a dance was to be held in the near future, and that the young men should begin to prepare for it. (this was at our request, for we hadinformed the chiefs of our desire to witness a dance.). He repeated Wolptau's order about the clean-up, and then said that Dr. Burrows and I were to be treated as chiefs, that the people were to do whatever we asked of them, as we were concerned with their welfare.

At the completion of his speech, the chiefs again distributed tobacco, and the meeting broke up informally.

It is discernable from these sketches that the pattern of the meetings is the same in all. But aside from the similarities in the content of the meetings, there are also similarities in the formal aspects, that should be noted."

28: Spiro--23
116, 623, 461

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Both men and women come to the meetings supplied with work-materials, which keeps them busy during the entire meeting. The men bring their coconut sennet, to be twisted into rope; and the women bring flowers, out of which they make leis, or banana bark fibres, which they make into thread. Throughout the meeting, men and women are busily engaged in their work. The chiefs, too, bring their sennet, and continue to make their rope, even when addressing the people. Though this occured at all the meetings, it was not until the last one that this procedure presented itself to me as a problem. If the people were very diligent and frugal with their time, one could understand this practice without difficulty. But the fact is, as we shall see, the people can, and do, sit around for an entire day, without engaging in a single productive activity. Why, then, this burst of industry at the meetings? When I queried him on this point, Tom answered that a man would be ashamed if he were to be seen just sitting at the meeting without doing anything, for it was not right to be seen doing nothing. In other words, the fact thay they loaf at other times is not important, but at a public meeting no one wishes to be accused of indolence. And yet, plausible, as this interpretation might be on the surface, it is far from satisfying. Why is a man ashamed to be seen without work at a meeting, but not at any other time? Surely, just the opposite should be true. The meetings are very important, and as such, should they not hold the people's undivided attention? At this point we can only indicate the problem, but we shall take it up again when we consider the psychological correlates of Ifaluk culture."

28: Spiro--24
116, 623, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another fairly constant factor at the meetings is the contrast between the attitudes of the older and younger people. Whereas the former take the meetings very seriously, with one exception--that of the priest--doctor--the younger men seemed little interested in the proceedings. For example, at one of the meetings, the young men were very slow in arriving, and did not sit in or around the fanap, but sat in the canoe house quite a distance from the fanap. Taroman rebuked them for this, and ordered them into the fanap, and they were quite slow in obeying his directions."

28: Spiro--24 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623 Ifalik

"Like everything else in Ifaluk, the meetings have little, if any, plan. The chiefs may decide to call a meeting a week in advance of its actual occurence, but they make no attempt to plan a definite agenda, or decide who is to speak. It seems that they speak whatever comes to mind, are prodded by the other chiefs, while speaking, frequently turn to the other chiefs for suggestions, and often debate among themselves as to whom is to do the talking, each one passing the buck to the others."

28: Spiro--24 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 623, 537, 184 Ifalik

"The speeches of the chiefs shows a definite pattern of delivery. They talk for a certain time, and then lapse into complete silence for an extended period, the only sound being the swishing of the coconut fibre that the men are making into rope. This interval of silence, theoretically, gives the people an opportunity to express themselves, or to take issue with the chiefs if they desire. I say, theoretically, because at none of the meetings we attended did any one make use of this opportunity."

8: Senfft--283
116, 273, 625, 681

(1905) 1906

Woleaians
Woleai

The coconut stocks on Oleei were normal. Two years ago extermination measures were taken against the rat plague and by now the trouble has decreased considerably. Since the recall of the police post who was in charge of enforcing these measures nothing had been done and the natives had started once more to drink sour toddy. In a condition of complete drunkenness a native had first threatened a dealer with a long knife and then with a spear. The man was taken to Jap and later sentenced on that island. A rumor circulated that three years ago an Australian dealer, who was old and feeble and who had been working on Oleei for a Jap firm, had died an unnatural death. I started extensive investigations on the spot which really produced incriminating material. It seems that a Sonsol native attacked the dealer in his bed, made him unconscious by blows of a hammer and then strangled him. It is said that the housekeeper of the dealer --a fellow islander of the murderer--had been an accomplice to the crime. Other witnesses are said to exist on the islands of Lamutrik and Satuwal. The main witnesses needed for the trial had to be called and set out on the voyage. At the present time the two accused are on Palau.

In a general meeting I discussed everything of importance and informed the population that once more I would leave behind a policeman with far-reaching powers. Fines in the form of naturalia were imposed for neglect of the tree protection law directed against destruction by rats and for the consumption of sour toddy.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 625, 643 Woleai

In the first place I stationed two reliable policemen at the island who can in case of emergency ask three former soldiers living now on the island, for help and who received the order to prevent the drinking of toddy [MR: which he considered a cause of dysentery] and to use force if necessary. The chiefs cannot be relied upon in this respect. Their authority is limited by many considerations and is not greater than that of our village magistrates. There is no chief over the whole group of islands and the above mentioned Follebu in Yap is also the ruler over Oleai.

1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 475, 626 Ifalik

"Government on Ifalik, as described in this chapter, is limited to administration of certain rules regulating conduct. Another activity which might well be allotted to government is public works. But since the services performed are economic, and some of them involve distinctive techniques, it has been convenient to describe this activity under economics and technology, except for the matter of enforcing participation in communal undertakings, which will be discussed in this chapter. Various other activities performed in our culture by governmental agencies are either absent in Ifalik or seem to be outside the sphere of government as here understood.

Not all rules are regarded as governmental. Following Malinowski*, the distinction drawn here is based on the sanctions by which they are enforced. Rules not taken seriously enough to be sanctioned at all, or sanctioned only in informal ways, as by the inertia of custom, the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule, or the positive sanction of practical efficacy, are not the concern of government. And sanctions that we regard as supernatural, whether thought of as automatic, or as administered by superhuman beings, are allotted to religion."

"* Malinowski's views on government were first formulated in 'Crime and Custom in Savage Society,' redefined later in the preface to Hogbin, 'Law and Order in Polynesia.'"

1: Burrows--144-146 (1947-48) Woleaians 43
116, 626, 646 Ifalik

"To show which rules of conduct are particularly emphasized, recurrent [145] commandments in the speeches at the three meetings are listed below, beginning with those that seemed most frequent. The list is minimal, because Tom was not so well trained for running translations as the interpreters who perform the same service at meetings of the United Nations; so his accounts were sketchy. It was only at the last meeting that I could understand any considerable part of what was going on; and even that was only midway in our stay on the island, so the language was still only dawning on me. The commandments recorded were these:

Heed the words of the chiefs
Clean away rubbish
Work hard, so that there will be plenty of food
Do not steal (with emphasis on food)
Share with the poor and sick (emphasis on food)
Build 'overwater heads' or latrines

Another commandment, not recorded at these meetings, but heard several times--one of them, in a hypothetical chief's address to the people dictated by Tom as a text--was 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' During one of the meetings, Paliuilimar spoke especially to people of his clan, Mangaulevār, and Maroligar followed with a brief talk which contained repeated mention of his clan, SauvelārIk. I did not manage to get a translation of this passage.

The repeated insistence on respect and obedience to the chiefs illustrates one of the main purposes of these meetings. The repeated emphasis on food suggests that one of the main sentiments clusters about food; at least, that abundance of food is a master value. The repeated strictures against idling and stealing suggest that these may be particularly common forms of misbehavior, though the only specific instance noted was the tongue-lashing about shirking communal fishing, which seemed to be directed at one or more specific malingerers.

Conspicuous by their absence from these harangues are rules about sexual relations and violence. To be sure, the one mention of the traditional behavior required of menstruating women is in the general area of sexuality. But nothing was said about clan exogamy or adultery. Clan exogamy is certainly taken seriously. We have seen that there were no violations of it in 1947-8. Perhaps it is so generally observed there is no need to talk about it.

Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce.

As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs speeches at public meetings

suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorók). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifalik would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected."

28: Spiro--23 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
226, 626 Ifalik

"When Taroman was finished, Wolptau took over. He told the men that should any of them go fishing they were to bring their catch to the chiefs for distribution so that the old and the sick would be provided for. This is the customary procedure, but Wolptau saw fit to remind the men of it, since some of the men had been violating this custom. This demonstrates how violations of custom are handled. No individual is rebuked, or singled out, but a general rule of conduct is enunciated, which apparently is sufficient to ensure conformity."

28: Spiro--81 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 626, 848, 581 Ifalik

"Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried sweethearts (gamar) are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The natives point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, and what difference, therefore, does it make whether they are born to married couples or to sweethearts. Thus the native name for an infant, sauwau for a girl, ligau for a boy, is the same whether its parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his sweetheart should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be scorned and called a 'very bad man' by all the people."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1949-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifaluk too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possible on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and not sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not be lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible dereliction for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

28: Spiro--110-111 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 577, 867, 626 Ifalik

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

Misdeed	No. of subjects	% of subjects	Male %	Female %
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out

practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother, rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life [sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of commiting them."

28: Spiro--111-112
116, 153, 861, 626

(1947-48).1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Social scientists have recently stressed the fact that imitation alone does not explain social and cultural learning, that such learning involves a system of rewards and punishments, the former serving to reinforce positive responses, and the latter serving to extinguish the wrong responses. On Ifaluk the punishments are quite definite and tangible, whereas the rewards are diffuse and mostly psychological in nature. In other words, rewards are seldom in the nature of 'Presents.' The simple cultural fact is that there is little possibility for the concept of 'present.' In a culture in which each family is an economic unit, almost entirely self-sufficient, each such family manufactures what every other family has so that there is no division of labor which results in exchange of goods. The child, therefore, cannot be offered something which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess are his for use anyway. Presents in the form of material goods would merely be an addition of something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough so as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors operating--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is an unimportant factor, for again, given the cultural and geographical facts--the reality situation--there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any cultural goods the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being able to listen to the

radio, to see the movie, to go for an automobile ride, etc. do not exist. Others, such as being able to stay up late at night, to go with his parents to a party or to the home of a relative are not special privileges. They are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward and/or privilege following a meritorious deed is therefore, absent from this culture.

The only category remaining under reward is praise, and this is employed. The child who conforms to the social expectations, or who does something particularly meritorious, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents, but by all adults. The positive dynamics in learning, therefore, is the desire to be praised, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But this, apparently is not enough. There are negative sanctions that are even more important than the positive, though, to be sure, they may be viewed as the obverse side of the motivational coin. If one desires praise and security, one avoids blame, rejection, and ridicule. Ridicule and its resultant feeling of shame is probably the strongest factor operative in the Ifaluk learning pattern. There are, as we shall soon see, six specific punishments with which children are inflicted--almost all of which elicit shame and rejection responses rather than physical pain. Positively, then, it is the knowledge of being loved for doing the right thing--emotional security--that motivated good

behavior. Negatively, it is the feeling of being rejected, of not being loved--emotional insecurity--that soon eliminates bad behavior. 'If you do that', or 'if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig' is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicity rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six negative sanctions that are employed to punish the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful, and should be avoided. These are being beaten,[112] spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an alus, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut-leaf, never with the naked hand. The actual physical pain involved, as I can testify, is slight. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain at all. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear--fear of octopus or shark or an alus of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since he is thrown in shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an alus, though the latter does elicit fear, for the alus, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but is extremely frustrating. The children have complete mobility within their district, and being shut-in works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. It is the psychological experiencing of the punishment, as rejection, shame, frustration,

that is the dynamic force behind the punishments.

The following table is a statistical tabulation of the punishments reported by the children, giving the number of children who named any one punishment. Some named many, some none.

Table II

Number of subjects: 42
Male : 25
Female : 17

Punishment	No. of subj.	% of subj.	% of M.	% of F.
Beating	35	83	88	76
Spitting	22	52	56	47
Thrown in ocean	18	43	56	23
Confinement	18	43	44	41
Threatened with Alus	17	40	56	18
Scolding	14	33	24	47"

28: Spiro--112-113 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 861, 626 Ifalik

"The next table expresses statistically, the severity of the punishment, as experienced by the child. That is, I asked each child which punishment he disliked the most. The number of children included in this table is not the entire child population, as are the first two. Some children said that none were experienced as severe. Others said that all were equally severe. And some I neglected to ask.

Table III

Number of subjects: 24
Male : 17
Female : 7

Punishment	No. of subjects	% of subjects	M%	F%
Beating	10	41	41	43
Confinement	5	20	23	14
Spitting	4	17	6	41
Ocean	3	12	17	0
Alus	2	8	11	0
Scolding	0	0	0	0

[113] The small number of female subjects permits no interpretive results to be drawn from the differential sexual responses."

1: Burrows--146 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 627 Ifalik

"On the evidence at hand, the government seems to confine itself to a rather narrow jurisdiction in enforcing rules of conduct. Malicious talk, idling or malingering, theft, and failure to observe the restrictions imposed on menstruating women were the kinds of misconduct rebuked by the chiefs at the public meetings. From other sources, to be discussed shortly, violence and some kinds of sexual misconduct can be added to the list. Other rules--and in some instances, even those just mentioned--seem to be enforced only by public opinion, as expressed particularly in gossip; or by concerted action within a small group of relatives--a household or two or three closely related households; or by fear of supernatural punishment.

Positive sanctions for observance of these rules consist mainly of continued trust, friendliness, and co-operation. Promotion to higher status, another way to reward approved conduct, has little scope in Ifalik, where status is so largely a matter of descent and primogeniture. Yet informal promotion to higher standing in general esteem is constantly operative; and, though the absence of any marked tendency to compete with others or excel them in good works makes the operation of public approval inconspicuous, the general smoothness of human relationships suggests that the desire for approval may be a powerful motive.

Negative sanctions to punish breach of the rules follow a general pattern of retribution in kind, with increasing severity for repeated offences. Sarfert obtained a list of punishments for specific offenses, like a criminal code. Being based only on verbal testimony

--and presumably on only one questioning--it is probably over-simplified. Yet it accords with the general pattern that emerges from my longer, more passive observation. First offenses of a minor kind, such as 'bad talk' or malingering, are punished by reprimand and warning from the chiefs (the paramount chief, Sarfert says; probably so in most cases). Repeated offenses of these kinds will be punished by confiscation of property (Sarfert specifies a canoe)."

2: Damm et al. - 192 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685, 627 Faraulep

If any one steals nuts, the whole village is called to the "big" house; it is then blocked off with a rope, and the thief is not allowed to enter until he has made amends to the chief. If the thief cannot be caught, the natives go to his house and take anything that they want.

28: Spiro--9 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 622 Ifalik

"Ifaluk is one of eight small islands in the Central Carolines, all of whom recognize their political subservience to the island of Yap, and more particularly to the Gagil district on Yap. There seems to be two traditions that account for this subservience as far as Ifaluk is concerned. Dr. Burrows was informed that Ifaluk was originally populated by settlers from Gagil, with the result that Ifaluk looks to Gagil as its mother country. This Yap colonization presumably holds true for the other small islands as well. In discussing religion with the chiefs, I received another tradition, however. The Ifaluk creation story has it that when Autran, the primordial mother goddess, created man, she first created the people of Gagil, then those of the island of Mogmog in the atoll of Ulithi, and then the people of Ifaluk, and finally the people of the other islands. However, the traditions might differ, they both agree that Gagil occupies first rank in the native 'international' hiearchy, followed by Mogmog, with Ifaluk running a close third. It is of importance to note, however, that relative prestige is verbalized in terms of the prestige of the chiefs, rather than in terms of the respective peoples. That is, Yap is 'more high' because the Gagil chief is of preeminent importance, and Mogmog and Ifaluk occupy high positions because of the high positions of their chiefs."

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage, in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

28: Spiro--11 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 631, 173, 618 Ifalik

"Though subservient to Gagil, Ifaluk enjoys a position of high prestige vis a vis the other small islands in the Yap district, for, aside from Mogmog, it occupies the highest rung on the political ladder, and it is one they are very jealous of. Again, two variant traditions account for this high position. Ifaluk has great prestige, the chiefs informed me, because of its seniority in creation. On the other hand, Dr. Burrows collected some legends which purport to explain Ifaluk's ascendancey, and which parallel the reason for Yap's ascendance over Ifaluk. These legends tell of Ifaluk having had wars with the outlying islands, each war for a different cause, in the course of which Ifaluk took the the occasion to massacre the entire populations of the various islands, and a man and woman from each clan were chosen to settle on the depopulated islands. As a result the population and culture of the islands are derived from Ifaluk, so that Ifaluk is the mother country to the other islands.

The historicity of these stories, obviously, can not be validated. It is true, however, that the peoples on the various islands speak identical languages, and, as far as we could check, have quite similar, if not identical, cultures. Particularly important is the identity of social organization, so that the same clans are found on all the islands, and inter-island marriage, which is not infrequent, is governed by the same clan exogamy as intra-island."

28: Spiro--21 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians
827, 514, 177, 636 Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

FOREWORD

IFALUK is a small dot on the map: a half a square mile of land can hardly show much detail on any scale used for Pacific distances. Further, it is spelled "Ifalik" on most maps, through some accident in the history of official spelling for place names. The people who live there call their island in a way that might be rendered "Eefahlook" in a sort of English phonetic spelling. We figure that the people who live there ought to have the final say about the name of their island: hence our divergence from the map makers.

Ifaluk is one of the Caroline Islands, which form part of Micronesia. It is some 700 miles north of New Guinea, some 400 miles south of Guam, and about 1200 miles east of the Philippines. It is a part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the government of the United States.

Ifaluk is an atoll: a roughly circular reef, built by corals and other lime-secreting organisms, marking off a quiet lagoon in the open ocean, the reef in places piled up to form islets emerging a few feet above the level of the sea. Mr. E. H. Bryan, Jr., of the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu, has compiled a list of the islands of the world that could be classed as "atolls." He finds 409: 136 in Polynesia, 92 in Micronesia, 66 in Melanesia, 15 in Indonesia, 5 northwest of Australia, 68 in the rest of the Indian Ocean, 26 in the Caribbean Sea, and only one in the Atlantic. Atoll formation, then, is primarily a phenomenon of the tropical Pacific: and the word "atoll" carries with it the connotations of warm sun, of white beaches backed by graceful palms, of friendly dark-skinned people, and of an idyllic way of life.

Ifaluk, for us, lived up to these connotations, and we found our life there a continuously rewarding experience: an experience which, in writing this book, we are trying to share.

We tested several ways of meeting the problem of joint authorship. We tried being "we" which had a nice regal sound and worked well enough when we agreed. But we have a great talent for disagreeing,

1: Burrows--150 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 642 Ifalik

"An attempt to compare the government of Ifalik and that of the United States is interesting, though the data do not permit doing it with scientific rigor. In form the government of Ifalik is strictly aristocratic. In practise it is quite democratic, in the sense that every individual gets a chance to express his opinion and can make sure that it will be heard and considered by those in power. Perhaps any form of government would be democratic, in practise, with so small a population, unless there were rigid class distinctions.

The government of the United States, in form, is strictly democratic. In practise, as all citizens seem to agree, it falls far short of that ideal. Again, size and complexity are obviously a main factor.

If democracy in practise is the goal to aim at, there seems to be no reason to change the traditional form of local government. All the more, in view of the remarkable degree to which the people observe their laws. There is, on the other hand, a strong reason against attempting such a change. Any form of government foreign to their traditions would be confusing and disturbing. It would lead to difficulties that would probably extend into matters remote from government, so that some of them could hardly be foreseen. Pretty surely, for a long time at least, it would not work as well as the established system."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 643, 611 Ifalik

"The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line."

1: Burrows--105-106 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 427, 643 Ifalik

"In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute--a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in [106] Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property, --except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition."

1: Burrows-107 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 423, 643 Ifalik

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom

said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepī by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepī lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--107-108
116, 423, 501, 643

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence; but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

(1947-48)

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

The chiefs are universally respected; when they enter, they are offered seats; children disappear into the corners of the huts, and are not seen.

The chief has a general superintendance over the islands of the atoll; he gives orders for public works, for instance the construction of the men's houses, and large fishing expeditions; then he also lays out the day's occupations; that is, he tells some men to work with the coconut palms, while others are supposed to cultivate the taro fields, etc. He gives these orders in the men's house. People also have to get his permission to construct large boats; this is not required for the smaller ones, or for the building of houses.

2: Damm et al. --79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643, 651 Ifaluk

The chiefs have certain specific excises. The head chief can claim a part of the yield of the fields and fruit trees for himself. He receives 1/5 of the catch of every fishing expedition, that one of his subordinates has undertaken, while the under chief gets 1/2 to 3/4 of what is handed over to the head chief. If the fisherman has not taken very much, the minor chiefs have much less, or nothing at all. In this case, the fisherman just gives a share to the tamōl igidigit, whom he meets in the men's house immediately upon his return. The chief divides the booty from the common fishing expeditions among all the houses of the atoll (and not among the men); he and the other chiefs renounce their claims all together, or they may take one fish from the ones that are due to a house. If the catch is small, he takes a half, or even less of what a house is supposed to give him.

2: Damm et al. --79 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643 Ifaluk

A chieftain's successor is his eldest son, or it may be the son of the brother or the sister of the deceased. In the succession the sister's son always has precedence over the son of the brother. If the family of the high chief is nearly extinct, he names his successor before his death; and he also names a guardian to act as regent for a successor, who is a minor.

2: Damm et al. --79 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Ifaluk

A native of Yap, Mŏdj, is said to have been the first high chief; and he settled on Falalap in legendary times. Several of his children then went to Feladjik. . . . Mŏdj had two sons; the elder became the high chief, and the younger the lesser chief. The natives say that this is the origin of the great and the minor chiefs. In addition to these two important chiefs, (tamŏl solŏb), there are also two chiefs of a lower rank (tamŏl igidigit), who also come from the chief's family, and live in Lawuau; they are the men, who execute the commands of the chief, and give his orders to the people. Their position is reminiscent of that of the pŭlepŭle and kōkŏa of Luangiua and Nukumanu, who also belonged to the ruling families.

The names of the high chiefs were:

1. Mŏdj
2. Ällofăs [80]
3. Dădar
4. Aŭăp
5. Maĭliăs
6. Moürai
7. Soral
8. Gŏrigar; he is supposed to have lived at the time of the first great typhoon.
9. Modurŏk
10. Jalorăk
11. Gawurŏk
12. Malüdjŏm
13. Idălŭb; he lived at the time of the third typhoon.
14. Ärüllümăn
15. Dibădău; he lived at the time of the fourth typhoon.
16. Soligŏu
17. Gilălobăk
18. Olaĭdiŭ, he lived at the time of the fifth typhoon (1907) and disappeared on the trip

to Lamutrik.

19. Daoreligăr was head chief of the island group at the time of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition (1909); the second chief was Sairū, lesser chiefs were Duwăliŏr and Älewūdj.

2: Damm et al. --81 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692, 643 Ifaluk

The chief is always the judge, and the court is the men's house.

2: Damm et al. --82 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684, 643 Ifaluk

The chief does not intervene in a case of adultery. If the guilty man wants the woman, the husband surrenders her, but at a high price (large canoes, loin aprons, chests, etc.) If the culprit does not wish to take her, he does not pay so much; for example, a small canoe, or a large chest. In any case, the husband leaves his wife. If she has any children, the penalty is larger. The children go into the husband's house, but they are permitted to visit their mother.

2: Damm et al. --191 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 173, 643 Faraulep

The rank of high chief is hereditary, and it is traced back to the first settlers. The first tamol was on Ead, and in olden days there was one on Faraulip and on Pix. The high chief takes charge of the "big" house, orders men to start the community enterprises, keeps an eye on the soil and the fishing, acts as a judge, and watches over the peace in his village. If anyone refuses obedience, he is deprived of his field. If the high chief dies, his brothers inherit the title according to age, and it is only then that the sons of the deceased become chief. Women can never rule, and if there are no direct male successors, the male children of the high chief's family take the office.

Should the high chief be a minor, the poirím acts as regent until the child is adolescent. In case of his death, the poirím no. 2 takes his place, in case there are no sons of the first poirím. In the event of the decease of the young chief, the first poirím becomes high chief.

The lesser chiefs are the spokesmen; they transmit the commands of the high chief, and see to it that they are executed.

The large fishing expeditions are arranged, work is discussed and justice promulgated in the assemblies (xopái), which take place in the "big" house.

4: Krämer--29
116, 175, 643

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Hambruch lists 9 chiefs (pimóon tamŏl) for Elato. It has been impossible to establish how far the ninth of the series dated back.

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 175, 643 Lamotrek

List of chiefs

Lámotrek

1. Súkurang...
2. Angareisuk "the hair of Sukurang made curly by extensive fishing"
3. Teliméra or Itelimé́ra...
4. Uamop
5. Gogoiaim

Elato (Hambruch)

1. Mailipue 1909
2. Fetal e tauuo
3. Lóngarăle
4. Mangiléi
5. Laremā̆t
6. Molī̆t
7. Laliigŭr
8. Ilematĭp [MR: Hambruch learned that he was chief at the time of the voyage of the "Duff" and the landing of the Swede Cornelius in 1797]
9. Feiemelāu* or Oroéihāu

* At this time the first whites are said to have come (probably 1797 on the "Duff")

4: Krämer--29 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 175, 643 Lamotrek

Lamotrek: Since the first three of the chiefs are brothers we are dealing only with approximately three generations and no more than 100 years. Nothing more was reported than that in the past the chiefs had been very powerful, which is quite in line with the information by Clain [4: Kramer 5-9, p. 5] It is possible that at the time of Lütke Gogoiaim was in office. Cantova mentions Mattuson as head chief in 1722.

4: Krämer--31 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 428 Elato

In the case of the chief his brother is the heir, then follow his nephews, and the sons of the sisters. His own son does not have any power. The brothers claim the inheritance according to age.

4: Krämer--115 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Lamotrek

The Chief, tamol.

Cantova, on page 312, talks about the tamol, the different positions of sitting on the throne, approaches with stooped walk, foot and hand kiss, and long beards....

The list of chiefs...is not long, which means that traditional information in this respect is limited. In daily life the offices of the chief and his powers do not play an important part. For instance, the chiefs do not receive a larger share of food than anyone else. Nevertheless they are held in respect. One form of respect is the custom of not setting sail, mótog, on the bank, but of paddling on until the canoe is clear of the shoal. A report of Father Clain of the year 1697, shows that they may exert considerable power, especially during war time, and that Lamotrek at the time was considered the ruler of the Carolines (probably only of the central parts from Murilo to Feis.) Thus it is likely that in early times a kingdom was established in this region.

The chief calls the islanders to assemblies. When they are called, the natives come in rank and file arranged according to age and position. They carry baskets under their right arm and the left hand grasps the back of the right. Thus they move along in a slow procession.

4: Krämer--115-116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Lamotrek

The head chief gives orders for general work to be done: clearing of the bush, work on the palm trees, in the taro fields, the construction of houses and canoes, fishing, etc. The assistant chief is the speaker who transmits the orders, fadjóual, of the head chief to the people. The third chief passes on the orders of the [116] second and supervises their execution. Occasionally the men hold council, fagilili e tö and discuss the affairs of the present. Succession is handled in the same manner as on Faraulip. If the family of the first chief dies out, the second moves up to the place of the first. The third chief remains the third chief and a new second tamol is chosen from the family of the second.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 766 Lamotrek

The importance of the chiefs is expressed by the taboos declared upon their death, which are called tap, and the most important of which is the bai (bei); the bailimas is the taboo imposed on the land in the possession of the deceased which is extremely indicated by the fastening of coconut fronds....

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 621 Woleai

Nevertheless [VMM: although there are no obvious boundaries between villages] such a division exists, since every island has two or three small villages which are under the control of different chiefs. The highest in control is the chief in Gatschbar on Jap.

4: Krämer--269 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643 Woleai

Chief, tamol.

According to Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 134, the brothers of the chief are first in the line of succession and after them follow the sons of the firstborn.

4: Krämer--271 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 643 Woleai

Navigation

When a chief wishes to go on a voyage, for instance to Feis, he tells his people to get a boat ready. He himself, before setting out on his voyage, uŏfalŭ, spends a month in the fai'lap, which women may not enter. Here he also spends five months upon his return from his first voyage, one month after his second voyage and half a month after the third; after the fourth this period of time has been cut down to five days. No seclusion is necessary after additional voyages. In outside places no taboos are observed. This rule does not apply to fishermen.

5: Kittlitz--157 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 609, 643 Woleai

Ulemarai was the home of Kadú [MR: mentioned by Chamisso]; when he left the island, Rouá was considered the chief of the whole group, and he was still living although he had become a very feeble old man. When Lieutenant Sawalischin took the launch to survey the western part of the island, the Captain gave him some presents for the aged chief, and shortly before our departure he came to thank us for them....

6: Senfft--56
116, 643, 651

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

In the Oleai atoll, each island has its own chieftain. The head chief of Lamutrik also has jurisdiction over the two neighboring atolls, Elato and Lamrior, and claims possession of the uninhabited islands of Olimarau, Pikela, Pikelot, Toas, and West Faju. The office of the chieftain is passed on, not to the chieftain's son, but to the oldest son of the brother nearest the chieftain in age, or, if there is no brother, to the oldest son of the sister. It is said that the chieftains formerly exercised great authority; today their power is rapidly disappearing. They are nothing more than village mayors and have no means of enforcing their authority other than that of tying the accused to a tree for a short time or of destroying his house or his canoe. A native of Yap is the head chief and has the supreme authority; this is always the man who is the head chief of the district of Gatschbar. He, too, has no actual means of enforcing his authority; but the natives believe that all who do not obey his orders must die. On what basis this power rests is not clear; neither the present head chief nor his aged father were able to give me any information about it. Their authority extends even further than this atoll and includes those Carolinians who live in the Marianas.

The only outer symbol of this dependence is that the subjects of this head chief come to Yap at least once every two years to give proof of their devotion. They bring tributary payments which consist of mats, Chama shells, or necklaces made of these shells. They remain on the island for several months and are received hospitably. When they depart they are given the valuable pulverized curcuma (reng).

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 625, 643 Woleai

In the first place I stationed two reliable policemen at the island who can in case of emergency ask three former soldiers living now on the island, for help and who received the order to prevent the drinking of toddy [MR: which he considered a cause of dysentery] and to use force if necessary. The chiefs cannot be relied upon in this respect. Their authority is limited by many considerations and is not greater than that of our village magistrates. There is no chief over the whole group of islands and the above mentioned Follebu in Yap is also the ruler over Oleai.

12; Lutke--141-142 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 643 Woleai

Towards evening we received a call from the big chief of the whole group, Rooua, who is described in the Memoires of Mr. Chamisso. I had told Lieutenant Zavalichine that when he was surveying the eastern part of the group he should call at Rooua's residence, Oulemarai, and should present gifts and pay him homage. They had had a good deal of trouble in making the old man understand who was responsible for all these fine things, and by what fortunate chance they should descend upon him in this way; but as soon as he understood the situation, he insisted on coming to see us himself; [142] and he quite forgot that paralysis had deprived him of the use both of his arms and legs. I should have liked to receive this feeble old man, who could scarcely breathe; but he almost fell in the water and it took him a long time to recover. So the conference had to take place on his canoe. I gave him and his wife, who was slightly younger than he, everything that I could think of. The tamols on the sloop said that I could have him lifted and brought on board on a chair, but I thought that it would be dangerous to expose the old man to this ordeal, and we separated after paying him all due honor on his territory.

12: Lutke--145
116, 764, 643

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The tombs of the chiefs are exactly like those of the Lukunor people; but some of them are much larger. On one of them I saw a canoe lying diagonally with its keel on top.

12: Lutke--344
116, 175, 643

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The most important chief [AN: of the Caroline Islands], the one of the Ouleaï group is not nearly as significant a personage as Doctor Chamisso depicted him in his Memoires.

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 599 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [43] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

301
302
192

LEFT Yaniseman, constant companion and advisor.

RIGHT Totogoeiti (Tom), navigator and interpreter.

BELOW Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Gavileiset, craftsman and canoe builder.

516
693
142
301
285

[P. 64 (B)]

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER V

MOSTLY ABOUT FOOD

461
517
562

Much time on Ifaluk was spent in sitting—men sitting around the canoe houses, women sitting around the cook houses. I had the impression that the men were more apt to just sit, and the women to sit and chatter; but this impression was probably a carry-over from preconceived ideas about my own culture. Certainly, in fact, the men in the canoe houses often carried on interminable conversations; but certainly also they were frequently silent and contemplative—or drowsy.

●643

This fitted my temperament fine. Since childhood I have been an inveterate sitter (and day dreamer). My most frequent companion in the sitting process on Ifaluk was Fagolier, the paramount chief. From the beginning he fascinated me with his poise and dignity, his character-lined face. I had a curious feeling of rapport sitting with him, sharing a mat or a coconut log, smoking, occasionally exchanging a grin, but feeling no real need of trying to say anything.

He had all of the qualities that should go with the paramount chieftainship—the assurance and humility of security; a calm, reliable decisiveness; an ever-present courtesy and thoughtfulness. I wondered often what he was really like, how much this picture of him was the product of my own imaginings, whether I saw him as he was, or whether I saw only the projection of my own concepts of a chief. Yet I gained confidence in my mental portrait because it always seemed to correspond with my observations. Then I would still wonder whether this was a tribute to Fagolier, or a tribute to the flexibility of my

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
535 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 646, 537 Ifalik

"Other evidence on rules of conduct is verbal. Yet much of it is in a native setting, hence probably more representative of native behavior than replies to questions from a foreigner would be. It consists of the harangues delivered by the chiefs to the people at three public meetings held in the men's house. At these meetings the chiefs not only make announcements and issue specific orders, but lecture the people about their conduct in general. These speeches or sermons are a traditional way of 'laying down the law'.

There were three of these meetings during our stay. One object of the first, held on August 14, was to issue as formal chiefly commands the suggestions of the American physician about hygiene, made during the visit of the ship that had brought us to Ifalik two weeks earlier. But the immediate occasion of the meeting was a chance remark of Spiro's that there were Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik.

Unexpectedly, this stirred up considerable excitement. The whole expedition, or set of expeditions, seemed to be taken as a kind of competitive examination, in which the visiting Americans would give the various islands a comparative rating in conduct, particularly in cleanliness. In other words, it touched off the lively sentiment of rank--in this case, comparative rank among islands. The people of Ifalik were eager to get a high rating--to gain in rank, if possible, at the expense of their neighbors, in the eyes of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as their superiors; or at least, not to

sink lower. The occasion of the 2nd meeting, held on September 4, was similar; to carry out the suggestions of the American governor and physician, made when the ship called on September 2. The occasion of the third meeting was, at least in part, my request to the chiefs for a performance of the men's religious dances (ur), which otherwise would not have been seen during our stay.

There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings [KS: public meeting]. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers [143] projecting into the lagoon from Katēlū, and blew repeated long blasts. The meetings were held at the highest-ranking site on the atoll, Katēlū. The people assembled in and about the men's house or big house (Fan Nap), highest ranking building on the site. When they were gathered, the chiefs took their seats beside the highest-ranking part of the building, the ÓngarIk or front ridge-post, decorated with symbols of rank. After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if 'introducing the main speaker'. In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs. The second speaker, at least in the first and last of the three meetings (this point not noted for the second one), was Wolpetau, paramount chief. Other chiefs spoke, as the spirit moved them, in no fixed order. This was partly a matter of individual gifts

and inclinations. Old Paliuilimar, who had a reputation as an orator, always spoke, and was the most vehement and dramatic; indeed, at the close of some of his speeches he looked alarmingly exhausted. Wolpetau always spoke, ex officio; but seemed not to revel in it as Toromann and Paliuilimar did. Ordinarily he was a man of rather few words. Maroligar spoke only once, and then briefly, in a low voice. WolpaitIk never spoke at all. Not only was he the youngest in years and length of service, but he was fat, had a very high voice, and was a bit of a clown and butt of ridicule, though the jokes were always good-natured. Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like 'amen-shouting'. In this the most frequent expression was Rongrongo! (Hear, hear!)"

1: Burrows--143
116, 646, 522, 514

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

"For a more specific picture of one of these meetings, here is the account of the last one, from my field journal:

Oct. 23.-Third public meeting today. The people had notice of it yesterday. In the morning Toromann blew the conch from the stone pier. He made two trips, seemed like an hour apart. The people were slow to come.

Toromann began with what sounded, in Tom's translation, like the usual formal beginning. Come all ye. Listen to what the chiefs have to say. 'Work good, no work bad. No steal something from 'nother man.' He spoke in five bursts, with meditative pauses between. Burst 3 was apparently a joke, but I didn't get it translated in time.

As usual, WolpaitIk didn't talk. Maroligar, toward the end, did, but in a low conversational tone and at no considerable length. In a pause between Toromann's early efforts, Maroligar suggested something to Paliuilimar, seemed like [144] urging him to speak; but P. said nothing at that time. Toromann's last burst was to the effect that when women were working in the taro swamp, they should not take taro that did not belong to them.

Wolpetau was the second speaker. He talked about menstruating women. Said when the blood first appeared, they should go into their seclusion house and stay there, not go to the taro swamp. When the flow was finished, and not before then, was the time to go back to work.

Between bursts, he worked industriously at rope-making.

Wolpetau's second burst was to the effect that when the chiefs tell men to go out fishing, they are to go. Then, if there is a good catch, the chiefs will see to it that fish are distributed to all the people.

Third burst: if any man doesn't want to go out with the others when the chiefs order a fishing expedition, let him speak up now.*

Then Toromann filled in, beginning with a hear, hear the words of the chief. He pointed out that if men didn't go fishing, and women didn't work in the taro swamp, there would be nothing to eat. Ifalik is too small. (Meaning, apparently, too small to support loafers.) He called on Paliuilimar to speak, but the old man did not respond until the second urging. Then he finally got going, in a low voice at first, but warming up. He told the people to heed what their chiefs said--the regular formula. Said some men didn't seem to like to work when the chiefs told them to. Very bad business that. He also told them to do whatever Mel Spiro and I told them to (but of course we're not giving orders, except to Talimeira and Uveli**of a morning.) He told them to clean up,

---

"* Apparently a challenge to some malingerer. Mainly rhetorical; as might be expected, nobody spoke up.

** Talimeira was assigned by the chiefs to work for us; Uveli volunteered for the same service.

against the coming of the ship.

Finally, when everything seemed about over, Wolpetau said that by and by there would be dancing. This was the promised response to my suggestion that I'd like to see some of the ur I have been getting the words to. I could not make out whether he set a definite time, but they'll come through.

Paliuilimar and Toromann wound up with short speeches. I had asked Tom to tell the chiefs that the important place to clean was around the houses, and to avoid stagnant water because of mosquitoes, rather than to do a wholesale weeding job in the interior, as they did after the last call of the ship. Pointed out that the doctor was the man interested in how clean they were. Paliuilimar said something to that effect in his final speech, but by the time it got back to me in Tom's translation it was somewhat diluted.

The element of formality makes of these meetings a ritual, not unlike the type of church service in our culture that emphasizes the sermon. In this case the meaning is not religious. Like the kava ceremonies of western Polynesia, parts of Fiji, and some eastern Micronesian islands, these meetings serve to manifest and emphasize the sentiments of rank and law and order, as exemplified by obedience to the chiefs."

1: Burrows--144-146 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 626, 646 Ifalik 1-3

"To show which rules of conduct are particularly emphasized, recurrent [145] commandments in the speeches at the three meetings are listed below, beginning with those that seemed most frequent. The list is minimal, because Tom was not so well trained for running translations as the interpreters who perform the same service at meetings of the United Nations; so his accounts were sketchy. It was only at the last meeting that I could understand any considerable part of what was going on; and even that was only midway in our stay on the island, so the language was still only dawning on me. The commandments recorded were these:

Heed the words of the chiefs
Clean away rubbish
Work hard, so that there will be plenty of food
Do not steal (with emphasis on food)
Share with the poor and sick (emphasis on food)
Build 'overwater heads' or latrines

Another commandment, not recorded at these meetings, but heard several times--one of them, in a hypothetical chief's address to the people dictated by Tom as a text--was 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' During one of the meetings, Paliuilimar spoke especially to people of his clan, Mangaulevăr, and Maroligar followed with a brief talk which contained repeated mention of his clan, SauvelărIk. I did not manage to get a translation of this passage.

The repeated insistence on respect and obedience to the chiefs illustrates one of the main purposes of these meetings. The repeated emphasis on food suggests that one of the main sentiments clusters about food; at least, that abundance of food is a master value. The repeated strictures against idling and stealing suggest that these may be particularly common forms of misbehavior, though the only specific instance noted was the tongue-lashing about shirking communal fishing, which seemed to be directed at one or more specific malingerers.

Conspicuous by their absence from these harangues are rules about sexual relations and violence. To be sure, the one mention of the traditional behavior required of menstruating women is in the general area of sexuality. But nothing was said about clan exogamy or adultery. Clan exogamy is certainly taken seriously. We have seen that there were no violations of it in 1947-8. Perhaps it is so generally observed there is no need to talk about it.

Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce.

As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs speeches at public meetings

suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorók). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifalik would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 648 Ifalik

"Toward the enormous populations that inhabit vast lands far away-- or some of them--the people of Ifalik show a certain deference. They are used to being ruled by outsiders-Spanish, then Germans, then Japanese, and now Americans. But this does not put too great a strain on their self-esteem. They like to think that the world power with which they are affiliated is the largest and mightiest of all. Nowadays they are glad to accord that supremacy to the United States, as formerly they probably accorded it to their previous rulers. But world powers are so vast that Ifalik people can form only a dim conception of them; and so far away that most of the talk about them is of the kind we dismiss as 'academic.' "

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

"Lieut. Carrol identified the Kovalū clan of Ifalik with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifalik's Kovalū. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the SauvelārIk clan of Ifalik with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifalik, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must have reached Ifalik indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifalik came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, mat sails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifalik, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifalik nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these

mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifalik did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of [154] sarcasm in an Ifalik song about a typhoon:

> The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this;
> There will be nothing left for them to take."

1: Burrows--154
116, 648, 175

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Foreign vessels, as they came to replace native canoes for such long voyages as that between Ifalik and Yap, continued to foster the old relationship by carrying passengers both ways. Maintenance of the traditional chain of command has been a policy of the U.S. Naval government, though some officers disapprove of it. In 1947-48 the American ships, on their tours of these 'outer islands', took along the Yap chiefs who were regarded as overlords of the atolls. The highest-ranking of them, Fithingmau, who was old and partly paralyzed, was represented by his heir-apparent. He claims no special jurisdiction over Ifalik. Foneg of Gatschapar village (Gagil district, Yap) was considered the overlord of Ifalik. On these trips he would always meet with the chiefs, receive gifts, particularly of cloths, and pray. Lieut. Carroll said that the prayers were for good crops, an abundance of fish, and fair weather. Lieut. Carroll considered the ascendancy of the Yap chiefs mainly a religious matter. Some other Naval government officials, who disapproved of encouraging this old relationship, said that the Yap chiefs maintained their ascendancy mainly by threats of inflicting disaster through their supernatural power. During our stay, the Yap people brought to those of the atolls many baskets of food, particularly boi nuts (Tahitian chestnut), bananas, watermelons and pineapples.

Return gifts were meager: hospitality-but nothing lavish-while the visiting chiefs were ashore; a cloth or two on each trip; perhaps other bits of handicraft; young coconuts to drink. Some other atolls contributed a canoe or two. The people of Ifalik seemed to

accept their subordination. I heard no grumbling about it. No more did I see any signs of enthusiasm."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

120 but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with
123 Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

●648 By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

125 Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

805 The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know
162 exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words
[192] for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

163 Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

262 264 527 The people had brought many pots of breadfruit, cooked in different ways, and there was a large pile of drinking coconuts—also divided by Toroman. The meal lasted about an hour. I spent most of the time prowling around with the cameras while Ted and Don were more directly participating, squatting with the chiefly group. Ted reported that he liked best breadfruit that had been cooked with coconut [250] cream, resulting in a sort of mashed dough with the white, creamy, semi-sweet sauce.

123 648 That evening Don had his regular session of English and Ifaluk language exchange under the gasoline lanterns in the back of the Fan Nap. After the lesson Yani and his friend Tachiwelimeng lingered. They asked about the war between the United States and Japan, and got to telling about their own experiences. Tachiwelimeng had been taken by the Japanese to Fais, where there was a radio station. When the first American ship appeared off the island the Japanese got very excited, radioed the news to Yap, and then disappeared into hiding. The bombardment that followed scared everybody on the island. Tachiwelimeng spoke no English, but he was a born clown and gave a hilariously vivid pantomime of how the noise of the first shell tumbled him, how he crept behind a coconut palm and crouched in a ball, how a shell hit the coconut tree about six feet overhead and blew it down. No one was hurt except one of the Japanese, who was hit in the arm, but not seriously.

648 Japanese ships later took their captive labor to Yap, to use in filling holes in the landing strip made by the regular American bombings. Tachiwelimeng gave another graphic pantomime of American planes dodging Japanese ack-ack, bombs exploding all over the place and the like. These people seemed to look back on this as a big sideshow, bearing no resentment for the local people killed by the American bombings of Yap, and little resentment against the Japanese for getting them involved there.

126 The days were beginning to go by with remarkable speed. Ted gravely crossed them off, one by one, on a big calendar posted in the Fan Nap, and there was a check on this in my notebook, where the meteorological observations were entered every morning, first thing

2: Damm et al. --79 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 643, 651 Ifaluk

The chiefs have certain specific excises. The head chief can claim a part of the yield of the fields and fruit trees for himself. He receives 1/5 of the catch of every fishing expedition, that one of his subordinates has undertaken, while the under chief gets 1/2 to 3/4 of what is handed over to the head chief. If the fisherman has not taken very much, the minor chiefs have much less, or nothing at all. In this case, the fisherman just gives a share to the tamól igidigit, whom he meets in the men's house immediately upon his return. The chief divides the booty from the common fishing expeditions among all the houses of the atoll (and not among the men); he and the other chiefs renounce their claims all together, or they may take one fish from the ones that are due to a house. If the catch is small, he takes a half, or even less of what a house is supposed to give him.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 484, 651 Lamotrek

Hambruch learned the following on Elato: Yongelăp (the oldest and highest god) stays on Yap, and tribute payments must be sent to him there. The Lamotrek islanders and natives of Sëtowal do not take their goods directly to Yap but only as far as Oleai; from the latter island they are taken west and are landed in Gatspar. Natives of Ifaluk, Fáraulip and Aurepik undertake this voyage and everybody meets on Oleai. The voyage is by way of Sorol, Uĕjü and Mogemog.

4: Krämer--250 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 439, 651 Woleai

No tribute was taken to Yap [VMM: by the people from Woleai]. The intermediaries can keep the goods for themselves and pay with their possessions. There is no compulsion. If Oleai sells land, it may give as much as it likes to Inefel. In the past it was said that Oleai belonged to him.

6: Senfft--56
116, 643, 651

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

In the Oleai atoll, each island has its own chieftain. The head chief of Lamutrik also has jurisdiction over the two neighboring atolls, Elato and Lamrior, and claims possession of the uninhabited islands of Olimarau, Pikela, Pikelot, Toas, and West Faju. The office of the chieftain is passed on, not to the chieftain's son, but to the oldest son of the brother nearest the chieftain in age, or, if there is no brother, to the oldest son of the sister. It is said that the chieftains formerly exercised great authority; today their power is rapidly disappearing. They are nothing more than village mayors and have no means of enforcing their authority other than that of tying the accused to a tree for a short time or of destroying his house or his canoe. A native of Yap is the head chief and has the supreme authority; this is always the man who is the head chief of the district of Gatschbar. He, too, has no actual means of enforcing his authority; but the natives believe that all who do not obey his orders must die. On what basis this power rests is not clear; neither the present head chief nor his aged father were able to give me any information about it. Their authority extends even further than this atoll and includes those Carolinians who live in the Marianas.

The only outer symbol of this dependence is that the subjects of this head chief come to Yap at least once every two years to give proof of their devotion. They bring tributary payments which consist of mats, Chama shells, or necklaces made of these shells. They remain on the island for several months and are received hospitably. When they depart they are given the valuable pulverized curcuma (reng).

11: Born--176
116, 437, 651

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

In former times the people of Oleaï went on frequent expeditions to Gatschbar to make their tributary payments, consisting of woven mats, Gau, the gold of Jap, and ornaments, as the people of Ululssi still do today. In our time, however, world trade has modernized communication among the Micronesians. A few months ago, the head chief, Follebu, went to Oleaï on a trade schooner to survey his territory. He also levied a tax of 17,000 coconuts on his subjects; this tax is collected by an American company which gives the chieftain its equivalent in European articles of trade, which are worth about 150 Mark.

28: Spiro--9-10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 631, 651, 177 Ifalik

"This recognition of the superiority of Gagil is more than a conceptual scheme; it entails material obligations on the part of the subservient islands. At periodical intervals the various islands bring a tribute to Gagil, called Autinzauwei or autineiwun, though the intervals are not fixed because of the native lack of conceptual temporal categories. Nevertheless, it is probably not too far from wrong to state that at three to four year intervals, Ifaluk pays a sizeable tribute to Gigil. The five chiefs select one of their members to deliver the tribute, and accompanied by an entourage, he makes the trip to Yap, about 400 miles away. The tribute is not fixed, but usually consists of women's skirts [10] (lavalavas), rope, and canoes, which the chiefs levy from the people. In terms of the native economy this tribute is of no negligible value, for, as we shall see, canoes, skirts, and rope, are the only articles the people manufacture, and the time consumed in their manufacture elevates them to objects of real value, of great wealth. A tribute

of a few small canoes, and one ocean-going canoe constitutes a real drain on the island's capital. Nevertheless, this tribute is offered voluntarily, without coersion, or military pressure on the part of the Gagil chiefs. (11)"

"11. It is of interest to the student of acculturation that the Yap chiefs accompany the navy station ship on its periodical tours of the islands, and collect their tribute during these trips, transporting them on the navy ships. Nonetheless, the local chiefs continue to travel to Yap, since the trip is a kind of pilgrimage in a quasi-religious sense, and is an occasion for social intercourse, as well."

28: Spiro--10 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 651, 631, 386, 793 Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

"The material benefits accruing to the chiefs are minimal. There are informal benefits, of course. After a fishing haul, the chiefs will usually receive the largest fish, though even this is not an invariable proceedure. Of course, visiting travelers often bring gifts for the chiefs, and under both American and Japanese rule the chiefs receive special gifts of cigarettes or paint.

But as far as I could ascertain there are only two institutionalized material rewards. (17)

The first of these benefits is the peremptory right to all turtles. When a person catches a turtle, it is brought to the Fanewang, the canoe-house belonging to the Uelepi lineage, from which stems the first-ranking chiefs, and there it is butchered by the chief, and becomes the sole possession of Uelepi. He distributes some amongst the other chiefs, and to other commoners if he desires.

"17. This, despite the fact that theoretically, as we shall see later, all property is owned by the chiefs, and as such, they could levy any duty or tribute they desired."

The only tribute, or taxes, they receive, is the annual gift of breadfruit and toddy that is presented to the second-ranking chief, of the Somat lineage. He is the chief of the district of Felarik, and twice a year, in the rainy and dry seasons respectively, the men of Felarik bring him en masse bottles of toddy. However this is really a symbolic recognition of his authority, rather than a payment or a levy, because after receiving the toddy, he then redistributes it among the men, retaining very little for himself. I did not witness the offering of breadfruit since it did not occur during our stay, and I omitted to inquire whether it, too, is redistributed, but my guess would be that it is. Thus, even this formal, institutionalized, tribute does not remain in the chief's treasury, but reverts to the people. This redistribution, should be kept in mind for our later discussions, because this role of the chiefs as the givers or redistributors of food and tobacco plays a significant role in Ifaluk culture, having important psychological significance."

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

14: Born et al--567 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 656 Woleai

I [MR: Dr. Born] went ashore [MR: March 27, 1907], intending on Thursday to give the last language lesson for the natives, distribute medicines, and to give directions concerning the maintenance of the station for military police built by me. Departure for Yap was set for the 28th.

14: Born et al--576-577 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 656, 731 Woleai

On Oleai, on the recommendation of Dr. Born, I [MR: district official Fritz] appointed a Spaniard from Jap, known to me as dependable, Julio Villaçon, as deputy of the administration, and gave him the task of putting through the following measures [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907]:

The distribution of the food brought with us and requisitioned by Dr. Born from the traders.

The preparation of planting land for the seed to be brought in on the returning "Germania" (sweet potatoes, taro, and others).

Looking out for the 200 to 300 emigrants to be taken to Saipan until the return of the "Germania."

Forbidding traders and natives to buy, sell, or export copra or coconuts since all fruit on hand is necessary for food. [577]

Forbidding traders and natives from crediting goods or objects in order to prevent the people from falling into debt servitude to foreign traders exploiting their plight.

1: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 673, 476 Ifalik

"Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falārĭk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

Aug. 1.-Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)

Aug. 9.-Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.

Aug. 10-12.-All work tabu except smoking of bonito.

Sept. 5-12 (approximately).-Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.

Sept. 20.-Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.

Sept. 27.-Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.

Sept. 28.-New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni wā, in Falārĭk district.

Sept. 30.-New thatch put on roof of Fan ni wā. [122]

Oct. 3.-Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.

Oct. 5.-Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Pĕngā, Rauau district.

Oct. 6.-District fishing (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)

Oct. 11.-District fishing.

Oct. 13-18. -Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.
Oct. 19. -Fishing by united forces of Rauau and Falārĭk.
Oct. 21. -Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urĕl. Done by some men, but not all from both Rauau and Falālap.
Oct. 22. -Falālap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.
Oct. 24. -(and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in Falārĭk, one in Rauau, and one in Falālap). Men rehearse at night for performance of ur dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.
Oct. 25 (approximately, and daily thereafter). -Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falālap.
Oct. 31. -Feast at Falālap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.
Nov. 5. -New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district.
Nov. 6. -Rauau district fishing.
Nov. 7. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwōlap.
Nov. 10. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in Falārĭk.
Nov. 14. -No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of ur dance.

Nov. 15.-Men of all districts take part in final performance of ur.
Nov. 16 (and on into December).-Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.
Nov. 25.-Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)
Dec. 3.-Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.
Dec. 6.-Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulós.
Dec. 9-11.-Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district. [123]
Dec. 12.-Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.
Dec. 13.-Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.
Dec. 24.-Extra-tie beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwōlap, recently repaired.
Dec. 28.-Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.
Dec. 31.-Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe-houses.
Jan. 2.-District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.
Jan. 6.-Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches

and painting.

Jan. 7-14 (approximately). -Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.

Jan. 24. -District fishing, Rauau.

Jan. 26. -District fishing, Rauau.

Feb. 2-3. -Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falālap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role."

"As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs speeches at public meetings suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorok). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifalik would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in [146] the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected."

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

6: Senfft--54
116, 674

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Physical maltreatment and theft, however, are very rare.

12: Lutke--301
116, 674

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

Theft is unknown save in Ouleai and the nearby groups. One of our friends attempted to steal an ax, but we got it back from him in time.

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . .He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . . More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become

infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

2: Damm et al. --192 [7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 681 Faraulep

If fines cannot be collected, the creditor appropriates an equivalent sum from the debtor, but the chief must first be informed of this procedure.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Lamotrek

Cantova, page 313, tells us that the severest punishment for criminals is exile.

The head chief has the right of imposing sentence unless the people themselves handle the affair.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Woleai

The native, Kadu, tells us that criminals are not punished, but are sent into exile,

8: Senfft--283 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 273, 625, 681 Woleai

The coconut stocks on Oleei were normal. Two years ago extermination measures were taken against the rat plague and by now the trouble has decreased considerably. Since the recall of the police post who was in charge of enforcing these measures nothing had been done and the natives had started once more to drink sour toddy. In a condition of complete drunkenness a native had first threatened a dealer with a long knife and then with a spear. The man was taken to Jap and later sentenced on that island. A rumor circulated that three years ago an Australian dealer, who was old and feeble and who had been working on Oleei for a Jap firm, had died an unnatural death. I started extensive investigations on the spot which really produced incriminating material. It seems that a Sonsol native attacked the dealer in his bed, made him unconscious by blows of a hammer and then strangled him. It is said that the housekeeper of the dealer --a fellow islander of the murderer--had been an accomplice to the crime. Other witnesses are said to exist on the islands of Lamutrik and Satuwal. The main witnesses needed for the trial had to be called and set out on the voyage. At the present time the two accused are on Palau.

In a general meeting I discussed everything of importance and informed the population that once more I would leave behind a policeman with far-reaching powers. Fines in the form of naturalia were imposed for neglect of the tree protection law directed against destruction by rats and for the consumption of sour toddy.

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

29: Spiro--197-199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 681, 115 Ifalik-1 -6

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."

1: Burrows--146-147 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 682 Ifalik

"Assault may be punished by anything from a reprimand, in the case of a first and mild offense, to confiscation of all property (Sarfert specifies plots of land, canoes, and clothes) in the case of murder. According to Sarfert's list, a murderer is also bound, brought to the men's house, and severely reprimanded in the presence of the whole populace, but then released. Sarfert also specifies payment for lesser injuries:

For loss of an eye, arm, or leg--a canoe and two cloths.
For loss of both eyes, arms, or legs--two canoes, and all of the cloths owned by the culprit.
For loss of a finger--one cloth.
For loss of two or three fingers--two cloths.
For loss of four fingers--two or three cloths.
For loss of a hand--three or four cloths. [147]

Not having a copy of Damm's monograph on Ifalik, I did not check this list with native informants. I see no reason to question its authenticity. But the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song."

2: Damm et al. --82 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 682 Ifaluk

If a murder has been committed, the chief orders the other men to bind the culprit, and to bring him to the men's house. Then all the inhabitants of the village assemble, men, women and children. The chief scolds the criminal severely, and then lets him go free; he is punished by being deprived of all of his property, canoes and loin aprons, and these things are given to the family of the victim. The principle, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, is not observed, for the murderer is not slain.

21: German Government--84 (1905-06) 1907 Woleaians
116, 682 Woleai

Although public safety was not endangered investigations were necessary in two cases of murder, one of which dated from 1903. In the latter conviction was possible for the murder of a white trader on Oleai; in both instances the death sentence was pronounced.

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 683, 158 Ifalik

"The lone human culprit was 'Tarof', the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katēlū, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a 'mental case' and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falālap to Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously) in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent: once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of angorIk (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifalik, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifalik are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention--in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave--than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public [150] works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifalik seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt

to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked."

2: Damm et al. --82 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 683 Ifaluk

In the case of a fight, if the assailant had just cause for the combat, he is admonished by the chief in the presence of all the villagers. If the affair was more serious, the following penalties are exacted: for injuring an eye, an arm or a leg -- a canoe and two loin aprons;
both eyes, both arms or legs -- two canoes, and as many loin aprons as the culprit possesses;
one finger -- one loin apron;
two or three fingers -- two loin aprons;
four fingers -- two or three loin aprons;
a hand -- three or four loin aprons.

"Destruction of property is mentioned in one song as a penalty for adultery. The poetess--who was the 'other woman'--sang:

If his wife finds out,
Her people will attack us.
If I steal her husband,
They will wreck our house.

Tom--with confirmation from the chiefs, who were all present when the song was dictated by one of them--said that this is a traditional penalty for adultery. Relatives of the aggrieved spouse destroy crops on the land of the homebreaker, cutting down banana trees and coconuts. (I did not make sure whether this referred only to bunches of nuts, or to the coconut trees.) They also destroy any portable property and objects in the house, but not the house itself. This procedure is said to have the approval of the chiefs. But there had been no actual instance of it for a long time.

The penalty for incest--defined as sexual relations with fellow-clansmen or parent--is death or banishment. This was Tom's reply to a question from Spiro. The fact that the penalty is by far the severest we heard of, shows how seriously clan exogamy is regarded. But I never heard of an actual case of incest, and no couples were 'living in sin' in this sense while we were on Ifalik. So as far as we know this rule is only a threat, though perhaps an effective one.

One other hint of law enforcement in sexual relations occurs in a mother's lament for

a daughter who died young. The burden of the whole song is 'Don't gossip about her now.' There is mention of 'a man from the district' coming to spy upon the girl and her lover, because she was considered too young for love. Asked whether this was customary, Tom said it was. But no such patrolmen were on duty during our stay. Presumably one would be assigned by the chiefs in case of complaint or scandal."

2: Damm et al. --76
116, 837, 684

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Adultery occurs. If a husband hears about it, he scolds, but does not strike his wife. The adulterer must pay a penalty in the form of loin aprons, wooden boxes, and small or large canoes.

2: Damm et al. --82 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684, 643 Ifaluk

The chief does not intervene in a case of adultery. If the guilty man wants the woman, the husband surrenders her, but at a high price (large canoes, loin aprons, chests, etc.) If the culprit does not wish to take her, he does not pay so much; for example, a small canoe, or a large chest. In any case, the husband leaves his wife. If she has any children, the penalty is larger. The children go into the husband's house, but they are permitted to visit their mother.

2: Damm et al. --189 [13] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684 Faraulep

If a man commits adultery, he is punished by having to pay a high fine.

2: Damm et al. --192 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 684 Faraulep

Adultery is punished by fines.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 684 Lamotrek

An adulterer is deprived of all his belongings, bowls, canoe, and even his sleeping mats.

The natives will stand insults against their mother, but not against their sisters.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 837, 684 Woleai

Adultery among the inhabitants of the same island is not unusual and is not regarded as anything important since in that case the inhabitants consider themselves almost one family. If the offender comes from another island of the atoll, however, adultery is considered a serious crime and is revenged. As soon as a crime of this sort has been discovered, the word spreads to all the islands, and almost all the men sail to the island of the guilty man to punish him. They burn his house, cut down his breadfruit and coconut trees, and break his canoe, in short, he loses his fortune. There is never any corporal punishment.

28: Spiro--127 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 203, 839, 684 Ifalik

"The concept of rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occured on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occured on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. (6) Eight men working on a canoe in the bush fell upon a lone woman and all had intercourse with her.

A variation of rape, ganou, is found on Ifaluk. A man will enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awake and object to his behavior she awakens the household. (7) Again, the incidence is negligible."

"6. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

7. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this situation. The women does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house."

1: Burrows--146
116, 685

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Theft calls for restitution to the aggrieved party of goods approximately equivalent to those stolen, --rather like damages for a tort in our law. The thief is also publicly reprimanded; and repeated thefts will bring down heavier confiscation, more like what we call a fine. (Ifalik, however, makes no such distinction as we do between civil and criminal law)."

1: Burrows--183
116, 685, 345, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

2: Damm et al. --82 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685 Ifaluk

If theft has been committed, the chief orders the victim to take a similar object from the thief. Occasionally, the chief also scolds the culprit in the presence of the whole population.

2: Damm et al. - 192 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685, 627 Faraulep

If any one steals nuts, the whole village is called to the "big" house; it is then blocked off with a rope, and the thief is not allowed to enter until he has made amends to the chief. If the thief cannot be caught, the natives go to his house and take anything that they want.

2: Damm et al. --192 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 685 Faraulep

Arson is a serious crime, and it is punished by death; then the house of the culprit is burned too. If anyone dares burn the "big" house, the whole village beats him to death.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 685 Lamotrek

Punishment, gária, especially for theft is the tying of the thief to a post and blackening his face.

1: Burrows--204 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 688, 784 Ifalik

"The same preoccupation appears in the following list of penalties thought to follow violation of a taboo:

Misdeed	Punishment
A man enters the birth house-	famine
A man enters a menstrual hut-	one version, starvation; other version, sickness
A man enters a pool for soaking coconut husks-	he will be unable to catch fish for 20 days; so his household will be short of food
Fish caught in a big trap are cooked in a pan-	no more driftwood, no more fish for the big traps; i.e., shortage of food
sexual intercourse during turu fishing, or immediately before trolling-	failure to catch fish; (shortage of food again)
sexual intercourse during early pregnancy, or between birth and walking-	death of the baby
menstruating woman approaches rongonax tree-	typhoon. (Typhoons are followed by famine.)
menstruating woman visits taro patch-	the taro will not thrive

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Misdeed
leaving a dead body ashore-

Punishment
the vegetation will wither, and the people will starve."

2: Damm et al. --82 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 689 Ifaluk

If a man uses bad language, is wicked and wanton or lazy about his work, he is warned by the head chief. If this happens several times, there is a more severe punishment; for example, the head chief takes the canoe away from the guilty party, and keeps it himself.

2: Damm et al. --81 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692, 643 Ifaluk

The chief is always the judge, and the court is the men's house.

2; Damm et al. --192 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 692 Faraulep

The high chief is the supreme judge.

Z: Damm et al, --187
116, 411, 721, 177

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

In former times there were a good many wars (fitéx), and today the natives fight with spears, sticks and knuckle dusters of sharks teeth (rajarás). They hurl stones with their hands. No bows and arrows are used. The victor orders the battle to cease. Declaration of war - máud, armistice - eiaméle máud.

4: Kramer--66 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411, 721 Lamotrek

Due to the peaceful attitude of the population, clubs and spears are nonexistent. Hellwig collected a knuckle-duster--radjeras, with fish spines--ig e valeval.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 721, 174 Lamotrek

War is said to have been introduced by Olifat.

Warfare is rare among the natives of the island group, and therefore weapons...are most limited. But it must have been different in the past, at least as far as outside affairs were concerned, when the king of Lamotrek...ruled over extensive territories. We heard that not too longago Ifaluk had attacked the people of Lamotrek because the latter had killed the crews of two of their canoes.

4: Krämer--191
116, 502, 721, 411

(1909) 1937

Woleaian
Woleai

[VMM: James Wilson said of the natives in 1797]: They handle their boats with great skill and sail without fear from island to island. From this fact we concluded that hostilities and wars are rare and that free movement would thus be possible; this idea is substantiated by the lack of weapons of the islanders, who have none, with the exception of a sling.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 411, 721 Woleai

(Kotzebue: maul; lance, tilleg; to throw, kattevi; to hit, jel; to miss, tarami; a sling, kaul). War was almost unknown, as were spears, clubs and slings. The native, Kadu, expressed his distaste for war (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 90, 134) which he had come to know among the Rataks; he had been wounded in some hostilities. "There one does not know anything about war and fighting; there one man does not kill another man, and anyone faced with warfare had his hair turn white."

"Viewing the system from the outside, rather than from the inside, or native perspective, it is of importance to note another, sociological contribution, made by this international organization, and that is the maintenance of peace. The possibility of the existence of inter-island war is, of course, an entirely speculative point, though tradition tells us of a number of wars in the past. The facts are, however, that there have been no inter-tribal wars in historical times, and it is not unfair to assume that the mutual subservience of islands to Yap has been a major factor in this history of pacifism, for the Yap chiefs consider all the islands as their own people, and intertribal war would be considered civil war, or treason, by them. And though Gagil might not be able to enforce its demands by physical might, its prestige is great enough so that its expressed disapproval would be sufficient, in most cases, to enforce its will.

That this role of benevolent paternalism is felt quite consciously by the Yap chiefs is indicated by my meeting with Foneg, the paramount chief on Gagil. While waiting on Ifaluk for our ship to embark, Foneg, who had accompanied the ship, approached me, and after exchanging the usual amenities, he said that he hoped that the people on Ifaluk had been friendly and cooperative, and he thanked me for having lived with 'my people.'

This hegemony of Gagil presents an interesting psychological problem, which I can only pose at this point, without attempting to offer an answer. The Ifalukians, of course,

accept Gagil's hegemony as part of the natural scheme of things, no one having ever questioned either its necessity or its desirability. Tribute is offered to a people that is different in language--the two languages are mutually unintelligible--and different, to a considerable extent, in culture. Furthermore, the people's attitude towards Gagil is not one of abject humility. On the contrary, the Ifalukians criticise the Yapese for their uncleanliness and their immorality. The Yapese, say the people, 'stink too much', and they 'talk lie'. Nevertheless they continue to pay their tribute, though they could successfully throw off this yoke."

28: Spiro--11 [3]
116, 721

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As indicated above the inter-island relationships are marked by continous peace, the only wars of which the natives have knowledge, being the wars described in the legends referred to above, and they occurred 'musuwe, musuwe', ('before, before.')."

We know nothing about the history of the first settlement of this island group. We only know that the inhabitants were very warlike, that they destroyed each other in one battle after another, and that the island was resettled at a later time by natives from Ifaluk. This was during the reign of the high chief Thamolrás, and so he is considered to be the first chief. This story gives some information about his epoch:

War between Faraulip and Pix

Nargetumár, who was a native of Pix, had insulted the people of Faraulip, and they threatened him dreadfully when he left their island. So when he got home, he said to his men: "Get ready! Tomorrow the Faraulip islanders will come to fight us!" Accordingly, the Pix inhabitants made spears for themselves, and the Faraulip men also got ready, but neither side had the courage to start the battle. One night the Faraulip men went fishing, and only a small group remained with the women and children in the village. Then the Pix natives made a surprise attack on them, and killed a large number of people. At dawn the canoes returned and found the massacre. Then the Pix men suddenly overwhelmed the defenseless fishermen in their boats, and only a few managed to escape in the open sea or in the thicket. The Pix islanders remained for a time on Faraulip, and then departed.

At that time a Yap native was staying on Faraulip, so the few survivors went to him, and inquired if he would be willing to help them against Pix. He agreed, and performed

a magic spell; then a high sea (probably a typhoon) came and destroyed many houses on Pix; and many people perished too, so that only twenty were left. But the ocean wreaked havoc on Faraulip too, and all the inhabitants died save one, who had fled into the jungle. The Yap islander died shortly after his conjuration.

The one Faraulip survivor, whose name was Uērlipār, went to the reef, caught 20 oméi fish in baskets, laid them in a ūx basket, and took it to Pix. First he called for the chief. An old man crawled up to him, leaning on canes. "Here, do you want the fish? Come and get it!", said the Faraulip man. The old chief [194] came up, and then the fisherman took him into the canoe and cracked his skull open with the fish club. Then he summoned all of the people in turn, and killed them. Finally he was alone; he did not like that, and so he went to Unaneí (Oleai), and got married; then he returned home to Faraulip with his wife. But upon his arrival, he found a canoe from Ifaluk; the crew had taken possession of the island, and they forbade him to land. So he went to Pix, and settled there. For this reason many of the cultural advantages that are found on Faraulip did not originate there, but came from Ifaluk.

Under the reign of chief Ragetéx a great typhoon struck Faraulip, and it did an enormous amount of damage. It struck Oleai and Aurepik too, but did not do so much harm. This storm killed many people, and destroyed all the palm trees, so the natives did not have anything to eat. Fortunately a canoe appeared from Oleai, it took the survivors

back to that island, and saved them from the worst period of the famine. Then when the trees and plants had started to grow again, the people returned home. Shortly after this, a second typhoon blew across the island; it tore down some huts and a few palms, but did not do any greater damage.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--250-251 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 731, 261 Woleai

Hellwig went over to the island of Wolea, the western part of which he visited first. The devastation caused by the typhoon (March 28, 1907) was to be seen everywhere.

....Several varieties of taro and sweet potatoes in well-kept fields showed that agriculture and food conditions had improved. Coconuts were scarce and swine were lacking completely so that the population will have to live on meager rations for years to come. As on Mogomog and Aurepik, here, too, the menu was made complete by a series of forest plants....several chickens had survived the typhoon flood, and their offsprings had increased considerably since....Hellwig was told...that the typhoon had not struck at night, otherwise the entire population would have been killed. When the waves had grown higher and higher and when the flood had become imminent, ropes had been fastened around the strongest trees, and the inhabitants had tried to cling to them.... Of the 6-700 inhabitants of the island group about 200 were said to have died. There was loud wailing, and it did not cease during the subsequent period of famine, when the fruits of the fields, with difficulties recovered from the mud- and stone-covered ground, were soon eaten up, and when the fish supply was low and had to be eaten raw, since the fishing implements had been lost and there was no dry wood around to make fire with. Even today when, on occasions, the women again become conscious of the consequences of the catastrophe, [251] a general loud lamenting sets in.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 161, 167, 342, 731 Ifalik

Feladjik has 109 inhabitants, the second island, Falāláp, 99, while Elă, the third island of the atoll, was uninhabited. In 1904 the population figure was still as high as 281. During the last typhoon (March 27, 28th, 1907) 35 persons perished.... The atoll was settled from Yap... Only Wólea, Lámutrik... and Faraûlip had been settled from Ífaluk .... Fraûlip had been depopulated by civil wars, Faladjik and Felāláp are inhabited only to the north; the farmsteads are dispersed at intervals along the coast. House construction is little developed.

4: Krämer--1
116, 161, 167, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: Natives: Lamutrik has a population of no more than 200, who may be looked upon as new arrivals. Sixty years ago the tidal wave of a typhoon had in part destroyed the population and in part had forced it to emigrate to Truk, Jap, and Saipan; later on some of them returned to their home islands.

4: Krämer--3 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 161, 731 Elato

[MR: From the Südsee-Handbuch, p. 34]: In 1903 the population [MR: of Elato] amounted to 90 heads; probably it has decreased even further through the typhoon of March 28, 1907.

4: Krämer--183 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 165, 731 Woleai

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe.

4: Krämer--185
116, 165, 731

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

In 1904 the population of the Woleai group numbered 661. The main reason given for a lowering of the population figure is dysentery, due to the consumption of sour toddy, and elephantiasis and paralysis. The serious typhoon of March 28, 1907 devastated the eastern islands of the group and took the lives of 200 people. It is probable that the population has decreased and now is little more than 450.

4: Krämer--185-186 (1909) 1937 Woleaians 1-8
116, 132, 175, 731 Woleai

Tagaulap. About fifteen to twenty years ago at the time of the southwestern monsoon a tidal wave tore away the entire southern end of the island of Tagaulap with all its houses, coconut palms and breadfruit trees but without the loss of human life. Today the tip of the island is completely covered by sand and only the bare skeletons of dead trees rise above the dry sand. [186]

During the typhoon at the end of March 1907 Raur was destroyed by a tidal wave. No more than two people escaped this catastrophe. The former island at the present time is a reef covered with a sandbank. During the typhoon, the government schooner "Ponape" happened to lie at anchor south of Flalap. When the winds were northeasterly to westnortheasterly she lost both her anchors and with the tidal wave that had destroyed Raur, she was carried southwest across the reefs and out to sea.

4: Krämer--196-200 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1
116, 175, 731 Woleai

Typhoon 1907 in the Western Carolines
The devastation of the Oleai island group (with map)*

On March 27 the government schooner "Ponape" returned to Oleai from a voyage to Ifaluk... The weather had been fine for weeks; but now winds with thunder squalls arose so that the distance of 35 nautical miles took 42 hours. The difficult entrance to Ifaluk was successful; previously the ships dropped anchor outside the lagoon in 9-16 fathoms of water. The return voyage took 5 1/2 hours. (On March 27). The voyage to Yap was to be continued on the following day. In order to give medical attention to the islanders, some passengers of the ship went ashore in the afternoon. The evening was calm and the moon shone brightly and splendidly (one day before the full moon). Early on the 28th of March several strong thunderstorms came from the east and north and strong rain squalls were interrupted by calms. Striking was the current from east and south which became steadily stronger. Early in the morning many frigate birds could be observed above the atoll flying about aimlessly although normally they are seldom seen around the land. At noon, in the lagoon, high breakers hit the sandy beach. The barometer took a dive and the "Ponape" remained in port, because the captain thought it would be better if the ship were to await the threatening typhoon in the inland water. Born was

*The illustrations that go with it are found in Krämer, 1927: Die Entstehung und Besiedlung der Koralleninseln, photograph IV.

asked to stay on board but he could no longer manage to take his luggage through [197] the strong surf. At 2:30 in the afternoon the waves around the outer reef and the lagoon were extraordinarily high; the "Ponape" chose another anchorage. As Born was trying to go ashore there arose a sudden squall from NNE so that the canoe was flooded. Born had great trouble trying to reach the beach; his house on the island had been abandoned by that time, because high waves had passed over the sand dunes 80-1000 meters long and had advanced to the house. Within the next two hours and a half this dune on the eastern tip (SE) was washed away completely so that a wide passage (previously narrow) resulted between the main island of Flalap and Paliau; through it high waters poured into the lagoon where they met with the breakers from the SW, so that water surged up to amazing heights.

At five o'clock the waves became high again, after the wind had calmed for some time, and Born had been able to reach the house; he was sitting on the porch when the water reached him there and carried him several paces away...

At 5:15 Born sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape" with the advice, ... of changing the anchorage of the ship once more and moving it to a more protected position at the N-W tip of the island near the island of Ifang. The answer he received was that the barometer was steady and that the wind was expected to die down but that the waves would run even higher than before.

Shortly before 6 o'clock Born was forced to leave the station; the buildings had already collapsed. He retired to the neighboring village of Leuleperik where he took up quarters in a new native house approximately 800-1000 meters from the northeast shore.

Late in the evening the NE wind gathered momentum and branches broke off trees. From one o'clock in the morning on, it was so violent that the noise sounded like the fire of small guns and was only interrupted by the somewhat different sound of cracking tree trunks. But both were hardly audible through the roaring of the wind and the breakers. But the houses were yet able to withstand the storm of the night.

At 5 o'clock in the morning the news came that the water had reached the nearby village and that the house in which Born and Villacon were staying was surrounded by water. The water rose so rapidly that it was hardly possible to gather the most important things and to take them to the Japanese station in the village of Jaur, located at the widest part of the island. The path was passable only with difficulty; but finally it could be managed without accident. From Jaur one can overlook the lagoon, where the "Ponape" was no longer visible. On the horizon in the west strong sheet lightning could be observed. The surf in the lagoon reached the very houses of the village. A stay in the station seemed dangerous, and everyone retired to the western canoe-house where all the natives of the island had assembled. They were completely confused and overwhelmed by the happenings and recalled an old oracle that at some time in the future their island would be washed away. They thought that the time had come. Soon

this group was joined by the Japanese who had to flee when their station was washed away by the high waves. But by now even the present shelter was no longer safe, and everybody moved on to the northwestern tip of the island near Ifang. This was the last escape...In a house on a low hill [198] large numbers of screaming and weeping natives had sought shelter. The lamentations increased when a man announced that presently the water was also coming from NNE. Born climbed a palm tree and from this position was able to observe the seas moving through the woods like white cats. When he came down from his lookout, the water stood up to his hips. Everyone tried to pick up planks and ropes and went down to the shore of the lagoon. Fortunately the water rose slowly and the wind became weaker. Born noticed a gigantic breadfruit tree which had been uprooted; its roots rose several meters into the air, and Born and several others climbed on it. They had barely reached their new position when the typhoon started to rage from ESE with an indescribable velocity. It seemed as if a thousand trains were rushing by. It was 9 o'clock in the morning and the wind continued in this manner until three in the afternoon. The air was so full of water and sand that one could only see a few steps ahead. Then the wind calmed down somewhat; for some moments the sun actually broke through and it became possible to recognize one's surroundings: fairly close to the shore of the lagoon at the NW corner of the island.

The water had fallen somewhat and the destruction could be viewed; the trees were

piled to a height of several meters. There was no sign of houses and human beings other than the remnants of the large canoe-houses visible on the beach. Moving through water that reached his hips, Born approached the village of Jaur and on his way he observed two youths, painted red, who were carrying a pig inland. Following them, he arrived at the center of the island where a large number of natives had come together and where all spent the first night. Apparently no one had come over from Oleai, but soon bad news came from the SE.

On Saturday, March 30, early in the morning, the wind had calmed down considerably but in the lagoon the waters continued to surge and boil high; there was no trace of the "Ponape". Some natives said that they had last seen her lights on the morning of the 29th, but by now she was considered lost. A walk along the beach proved the terrible havoc wrought by the typhoon; there was nothing left of the island of Raur except a sandbank with a few solitary palm trees. On the beach of Leuleperik, the body of a 5-year old boy was washed ashore. It soon became known that there were no more than two survivors from Raur, a man and a woman; that meant that 130 had lost their lives. Only 9 had been on other islands when the typhoon hit. On Paliau about 50 of the 90 natives had been victims of the storm. On Tagaulap a woman had been killed when a house collapsed. Four women of Saliap had been on Raur and 10 people from Utagal and 5 from Falalis so that the total loss of lives must have been about 200. The doctor was unable to give much aid to the numerous injured because all medicines and instruments had been

washed away by the waves. In the course of Saturday and Sunday, many bodies were washed ashore, most of them mutilated in a cruel fashion. Miraculous escapes were also recorded; several natives of Paliau drifted to Saliap, and four from Raur to Utagal; two children--a boy [199] of 5 and a girl of 8--landed safely on Marijong.

The survivors of Paliau and Raur reported the following: on the evening of March 28, some of the experienced men judged from the roar of the breakers that a tidal wave was moving in the direction of their island. Some preparations were made, e.g., many women and children were taken up high on breadfruit trees and were tied on. During the following night, the water on the island reached a height of 1 1/2 meters. But it was not until the following morning, the morning of March 29th at 8 o'clock, that the tidal wave really came. One could see it approach from the tops of the highest breadfruit trees; it appeared to be about 40 meters high and like a dark cloud with deafening noise it broke over the island like a gigantic stream of water. Everything withstood this onrush, but soon a second, even higher tidal wave swept over the island and carried along everything, trees, houses, and human beings. The lagoon was turned into a boiling kettle in which drifting tree trunks and boards ground up everything.

The entire island of Raur, with its total length of 1700 meters was washed away while a new island appeared between Falális and Motogosóu in the south; this island seems to have existed once in the past and was called Met (see map 4) [VMM: see 4: Krämer 184].

The narrow shallow entrance between Paliau and the main island (Figure 80) [VMM: see source] was greatly widened and deepened. The reef between the two islands had cracked like a marble block. And the ground of Paliau and Raur looked as if it had burst. On the outer reef of Raur through which the tidal wave had broken, three longish coral debris aggradations stood out like islets. The entire fundamental formation was as smooth as the top of a table and only some coral pebbles were scattered over it. The tidal wave must have come from ENE.

The mail streamer was not due until about May 25 and threatening starvation was a big problem.* The coconuts were picked and divers tried to salvage the taro of the fields which stood under 2-3 meters of water. The chiefs were in charge of the distribution of foodstuffs and did an excellent job of it.

The trading station O'Keefe-Yap was used to store the extra food. The water tank, with a capacity of 3 1/2 cubic meters had been carried off 100 meters in spite of the fact that it had been [200] cemented in. The scattered goods and food supplies could be saved in part. Most of them were distributed among the natives by the government physician and at government cost.

A great drought followed so that when the "Germania" arrived on April 11, she came as a saviour. The steamer also brought the news that the "Ponape" had arrived safely

*I learned that for that reason typhoons are also known as Lángeta "no food."

on Saipan on April 4.

Captain Martens reports that on Friday, March 29, from 7:30 P.M. the typhoon was raging. One squall followed upon another. No land was visible in spite of the full moon. [ER: The experiences of the ship during these days are described in the text, but are omitted here.] Since the current was definitely and violently NW it was impossible to take a course towards Yap and for that reason the ships sailed in the direction of Guam or Saipan; the latter was reached on April 4.

The destruction wrought by the typhoon was so considerable that at the instigation of the German government a large number of coconut palms were planted:1000 on Volea, 500 on Máriong, 500 on Tagaulap, 500 on Vótagai, and 1500 on Falális; on Raur which now belongs to Daruélimog as many as 4000 trees were planted and on Paliau 2000. SS Natuna picked up many people after the typhoon, 100 on Volea, 7 on Mariong, 8 on Tagulap, 1 on Soluap, and 110 on Falális. About 200 were taken to Saipan.

The soldier and supervisor Goru.....--he could only write his name--asked me to give a message to the government on Yap and to inform it that he wanted to stay on Volea. Agupelior sent 20 woven mats as a gift with the information that now there was plenty of food on Oleai, and that the natives of that island who had been transplanted could well return. Goru saw to it that 20,000 new coconut palms were planted after the typhoon. The breadfruit trees did not bear fruit for a long time, and the taro swamps were covered by a salt crust.

6: Senfft--54
116, 162, 731

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Lamotrek

The total population of Lamutrik is almost exactly 200, and the number of men and women is approximately the same. A very old man from Lamutrik told me that the island was uninhabited until about 60 years ago. A typhoon and a strong tidal wave had destroyed almost all the inhabitants as well as the plantations. A few of the survivors went to Oleai to get canoes, and the others used these to emigrate to Yap, Saipan, Truk, and other islands with which they were familiar. Some of them later returned, after the vegetation had been renewed.

9: Senfft--13 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Lamotrek

This group of islands had formerly had a denser population; a typhoon together with a flood had destroyed almost everything about 60 years ago. A few men who had gone on the six remaining canoes to the Oleai Group at a distance of 150 nautical miles had brought a number of vessels on which the whole population emigrated to the Marianas, Truk, Yap, and other islands. Only after many years part of the population returned.

14: Born et al--567-570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians -1-6
116, 132, 731 Woleai

Wednesday evening [MR: March 27, 1907] passed quietly with almost complete calm and beautiful moonlight. Early the next day several sharp thunderstorms passed over the islands from north and east, and a strong wind with rain squalls set in by fits and starts. The wind let up again and again after a short time, and then there was almost complete calm. From morning on a striking phenomenon was the ever stronger surf from the east and south, which had no relationship to the strength of the wind. Likewise, there appeared early in the morning numerous huge frigate birds, which hovered aimlessly back and forth over the island. I had not noticed these birds in Oleai before. In the usually quiet lagoon there was already a heavy sea at noon, rolling up on the sandy shore in mighty breakers. The first officer of the "Ponape" explained this phenomenon to me as the beginning of a spring-tide, which might be expected the next night (full moon). Towards one o'clock P.M. I went aboard the "Ponape" to consult with the captain about the weather. He told me that under the circumstances a departure that day was not to be considered, the barometer was falling sharply; there was the possibility of an approaching typhoon. He further declared that in such an event he would try to hold fast as long as possible in the lagoon. Finally, he asked me to stay on board because I would be safer than on land. However, considering the impossibility of bringing my bulky baggage on board now with the constantly heavier sea, I preferred to go ashore again.

In spite of the fact that astonishingly there was almost no wind, there was, [568] when I left the ship at about 2:30 P.M., a fearful sea, both on the outer reef and in the lagoon so that the "Ponape" had to change her anchoring place. Shortly after I left the ship a strong rain squall suddenly came blustering from the north-northeast, which struck the canoe I was in violently so that we almost sank. Summoning all their strength, the natives succeeded in holding the canoe and bringing it to land. Here I found my house already evacuated for during my absence powerful waves had come up over the 80 to 100 meter long dunes as far as the house. In the course of the next two and a half hours this whole dune, the eastern point of the island of Oleai, was washed away; there was now a wide passage between the islands of Oleai and Talian, and through this the waves coming over the outer reef from the northeast crashed wildly into the lagoon, where they met the equally heavy surf from the southwest so that the waves towered very high. At 5 o'clock, while I sat writing on the veranda, a heavy sea with slight wind again broke over the reef and, striking towards my house, it threw me several meters away through the splintered veranda railing. My left thigh was severely bruised by falling beams, which made walking very difficult for me and on the next day would have been almost disastrous. At 5:15 I sent a note to the captain of the "Ponape," in which I transmitted to him the advice of a Spaniard who was with me to move the anchorage of the "Ponape" near the village of Isang, under the protection of the northwestern point of Oleai. I thereupon received a note saying that the barometer was standing still and abating of the

wind was to be expected, but that on the other hand the surf would still increase. Shortly before 6 o'clock I had to abandon the already half demolished station; I moved back into the adjacent village of Leuleperik, where I took quarters in a recently finished finely built native house. Late in the evening the wind from the north-northeast began to grow still stronger so that branches of trees were already being broken off. From 1 A.M. on one heard through the whistling of the wind the constant snapping of branches like musketry fire and the crashing of huge falling trees like the thunder of cannon, above it all rose the thundering noise of the surf, but the houses stood firm through the whole night. Towards 5 o'clock we (the Spanish trader Villaçon and I) were awakened by the watch we had posted with the news that the waves were already striking in the village of Leuleperik and that there was already water around our lodging. Leuleperik is about 800 to 1,000 meters away from the northeast shore. The water rose so fast that we scarcely had time to give the most necessary instructions for saving the luggage. We hurried to the Japanese station, which is in the village of Jaur, at the widest part of the island, and in the middle of it. The way was already blocked by fallen coconut palms and other trees lying in all directions, in some places forming real barricades. In spite of the coconuts, branches and trees whistling down to the right and left of us, we reached the Japanese station without accident, and had there an open view of the lagoon to the south. The schooner "Ponape" was not to be seen. Glaring lightning flashed on the horizon in the west. The surf in the lagoon was already beating against the houses of the village. We

soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong [570] ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been wrenched from the ground with all its

roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast. It is impossible to describe the strength of this wind. It was as if a thousand express trains were racing close by our tree. The air was so full of rain and sea spray, mixed with sand, that is was impossible to see to a distance of even a few meters. Thus the storm raged uninterrupted until towards 3 in the afternoon, coming from east-southeast to southeast.

At this time it calmed a little. The sun even broke through, though veiled, for a few minutes, and it was now possible to orient ourselves. It turned out that we were quite close to the shore of the lagoon in the northwestern corner of the island. The water had fallen. Around us there stretched a wide desolate waste, the ground was covered meters high with fallen trees. Only now and then, where a blooming, delightful garden had been, did the bare stump of a breadfruit tree and some withered palms project. Far and wide there was no trace of human habitation. Only a few disordered heaps of ruins marked the places where the great canoe houses, filled with the pride of the natives, the artful high-sea canoes, fishing wier baskets and nets, had stood. There was no human being to be seen. When we approached the village of Jaur, we found the water there meter-high. Suddenly we saw two fantastic figures, youths, rubbed bright red all over their bodies, carrying a pig. We followed them and wading in water up to our hips we reached,

after difficult climbing stretches, the place in about the center of the island where the natives had already partly gathered again. It turned out that by good fortune none of the inhabitants of the island of Oleai had perished. A bivouac was quickly put up, huts constructed of bush work, and a fire lit. In this bivouac we spent the first night of pouring rain.

On Saturday, March 30, in the morning, the wind had let up considerably. We went to the shore and looked around. The sea was still wildly whirling and seething in the lagoon; there was no trace of the schooner "Ponape." A walk along the shore of the island showed us everywhere the same ghastly devastation. The islands of Paliau and Raur seemed to have suffered especially badly. At the place where the lovely island of Raur had been opposite Oleai, only a long, white sandbank with a few palms and tree stumps was to be seen. On the beach at Leuleperik we found the first victim of the catastrophe, the body of a boy about 5 years old....

14: Born et al--570
116, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

When we approached the village of Jaur [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907 had passed], we found the water there meter-high. Suddenly we saw two fantastic figures, youths, rubbed bright red all over their bodies, carrying a pig. We followed them and wading in water up to our hips we reached, after difficult climbing stretches, the place in about the center of the island where the natives had already partly gathered again. It turned out that by good fortune none of the inhabitants of the island of Oleai had perished. A bivouac was quickly put up, huts constructed of bush work, and a fire lit. In this bivouac we spent the first night of pouring rain.

14: Born et al--570-571 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 731 Woleai

When we returned to the camp [MR: after surveying the damage caused by the typhoon, March, 1907] the sound of loud crying and lamenting met our ears, not to cease all day. The first reports of tragedy had come in, and more and more were added. Only two inhabitants of the island of Raur had survived, a man and a woman. The loss of human life here came to a hundred and thirty. Nine inhabitants of the island had been on other islands during the typhoon, and had thus been saved. On Paliau fifty out of ninety inhabitants had perished, among them the able military policeman Jeuloch, who had drowned with his whole family in the attempt to save his wife and child. On Tageulap a woman had been killed by a falling house. Four women from the island of Saliap, who had been on Raur during the typhoon, had perished, 10 inhabitants of Utagal, five of Falalis, so that the total loss of human life came to two hundred. The number of injured was very great; but fortunately most of the wounds were not serious. I could give no assistance even to the slightly wounded since all my equipment of medicines and bandages as well as instruments, had been [571] lost. Throughout Saturday and on Easter Sunday the sea washed ashore many corpses, often horribly disfigured. Only with difficulty could the natives be persuaded to bury them. I should like to mention a few strange rescues; for instance, two children, a boy of five and a girl of eight, swam across the lagoon in the typhoon sea a knot and a half to Marijong. Several natives from Paliau were driven to Saliap, four from Raur to Utagal 4-1/2 knots away, two women and two men. The number thus saved was twelve.

14: Born et al--571
116, 132, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

The accounts of those saved from Raur and Paliau unanimously gave the following picture of the events on those islands: As early as the evening of March 28, experienced people concluded from the peculiar roar of the surf that a tidal wave was approaching. So all precautions were taken to save the women and children, and they were fastened with ropes in the branches of breadfruit trees. On March 29, towards 8 in the morning, after the water had risen a meter and a half high on the island during the night, a dark cloud appeared with a terrifying whistling noise over the tops of the highest breadfruit trees, thus over 40 meters high: the tidal wave. It broke like a gigantic jet of water in the middle of the islands and poured with a terrific flood into the lagoon. However, this first tidal wave did not tear away the tightly bound people; but directly after the first came a second and still higher wave, which swept away all trees, houses and people. The lagoon at this moment was a great whirling eddy, into which the trees full of men were torn. Those who did not drown were crushed by the trees in the surf on the reef ledges.

14: Born et al--571-572 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 731 Woleai

The first concern after the typhoon [MR: March, 1907] was to collect the survivors of the completely destroyed islands of Raur and Paliau on Oleai in a joint bivouac. Here there prevailed admirable order and discipline among the natives so that in this respect no measures had to be taken. I want here to call attention to the fact that the natives most willingly complied with all my directions and that in the fourteen difficult days after the typhoon there was no case of disobedience or other disturbance.

The worry about a famine hung over us like a threatening spectre; it was so much the worse since, because of our uncertainty about the fate of the "Ponape," we had to expect to be without help until May 25 or 26 (that is, three to four days after the arrival in Jap of the Reich mail steamer "Germania" from Hongkong. So we immediately began collecting the masses of coconuts which were lying about; the taro which was still usable was brought from the fields, in which process the women had to dive to fish out the roots. Even days after the typhoon the water was two and a half to three meters deep in the large taro field on Oleai. All usable provisions were brought to special [572] huts and put in charge of the chiefs; they distributed the necessary rations several times daily to every individual, men, women and children.

14: Born et al--572
116, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

While the people were all so busy gathering together the food, I set about to salvage the extensive stocks of the O'Keefe firm, which maintained a trading station on the island of Marijong. The station itself was completely levelled to the ground...By good fortune we succeeded in saving a large part of the stock, above all most of the provisions, so that we had enough food for six to eight weeks. The rice damaged by sea water was washed, then dried in the sun, and had to be eaten, in spite of the danger of beri-beri.

We made the ruins of the trading station into a raft on which we went over to Oleai, where we quickly put together a house in Isang. I took possession of a large part of the stock of goods and all the provisions, on account, for the district office, and distributed them as needed to the inhabitants of the worst damaged islands of Falalis, Raur, and Paliau, things such as covers, loin cloths, hatchets, knives, cooking pots. I also gave as much as possible of the indispensable tobacco to the unfortunate people.

14: Born et al--572
116. 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

An additional hard affliction was the dryness which set in after the typhoon. No rain fell up until the arrival of the "Germania" on April 11. The sun burned down pitilessly day after day on the ravaged islands. So we greeted the Reich mail steamer "Germania" which arrived unexpectedly on April 11 from Saipan, with large stores of provisions, as a true rescuer in distress. It also brought us the very cheering news that the "Ponape" had arrived safely in Saipan on April 4, after a very dangerous trip.

14: Born et al--572-573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-13
116, 502, 731 Woleai

We [MR: Captain Martens] reached Oleai again on the afternoon of March 27, 1907 and returned to the same anchorage....From...[MR: about 3 o'clock] sea watch was kept because the weather did not look good. At 5:15 we dropped the second anchor. A strong swell and sea without wind came up in the lagoon; trees and parts of houses were driven by the ship from the corners of the island, torn down by the breakers; it seemed to be a tidal wave, for there was not much wind. Rapid sinking of the barometer, however, warned me to expect trouble, and also the wind and sea were gradually rising considerably.

A full fledged typhoon blew on Friday, March 29 from 7:30 P.M. on. It is impossible for any of us to describe the strength of the wind. We took [573] on deck all the anchor chains we could find on board and made moorings as necessary with the increasing wind. We saw no more of the land then, though the moon was full. One squall followed another.

It must have been about 8:30 when we began to drift; even before that, at about 8 o'clock, all the boats, the gasoline in the galvanized tanks, and all the deck ladders, the chicken house and the joiner's bench were washed from the deck by heavy waves. How and by what route we went out of the lagoon no one can say, the ship was wheeling frightfully; no one could stay on his feet. We sat in life-jackets in the saloon and awaited the worst. On deck heavy waves were hurtling across from both sides; one would have been thrown overboard immediately. Around us trees, coconuts and plants of all kinds were swirling about, some of them thrown up onto the ship. From 10 in the morning on (the 29th) the

barometer began to rise; but the typhoon continued to rage. The sails were blown out into shreds between the rudders. Only the schooner sail stayed whole. Judging from the appearance of the water we must have been already outside the lagoon at 10 o'clock; it was not possible to confirm this by sounding.

Our little ship did very well, and thanks to her exceptional seaworthiness we survived the storm. Many times the ship was thrown over 40 to 45 degrees and completely enveloped in water, but she always righted herself in a few seconds, only to be thrown over again. We used quantities of oil to calm the sea. Towards noon we realized that a great deal of water must be in the ship. The bulkhead was broken down from the saloon, and now we saw that the water was up over the machine platform. Now I ordered volunteers to the pump, for to command anyone directly would have been an outrage; the heavy waves continued to break over the deck without cease. The machine pumps could not be used, because the batteries were completely destroyed. The water had come in chiefly through the ventilators on deck to starboard. At 4 o'clock the barometer had climbed to 29. 10, the sea continued high and rough, the typhoon continued to blow in full strength. I think it can be assumed that nothing is left of Oleai, for the trees which floated by us were all very large and came from the interior of the islands.

On Saturday March 30 it was squally, but somewhat brighter. I was not able to determine the ship's position, for the sun did not come through. In the afternoon we cleared out the hold, of necessity, and found there some dry rice. At 2:30 the corpse of

a native floated close by our ship on its back. The wind now declined steadily; the barometer rose slowly. There was still a heavy sea. On Sunday at noon I held a conference with my officers, in the course of which we decided to go to Saipan or possibly to Guam. For it was not possible to get to Jap, because the current was too strong towards the northwest and we did not have enough sail surface. The engines were not damaged and possibly usable.

From April 1 to 4 we had moderate weather. At daybreak on the morning of the 4th we sighted Tenian and Agiguan. We sailed and steamed towards Garapan. Shortly we sighted Saipan. At noon we anchored with our kedge-anchor in Tanapag harbor.

14: Born et al--573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 132, 731 Woleai

On April 11 in the evening the steamer [MR: "Germania"] anchored in the lagoon of Oleai. Dr. Born came aboard immediately.

Some of the islands which I [MR: district official Fritz] saw three months ago in the full splendor of their luxurious coconut groves, are wholly destroyed; only a few trees project from the heaps of fallen ones, standing, but without their tops; not a green leaf is to be seen.

14: Born et al--573 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 165, 731 Ifalik

In all 225 people lost their lives on Ifaluk and Oleai [MR: in the typhoon of March 1907]. No Europeans perished.

14: Born et al--576
116, 241, 262, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Ifalik

According to my [MR: Fritz's] unfortunately extensive experience of typhoons, only a small number of the palms will recover [MR: following typhoon of March 1907], and will not bear fruit again for two or three years. On high islands (Saipan, Ponape, Jap) the natives are not so exclusively dependent on the coconut palm for food; large stretches are planted with tuberous plants and maize; in protected places breadfruit survives the storm, usually animal nourishment is available (Saipan). But on the low coral islands the life of the inhabitants depends almost entirely on the coconut palm, the breadfruit trees break down in the storm, the taro plants are washed away. For the next few months the fallen ripe and unripe nuts, the marrow of the fallen trees, can be used, but then threatens a state of emergency.

14: Born et al--576 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 157, 731 Ifalik

On April 12 we [MR: district official Fritz] arrived at Ifalik and brought the people the share of the provisions allotted to them [MR: after the typhoon of March, 1907]. But none wanted to leave their destroyed home; much more, the ruling chief turned down my proposal. All depictions of the coming distress were useless; the chief frankly and rightly feared a lessening of power with the emigration of large numbers of his subjects. But I am convinced that when after a few months bitter want strikes, the obstinacy of this gentleman will yield of its own accord.

14: Born et al--576 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Ifalik

I [MR: district official Fritz] intend to move as many as possible of the population [MR: affected by typhoon of March 1907] to the Palau and Marianas Islands, and in fact, on the present trip of the "Germania," 200 to 300 from Ifaluk (in all over 400 inhabitants, 25 typhoon victims) to Palau, on the trip back 200 to 300 from Oleai (formerly a total of 1,000 inhabitants) to Saipan. The "Seestern" expected in July is then to visit the other islands in the east, which presumably were also struck by the typhoon, and bring as many people as possible to the Marianas.

14: Born et al--576-577 (1907) 1907 Woleaians
116, 656, 731 Woleai

On Oleai, on the recommendation of Dr. Born, I [MR: district official Fritz] appointed a Spaniard from Jap, known to me as dependable, Julio Villaçon, as deputy of the administration, and gave him the task of putting through the following measures [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907]:

The distribution of the food brought with us and requisitioned by Dr. Born from the traders.

The preparation of planting land for the seed to be brought in on the returning "Germania" (sweet potatoes, taro, and others).

Looking out for the 200 to 300 emigrants to be taken to Saipan until the return of the "Germania."

Forbidding traders and natives to buy, sell, or export copra or coconuts since all fruit on hand is necessary for food. [577]

Forbidding traders and natives from crediting goods or objects in order to prevent the people from falling into debt servitude to foreign traders exploiting their plight.

14: Born et al--577
116, 441, 731

(1907) 1907

Woleaians
Woleai

The destruction of the copra trade [MR: after the typhoon of March 1907] for the duration of several years will probably result in the suspension again of the Japanese settlements on these islands. It is a matter of the branch establishments of the Jap firm Marutani and the Saipan firm Muragama. O'Keefe also has a trading station on Oleai.

22: German Government--184 (1909-10) 1911 Woleaians
116, 167, 731 Woleai

[AN: In the Western Carolines, West Central Carolines, and Marianas] ... the peace was not disturbed in the year covered by the report [ER: 1909-10]; relations with the natives remained untroubled.

The typhoons of the last years [AN: 1905 and 1907] had necessitated resettlement of supernumerary persons from the most devastated islands of the Oleai and Mortlock groups [UMR: Nomoi], and from Pingelap and the atolls south of Palau, on the thinly populated islands of Ponape, Palau, and the Marianas; on the latter there was more than sufficient food available for them, and they were to be settled there permanently as an economically valuable addition. Disturbances on Ponape and the danger that they might become enslaved, about the end of 1908 required removal of the Mortlock natives to Saipan. Unfortunately, this transplantation did not prove successful. In contrast to the people of Oleai who are closely related to the Saipan Carolinians, the people of Mortlock could not feel at home on Saipan. In April 1910, together with their companions in misfortune on Truk, they were sent back to their own islands, which in the meantime had recovered from the damage wrought by the typhoon. Earlier the inhabitants of the southern atolls, that had been destroyed in 1905, had been resettled on Saipan; they, too, returned to Sonserol. 129 of them remain on Palau; on the Marianas there are 200 people from Oleai, 60 from Pingelap, and 64 from Samoa, who, in 1909, had to be removed from their home lands for political reasons.

22: German Government--185 (1909-10) 1911 Woleaians
116, 245, 731 Woleai

Repeated trips of the district official and the Imperial Government physician. . . to the Central Carolines and the southern islands were undertaken to investigate the present condition of those atolls and their inhabitants after the typhoons of 1905 and 1907. It was ascertained that all islands had recovered almost completely. The coconut palms bore abundant fruit; on Oleai 20,000 new trees had been planted under the direction of a minor police officer. Only the breadfruit trees do not yet bear fruit again, and the washed-out and salt-soaked taro fields on the islands that had been hit by the tidal wave do not yield any crops.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

251 Breadfruit is the only food on Ifaluk that can be stored for any length of time (they sometimes smoke fish, but not to keep it for more than a few months). To preserve the breadfruit, the skin is scraped off and the pulp cut into sections which are put into big, open-meshed rope baskets. These are carried to the lagoon, weighed down with coral blocks, and left to soak overnight. The baskets are then removed from the lagoon, covered with leaves, and left for still another night. The pulp can then be kneaded into a paste, which is wrapped in leaves and buried in the ground. The preserving process is quite comparable with that used for sauerkraut, and the stuff lasts for years. We didn't like the taste of this mar, but apparently it is nutritious enough. Considerable quantities are buried every year, insuring a food [131] supply in case of a disaster like a typhoon.

262 There are seven or eight named varieties of breadfruit, distinguished 137 by the size and appearance of the fruit, shape of the leaves, and the like. In the case of two of the varieties, the fruits have seeds, and in these the roasted seeds are used for food. They have a chestnut-like flavor and quality.

Almost as important as breadfruit were the two taros. This is perhaps doing violence to the word "taro" since it is using it to cover two similar but quite distinct kinds of aroids with edible tubers, one called by the botanists *Colocasia* and the other *Cyrtosperma*. The taro of Polynesia is *Colocasia*, but on Ifaluk both plants were about equally important. These again are anciently cultivated plants, vegetatively propagated, each with endless named varieties. The *Colocasia* on Ifaluk was called wot and the *Cyrtosperma*, pulach (the "ch" is also rendered as an "x" sort of a sound—we argued endlessly about how to spell Ifalukian words).

Both wot and pulach are aroids, that is, they belong to the botanical family that includes the "elephant-ear" plants, the Calla lilies and the Jack-in-the-Pulpit of North America. A third edible aroid, *Alocasia*, called file by the Ifalukians, was grown on the atoll, but it was considered definitely inferior to the other two and little used as food.

244 Wot and pulach were grown in low, swampy ground in the interior of the islets. The central part of Falalap was almost all swamp, and the main gardens were located there. These taro swamps occur all through the Pacific and it is difficult to know now to what extent they

28: Spiro--60 [2]
116, 164, 158, 732

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Finally, the alus are responsible for an incurable disease, the malebush, which includes both abnormal and subnormal mentalfunctioning. There were four cases of feeble-mindedness--all in children--and three of abnormality, both schizophrenics-- one paranoid, and one simplex, and a neurotic suffering from agorophobia. Aside from the classification of both the mentally-ill and the mentally-deficient together, it is of interest that the natives classified these cases as aberrant types. The feeble-minded children and the paranoid schizophrenic were possessed by an alusetat, whereas the simple schizophrenic was possessed by the alusefalu. Finally, the agorophobic was possessed by one of the sky alusengau. Unlike the other cases, malebush has no cure."

6: Senfft--54
116, 164, 744, 273

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai

The state of health at the time of my stay there was still so bad that I sent the governmental physician to that island for a longer period. Dysentery seems to be one of the chief causes of death, and the prevalence of this disease can probably be explained by the use of sour toddy; this beverage is made from the axis of the inflorescence of coconut trees. It is very intoxicating and usually produces a desire to quarrel; it is also said to have the effect of an aphrodisiac. I was told that its effect is increased by placing the bottles on the beach in the hot sun and then mixing the juice with salt water.

The number of other diseases is also very high. There are many cases of elephantiasis, eye disease, and paralysis. The report of the governmental physician will treat of matters of health in more detail. Two military policemen have been stationed on the island, and they have been ordered to use all possible means to suppress the use of toddy.

18: German Government--2997 (1903-04) 1905 Woleaians
116, 164, 744 Woleai

The governmental physician was stationed for two and a half months on the Oleai atoll. He found that the state of health on the whole is better there than on Jap. The natives there suffer chiefly from dysentery, as well as gastric and intestinal diseases in general; there are skin diseases, chiefly ringworm, fewer ulcers, and there is filariasis (elephantiasis).

20: German Government--4123 (1906-1907) 1908 Woleaians
116, 164, 744 Woleai

All in all the health of the whites and natives was good. On Oleai an epidemic broke out which in the beginning looked suspiciously like smallpox and which seized almost all the natives. Extensive precautionary measures were taken; the government physician vaccinated all the natives, but determined finally that this was not an epidemic of real smallpox.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough. 000

In general, the people had fine physiques, and seemed very healthy. 142
There was one woman who looked like an albino with freckles, and 164
another old woman had her nose and upper lip completely eroded away, probably from yaws. Yaws was once prevalent in all of these islands, but it yields quickly to penicillin injections and during the [049]
post-war period of American control, the Navy medical service instituted an effective campaign of yaws control.

After the first three households had been completed, the party 125
waded back across the shallow pass to "home" at the Fan Nap for lunch. The weather kept us in for the rest of the day. The sky had 132
been completely overcast all morning, with occasional drizzling rains, but without strong wind. In the afternoon the wind became steadily stronger. It started to tear coconut fronds, even green ones, from the trees, and the coconuts themselves were being blown off in large numbers. Don noticed one coconut fall at an angle of about thirty degrees from the vertical in the wind, and he figured that the wind had the force of eight or nine on the Beaufort scale—gale force.

About four o'clock Maroligar and some other men came around to 132
the Fan Nap and lashed poles and boards across the open western 114
end, where it faced the lagoon. A tent that had been unpacked but not set up was dragged over and lashed to the poles, nicely cutting out the wind and rain and making the interior fairly snug and comfortable. But the noise of the wind and waves outside kept increasing. A typewriter could not be heard four feet away, even in this snug interior. (Ted was typing up his notes from the morning, impervious to typhoons.)

We kept worried eyes on the barometer and on the wildly swaying 123
palms. Men everywhere were out battening down their house walls 132
with matting, and running great ropes from the gables, making them fast to the bases of nearby palms. Maroligar, hovering about the Fan Nap with obvious concern about the guests on the island, made it clear that if things got much worse we should move in to one of the houses farther from the shore.

Then suddenly, about five o'clock, the worryings and speculations 000
were disrupted by a wave of excitement. An airplane had been

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

4: Krämer--137 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 751 Lamotrek

In case of epidemics and contagious diseases, the sick are isolated in the canoe-houses.

4: Krämer--138-139 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 751 Lamotrek

In order to keep away the evil spirits of illness fans are used (gálibă ali kuei) and they are also expected to keep disease at some distance from the island. At intervals of about 100 yards all around the island gilli tilimes "mats of defense" are hung up in order that the demons will be unable to enter within the circuit; the mats used in this instance are the tapokóu of coconut pinnae which are made of two parts. In order to keep away death, mas, a medicine by the name of tafei limes is used; the bark of the roots of young kelau, djel, ut, ear, ngo are taken; they are scraped and added to a grass root, bugor; everything is washed and put into a pouch, tūkemōil* or tukemōi. . . . This is put into a wooden bowl with clean water; it is covered up with a mat and left standing. After some time one tries with tagag whether the medicine is good. If the person who has prepared the medicine is satisfied with the way it has turned out, then all the inhabitants of the house drink of it and he speaks a little verse. [ER: The verse is omitted here.] [139] The pouch remains in the tabbi, the wooden bowl, and every day at midnight water is added and drunk.

Outsiders may not drink any of the liquid, but it is a privilege of the inhabitants of the house.

* On Lamotrek these pouches are hung up in the houses after use. Urupo (house) upon the return from a voyage placed one underneath a mog tree.

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 752 Elato

Sores and abcesses, las, are opened with the fidjefidj instrument (Fig. 69) [VMM: see source]. Itilimara (house 5), the father of Lolit, died of this treatment. In his case an abcess of the arm-pit was punctured and it is likely that the artery was cut. Kelur, Auólimar, and Boéso still performed punctures in 1910.

Bleeding is also done with the fidjefidj. Hysterotomies are not performed. Lutke previously has mentioned acupunctures done with fish teeth (tail of the apisurus) by insertion of a rake. For ulcers the leaves of djaival, a small creeper, are used.

4: Krämer--277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 752 Woleai

Lütke, Vol. III, page 144 ff., observed the marks of scars on arms. They are the result of small cuts made during childhood through treatment with the poisonous milk of the cerbera.

Bleeding is done frequently, and the same is true of the puncture of purulent sores with the scarificator which is called fidjefidj i le vag or i le môr, depending on its use.

The former is shown in Figures 134a and b [VMM: see source]. Krämer shows one with a shark's tooth; another with claws of a crayfish; the latter are shown in Figures 134 c and d. Hellwig collected two of bamboo, wai, or frigate bird bone, or spines, f[illegible] of the fish felang; the latter is used mainly for instruments to open ulcers or hydroceles.

Figure 134 e [VMM: see source] is more drill-like with a shark's tooth (Hellwig: length 35 centimeters).

The wound left by the puncture is not bandaged or covered in any way.

Lütke tells us that acanthurus stings or sharks' teeth are used for bleeding, etc.

Testicles, failimor, are readily removed in the case of inflammation of the scrotum. It is opened with a knife, the testicle is taken out and cut off. Bandaging is done with leaves. Vadjegëlog had both testicles removed.

The Caroline hand is called got úmel. A boy who was suffering from it happened to injure the second joint of the fourth finger as he was cutting palm vines. When the cut resulted in bleeding, the finger straightened out.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

island with two pairs of blue jeans and some T-shirts by way of clothes, and first off had cut the legs of both pairs of blue jeans to convert them into shorts. The trouble was that my legs kept getting scratched in the course of pacing through the underbrush. Then the cuts would get nasty infections. I was ready to abandon my principles and take to long trousers, at least for work in the boondocks.

These infections were another of the flaws in paradise. Staphylococcus would start growing happily in every little skin abrasion, turning it into a nasty sore. The infections yielded fairly readily to antibiotic ointments, but this involved daily sessions of "wound-licking" and an ever-present decoration of band-aids over the scratched skin surfaces. This bothered me particularly because it was a contradiction of my pet theories about the intrinsic healthfulness of the tropical climate.

The whole question of "tropical sores" is a puzzling one. Coral cuts are notoriously troublesome, but on Ifaluk it seemed to make no difference whether the cut was made by coral or by the saw-like margins of the pandanus leaves. It might have been special susceptibility by newcomers to local bacterial strains—but the local people often had similar sores. It might have been some nutritional lack—I had seen similar infections in South America clear up quickly with thiamine injections. Certainly, we, with our canned food, were not living on any ideal diet.

Whatever the cause, the sores were a continuing nuisance, and I was very glad to get Don's extra trousers, much as I hated the idea of trousers—an arctic garment not really adapted to a tropical climate.

While Don was stowing his newly arrived gear, I concentrated on trying to set up a drying cabinet for plant specimens, taking one of the big wooden cases and fixing it so that pressed plants could be stored inside over continuously burning kerosene lanterns, to provide a constant, gentle heat. We would need a record of the plants growing on the island, both wild and cultivated, and there was no use starting plant collections without provisions for drying them.

This drying cabinet was put up in the "laboratory tent," a tarp that was suspended between two coconut palms beside the Fan Nap. A big mosquito net was hung under the tarp and a box to serve as table put inside. We frequently worked there during the day, to get away from

"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIIltr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

2; Damm et al. --87 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
753, 828 Ifaluk

The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugeilan himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mas), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

The following types of illnesses, mes, were mentioned:

cold, ngutali bodj
cough, fágafag [138]
illness resembling influenza, masélepik (Yap word) with the symptoms of colds, cough, hard sputum, pains in the chest, back, shoulders and eyes; laryngitis, yellow tongue, fever.
tuberculosis, mësebot
lupus, lugeileng (cf. the gods, page 147, who took the illness upon himself and thus gave the name to it. Syphillis was not known).
leprosy, batur
abcess, framboesia, rup
swelling of testicles, morulap
ringworm, kelísebou; this disease is rare and can be cured by the Oleai islanders.
vitiligo, boëdj ("white") with nervous disturbances
blindness, matabas
swollen thigh, abcess, lōs
elephantiasis of the leg, bedjëdjop (berërop); when it is still at the beginning stage and not quite certain it is called bōbŏ; the cause is said to be the breaking of taboos.

tumors (lipom), pir
swellings, berĕlal
"demon madness," katok alus, in the case of fear of illness; but it also affects the body and is accompanied by hunger.

4: Kramer--140
116, 753

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that in case of illness, for different types of medicines, bángebang, are tried; if none of them is successful, the sick person will have to die. It is Eluelap's will and for that reason he is invoked...

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 753 Lamotrek

Hellwig calls the coughing illness, mass, which means death and probably refers to influenza.

28: Spiro--45 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 771, 753, 261 Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

"There is a third category of alusengau, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the alus of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these alusliol. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim--to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however,

is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59
116, 776, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--60
116, 753, 164

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the category of diseases caused by the alus are three others, but they are classified separately from the six enumerated above, for these six are fatal, and the others are not. That is, my indication of fatality means that despite treatment a high percentage of the patients will die, though some are cured by the therapy. Were the healer not to perform the cure, they would all die. The others caused by the alus are not fatal, even if the cure were not to be applied. These are a broken bone (ebung), which is set, and a cut (kopitok) on which I have no information. While we were on Ifaluk, all bruises and cuts--and there were many--were brought to us."

"The second category of disease comprises those caused by Meselipik. Now Meselipik is a difficult concept to delineate. I don't know whether to refer to Meselipik is 'all same cold', so that those illnesses characterized by chills or fevers are caused by Meselipik. As far as I can determine Meselipik is the personification of chills. His origin or creation is unknown, but he is conceived as subsisting between the islands, and carries illness from other islands to Ifaluk on the winds. He is responsible for four illnesses, all of them infrequent, and all fatal. These are:

(1). Ikolevo: Severe chills, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(2) Izamezelibwex: Intense fever, cured by the drinking of medicine.

(3). Mazetra: Blood in the faeces, probably amoebic dysentary. He is cured by the consumption of medicine, and the singing of the chapeng, while the coconut palm is waved over him.

(4). Gilicha: This characterized by red spots covering the body, cured by the consumption of medicine.

The third category of disease is Luegoba, in which are subsumed all skin diseases, yaws, gangosa, leprosy, which are not fatal, and for which there is no cure. These

are caused by the land, that is, by dirt. (22)

The chapeng for the various diseases follow. These chapeng can best be translated by incantation, as opposed to some others, which are hymns."

"22. A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by these sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

29: Spiro--189-190 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 753 Ifalik

"Tarev--the native contraction of his name--is one of 250 natives of Ifaluk, an atoll in the Central Carolines in Micronesia. Though the Carolines, as a group, have been in contact with 'civilization' for three centuries, Ifaluk remains a rela- [190] tively unacculturated society, so that the aboriginal culture, with minor exceptions, is completely functioning. (5) According to native disease theory, illness is caused by ghost possession. All souls are immortal, repairing to the Sky at death where they become alus, the generic term for ghosts. Good souls become benevolent alus, curing disease; whereas bad souls become malevolent alus, causing disease. One of the nine classifications of disease is that of malebush, a generic term for all behavior that seems queer or deviant from the native point of view. One of these malebush is Tarev."

"5. For a complete ethnographic report see the writer's 'Ifaluk, a South Sea Culture,' on file with the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 754 Ifalik

"More striking, and more obviously significant, is the absence on Ifalik of any form of black magic, - sorcery, witchcraft, or whatever it may be called. We both inquired about this repeatedly, in various connections. Sometimes the questions were not even understood. Whenever they were, the idea of any such behavior was rejected with either indignation or amusement. I am confident that this is not a matter of successfully concealing from us existing practise. Surely some accidental bit of evidence would have betrayed any such practises if they existed. In particular, any such emotionally charged complex should have turned up somewhere in more than three hundred song texts; for instance, in laments for the dead, if death was ever attributed to sorcery. Sorcery can confidently be recorded as absent. The only practise at all like it is exorcism of evil spirits. Since evil spirits may be regarded as scapegoats, personifications of evil, the only action appropriate to them, is aggressive. That is a different matter from aggression against other human beings. Not that such aggression is altogether absent. The chiefs' structures show that gossip exists on Ifalik, as elsewhere. But it hardly ever breaks out overtly; and, from all our evidence, never summons supernatural support."

4: Krämer--154 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 754 Lamotrek

Dress: The sorcerer has a red cross* painted on his forehead and its vertical line reaches down to the root of his nose; in addition he appears with one red line each from the tip of the shoulder to the arm-pit** and a vertical line from the lower end of the breast-bone approximately to the navel. On his head he wears a wreath of coconut pinnae (see lower left, metalöris) with two rings in front, the metal alus, the "eyes of the spirit"*** (Figure 73 [VMM: see source]) or gobai l touber. On Figure 70 [VMM: see source] Ikelur holds it in both hands; many young coconut pinnae hang down from the wand. When a sick person is treated with the gobai, the sorcerer first takes the stick and describes a circle around the face, and then two circles around the tip of the nose, the left shoulder, the right shoulder, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, the navel and the hair and finally the wand is driven into the ground in back of the sick person.

*The cross that plays a part in the song of the stomach ache. . . see Figure 78 [VMM: of source].
**The forol-lines
***Actually four eyes are supposed to constitute a whorl.

28: Spiro--60 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
754 Ifalik

"A question of great importance, on which the record seems quite clear, is sorcery. Sorcery does not exist, the very concept being foreign to the people. Why should a person desire another's death, and even if he did, how could he achieve his ends? The natives were baffled. Yet, Tom told me that in the past, men could invoke the aid of an alus to bring about someone's death. These were 'very bad man. Plenty house no more people now. (that is, their death's were caused by sorcerers.). Now, no man savvy.' This may have been a personal belief of Tom's that he had picked up in his travels, and I am inclined to think so, since no amount of research elicited anything but incredulity concerning sorcery."

2: Damm et al. --199-200 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 755 Faraulep

Hambruch watched a disease conjuration; the chief had influenza, and so he called the tau baṙebaṙ, who had this conversation with him:

"Why are you sick?"

"Alas, I am sick all over, in my head, arms, legs, stomach!"

"Are you a good man?"

"Yes, I am good!"

"I do not believe it!"

"No, I am good!"

"If you were good, Alüelap would not have made you ill. I believe that you have scolded people, or stolen some of their goods...."

[200] [CS: omission of the conjuration.]

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 167, 177, 755 Faraulep

The entire group had been resettled by persons from Ifaluk after the original inhabitants had annihilated each other in lasting feuds. In discussing this question the chief advanced the opinion that many a sickness had been imported through contact with European vessels, and he also made the presence of our ship responsible for the prevailing headcold and coughing epidemics. In earlier times there had been many old people; at present, however, this was not the case anymore, and people died off while they were still rather young. This is an old complaint, and not altogether without justification. ... Hambruch had gained the impression that a high percentage of the population had been infected with syphilis. After a few days the chief himself caught a headcold, and the sorcerer spoke his magic formula, passed a bunch of leaves gently over the sick man and sang at the same time his monotonous exorcising chant.

3: . Thilenius and Hellwig--260 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 755 Elato

In one of the houses [LEM: on Elato Island] there was a sick man, and the sorcerer was ready to exorcise the devil. For that purpose he made use of a great mat-fan which was placed in front of the house, and he also drank the contents of a coconut bowl which stood in front of the fan and which was decorated with wreaths of flowers. When he had emptied the cup he hung magic medicines, wrapped up in banana leaves, on the wall of the house.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 164, 755 Elato

On Elato much ethnographic material could be acquired though an influenza epidemic had impaired our work. Many patients had been quartered in the four large canoe houses, and their relatives surrounded and nursed them. The "King" had taken precautions against the spread of the disease; the preventive measures consisted of exorcism ceremonies, dances, and songs. Several times a day mussel-horns were blown.

4: Krämer--139 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 755 Lamotrek

A special medicine is prepared against influenza, masélepik. It is called afeilialis and was reported by Ikelúr. The juice of two coconuts is put into a wooden bowl; a pouch, tukemöil, with herbs and a small pouch with burnt coconut (Palau: ulogóug) and a third bag with djig, giliau, and uórong are soaked in it and then wrung out; the pouches remain in the bowl.

Hot stones are thrown into the liquid. The sick person is covered up with a mat and the bowl is placed next to him underneath the cover. The medicineman moves two lagat bunches of ferns (Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and two branches of giliau over the sick under the mat and finally picks up a net (djróu) in order to catch the evil spirits that escape. At last he swings two branches of ear; he puts their ends into his mouth while he tries to charm them and appeals for help. After all these steps have been taken, the sick person is helped to sit up and drinks the medicine in the bowl. The same thing is repeated three times within two days. After use, the pouches with the medicines are hung up in the house.

4: Krämer--140-142 (1909) 1937 Wolcaians
116, 755 Elato

Against a stomach ache a pouch, tukemöilü tafei, is made up.... While magic words are spoken, the figure of a cross is described with this pouch, i.e., the movement is horizontal and vertical. The medicineman also has a red cross painted on his forehead and both shoulders. [ER: The words spoken on this occasion are omitted here and the same is true of other songs that accompany various steps of medical treatment.] [142]

Elisabeth Krämer observed the following case: a woman had swollen glands. Her husband gathered leaves and bark of the tree galau (giliau?) and crushed both on a wooden board; then he filled the crushed mass into coconut leaves, tied them together like a pacifier and fastened young coconut pinnae with magic knots to it. Then a young nut was opened, the pacifier was dipped into the milk of the nut and then taken out and pressed out over the water so that the color changed to brownish-green. The woman drank this water as a medicine.

"We shall examine the diseases, classified under tamai-le-alusengau and give a short description of the therapy employed. It should be remembered that in all these cases it is believed that the patient is a victim of an attack by the alusengau, in the form of a spirit possession, and the therapy consists of exorcising this alus.

(1). Maliel: This is an infrequent, but fatal illness. It is characterized by dizziness in the head. The patient is given medicine (19) after which his face is covered with a taro leaf, a small flame is held over the leaf, and a chapeng is sung. (20)

(2) Tamai-le-tagurul: This is frequent, but not fatal. It is a very sore back, preventing the person from rising. Medicine of herbs is heated very hot, and is held over his

---

"19. All medicine consists of herbs or leaves of specified plants, which are stirred into water or coconut juice, and consumed by the patient. Unfortunately, I did not collect the names of these plants.

20. The chapengs for all the illnesses will follow the complete catalogue of disease."

back. This treatment is given morning and afternoon, and is preceeded by a chapeng.

(3). Metageserae: This is relatively frequent and fatal. It consists of pains in the stomach. (21) The patient is given medicine to drink, and a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a cocopalm over the patient.

(4) Imailolo: Continuous vomiting. This is neither frequent nor fatal, and is cured by the consumption of medicine.

(5) Metageleperei: This is a sore leg, which is neither frequent nor fatal, and is treated by placing medicine on the leg.

(6) Mesatat: This is relatively frequent, (about the same as 3), and is fatal. It is a form of sea-sickness. The patient is given medicine to drink, a chapeng is sung, while the healer waves a coconut palm over the patient."

"21. Stomach pains cover a multitude of disease entities, and unquestionably include ruptured appendix, from which two of the four deaths we witnessed were caused."

But before continuing the theoretical discussion, it may be well to describe one or two concrete cases. Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, had been ill for about a month, and from the symptoms, it seemed like amoebic dysentary to us. Arogeligar and others brought him medicine, but to no avail, from which it was inferred that this was a serious illness, that required a chapeng and special medicine. (23)

Later that afternoon, as I was walking towards the house of Paluelimar to bring him some medicine, I met Arogeligar. He said he would perform a ceremony that evening for Paluelimar, and invited me to witness it. (24)

"23. A few days before the ceremony Arogeligar had met Dr. Burrows, and asked him if we had any medicine to give to Paluelimar. This, of course, is significant--the chief healer asking the strangers for medicine. It indicates among other things the unsureness, even on the part of the expert, concerning the efficacy of the alusemar, and their curing powers.

24. All medicine ceremonies are held in the evening. The natives explain that it is taboo to do any work immediately after the ceremony, so that if it were held in the day, the participants would have to remain inactive for the rest of the day. But this strikes me as a feeble attempt to offer a rational explanation for an irrational phenomenon, though I cannot suggest a better one."

After the men had collected their toddy, the ceremony began. Paluelimar is a chief, so that the entire courtyard was filled with people, sitting around the house. The entire district of Felarik, with few exceptions, and all his kin from the other districts were in attendance. In the center of the stage were Arogeligar and two male assistants. Arogeligar had a marmar on his head, a women's belt across one shoulder, extending in front of his chest, a cotton ball in his hair, in which were placed two white chicken feathers, and a tria comb in his hair. On his right wrist was a coconut leaf strip, and of course, his face was painted. [62]

A mat was set just outside the doorway, for Paluelimar to sit on, and Arogeligar thrust some coconut branches into this mat prior to the exit of Paluelimar.

When Paluelimar came out, he sat on the mat, and Arogeligar placed four coconuts all clinging to one stem in front of him. There was no talking of any kind, and a hush had fallen over the people. Arogeligar picked up a long coconut palm, and approached Paluelimar, reciting a chapeng in muted tones, while alternately striking the four coconuts, and bringing the palm back over his shoulder. When the chapeng was completed, he swept the palm horizontally from one shoulder blade to the other in rapid succession several times. He then picked one coconut from the stem, and holding it over the head

of Paluelimar, cut an incision in it with a wooden knife (25), and after several strokes of the incision, he plunged the knife into the coconut with a deft movement of the wrist. The coconut water spilled on to Paluelimar's head, and as it was falling Arogeligar sprinkled it over the heads of those sitting in the immediate vicinity. This 'medicine' has not only a therapeutic value, but a prophylactic one as well, so that parents sat with young infants in their arms, close to Paluelimar so that the infants could receive it. When the coconut was dry, he held it in his left hand, and cast it over his right shoulder,

---

"25. The natives all have steel knives, and never use wooden knives, nor had I ever seen a wooden knife previously. This is an interesting point for the student of acculturation with respect to differentials in the degree of acceptance and resistance of foreign objects. Despite the greater physical efficiency of the steel knife, the wooden one is used for this ceremony, and the small shell, rather than a steel knife, is still used to sever the baby's umbilicus. In other words, those areas of culture which are imbued with mysterious connotations, in which the element of danger and unpredictability are strong, are most resistant to acculturation. Whether this is a valid generalization for other cultures, I don't know, but there is no question of its applicability to Ifaluk."

leaving it lay where it fell, without watching to see where it landed. The identical proceedure was repeated with a second coconut.

Arogeligar then took a small twig of a palm branch, smoothed back the hair of Paluelimar, which was dripping with the coconut water, after which Paluelimar reentered the house. Tobacco, belonging to Paluelimar, was then passed among the people, while Arogeligar rubbed paint into the incisions in the coconuts, which remained where they had fallen, and were not moved. He then went into the house to sing a chapeng, and the people were informed to return the following morning for the conclusion of the ceremony.

The people assembled the following morning at dawn. Arogeligar repeated the coconut ceremony with the two remaining nuts. He then could make his diagnosis, which follows from the configurations of the paint in the incisions. After reading these configurations he announced his diagnosis. The illness was caused by two alus. An alusengau of Paluelimar's parental home (Vwenau) (26), was the main cause, with [63] the

"26. Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly [sic], in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

assistance of an alusetat.

This ceremony, like all ceremonies, was followed in the late afternoon by a feast, partially provided by Paluelimar, most of it brought by the assembled people, each household eating its own food.

Thus we see that the diagnosis of the illness is simple, merely being an identification of the symptoms. The diagnosis of the cause, however, involves the ceremony just described. But this ceremony is not only of diagnostic value, but is therapeutic as well, the coconut juice becoming medicine after the chapeng recited by Arogeligar.

All those who had participated in the ceremony were under the taboo of not working. The taboo is removed by the partaking of food at the feast.

The members of the lineage, however, may not work for four days."

"In case of a protracted illness, the members of the person's immediate family do not cut their hair. The person, himself, may not have his food cooked from the family fire, but has it cooked on a separate fire. It is taboo, also, for a person who is well, to eat food prepared on the fire of a sick person.

The patient is visited every day by various kin who come to talk, to bring food or to help around the house. Th women gather at the house in the day, but in the evening the men and children join them, and they merely sit about, talking in modulated tones, but offering no consolation or commiseration with the victim. If the person is seriously ill, and there is a strong possibility of death, the kind alternate in sleeping in the house of the victim, or in the house adjacent to it. The natives say that they do this to keep abreast of the condition of the one who is sick. Whatever the reason, the practice was followed every night after the medicine ceremony for Paluelimar, and again for the person, whose ceremony is to be described below.

Navor, the daughter of a deceased chief, a married woman, and mother of five children, complained of pains in her stomach, which were diagnosed as metageserai and which, in this case, was probably a ruptured appendix. Various people brought her medicine, Arogeligar recited the proper chapeng, all to no avail. She was then moved from her house to the house of kin on the other island. This is a common proceedure. It is

believed that the alus might depart if the patient is moved from his own house. But her condition did not improve, and a number of ceremonies were conducted for her. She was then moved to another house, and a four day ceremony was held, the same kind that was later performed and which I witnessed. Later, when her condition was thought to be very grave, she was moved to her own house, the custom being that a person should die in his own lineage house. A few days after her return home, the ceremony for metageserai was performed, in which Maroligar officiated. The ceremony was repeated on four successive nights. It is held inside the house, and all the kin of the person and the kin of the spouse are in attendance, at least on one of the four nights. The immediate family participates on all nights. Maroligar wore a strip of green coconut branch about his neck, and a cotton headdress in his hair. In his right hand, he held the medicine, which was comprised of herbs enclosed in coconut bark, attached to a coconut branch. Before beginning the chapeng, he dipped medicine in some water, and had Navor drink from it as he squeezed it into her mouth. He then began the chapeng, assisted by the assembled people, while he waved the medicine bundle over the patient, who lay prostrate before him. The motion is really a throwing motion, as if he were to throw a spear. He clasps the medicine over his shoulder, and then shoots it out over the patient, circling it constantly over for the duration of a line of the chapeng, then he returns it over his shoulder, and shoots it out again for a new line. At the end of each stanza, he

dipped it into the water, sprinkled some on the chest of the patient, and then began the next stanza, repeating the same movements. When the chapeng was finished, there was an intermission of about fifteen minutes, and then it was repeated in its entirety. At the [64] completion Maroligar distributed tobacco to all present, and then they sang some general chapengs.

These ceremonies are very eerie, solemn, and profoundly impressive in a weird sense. The house is illuminated by a single flame of a candle, casting its shadows in fantastic forms about the house, while the atonal music, and the words of the chapeng cast a never-to-be-forgotten spell on the observer. The people were all solemn, no one talking or laughing, and the mood of the adults permeated to the children, for they were quiet throughout the entire proceedings, which is rare indeed for them.

After the ceremony there is talking and laughing, though in subdued tones.

The reaction of the patient to this ceremony is not known, but one could venture the guess that it does not improve her morale, to say the least. The chapeng reminds her of her possible death, the severity of her illness, and of her possession by an alus, the latter being a terrifying thought."

28: Spiro--64
116, 755, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--64 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784 Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--65-66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 755 Ifalik

"The first ceremony we witnessed, a medicine making ceremony, is called only at the command of Tilitr himself. (The chiefs say, Lugeiling.) An inhabitant of the dwelling in whose courtyard is the Bwuter Tilitr on Falalap is possessed by Tilitr, who informs him that the ceremony should be held. In this case a very old man, completely disabled, was possessed, and the two day ceremony was called and held on September 19-20.

The ceremony started in mid-morning, and as we approached the Bwuter Tiltr, men and women were seated around the sand shrine, singing a chapeng, and pulling a rope of grass back and forth around the circumference of the sand. From the house, in whose courtyard the ceremony was to take place, the old man who had been possessed was still uttering unintelligible sounds, and at times would burst into song with the people outside.

At the same time other people were assembling, and on one side of the court, [66] a number of young men were husking huge quantities of coconuts. When all the people had arrived, the ceremony began. It is to be understood, of course, that every one attends these ceremonies, so that the entire population was congregated within the courtyard, sitting about the shrine, facing it, men and women sitting apart. The people were 'dressed up' in their lion cloths and skirts. They were all quiet during the ceremony some exhibiting a very profound reverence. Even the children were quiet desisting from the usual horseplay. Arogeligar, the officiating priest, then gave orders to make the medicine and the young men, who had husked the coconuts, opened them, permitting

their juice to run into two large metal vats. When this was completed, the angorik and warung (or maybe other plants, I'm not sure) were mixed into the coconut juice to form the medicine. Arogeligar then sprinkled this medicine on the people, in all four directions. The young men, then passed out coconut shells to the people, filled with the medicine, which they drank. The medicine had a very pleasant ginger taste, given it by the plant.

When the medicine had been consumed, a young man, one of Arogeligar's assistants, stood in the midst of the assembly, and sang a chapeng, while waving two of the medicine plants to and fro. He then sat down, took a branch of the same plant, dipped it in the medicine, and as people gathered about him, he sang the next verse of the chapeng, while circling the branch around his head, continuing this until the verse was completed; whereupon he dipped the branch in the medicine once again, and went on to the next verse.

When the chapeng was completed, the ceremony was over. Now the people all joined in the farewell to the alus, which ends all religious ceremonies. It is shouted in a shrill kind of stocatto, rising to a crescendo at the tayokidis at the end, and ending with a trilled whistle."

28: Spiro--66
116, 533, 755, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--69-70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755 Ifalik

"With the farewell, the morning ceremony was over [WPM: see p. 65] and the people returned to their homes, In the afternoon, they reassembled, the sexes again sitting apart. Arogeligar's assistants each took a plant, soaked it in the coconut juice remaining from the morning, and then squeezed it out into individual coconut shells, to be consumed shortly. They then jerked their arms over their heads in a precipitate movement, so that the juice was sprinkled onto the people sitting around them.

One of the officiators then dipped a branch of the plant into the medicine, and accompanied by two other officiators, he chanted a chapeng while revolving the branch about his head in a clockwise direction. He then dipped the branch into the medicine, and revolved it in a counter-clockwise direction. When he finished, the farewell hymn was sung, ending the ceremony proper. [70]

The medicine was then distributed among the people, first giving some to Dr. Burrows and myself, and then to the natives. The medicine had an oily texture, and tasted like a western laxative.

While this medicine was being distributed, Arogeligar lighted four cigarettes, and placed them in the sand of the shrine, as offerings to the alus. He then sat immersed in meditation, looking up towards the sky at intervals.

When the medicine was consumed, tobacco was distributed among the people, and Arogeligar made a speech exhorting the people to obey the chiefs, and to obey Dr. Burrows and me."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

28: Spiro--71 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 796 Ifalik

"No ceremony was held for over a month and a half. On November 27, a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, but only the people of the Felarik district were in attendance. It was held, as usual, at bwuter Tilitr. When we arrived, we saw the alter surrounded by red and white colored maramar, which were distributed among the people, each receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the times, which we shall explain below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the times. The times are coconut mats, made of young coconut branches, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the Times, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the alus and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. Times, therefore, may very well be a contraction of itoae mas, 'not die'."

"The following day, after the times had been hung by the young men, the ceremony was held. This time it was not held at bwuter Tilitr, but near the small club-house in Falalap across the channel from Felarik. Coconut juice was poured into the cauldron, as before, and angorik was added to it. This medicine was then passed among the people in coconut shells, after which the young men gathered about the cauldron, and chanted the following chapeng, which ended the ceremony.

My arm has made this medicine, hot as fire, to ward off illness
My medicine is hot as fire, those who drink will not fall ill
My arm is hot as fire.
My medicine is hot. Illness will not come.
My medicine is very hot. It descends into the oceans. It is very hot.
My medicine is very hot, it descends into the waters, it ascends into the heavens.
(the point being that Aluelap finally puts it into the cauldron).
Drink of this medicine, and be well.
Drink, and live.
This is the medicine of Tilitc. (At this point it is stirred)
Tilewetan has given it its healing powers.
Depart, you devils,

Depart and sleep under the sands.
Depart, Depart!
Depart, Depart!
Depart, you devils of the reef,
Depart you devils of the reef.
Depart, depart!
Sleep!
This is a traditional song, called Sisitenitavei--lit., 'place medicine in the cauldron and sing'"

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

4: Krämer--280-281 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 756, 796 Woleai

Lütke tells us a few things about the religion, but it is uncertain whether everything deals with Oleai. There is also doubt about the following report by Freycinet, which does not seem to be without importance for the total picture and therefore shall be treated here: Hammo or Hammulap can be seen only by a few, but they hear him and serve as media for his orders, through shamanism. Even children may be the carriers of his news. The obsessed howl and have convulsions. Shamans are covered with oil, painted, and carry two lances; they shout as they approach. They attack the sick person who rises and tries to defend himself. They fight, then throw away the lances, and dances of the rods are performed for days and sometimes for weeks until the sorcerer is definitely the victor. Thus the will of Anulap becomes known. An annual festival is celebrated for Anulap and lasts for an entire month. It means that the men must stay away from women often up to two months. No sail may be hoisted, and during the first week no boat may set out to sea. Strangers are not allowed to land on the island. Four days before the main celebration, coconuts and breadfruit are gathered. The morning of the principal day is spent fishing. [281] Then everyone goes to the temple, led, which is an ordinary house. It is closed for one night. The next morning after sunrise, while the population is assembled, the chief enters the house through the northern door. He is elaborately ornamented and carries a stick in his right hand, with which he apparently feels his way. He looks down in front of himself and mumbles to himself. His brother, leading a small group of islanders, enters the house just before the chief through the

door on the southern side. The people are seated, but rise when the chief enters and sits down on three beautiful mats. Then the others may also sit. No one else is allowed in the sanctuary. The brother goes up to the provisions that are set up and takes a little from each one of the fifty dishes. He gives the largest fish and the biggest coconut to the chief with a basket and cracks 50-60 nuts for him. The rest he distributes among the people present and then sits down next to his brother to partake of the breakfast with him. As remuneration for his services, he receives the husks of the nuts, which are of great value for the making of ropes. Within half an hour everything is over. Now the house is once more accessible for anyone. Only the ashes must not be touched. Sick people usually stay in the building, but not alone for fear of Anulap.

28: Spiro--61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756 Ifalik

"Where therapeutic care is indicated, the procedure is as follows. Usually Arogeligar is called to diagnose the illness and its cause and to prescribe the cure. He then performs the healing. If his cure is not efficacious, others will attempt to cure the victim by means of medicine they learned in their family. Arogeligar, though the chief healer is not the only one who can perform the healing ceremonies. If others know the technique, they are permitted to do so, though they are few in number, so that in the case of the illness of Navor, her mother's brother, Mariligar, the second ranking chief, performed the ceremony."

28: Spiro--73 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 428, 756, 158 Ifalik

"The person, who has figured so prominently in these ceremonies, Arogeligar, is the tamon alusuia, leader for (matters concerning) the alus. The tamon alusuia is the religio-medical specialist, but like the other specialists he devotes only part of his time to his specialty, since he assumes the same economic responsibilities as the other men. The office of tamon alusuia is inherited patrilineally, it being passed on from the incumbent to any male relative in his patrilineal line, so that Arogeligar succeeded his father's brother to the office. But descent is not sufficient, for a successor must be designated by Tilitr in a state of possession for the office. The incumbent in the office appoints a male relative as his successor upon the request of the latter, and instructs his in the lore and knowledge of the position. At the death of the tamon, his designated successor seeks possession or a vision, not unlike the Plains Indians vision. Arogeligar, for example, brought Tilitr gifts of food and flowers to his shrine. He ate and slept very little, if at all, and asked Tilitr to appear to him. Finally Tilitr did appear, in late afternoon, and Arogeligar remained possessed for four days. Tilitr appeared in the form of a man, rested heavily on Arogeligar's shoulders, and spoke to him in Ifalukian. Tilitr taught him how to call upon him for medicine, and he instructed him to 'look out good this place, the people and the chief for this place. If you don't, you very bad man.' This experience, then, made Arogeligar a full-fledged tamon alusuia.

Since that initial possession, Tilitr has possessed Arogeligar many times, either to inform him of some event, as when he told him of the impending American victory over

the Japanese, or to give him medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine, that is, to inform him what kind of medicine to employ in a certain illness. For after Arogeligar diagnoses any illness, he then goes to bwuter Tilitr, and asks Tilitr if he should apply medicine to the victim, and what kind. Tilitr then answers him, instructing him how to obtain the medicine. Arogeligar informed me that he is usually possessed at least twice a week, and sometimes more often. When Arogeligar talks to Tilitr, asking for medicine, his request has the same name as a conversation with a mortal, 'Meliali'. There is no term corresponding to our term, prayer, for there really is no concept of prayer. The chapeng are really incantations. When Tilitr possesses Arogeligar, he uses him as the mouthpiece through which he speaks, so that it is Tilitr and not Arogeligar who is speaking. This is called Arogeligar le'Tilitr.

Unlike the other people who are possessed only by the alus of their lineage, Arogeligar is possessed only by [sic] and by Tilikong, an alus who does the bidding of Tilitr. The tamon alusuia assumes the name of our alus when he takes office. Arogeligar is Tilievo. His successor has chosen Talevearo.

It is apparent that though the possession and induction into the office of tamon alusuia involves a personal, psychological experience, it is one that is completely culturally patterned. Only certain individuals can inherit the office; they prepare for it by formal

training, and by psychological conditioning, so that it is not strange that the sought-for vision should materialize."

28: Spiro--73-74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756, 868

"The incumbent in the office [WPM: of Tamon Alusuia. See p. 73, paragraph 1] trains not only his successor, but also a number of others who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies, and at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, for whose exorcism his medicine is not sufficient, he asks them to bring medicine they know, or that they learned from their parents.

When he is called in to heal, it is with the understanding that he is to be payed if his healing is successful, but he received nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava, or rope, but there is no stipulated amount. [74]

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing he also receives payment for teaching his songs to his assistants. This, Dr. Burrows suggested to me, might imply a concept of ownership in the songs. When I questioned him on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and the payment he received was for his time, so that he is payed approximately the amount of rope or fish or lavalava that he might have been expected to manufacture in the time devoted to the instruction."

2: Damm et al. --211 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 757 Faraulep

There is some medical information. When a person has elephantiasis, the kowádewad plant is thrown in the flame, and then the patient warms himself in front of it. The natives use tsél as a healing plant for framboesia, and they prick the ulcers in syphilis. Splints of little sticks are used for broken arms.

4: Krämer--277
116, 757, 192

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Woleai

medicine man	tautafé'i
wound	gopiteg
vein	vag
small ulcer	lõs
phlegm	más
hydrocele, large	mõr, mõrulap
diarrhea	dadjikedj
cough	fef'fag, fágafag
hiccough	mator
belch	gúrer
yawn	mõlegatol

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

1: Burrows--193-194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 759, 787 Ifalik

"As a prominent healer, Gargeligar was called tautavē or master of medicine. Skill in the healing art is even more a matter of degree than specialization in other matters connected with religion. Indeed, not all healing was religious. Some herbal remedies, like those listed in the chapter on technology, seem to be common knowledge. Others are hereditary, apparently within the lineage. Massage, with a kneading or pinching motion, was practised by various experts, among them Maroligar. Maroligar, [194] indeed, as leading diviner, was probably second to Gargeligar in the healing art. As noted in the excerpt from the journal for December 26, he and Gargeligar both invoked the great gods while the woman Nobwórs was on her death-bed. I did not hear the term tautavē applied to him - as a chief he had no need of lesser titles - but am confident he would qualify for it. Indeed, this seems not to be as formal a title as tamól (chief) or palū (navigator), which are applied exclusively to a few individuals who have been awarded it by 'due process.' As far as I could make out it seems rather elastic, like the title of master-carpenter on hpuses. At any rate, Gargeligar claimed pre-eminence among healers on the ground that he alone received diagnoses and prescriptions for treatment direct from TIlItr. He would invoke the god, then follow instructions--a different process from divine possession, for then he was supposed to remember nothing of what the god said."

9: Senfft--14
116, 761, 152

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

As depressing as it is to see a gay people surrounded by graves it impressed me as even worse that they do not seem to realize what death is. They speak with laughter about their dead, with laughter did they show me the hopelessly sick and the efforts of the paralyzed man who was painfully trying to get up with the help of two sticks in order to demonstrate the violent trembling of his sturdy body was accompained by the laughter of the people around him. There is no doubt that this blunt attitude towards death is due to the accumulation of misfortune which these people experience.

"The malevolent dead, as we shall soon see are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Solal and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Lolal of his intention, and Solal informs Metha, who then removes the person's Metha, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death."

28: Spiro--60-61 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 157, 761 Ifalik

"On the other hand death wishes do exist, as the TAT reveals. A great number of people perceived the human figures in the pictures as dead. This of course, is not [61] the only possible interpretation of such perception. Dead people may not only be hostile death wishes, but may be personal identifications of the people with innert, lifeless, people, as projections of their own inner psychic life. This will bear much scrutiny before a final conclusion is drawn. Apriori, I suspect, that both are operative here, depending upon the person.

In either event it would be important to know whether the people harbor death wishes against others. My field work, on this point, was sloppy, indeed. I have one notation in my field notes, dated one month after our arrival, in which Tom had informed me that if a man harbors death wishes against another, a benevolent alus will punish him by retaliating in kind. This note was tucked away in the corpus of field notes, and forgotten. I have no idea, therefore, whether this is a personal or a cultural belief, nor what the incidence of such phantasies are, nor, if this is a cultural belief, how many deaths are attributed to this fact."

28: Spiro--96 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 869, 761 Ifalik

"If the culture does provide answers in traditional terms, the parents do transmit the information to the children. Causes of death, the informants said, are not asked in the abstract. That is, children do not ask about the cause of death, but do ask the cause of the death of 'X'. If the person had been ill, his death is attributed to illness. If he had died suddenly, they admit candidly that they do not know."

28: Spiro--137 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761, 775 Ifalik

"Though old age is experience differentially, there is no dispute about death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology, which assures every one of continued life after death. Any attempt to obtain direct attitudes on death are, of course, a waste of time, since the responses would reveal only superficial, rational attitudes, rather than the deep seated, emotional feelings. The few individuals to whom I put the question, however, responded with: people are afraid to die, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families."

28: Spiro--138 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761 Ifalik

"There are five physical signs, which the natives employ as symptoms of death. The eyes do not blink; when opened, only the whites of the eyes are seen, the pupils having receeded under the eyelids; absence of movement in the belly which indicates lack of breathing; the mouth hangs opened, but the teeth are clenched tight; the body exudes excreta."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-1 ~ 7

"October 15, 1947. This morning Maroligar asked if he could use our [WPM: the author's] canoe. I, of course, gave him permission. When he returned, he explained that Tarev had tried to commit suicide by drowning. He had tied a rope around his neck, weighted stones to his feet, and was about to jump from his canoe into the lagoon when Maroligar and two other men stopped him. (This occurred a few days after the death of his wife.) Apparently he had had a trying night the night before, since he spent the entire night shouting and talking to himself. Among other things he had insisted that he was superior to the other people and that he was really an American. (8)

I asked Maroligar if I could speak to Tarev, and he was eager that I do so. When we arrived at the courtyard of his house, I noticed that all the women in the immediate area had departed because of their fear of him. When I peered into the house, he saw me immediately, and his face brightened. When I asked him to come out, saying that I

"8. The American is a person of high prestige and authority in this South Sea culture. It is difficult to say whether Tarev's insistence that he is an American is an outright delusion or rather a conscious attempt to identify with a 'reference group' of high status (the term is M. Sherif's)."

would like to speak with him, he immediately complied with my request. I offered him a cigarette and asked him if he were happy. He replied that he was very sad because of the death of his wife. I asked him why he had tried to commit suicide, and he explained that all the people were speaking 'bad' (9) to him. Maroligar interrupted him to say that he was lying. My grasp of the language was inadequate to continue the interview without the aid of an interpreter, and I asked Maroligar to call Tom, our interpreter. I tried to talk with Tarev in Maroligar's absence, but he seemed in a kind of stupor, and I could not get through to him. He regained contact with reality when Tom arrived, and the following interview ensued.[192]

Q. Why did you try to kill yourself?

A. Because the people talk bad to me.

"9. At this point, I could obtain no exact reference for the word 'bad.'

"Q. What do they say?

A. My mother talks bad. [Actually his 'mother' is his maternal aunt, which, in this culture, is his classificatory mother. His biological parents are dead.]

Q. What does she say?

A. She says that my wife does not like her or her sister.

Q. Why?

A. [No answer.]

Q. Were you very sad today?

A. My wife died. I feel like smashing everything in the house, because my mother and her sister do not like my wife. My wife died and I am very sad. (10)

Q. But other men's wives die and they do not try to commit suicide. Why should you?

A. I don't like my mother or father or sister.

Q. Don't they feed you?

A. Yes, they give me good food, but they talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. The children listen to what my parents say about me, and they repeat it to me.

Q. What do they say about you?

A. My parents say that I am a chief.

"10. The native term for sad is eratu dipei, which literally translated means, my stomach feels bad."

Q. Don't you like that?

A. I don't like what the children say to me.

Q. Don't you like to be called a chief?

A. They say that tree [pointing to it] does not belong to you, it belongs to us. The adults tell them to say that. [At this point, Maroligar interrupted to say that Tarev had accused him and his parents of wishing to fight him. He insisted that everything Tarev was saying was a lie. It was, of course, impossible to explain to him that Tarev was not 'lying' but was a victim of his own delusions.]

Q. Is it true, as people have told me, that an alus has possessed you?

A. Yes, the alus in the moon has entered my head and my stomach. [This convinced Tom and Maroligar even more that he was lying, because there is no alus in the moon.]

Q. How do you know that he has possessed you?

A. He came to my father. He [his father is actually dead] lives in another place. When he possessed my father, he possessed me.

Q. Where is your father?

A. Those pictures you showed me [the Rorschach cards], I like them very much. The place in the North, that's the place I see now.

Q. What place?

A. There's another one in the Northeast. This place in the North is very light.

When I sit in my house, it's very dark; then, that North place, the one I like very much, comes on top of my head.

Q. How does it feel when it comes on top of your head?

A. I like it very much. When I pull up the blanket, I look underneath the sleeping mat, and smoke comes out. I then lower the mat and look underneath another one, and smoke comes out from it, too.

Q. What happens to you when the alus of the moon possesses you?

A. That man inside that padre book [the Bible that a missionary had shown him] and his mother come inside me.

Q. What does it feel like when they come inside you?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did they come inside you this morning, when you tried to commit suicide?

A. No.

Q. Did they come inside you last night?

A. The alus gave me something--something very fine.

Q. What did he give you?

A. Smoke. He put smoke inside my mouth, but it did not enter my stomach.

Q. You like that smoke?

A. I like it very much.

Q. Why?
A. [No answer.]
Q. Does your head hurt you now?
A. I went to Falalap to wail for my wife. I waved my arms, and when I came back, I continued to do so.
Q. Don't you like it here?
A. Yes, I would like to remain. But I would like an American doll. (11)
Q. Why would you like one?
A. Because the Americans know everything. The people here are stupid.
Q. Do you want a carving of a man or a woman or a child?
A. Any kind.
Q. Would you like to go to America?
A. If you go, I want to go with you. I want to go any place you go.

"11. The native men carve small statuettes, which they trade for cigarettes and other trade-goods. By an American doll or statuette, he meant a similar carving of an American."

29: Spiro--191-192 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762, 115 Ifalik-7

By this time Tom and Maroligar were completely impatient with this 'crazy lie talk' and insisted on terminating the interview. I told Tarev that I would be unhappy if he committed suicide, and that if he felt like doing it again, he should first come to see me. He replied that his wife had 'gone into the ocean [where she was buried] and I want to go too.' "

29: Spiro--195 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762 Ifalik

"November 7, 1947. Yesterday while the men had all gone on a fishing trip, Tarev made another suicide attempt. He paddled into the lagoon, tied a rope to his foot, and tied rocks to the other end. A young man, who had been left behind to guard him, followed him; and when Tarev jumped into the lagoon, the man pulled him out. By this time, Maroligar had returned from fishing and asked Tarev to return to land. The latter refused, saying that Maroligar wanted to kill him (sic!). He was finally persuaded to return. (I was told all this secondhand, since I was on the other side of the island at the time. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to speak to Tarev after the incident.)"

29: Spiro--202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 762

"February 7, 1948 (aboard ship en route to Yap). The ship arrived yesterday to take us back. Tarev was the first to arrive at the tent to assist in the packing. He seemed calm though serious and slightly depressed, and kept constantly watching every movement I made. He asked if I were really leaving, and I said that I was. About half an hour later, a young boy shouted to me to come immediately to Tarev. He had gone to the lagoon and lay on his back in about two feet of water, refusing to allow the men to pull him out. By the time I arrived, he was half-drowned. I asked him to join me, which he did. I tried to reassure him that everything would be all right after I was gone, though he insisted that, now that I was leaving, the people would again try to kill him, and so on. He then smelled my hands and returned to his house in a deep depression. This is the last I saw of Tarev."

28: Spiro--137 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 763, 755, 533 Ifalik

"If a person is seriously ill, his relatives, both matrilineal and patrilineal, assemble in his home--or in the home in which he happens to be (1), for public wailing. They sing many chapeng, which are the religious songs, directed to the alus. When he is close to death, they sing a bwaruch--a love song--and, interestingly enough, with the same bodily movements that are normally employed. It is also interesting that this is the only time in which a bwarux is sung in the presence of both sexes. When he is dead, they sing a Garuaru le'zari, a lament for the loss of a child."

"1. We have already seen that if a person has a prolonged illness, he is moved from his own home to the home of another person, it being believed that the changing of his domicile will aid in his recovery."

"This period of wailing continues [WPM: see p. 137, paragraph 4] every evening until the person either recovers or dies. The people go about their normal tasks during the day, showing no indication of sorrow, but return again at night, to participate in the rite. The wailing scene is perhaps the most impressive and weirdest experience I have ever witnessed. Throughout my stay on the island, I was impressed with the natives' lack of 'primitiveness'. These were people like any people I knew 'back home.' The only intimation I had of the stereotype of the 'savage', was this experience of wailing. From a distance, both physical and psychological, from which I now write these lines, it is [138] difficult to rescucitate the wailing scene in my imagination, so that I shall quote directly from my field notes, for August 25.

'We have just come from one of the most depressing sights I have ever seen. The " "sick man" has been mourned regularly, every night, for one week. During the day, however, there has been no indication of sorrow, the family going about its daily routine with no apparent concern. This evening Tom came to inform us that the man was very ill and the people would be wailing tonight, as he was not expected to live. In fact a new loin cloth had been prepared, in which he would be wrapped, should he die. After eating our dinner, we hastened to the scene of the wailing. As we approached the house, there was no one in the courtyard, except for Tom who had been waiting for us, but the sound

of wierd and mournful wailing met our ears. The melody seems to be in a minor key and is very monotonous in its pattern, the same them repeated over and over again. But what it lacks in complexity and variation, it makes up in total effect. It is tragedy itself, penetrating to the very soul. It is almost death personified in all its tragedy and sorrow.'

As we entered the courtyard we were met by Tom, who brought us to the doorway, from which we could view the scene. The house, illuminated by a single, flickering candle, was filled with wailers, who were seated about the sick man. He was lying in the center of the room, with a flower garland on his head. The song being sung was a bwaruch, and as they sang, their bodies and arms would weave with the rhythm of the song, as in the love scene for which the song was originally composed. Each phrase would end with a loud, mournful, sob. At regular intervals the women would beat their chests with great force. The mother was particularly violent, tearing at her face with her finger nails.

This behavior is, of course, patterned, and it is difficult to tell whether the grief is genuine psychological grief, or merely stylized wailing. (2)

"2. Babies and infants are brought to these wailing ceremonies. Whether they are stylized or not is immaterial as far as the effect on the children must be. The abrupt change from the ever friendly, smiling and laughing adults, to the wailing, sad, ones must leave a deep impression on the children."

When the people are sure that a sick person is about to die his female relatives assemble to make a pandanus mat, in which he is wrapped at death. In the meantime, a new lavalava is brought, and as soon as the death is announced, the male relatives bring huge quantities of rope, in which the body will be tied."

2: Damm et al. --80 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 576, 763 Ifaluk

The customary greeting (gawón) for the people who are leaving is osámil, and for the ones who are staying it is gosálok. These forms are always used, even if the absence will be for a considerable period of time. There is no particular expression, that is a farewell to the dying.

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 764 Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 764, 784 Ifalik

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--189 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arūerū), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

2: Damm et al. --77 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifaluk

When an inhabitant of the island dies, all the people of Ifaluk gather together, cry, scream and sing songs of mourning (dāń). The deceased receives a new loin apron; his throat, upper and lower arms and legs are decorated with strings of white beads, and finally the whole body is smeared with red paint (lāń). The face just has a frame of color (see drawing 172). Then the arms are tied together between the upper thighs, the lower thighs are turned back, and bound to the upper ones. If the deceased person is a married man, his widow takes leave of him with mōńorai [AN: fellatio]. Then the body is wrapped in a pandanus mat (giagi) about 2 fathoms long, and he is buried with his head turned toward the west (!); the natives did not know the reason for this.

If death occurs in the morning, the burial is about four o'clock; in the other case, it is the next morning at sunrise. The corpse is laid in a box-like coffin (imelimās) about a meter long, and this is made by all the natives, as soon as they realize that death is imminent. The coffin consists of sticks, which are fastened close together. Since the burial is in the sea, and inside the reef, the coffin is weighted with stones, which are either fastened to it, or laid inside... After serving as pall bearers the men are not etāb [AN: taboo].

2; Damm et al. --140 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 764 Aurupik

Burial. The deceased is wrapped in a mat, and then either buried in the earth, or weighted with a stone and sunk in the ocean. There is no burial in a boat. There were special places for cemeteries.

Death (emḗia) and Burial (iragegērī́gi). The parents, sisters and relatives all take care of the sick person; but if he dies, they rub his face carefully with yellow paint (rán), and put a little of it on the rest of his body. Finally, they wrap him in clothing mats. Men and women sing mourning songs, and then they carry the corpse to a large boat, which lies to the east; this is done at the behest of Eluelap, who said that the deceased should be taken in this direction. Then the body is carried outside the reef, laid in a net, that is weighted with stones (śrṓu), and sunk in the sea (gaterṓulâux). Burial occurs on the same day as the death. The dead are devoured by fish, and the bones fall to the bottom of the ocean.

2: Damm et al. --190-191 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 177, 764 Faraulep

Formerly the dead were buried, and stone pavements were laid over their graves (sětje). Then the Yap natives, who thus fulfilled the wish of the god Yŏnelaf, urged them [191] to bury the bodies in the sea. This applies to the inhabitants of Oleai, Ifaluk, Aurepik and Faraulip. This information of Hambruch is especially interesting because it connects the two types of burial in point of time, and it also shows that the sinking of the dead is tied up with the Yŏnelaf cult. If we consider that there were migrations to the Carolines from the east and the west on the basis of the spread of the aînaṅ, Hambruch's statement shows the most important elements of the wave of culture that infiltrated from the west.

4: Krämer--119 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775, 764 Lamotrek

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

4: Krämer--119-120
116, 764

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-1 - 2
Lamotrek

Burial

Figure 52 [VMM: see source] shows a house to the right of the house on piles; this is the burial hut of Saualik who was connected with Sopi and on the extreme right there is a hut over the tomb of Sopi's mother who had adopted him....

On the grave of Rólimei there stood a hut áruat (photo 9d [VMM: see source]). This photograph shows that a small saddle roof was supported on two roof columns; the cornerposts cannot be made out accurately and of the framework only the transverse gable-beam is seen; it is connected with the column and the apparently leaning corner posts by diagonal poles. The gable ends in vertical sticks which are connected with each other by three cords in an awning-like fashion. Below the burial hut is surrounded by coconut mats.

The navigator Rolimei intended to sail from Yap to Mokemok, but missed this island group and finally reached Poloat; when he wanted to return home from this island he drifted to Lamotrek where he died.

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

For that reason the dead are frequently wrapped into mats and the bundle with the body is weighted down with a stone and dropped into the ocean.

Ocean Burial

The spot for ocean burials is south of the island of Lamotrek, 100-150 meters off the

shore, at a place called Taualiva; this is the same name as that of the canoe passage in that region (map 2 [VMM: see 4: Kramer 15]). The dead is wrapped up in woven mats.* The mourning relatives of the dead stay in the death house until the fourth day. Then the eldest of the family makes a long garland (mar) from [120] blossoms and leaves, and his people take it down to the spot mentioned on the ocean; as they move down in that direction they invoke the gods Aluelap, Saukal, etc. and request good fortune and protection from death by prayers. Then they toss the garlands into the sea. When this first group of people returns, the more distant relatives leave the house of the dead; only the very closest family remains there until the moon has reached its fullness. During this entire period of time work is not permitted.

After five to six months, the fi is held: the belongings of the dead are washed in the juice of young coconuts, and then the juice is drunk.

When the body is thrown into the ocean, some people dive after it as a final gesture.

Then the spectators of the burial quickly paddle back to the shore. They all make a blanket with a hole for the head (Truk, page 92) out of a sleeping mat, lugelug, and cover themselves with it; they also cut their hair.

*When Lewis came from Yap he saw many strangers die of hunger on Lamotrek; because of a shortage of mats they were wrapt in simple coconut-plaited materials.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 764 Lamotrek

A short time ago the man Säperóu died. His brother was Zigĕlŭgŏl. 11 women provided mats (dress and sleeping mats) for the funeral; they were women of the clan of Saperóü and five were members of his closer family:

Zagabăs ♀,	roligaléa (Gattin)				
Tănewaga ♀,	măneai (sister)				
Leigomâu ♀,	fazŧloăl (daughter of Saperóŭ)				
Tamilimôi ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Eoleiijĕn ♀,	"	"	"	"	
Loiifit ♀,	"	"	"	"	

Takŏf ♀
Pănélioa ♀
Wŭimăr ♀
Elóubut ♀
Năna felitip ♀
lagapéiumār ♀

Contributed the mats

Lagajüümāl o
Lagaleümār o
Lagatoiilŭl o
Lizéineŭzăk o

The older women on the other hand, are subject to the death taboo, ŏlelimĕs (...bailimas), while they stay with the son of Saperóŭ in the "Great House." The taboo is declared by the chief. The woman must stay in the great house because here Saperóu is laid out. After four days the women may return to their homes.

4: Krämer--120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 764 Elato

Hambruch learned the following on Elato...

The dead is laid out in the house and buried the very day of the death. The body faces south. It is sewn in mats, ornamented, weighted down with stones and dropped from the canoe into the ocean outside of the lagoon. Four days after this sort of sea burial, a big banquet is held, and all the people who have contributed mats and other things attend.

6: Senfft--55
116, 764, 826

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

When there is a death in the family the nearest relatives cut off their hair.

6: Senfft--56
116, 764

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The dead are buried, after they have been washed thoroughly, in finely woven mats a short time after death. They may be buried at sea, according to the desire of the dying man. In Oleai it is the custom to drink the water in which dead children have been washed and to keep the body in the house for a few days. The natives explain this by saying that they feel great grief at the death of the child and that "they have to part from it and want to retain something that belonged to the child."

11: Born--190 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 764 Woleai

When a man dies, his friends and relatives from the entire atoll come to the funeral. They take part in the lamentations and bring presents to the family of the deceased. There are no dances. The body is wrapped in a mat. Two or three days after death it is placed in a casket made of the parts of a canoe. It may be buried at the outskirts of the group of dwelling houses; otherwise, the casket is taken outside of the reef, weighted with stones, and buried at sea. No mounds are erected above the graves. A rectangular stone wall encloses the grave, on which coral pebbles have been strewn. The natives give as a reason for burials at sea the fact that a stranger might walk across the grave and so disturb the peace of the departed, or that children might laugh and play on the graves and thus "play with the dead"! A body may be buried in the grave of a deceased relative.

12: Lutke--145 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 764. 643 Woleai

The tombs of the chiefs are exactly like those of the Lukunor people; but some of them are much larger. On one of them I saw a canoe lying diagonally with its keel on top.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie [LEM: mourning includes women] covering the body with ashes.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

28: Spiro--38 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 476, 764, 505, 396 Ifalik

"The other construction [WPM: other than sein making] that is performed cooperatively is canoe-making, and here kinship plays a significant role, particularly in the construction of small canoes, which are owned and used by one person. In the construction of large canoes, many men will assist the owner because the task requires a number of hands at certain stages of the process, and also because, though owned privately, it is used for many communal purposes, such as burial and inter-atoll travel."

28: Spiro--84
116, 845,764

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Still births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. The mother's mother will massage its head, arms, and legs, and often this will vivify the infant. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after a brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the new-born is 'no people, only something,' that is it is still not looked upon as human."

28: Spiro--136 a [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 828, 764 Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--138-139 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 ~~/
116, 764, 539 Ifalik

"When the person is pronounced dead, the wailers now mourn over the corpse with the singing of arueru. The following is an example of one:

Lament for Death of a Son
(the kind of Arueru lezari that is sung at the wailing sessions at a man's death)

Flower of the aro
And the wut, that grow by the house [139]
Near the gable end..
What if he should get worse?
Why should this sickness come to him?
I am afraid he may die..
He lies there and cannot get up.

Oh, now he lies dead!
I rush out beside the lagoon
Searching everywhere for him
But he is nowhere to be seen.
He will not come to the house as he used to,

If he were alive he would be here
Making everybody laugh with his jokes.
His mouth had a charming curve
As he talked and laughed merrily.
A fine beard he had
And beautiful eyebrows.

Missing him is like a fire
That burns my heart and eyes.
I am worn with sorrow.
No one can see my beautiful boy.

What a fine man he was.
Expert in all many [sic] crafts.
He worked hard in his plantation
Clearing out the weeds.
His place was over on the seaward side.
I remember what pride he took in it.

Go there now and what a difference.
The wind comes against my face
And blows on my body.
What if that wind were my boy come back to me.
I go along the shore
Walking in the sunlight
To the bay where he used to go
And around to the other side.
I sit down and there I see him
As if in a dream.
I know it is he before my very eyes.
He is not dead, he is alive.
He sits down beside me,
I think, what can I give him?
I call out come to me, it has been so long.
Tumeric from Truk, with its rare red
And the white paint I give him.

He puts it on his hands, then rubs it on his face.
On his beautiful face and body.
What a lovely youth.
Flower about my neck,
Fragrant aro flower.
Anoint yourselves."

28: Spiro--140-141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764 Ifalik

"Another even more important psychological problem arises from the behavior exhibited in the aftermath of the funeral; but first let us take up our ethnographic story. [WPM: See p. 140, paragraph 2 and 3] When the rope-net is in readiness, the body is wrapped in it, and over it is wrapped the pandanus mat, and it is then tied with thick cord. The corpse is carried to the canoe, which will carry the body out to sea, by male kin of the deceased, while the mourners inside the house follow the procession to the canoe. The body is then wrapped in what seems like endless yards of rope, and is weighted down with stone, prior to burying it in the ocean. The female mourners, in the meantime, have entered the lagoon and continue their wailing, but the men do not continue theirs. While the body is being tied, some members of the family break the utensils used by the deceased during his illness. [141]

When all is in readiness, the sail is raised, and the body is taken out to sea, where it receives an ocean burial. The women continue their wailing in the water until the canoe has disappeared from sight. The canoe used for this purpose may not be put back into the canoe house, but must remain outside for four days, and may not be used."

28: Spiro--141 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 171, 821 Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

28: Spiro--141 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 801 Ifalik

"After the burial, a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The 'pall bearers' may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days. (4) Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give another a light. Talemera, for example, would not share the cigarettes I had given him with Woromai, after it had been lit, because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to be true of members of the family as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of the man who had died, during the mourning period: 'I am afraid dead man,' for he might make him ill."

"4. Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention taboos, as well as any other acts of supernatural import involve the number 4."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

2: Damm et al. --190 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 765 Faraulep

After four to five weeks, [KS: after burial] there is a big funeral feast (eáxi gíri méxa), and this is also a means of repaying the friends and relatives for their mats. For three months the widow and widower (nipith) are not allowed to cut their hair.

bailigógo*	fixing up the dead
bailíkelik**	to take the dead out to the sea
bailigóifar	carrying of the dead (áfar, shoulder)
bai li róro	lifting of the dead to the shoulder
bai li djup	holding of a dead child in the arms
kábong	the farewell, goodbye to the dead.

The first death of a new moon is mourned by a work taboo of four days.

Some families, who were close to the dead, gather many thousands (20-30,000) coconuts; this may take many months or even as long as an entire year. All the coconuts are piled up in front of the canoe-house and as soon as possible are distributed among all the islanders, including the children, in honor of the dead.

The same procedure is followed with taro; 200-1000 taro are collected in one spot and then are distributed. When the bai taboos are over, all the natives who have brought mats receive coconuts and the same is true of the women who cover (angefüllt=stuffed?) the dead with reng, yellow turmeric powder. Some of the persons, who have given

*pai legogo, payment, pai, for the fastening, gogo: first banquet for the assistants in the preparation of the body, held as soon as possible.

** likelik, leaving, throwing away of the body, pai, payment-food, often together with the pai legogo.

special attention to the dead are awarded for their efforts by food payments.

Beloved relatives are washed with the water of young coconuts and then the water is drunk. Mummification was practiced in the past; frequently mummies were hung up on the ridge-piece of the canoe-house and were buried after they had been there for some time. High ranking chiefs were laid out on stretchers, and wooden bowls were placed underneath them to catch the water of the body. The terrible smell caused the relatives to stick lavender (uārong) in their noses, which had to be pierced for that purpose. Lewis had seen a dead child laid out in this fashion. We saw the body of a child which was painted yellow and ornamented in an elaborate manner; Figure 65a and b show it [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--117-120 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
765 Elato

[VMM: For death and funeral customs, see 4: Krämer 117-120.]

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 765 Lamotrek

The members of the clan of the dead are subject to taboo for four days, and the closer relatives until the end of the month. Garlands of coconut pinnae are hung up at the house in order to avert the spirits.

28: Spiro--140
116, 765, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"If the person dies in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day, in which case the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse is painted red, and it is dressed in a new lavalava. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long rope-net, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and of the others is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is praticularly true of the person's mothers and spouse. In the case of the man's death, mentioned above, the mother and wife beat their breasts and scratched their faces with such ferocity that they had to be restrained by some of the other women, who forcibly held their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little effected by the scene. It is true that the children are not permitted the usual run of the yard, and the young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults will periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all 'culturally patterned'? Since I observed only three funerals, and the pattern in all three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior, and my questioning of the people as well as other evidence seemed to indicate that the hypothesis had some degree of validity. My informants stated that all women, for example, express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts. Furthermore, if a woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But how about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Navor, died, her husband could not perform the culturally patterned wailing. He broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling, rather than becoming channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance, Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother, the day after her funeral, as an expression of his heated feelings. Unfortunately I did not observe his behavior during the funeral itself. But whether it was then culturally or

personally expressive, this extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the practice of burning the house of the deceased is not practiced in this culture."

28: Spiro--141 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765 Ifalik

"The immediate family of the deceased does not work for ten days, and for four days it prepares no food, but is brought food by friends and relatives. The males may not climb coconut trees to obtain either coconuts or toddy. After the four day taboo in cooking and tree climbing, the male kin of the deceased bring baskets of coconuts to his household. The immediate family shave their heads, as a sign of mourning, and the mother continues to wail for the deceased every morning and evening for four days. The mourning is completely patterned, taking place in the lagoon, and consisting of the wailing recital of an arueru."

28: Spiro--141 [4]
116, 765, 784, 551

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

28: Spiro--141 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Finally, I accidentally discovered a taboo which applies to certain specific people, and which lasts during the four day mourning period. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece. She extended her hand, but Tom, who was with us, would not permit her to give it to me. It seems that should any living person have had the same illness from which the deceased dies, he may not share his food, for the four days of mourning, with others."

28: Spiro--141-142
116, 622, 765, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 643, 766 Lamotrek

The importance of the chiefs is expressed by the taboos declared upon their death, which are called tap, and the most important of which is the bai (bei); the bailimas is the taboo imposed on the land in the possession of the deceased which is extremely indicated by the fastening of coconut fronds....

4: Krämer--117-119 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 766 Lamotrek

Death of a Child
by Elisabeth Krämer

For some time I has heard the weak cries of a child; when it had left the birth-hut with its mother it lived very close to our own dwelling. It was whining a great deal of the time. The house in which it stayed was not very solidly built and during the night there was a downpour.

The following night all of a sudden we heard loud dirges; in the distance torches became visible. Soon many voices joined in the lamentations which continued all night long. The next morning I found the dead child in the hut surrounded by two women who were mourning loudly in a penetrating and ugly way. The child was painted with some reng (turmeric color substance) and somewhat ornamented. [119] During the time I stayed in the hut, the parents picked up the child and added some more paint and ornamentation. Many gifts were brought in--faubar chains, arm-rings, belts, fishhooks and especially a large number of mats. The child was laid on a seven-striped, yellowish black mat and a young taro shoot was placed on each side of it (a). The father had a very sad expression on his face, but the mother soon lit a cigarette, while the mourning women picked up the child and continued their lamentations. The mother took little part in the weeping and the other women and children of the house maintained absolute silence. The child was not to be buried, but to be kept in the house, as it is the custom on Truk. The rumor

circulated that the mother was responsible for the death of the child because at one time she had become very angry at poor food given her. This anger had gone into the milk and the child had been taken ill. The custom prevailed of wrapping the dead into a large number of mats; occasionally bodies were buried in the ocean....

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 766 Woleai

Upon the death of a chief, everything becomes taboo and only the foods most necessary for subsistence are excepted. The hair is cut short. Mourning is called ĕragagou. The dead are wrapt in mats (a stone is included with the body) and the bundle is tied firmly. It is taken out to the high seas and there is dropped overboard. If no rope is available, a grave, mas, is dug and after the burial, a mound marks it. Over the grave (pei), a burial hut (imalipei) is erected, and a fence is set up around it; coconuts are laid within the enclosure. Occasionally the coconuts are grated and the shavings are used for the hair; the preparation is called gavet. After a few months, large quantities of coconuts have been accumulated owing to the taboo (which may last up to ten months) and then the festival of the dead is held. It is a great banquet, gagieg, with dances, ur. The women bathe on this occasion, and put on many ornaments, whereas the men do not do anything of that kind. The food is distributed among the guests and the coconuts are divided up in a manner similar to that described in connection with the fal'lap ceremony. Taro, breadfruit, fish, etc, are distributed, but no pigs; the visitors take their share home with them.

1: Burrowa--125-126
116, 768, 158

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage, --witness the wrecking of houses by Galēt in the myth (p. 54), when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falālap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outbursts on the part [126] of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property."

Z: Damm et al. --81 [4] (1909) 1938 Wolcaians
116, 768 Ifaluk

Right of inheritance. This is essentially a family inheritance. The personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, even family pieces of jewelry. He keeps his mat and loin apron, but his basket is burned.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 768 Lamotrek

Saperóū has gone to heaven.

Saperóū owned two houses, coconut palms, taro and a canoe. This property is distributed in the following manner: his brother receives the houses and the palm trees and all the other possessions and, in exchange, he must also take the widow and the son. After his death, the property passes into the possession of his sister and not until after her death is it returned into the hands of the son of Saperóū.

28: Spiro--62
776, 768

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly, in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

28: Spiro-131
116, 226, 834, 768

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 769 Ifalik

"Ghosts of the dead (ngolu) constitute a special class of alus. They are among the most prominent in native belief and, though some are benevolent, among the most feared. Whether they are good or evil depends upon their character while in the flesh. A good (kindly) human being will become a good alus, while an evil (malicious) human being, even one who dies in childhood, will be an evil ghost. They are thought to linger about the places they inhabited before death, and to retain something of their former appearance. In general, ghosts of the recent dead seem to be most prominent in the native mind. Ghosts when seen - which happens not infrequently - are often recognized.

Ancestral ghosts whose lifetime may have been in the remote past are also influential. They are associated with homesteads inhabited by their descendants in the female line. Every homestead, as a rule, has one or more such ancestral ghosts. They are commonly helpful to their descendants, yet may do the kind of damage most frequently attributed to supernatural beings, that of inflicting disease. The sickness that took the life of the chief Paliuilimar while we were on the island was attributed to an alus associated with his ancestral homestead. Its particularly deadly character may have been due, though, to a strain other than ancestral; for Gargeligar said after his diagnosis that this was 'partly a sea-spirit'."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

1: Burrows--170-171 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 771, 798 Ifalik

"Religion, for the purpose of the following description, will be defined broadly and loosely, as any belief or activity that involves the supernatural. The supernatural, in turn, will be defined as an order of phenomena different from the common run and involving power of a mysterious kind, greater than everyday, well understood kinds of power.

Here and there in the foregoing pages there has already been mention of beliefs and acts that fall within this definition. They could not very well be saved up for a separate chapter, for the people of Ifalik are not inclined, as we are, to seal off religion from the rest of life. Their religion has been particularly evident in the accounts of fishing and navigation, activities which involve risk of failure and consequent disaster. Religion pervades everything they do.

For all the pervasiveness of their religion, the people of Ifalik make a clear distinction between natural and supernatural, or secular and sacred realms. As we shall see, the supernatural has its own personnel and its own geography. The distinction was consistently emphasized by Tom though he did not always draw the boundaries just where we might have done. Whenever anything came up that he regarded as religion, he would label it, 'talk for god.' Except in connection with canoe-building and navigation, he did not profess to understand much about it, and would nearly always consult the chiefs before giving any information. This seems to have been partly due to a special caution about revealing the sacred lore - another sign of a distinction between that and other

information. The people of Ifalik know that on all the islands round about, white men have attacked and, to a greater or less extent, destroyed the native religion. Because they still cherish their old faith, and get reassurance from it where they most need reassurance, they were naturally reluctant to expose it to attack by us or other foreigners.

Early in our stay, I made the mistake of failing to observe this distinction. Because the people seemed so frank and helpful, I decided to begin at the beginning in collecting tales, and asked about the creation. I got nowhere with my questions. They told me that all such matters had been forgotten. They, or rather their fathers, had made the same excuse to Sarfert thirty-eight years before; yet he had obtained some information. I gave them bits of this, following the newspaper man's technique of showing that something is already known, and thus suggesting that they might as well be frank. The chiefs did not remember Sarfert's brief visit, and were rather irritated and suspicious. They wanted to see the German book. But I had no copy, only brief notes I had taken, and fuller excerpts translated by Spiro. They admitted they knew the names of the gods he had recorded, but insisted they knew nothing more about them. At last it dawned on me that it was too early to try for that kind of information, and I asked for other kinds of stories, much to the relief of all concerned.

After the two-day ritual to be described later, I returned to the attack. At that time I was spending half of every day taking song texts; and it seemed appropriate to ask for the songs that formed part of the ritual. The chiefs began to give them, but - if I am

right about what happened - word of this reached Gargeligar, who may be called the native priest, and he objected. At least he spoke with the chiefs, whereupon the word issued 'No more songs.' Without questioning their decision, I made a little speech to them, which was translated by Tom. I thanked them for the songs already given, which would be most valuable; and regretted I could not have more. I added that I approved of what little I had seen of their religion and that, as far as Spiro and I were concerned, we would not try to change it, nor recommend any change to other Americans. [171] Fortunately for the purpose, I meant every word of it. It seemed to make the desired impression, for in a few days the flow of song texts was resumed, and eventually even the other religious ones were forthcoming - with only one exception that I know of. Meanwhile Spiro got around to interviewing Gargeligar. Partly in consultation with the chiefs, he obtained a number of the myths which, when I first inquired, had been ostensibly forgotten.

This chapter is intended to give a more comprehensive and systematic description of the religion than could be derived from the bits that come out in describing other activities. It will begin with what is available about beliefs; then will examine religious behavior. The account is by no means exhaustive. The tales Spiro collected, except for bits that seem essential to this account, will be left to him. Some of the interpretation, of a phychological sort, also belongs to his special problem. For that matter,

it is likely that a number of points, some of which may be quite important, have escaped us both."

"One ritual that was never seen can not be classified for lack of clear understanding of its purpose. It was a specialty of the second-ranking chief, Maroligar, and involved apparatus kept in the men's house, Katēlū. On one of the middle posts, just below the tie-beams or about 6 feet from the floor, hangs a bag of sennit cord, subconical in shape. A slender wooden rod, about 2 feet in length and 1/4 inch in diameter, is threaded in and out across the top of the bag. Below, about a foot from the floor, is a platform approximately 5 feet square with vertical side-boards. The poles that support the corners continue upward to a height of about 4 feet, where they are connected by cross-pieces. These form a kind of rack, on which are hung cloths as offerings. Other offerings--garlands, tobacco--are sometimes left on the platform. The whole suggests a rude Shinto 'god-shelf' and its form decidedly suggests Japanese influence.

[190] Tom, when asked what this apparatus was and how it was used, said that inside the sennit bag are 12 shells of a mollusc called livou ror, that lives under stones by day, and comes out at night. Ordinary specimens of this creature are eaten. A shell that he brought to show what they are like is a flat spiral 2 or 3 inches in diameter and about 3/8 of an inch thick, with an elaborate pattern of brown markings on a white background. Each of the shells in the bag has a name of its own.

From time to time, Tom explained, people bring an offering to Maroligar, and ask him to perform the ritual. He takes down the bag, opens it, lays the shells on a fine pandanus mat, touches each of them with the stick, and names it. The names are known

only to a few, and Tom was either unable or unwilling to reveal them. He gave no more details about the ceremony, but said that after it is performed there is a taboo on work, for the whole population, for four days. Thereafter 'there is plenty of food of all kinds, both sea food and vegetables.' People bring food from all parts of the atoll, and consume it in a communal feast at the men's house. Obviously Tom's description was minimal. The obvious next step, questioning of Maroligar, was postponed, in the hope that we would have an opportunity to see the ritual performed. But this never happened during our stay, and the interview with Maroligar was still pending when the ship returned and took us away. From Tom's description, the ceremony seems to be a form of invocation. Yet the touching and naming of the shells has the look of divination."

1: Burrows--189-190 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Plainly these categories [KS: of religious activities on pp. 183-189] are not mutually exclusive. Exorcism of evil spirits is accomplished largely by invocation of beneficent ones. Offerings include invocations. A song may be at the same time a prayer and an incantation. Indeed, religion and magic are so blended throughout that any attempt to separate them would distort the picture.

These forms of worship might be classified in a variety of other ways, but no one basis of classification could be entirely satisfactory. For all its shortcomings, the table above seems to bring out the prevalent pattern."

1: Burrows--200-201 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 771 Ifalik

"Rank figures less prominently in religion than the other sentiments discussed here. That may be because it is a center of less emotional [201] tension. Yet the opportunity to emphasize it afforded by communal rituals was not lost. The chiefs appointed the time for the ceremonies. During the proceedings they sat together, in a prominent position. When Gargeligar reported the admonitions of the god, he included praise of the chiefs and instructions to obey them."

28: Spiro--4 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 177, 771, 757 Ifalik

"In other aspects of culture little acculturation is to be found. Native religion and medicine is intact, despite the introduction of western medicine by the Japanese. The Navy has continued the Japanese policy of holding sick call on its field trips, and of leaving medical supplies with the chiefs. The only item the natives use, however, is cotton, which is used for a head decoration in their dances.

In religion, proper, I found on evidence of borrowing, of whose source, my informant was completely unaware. Arogeligar, the medicine-man, told me what was ostensibly a native creation myth, but which was, unquestionably, the Genesis story. When I asked where he had learned the myth he insisted that his paternal grandmother had taught it to him. Its origin, undoubtedly, is to be traced to missionary influence. Arogeligar, incidentally, was the only person who knew this story. The chiefs, who are the repositors of the folklore, were ignorant of it."

28: Spiro--45 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Ifaluk religion cannot be considered apart from the culture of which it is an integral part without doing violence to both the religion and the culture. The fact that our society is unique in consigning religion to a separate category--one among a number of aspects of culture--has been pointed out by numerous authors, and has become commonplace in our thinking. Yet it is necessary to stress this point in a discussion of Ifaluk religion because the inter-relationship between religion and the entire culture is so inextricable that the natives have no term for religion. Religion is not something apart, a special realm of being to be distinguished from mundane, everyday existence. On the contrary, religion is part of the entire culturally constituted world of the natives, in which dichotomies of natural-supernatural, material-spiritual, etc., which are an intergral feature of western thinking, play no role."

28: Spiro--45 [2]
116, 771, 753, 261

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The disproportionate length of this section results from the disproportionate emphasis placed on these matters in the culture and in the minds and behavior of the people. Food and health (or illness, to look at its adverse), are the two foci, to employ a concept of Herskovits, of this culture and the subjects with which we identify the term religion, are inextricably interrelated in Ifaluk with health and disease."

28: Spiro--64-65 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 755, 771, 787, 177 Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

778 Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called [193] Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesal was his designated successor.

121 Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes [108] on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, 776 that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, [502] twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in con- [396] nection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

771 My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

775 The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died 761 while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths 755 during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

764 The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

2: Damm et al.--86 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 772 Ifaluk

To the natives, the universe consists of the heavens (rán), the earth (seló́b) and the underworld (fariouál or ilól). They knew nothing about the world axis, that is found on Aurepik. The heaven is a large place, like Palau or Yap, and it is inhabited by people, similar to the ones on earth. These beings act like their earthly representatives, but the islanders could not say whether they too have to die, or not.

The underworld is arranged like the earth; that is, it has islands and oceans, and the sun, moon and stars shine when they have disappeared from the earth. It is also inhabited by men. Solál is the king; he is half man, half lówud (fish, snake or eel?); he does not have any parents, or any relatives. The large house, that he inhabits, is called Falisát; that is all the natives knew about it.

2: Damm et al. --142
116, 772

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Aurupik

The natives believe that the universe can be divided into three parts: the heavens (rän), the earth (selɔ̈b), and the underworld (ilɔ̈l or faliolɔ̈l).

2: Damm et al. --197 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 772 Faraulep

In the heavens (lăń) there is a very large house (fatšumăl), where Alüelăp (also Eluelăp), who is a creature half man and half fish, stays, and where all good people go. Alüelăp created the world, he made the sun which shines on the earth during the day, and then casts its light on the underworld at night. He also made the lightning (worowŏr) and the thunder (bătš), and he uses them both to get rid of wicked people. Alüelăp is careful to see that everything on earth, in the whole universe in fact, is done in order.

4: Krämer--279 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 772 Woleai

Alúelap lived in the house called Fatsomal (sharp "ts") in heaven; the good souls, ngol go there, whereas the bad are sent to the im aliaf* the "house of fire."

*Unknown on Lamotrek.

28: Spiro--45-46
116, 772, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"Cosmogomy and cosmology: The following account was received from all five chiefs in a number of sessions. It is unknown or only vaguely known by the people, who would invariably respond to my questions with a confession of ignorance. As we shall observe in another connection, this ignorance of the people reflects their indifference to cosmological problems, since this knowledge is not taboo, and the chiefs, who are the repositories of this information have no compunctions about imparting it.

Like many other cultures, the concept of a creatio ex nihilo is completely absent in Ifaluk. There is no creator, the world having always existed. Nor were the chiefs concerned about the problem of first causes. When asked how the world came into being, they replied that they did not know; it was always there. At some time in the distant past--how far back they could not say, since they have no system of time notation--there appeared a primordial mother, Legobub. Again, her appearance is unexplained. Legobub had three children, whose creation is unaccounted for. That is, it is not known whether she fashioned them out of some material, or whether she conceived and gave birth to them. In any event, it is clear that she did not have a male consort, and however she created her children, she did so without male assistance. Having performed this function, she plays no further role, either in the mythology, theology, or functional religion of Ifaluk.

Legobub's three children were her son, Aluilap, whom she ordained as ruler of the sky; Solal, another son, ordained as ruler of the nether world; and Autran, a daughter,

who was later to create the people of the Caroline Islands. (1).

The natives have no term which corresponds to our words, universe, or cosmos, which would unite in one term the oceans, land, heavens etc. These are but so many discrete entities in their minds, and the concept for earth, as opposed to the heavens. There is land (falu), and there is ocean (tat), but again, there is no uniting of these two discrete entities into one conceptual term. Their term bwanifalu, which literally means, all the lands, is their most inclusive geomorphic frame of reference and is a descriptive, rather than a conceptual term. It means what it literally says, and refers to the fact that they recognise other lands besides their own. Bereft of maps, however, it is obvious that their knowledge of other lands is mere recognition, of their existence. Before contact, their knowledge of the world was limited to the Carolines, and this knowledge was more than mere recognition of the existence of other islands. It included a well defined spatial orientation, which enabled them to locate islands as distant as four hundred miles. With contact their quantitative information has been increased, but not their conceptual knowledge. Europe, which is their generic term for all the 'civilised' countries they have heard of, exists outside of the Carolines, but they haven't the slightest idea where.

"1. [See following sheet for footnote 1.]"

"1. [Footnote 1, pp. 45-46] Arogeligar, the priest-doctor, with whom I discussed these problems at great length, gave me an entirely different version. Here we have a problem, in what Herskovits has called, the question of 'ethnographic truth', in a most extreme form. For we have here not one informant differing from another, thus indicating variability, but we have the two only sources in the entire culture differing fundamentally --the political and the religious, both of whom profess to competence in these matters. Tom realised this difficulty, too, and solved it by saying that the chief's account was the authentic, whilst the other was spurious. In any event, the ignorance of the [46] people, the disagreement between chiefs and priest-shaman, and the lack of assurance with which the chiefs approached these matters--all indicate the unimportance of these matters and the people's lack of concern with them.

Arogeligar's creation story is as follows: At one time there was neither land nor water, nor sky. The sky was made by four brothers (sic)--Aluelap, Solan, Autran (Autran is a woman in the chiefs' account) and Metha (absent in the chiefs' account). Arogeligar did not know how these brothers came into being. After making the sky, Aluelap made the land and the oceans, first creating the high islands, (including 'Europe', by which the natives understand a vague 'island', including Japan, Germany, Spain, America, and other countries they may have heard of) and then the low islands. After creating the islands, he then created people to inhabit them.

The brothers then decided that Aluelap would remain in the sky, Solan would reside under the oceans, Autran would inhabit the atmosphere, and Metha would be in the speech of the people, for Metha is the native term for 'what.'"

The Carolines are called Iligalifalu, literally, 'the lands that are here', and as has already been indicated, (2) the natives are well oriented spatially within this area."

"2. Falu means land, but it is synonymous with island, since the only land the natives know is an island. My attempt to describe a land mass as large as the United States, evoked expresssions of incredibility and amazement. Taroman, one of the chiefs, finally concluded that Ifaluk was as a grain of sand, compared to America, which actually isn't far from wrong."

"Having created man and instituted his culture, Autran retired to the atmosphere, which was to remain her dwelling. Aluelap, it will be recalled, was assigned to the sky, (iang) which he still inhabits, as the chief of the sky-gods, with his wife, Metha (5) his son Lugeiling, and the latter's wife and sons. The name of their dwelling is Tatuma which is at the zenith of the sky.

In a vague and nebulour sense, Aluelap and his family may be designated as the protector deities. They 'look out for people', providing them with food, and protecting them from harm. But this is true, I repeat, only very vaguely. Arogeligar and the chiefs are the only persons who are at all conversant with theological matters, and they could provide no coherent or detailed descriptions of the activities of these deities.

"5. It will be recalled that Arogeligar related Metha to Aluelap as his brother. But both chiefs and Arogeligar agree that Metha has nofunction other than to be on the tongues of people, asking metha, (what) when they wish to know something.

The chiefs also differ from Arogeligar and Saafert, the latter two agreeing that Aluelaps eyes are closed, (for he is in a constant sleep) so that if someone [49] must speak with him, his son, Lugeiling, opens his eyes with a pole as large as a coconut tree. The chiefs disagree with this version, saying that at one time Aluelap was blind, but he gained his eyesight and now he can see."

Lugeiling makes a daily tour of the islands and reports to Aluelap on the activities of the people. Should the people misbehave--the entire society, that is, not a particular individual--Aluelap orders Lolal to inflict them with a typhoon and/or a tidal wave. (6).

This land in the sky, inhabited by Aluelap and his family, is a duplicate of the terrestial earth, having islands, ocean, trees, and so forth. But the conceptualization of this pantheon of 'high gods' is vague indeed. To such questions as to whether they were corporeal, whether they are, copulated, or manifested other physical and behavioral characteristics, the answer invariably was, 'I don't know--from before, before.' The mythology, on the other hand, definitely portrays them as anthropomorphic in all ways."

"6. According to Arogeligar, Aluelap also implants the soil in the Loetus. The chiefs deny this, though other people affirmed it."

1: Burrows--53-56 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-7
116, 396, 341, 773 Ifalik

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, GanauliwIr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying

inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilök and Uterang. Wëtreilök was the husband of Seramaliwok, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilök said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galēt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilök went to the Men's House and called to Galēt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galēt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galēt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwok came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galēt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilök replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galēt furious. He blew his whistle,

until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt?' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like?'

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make?' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it

black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me?'

His two brothers, Wĕtreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wĕtreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wĕtreilok went below and manned the pump.*

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wĕtreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump.**

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly,

the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called metali wā, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called pōpō, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik pōpō is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was gauat, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might

still build a canoe of pōpō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

1: Burrows--65-66 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 773 Ifalik

"The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth [66] but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on that special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky."

1: Burrows--91 (1947-48) Woleaiana
116, 618, 773 Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or SauvelārIk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

1: Burrows--171 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 773 Ifalik

"The same professions of ignorance which stopped my early inquiries were repeated, so far as the creation is concerned, when Spiro investigated this subject later on. 'We do not know how the world began,' they told him, 'but in Yap they know.' While it is possible that they were still concealing something from him, I am inclined to think that by this time they were telling everything, or nearly everything, that he asked for. If that is so, they know of the existence, but do not know of the contents, of the elaborate Yap creation myth, one version of which was recorded by Müller. Another was collected by Lieutenant Kevin Carroll of the U.S. Naval government, but so far as known has not yet been published.

Fragments of another creation myth, which accounts for the parentage of some of the gods of Ifalik, were collected on Lamotrek by Doctor Augustin Kraemer of the Hamburg expedition. According to this, the mother of all living beings was a great reef called Oledjapdjap (probably Wolraprap in my orthography). The reef gave birth to a primal couple, Iat and Iol. (Iat as an ordinary word means 'up' or 'above.' This suggests that Iol may mean 'down' or 'below.' The usual form for that is Ilalo, with the final vowel commonly silent.) Iat and Iol were the parents of three great gods: Saulal, lord of the underworld (thought of mainly as under the sea); Sauaur, lord of Aur, the land whence breadfruit came; and Aluelap, lord of all. A footnote to Kraemer's monograph (p. 143) says that this account was also found on Elato, and adds: 'Siehe auch Ifaluk, wo Ham. arbeitete (See also Ifalik, where Ham. worked). 'Ham.' is probably Paul Hambruch,

one of the ethnographers of the German expedition. But I find no mention in the Ifalik monograph of his ever having worked there. However, if the course of events dimly suggested by some other data really took place - that is, if the early culture of Ifalik was partly overlaid by relatively recent dominance of Yap - it seems not unlikely that some such creation myth may once have been believed on Ifalik, but later discarded out of deference to the overlords from Yap. Certainly their dominance is partly, perhaps primarily, religious."

1: Burrows--171-172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik

"The chiefs admitted, even in response to my unwelcome early questions, that they knew of the existence of two of the divinities mentioned in this Lamotrek myth: Saulal and Aluelap. If Sau means 'lord,' (as it does in some western Polynesian islands), then 'Saulal' would be 'lord of the underworld,' for the depths of the sea are called ilalo (below). 'Sauaur' would then mean 'lord of the south,' for 'south' is i auru (final vowel generally silent). In song texts i auru frequently means 'the southern sky.' The name of the other divinity, Aluelap, means 'great spirit.'

The German monograph on Ifalik gives still another fragmentary account of [172] creation: 'Solal created heaven and earth by taking a grain of sand in his hand and, while reciting a spell, rolling it from one hand to the other.' "

2: Damm et al. --86 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Ifaluk

Solál created heaven and earth, by taking a grain of sand, and then rolling it from one hand to the other, while repeating a magic charm. He also created the ruler of the heavens, whose name is Äluelöb (see 2: 776) and his sister Aùdjál, the real queen of the earth.

2; Damm et al. --142 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Aurupik

The gods. Solál is the creator of the universe. He erected a tree trunk, climbed half way up, and then made the earth in the form of a disk, with all of its islands and oceans. Then he climbed farther, and at the top of the trunk he formed the heavens, which are horizontal to the earth. When he was through, he told his younger brother, Álülób, who married Nimogéi, to go up to heaven and to rule there. He himself wanted to be king of the underworld. Many people dwell in this realm, and the sun shines at night. Solál is also the god of the sea.

Álülób finally gave the rule to his son Lugēlán, who is king of the heavens at the present time. His wife is Idämälúl. Lugēlán does not work, but he keeps a constant supervision over mankind. When he sees that an island chief is not making his people talk and act in the way that they should, he sends a typhoon to destroy the island. His son Olofád is the celestial messenger; he wanders around all the time, and watches over everything; then he gives an account to his father, Lugēlán, who never leaves the heavens.

2: Damm et al.--196-197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 773 Faraulep

The natives tell this story about the creation of the world. The original reef (olethapathăp, see Fig. 272, a) lies far below the earth; it brought forth Solăl (♂), Alüelăp (♂) and Eoitšăn (♀). Then Solăl planted a stick in the reef, and it grew very fast. Alüelăp took a little earth, and climbed up on this stick (Fig. 272, h). When he was half way up, he scattered some of the earth, and so he created the world (d), and he put his sister Eoitšăn, who is a being similar to man, over it. Then he went up to the heavens (lăn, f), and moved into the large house (fatšumal, g). He created the first inhabitants of the earth, a woman, whose name was Legobŭ, and the man Nigoburonial-tiăl. Both of them lived in the east, perhaps on Ponape, but the natives are not sure about this. At the behest of the god Alüelăp, they begat a number of boys and [197] girls, then they traveled from island to island, and in each place they left a youth and a maiden, in order that they might populate the isles. Then they went farther west, where they encountered some other (!) people. Another version tells how every human being, Kanakas as well as white men come from this first couple.

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

---

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a

native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

28: Spiro--48
116, 773, 618

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Autran is not only the creator goddess, she is culture hero as well. After creating man she taught him the use of fire, the preparation of food, and the construction of canoes, fish nets and houses. She also instituted the incest taboos, taught the people a sense of sexual shame and gave them lavalavas, and instituted the various clans. (4) Construction work was first taught her by Aluelap, after which she taught this skill to the people."

"4. The chiefs pointed out that the institution of the clans was a great boon. For if she had not created the various clans (ailang), 'all people belong to one ailang, then no one copulate.' This is very interesting reasoning and is an excellent example of how deeply rooted are cultural institutions. The concept of the clan is so deeply rooted that the chiefs cannot conceive of society without clans. Thus, if there were no clans, it would be necessarily follow, in their minds, that there would be one clan; and since every person would belong to the same clan, there could be no intercourse, given the taboo of clan endogamy."

28: Spiro--82-83
116, 843, 774, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul.(ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas in the eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown. .

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

---

"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

1: Burrows--172-173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"Another account of life after death seems inconsistent with this one of ghosts haunting the places they frequented in their former life. It is said that the soul of every human being, after death, sets out for the sky, along a road for ghosts. The people of Ifalik do not name a series of earthly points along this road, as those of some Pacific islands do. Names of two dangerous places along the road were mentioned in a song, and there may be more. One is Rourou, a lake of fresh water into which evil spirits throw the new ghosts, if they catch them. Those cast into Rourou are never heard of again. Others are similarly disposed of in Piseram, a dismal place a good deal like a taro swamp. The main hope of escape is in guidance or rescue by more experienced friendly ghosts, who on earth were relatives of the newly dead. Even when a ghost succeeds in reaching the sky, he may not be happy there. All depends on whether he falls in with friendly or malicious companions. [173]

The celestial geography is elusive and shifty. The region most clearly mentioned is the southern sky, but there is some mention also of the northern sky and the zenith. Islands are scattered up there as on earth, among sea spaces, which are traversed by the canoes of the gods. Two such islands are named in the myth of Galét: Ulimatau (also recorded as Ulimatol), home of Galét and his associates; and Ururio or Ruialo, home of Virár, who made off with Galét's wife and took her there. The home of TIlItr is said to be in Lengililo or Langiliol. (The names of these sky-islands seem to shift about as much as their location.)"

1: Burrows--173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775, 823 Ifalik

"Tom said that the gods of navigation live in a part of the sky reserved for them, but did not give it a name. Since Virár is one of these gods, it might be inferred that this place is Ururio (Ruialo), named as his home. Yet the myths about seamanship are set largely in Bwennap, which seems identifiable with the earthly island Pulap (p. 163). Longolap and LongorIk travelled from there to Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei). Pie li Eluluei resembles Bwennap (but not Pulap) in having only sand and one tree above ground, but a large and populous place below, abounding in all food-producing plants. Sarfert-Damm name another residence of Aluluei - the island Piemal, three months' journey by canoe to the south of Ifalik.

Naturally, the gods of navigation were accomplished travelers. Aluluei went from Bwennap to the strangely similar Pie li Eluluei by magic. Valur and his brother Wëriëng went by canoe from Bwennap to Truk; and Valur, after he changed his name to Sagol, visited Ifalik and all the islands about. Since the canoes of these gods roam the skies as well as the seas, there is no great difficulty in supposing that they could take off from one medium to the other, like a sea-plane. Nevertheless, the information at hand does not enable us to plot the celestial islands on a chart."

2: Damm et al.--92-93 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifaluk

The souls of the dead (noli) * stay in the air; the natives do not have a world of the dead, as the Bur people do. * The noli can wander around the earth invisible [93], or they go through the air like a wind. Lugeilan or Aluelöb is the ruler of these souls of the dead.

---

* The following native words are given to complete this: shadow - nuru, name - idäl.

* According to Sarfert, Lugedad is also unknown; but people speak of him as a spirit of the Mogemog islanders.

2; Damm et al. --143 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Aurupik

The kingdom of the dead. The dead wander around as invisible spirits (allüs); they can stay on earth or fly through the air like wind. There are no other conceptions, such as you find on Bur, Merir and Songosor. Lugelan is king of the living and of the dead.

2: Damm et al. --197-198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Then the good woman Marán (moon) also lives in the heavens. She would like to have everyone live, and it is she who lets children be born. Her opposite is Nigeseges, who lives in the sky too. She is bad, and lets [198] people die. If anyone on earth has committed a crime, Alüelap tells Nigeseges to have him die. But Maram opposes this, and says: Se ma! (do not die!). The men die, but they all become little children, and grow up again, so they do not really perish. (Here we seem to be pretty close to the belief in immortality). In olden days people did not die. But when Alüelap saw how many things they had already accomplished since they were created, and how many things they had made which he did not even have in heaven, he told Nigeseges to let them die.

2: Damm et al. --198-199 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 775 Faraulep

Kingdom of the dead, and conception of the soul.
The souls of the dead (faga bŭobu) go up to Alüelăp in the heavens; those of good men enter the fatšumăl, while the bad souls are taken into the fire (iăf), which burns at a considerable distance from Alüelăp's house. After two months they are removed from the fire, and sent back to earth, where they roam around in the air as spirits, and trouble the reefs, the ocean and the thicket. [199] (good spirit - eakatjŭ, bad spirit - eanăne). Then they appear to various people in dreams, and bring them good or bad news. Generally they show themselves to a chief, who thereupon executes the orders of the deceased. Frequently the spirit also enters an ordinary man, who then utters a kind of prophecy (kifini). In 1909 there were no more of these people, because the proper magic charm had perished with the last one of them.

4: Krämer--119 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775, 764 Lamotrek

Unless a dead person has a burial hut his spirit roams about at night roaring and howling and scaring the living.

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 775 Elato

Hambruch learned on Elato that the souls ascend to heaven by a ladder which stands in the west where heaven and earth touch.

Punishment of humans is controlled by the three brothers Elúelap, Zaulal, and Zauaur ...and depends on the degree of evil.

In Bolipes, the place of the damned, no one needs to guard the souls. Ururulang and his assistants take them there. Underneath the sleeping mat of Elúelap there is a hole in the celestial building of Fádjamal and through it they slide down into the realm of Zaulal.

17: Meinicke--377
116, 764, 775, 565

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

In Ulie it is the custom to burn the corpse after exposure and to place the ashes in a canoe on the roof of the dead man's house. Common people on the contrary are laid on rafts or in little canoes and handed over to the sea whose tide leads them into the underworld;

"Autran, the daughter of Legobub, created man, that is the Caroline people. The natives have as yet not explained the creation of the other peoples whom they have met since contact. Her method of creation is unknown though she is referred to as the mother of the people. The chiefs say that only the chiefs of Gachepar in Yap, and the chiefs of Mogmog in Ulithi know the details of the creation. The Ifaluk chiefs do know, however, that the people of Yap were created first, after which Autran created the Ulithians and then the Ifalukians, which is why Yap is the first ranking island in the Western Carolines After creating man, Autran retired to the atmosphere, where she now lives, though her house, Lamoru, still remains in Gachepar, and the tribute that is offered to Yap, is brought to her house, and is really for her, though it is given to the chiefs. (3)

Man originally was immortal, and only later became mortal, (And here we have the chief's version of the story told above by Arogeligar). After Autran had created the Caroline people, Legbrielnialel and Ligesges were assigned to guard the path taken by the souls of the dead as they ascended to the sky. When the soul arrived Legubrielnialel would say: 'He dies, dies, he dies like the moon'. (Imaiam imalia lualang.) That is, man does not really die, but merely waxes and wanes like the phases of the moon. Upon

---

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3]"

28: Spiro--47-48 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 773, 775 Ifalik

"3. [Footnote p. 47] Arogeligar told me a different Creation myth. It is not a different version, but an entirely different story. This myth was told him by his maternal grandmother. The significance of the myth in terms of acculturation will be obvious.

After creating the land, Aluelap descended to the earth, --exactly where, he does not know--and from one of his own ribs, created one man and one woman. After a time, they had some children, and soon the various islands were populated. These early people ate no food, wore no clothes, nor did any kind of work. However, 'by'n by, Aluelap say, "what's the matter, I give that my rib, I no give chow? by'n by no more people' (that is they will die of starvation). He give them chow; they chow. No have lavalava, they am very ashamed. Aluelap give them chow, they savvy everything--how to make lavalava, chow, work, everything. Aluelap tell that snake: "You go on tree, you call man and woman, they come to chow. I make people, they no savvy work, shame, chow. More better you call that people, they eat that fruit, they savvy. "They eat two piece that fruit; they see they have no clothes; they see that penis and that vagina. They am very ashamed, they run between tree.'

This is obviously the Genesis myth. It most probably was learned by one of the natives on Yap, from a missionary, or perhaps on Guam, from which it was diffused through various channels, coming to Arogeligar's mother. He presented it, of course, as a

native story, which in his mind was preliminary to a native myth he proceeded to tell, but which turned out to be a variant of a myth I later collected from the chiefs, and which, in their version was not a creation myth at all. It is to be noted that though Aluelap had already created mortals, and they had populated the world, Ifaluk was as yet uninhabited. Aluelap told two of the women inhabitants of the sky, Legubrielnialel and Ligesges, to descend to Ifaluk. The former was very wise ('she savvy everything') while the latter was stupid ('she fool fellow'). Aluelap had given Legubrielnialel the power to have anything she wished for. Thus she had only to wish for a house, or cooked food, and it was hers. One day she wished for two men, and they appeared. The men and the two women copulated and populated the island. The people had no need for industries of any kind, since their wants were provided for by Legbuielnialel. One day, however, the women had a quarrel, and Legubrielnialel in her anger departed from Ifaluk and traveled to 'Europe' where she settled. Thus 'Europe' benefited by her wisdom, and soon became as wise as she, whereas Ifaluk was left with the stupid Ligesges, and remained in ignorance, knowing neither taro, breadfruit, or fish, nor fire. They did have clothes however, and they ate coconuts.

It is quite obvious that part of this story, at any rate, originated after contact or was reinterpreted as an ex post facto explanation of 'Europe's technological superiority over Ifaluk." [48]

hearing this, the soul would return to the earth, and mankind remained immortal.

However, at the same time that Legubrielnialel was declaring man's immorality, Ligesges would address the soul with these words: 'He dies, he really dies' (Imaima manigesges). Eventually the souls of the dead believed her words and did not attempt to return to the earth, and thus death became permanent. (3)" [sic]

"3. After Arogeligar had told me his version of the creation story, I asked him the cause of the quarrel of Legubrielnialel and Ligesges and he told me the above story of the chiefs, except that in his version the rival conceptions of death were the cause of a quarrel these two women had had while living on Ifaluk, and did not have the profound consequences for mankind that the chiefs' version has.

Arogeligar explains mortality much more prosaically. Aluelap had created man immortal. But after a time an inhabitant of the sky pointed out to him: 'Very bad that. People no die. By'n by no enough chow, for too many people. More better people die.' Aluelap saw the the wisdom of this insight and created death. Thus Malthus' theory of the disproportionate rate of increase of food and population was discovered--independently by a 'stone-age savage.'"

"The souls of the good are directed to Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, which is at the zenith, near Fatima, the home of the alusiang. (11) The souls of the bad are directed to Pungulon or Langalgezepelach, the names given by the chiefs and by Arogeligar, respectively.

Though it is the soul that ascends to the sky, and the body is buried in the ocean, the alus are corporeal, though it is not clear at all whether they resume their earthly bodies, or acquire different ones. But it is known that they are corporeal because people have seen the alusengau on their visits to Ifaluk, and those people possessed by the aluisalap have perceived them in human form.

Both alus, the good and the bad alike, lead lives in the sky that parallel their lives on earth, with the one difference that biological families do not remain together (even

---

"11. The alusisalu also have an abode in the nether-world of Solan, called Gelangas, but this need not detain us, since no one, not even the chiefs, knows anything about this abode, except the name."

assuming that all the members of the family become one or other of the two kinds of alus) but each repairs to the special abode of his clan, each clan having its own habitation. Spouses are not rejoined at death, but marry another person. Otherwise, their lives are the same, performing their same functions--they work, eat, copulate, and so forth."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"There is a third category of alusengau, whose conceptualization is a point of disagreement between the chiefs and Arogeligar. Both agree that these are not the malevolent souls of the dead, that they originated independently, but that their creation is unknown. Arogeligar calls them alusefalu, literally, the alus of the ground or of the earth, who may take the form of pigs, dogs, or sparks. (15) The chiefs, on the other hand, termed them alusliol, and say that they inhabit the trees in the bush. Alusefalu, they claim, is the name of the chief of these alusliol. They also claim that should a person disobey the chiefs, or evade participation in communal work by remaining in the bush, these alus will cause him to become ill.

Aside from this minor disagreement, everyone agrees that all these alusengau have one primary aim--to cause illness. The alusengau are intrinsically evil, and delight in going bad, in causing illness. They cause illness indiscriminately, so that both the good and the evil suffer from their malevolence. These alus have a chief (16) who

---

"15. Since neither pigs nor dogs are indigenous animals, this conception must be very recent.

16. His name is unknown, and it is well that it is. For if the people knew his name, they might call upon him unwittingly for medicine (confusing him with an alusemar) and instead of sending medicine he would send illness."

constantly incites his malevolent cohorts to make the people ill--for 'he only like bad', not that the others need his incitations, since they are all vicious, evil creatures, whose sole delight is in harming people by making them ill.

But the alusengau not only cause illness, they also 'give people bad', that is, they give people fight, steal, gossip. If no alus, people no do bad.' In other words, people are intrinsically good, and do evil only because of an external principle, a power or force outside of their own characters and personalities, who, as it were, controls them and leads them to evil deeds. Now, it is patent that we have a contradiction at this point. All evil is caused by the alusengau, since people themselves are intrinsically good. But at the creation of man there were no alusengau, and if the people are basically good, how did evil arise in the first place, since there were no alusengau in existence to incite it? This contradiction was answered by Arogeligar by referring to his story of Ligesges and Legubrielnialel. When the latter departed from Ifaluk, Ligesges no longer followed in her good ways, but began to do evil, and others followed her example. This, however,

is an ad hoc interpretation, for actually these internal contradictions do not disturb the natives. They are not interested in Systematic Theology. (17)

There is another major contradiction inherent in this scheme, which serves to indicate how powerful the alusengau are taken to be. It is Aluelap who decides when a man is to die, with the agreement, according to one version of Solan. Yet the illness caused by the alusengau is usually fatal, and the victim dies, though not with the agreement of Aluelap, thus the alusengau are seen to be more powerful [57] than the high god himself. Arogeligar to whom I put this question answered by use of analogy. Just as some humans disobey the cheifs, so the alusengau may disobey Aluelap, a weak argument indeed. Again, however, I am not interested at this in the logic of the view, but in indicating how malicious and powerful these alus are conceived to be by the natives.

"17. The linguist will be interested in a bit of folk etymology. Tom pointed out, in the midst of this discussion, that the rat (ges) is named after Ligesges, because the rat steals food, which is the first crime she perpetrated."

28: Spiro--56-57
116, 775, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

It is to be remembered that nowhere in this system is there the western belief in reward and punishment. Life in the sky is but a persistence of this life, and the infliction of illness by an alus falls indiscriminately on good and bad alike. The concept of retribution is entirely foreign to native thought, so that when I asked why a man should do good since the alus will destroy both the good and the bad, my question was incomprehensible. Communication had ceased at that point, since the implied conclusion of my question was a complete non sequitir to the natives."

28: Spiro--57
116, 775, 825

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The alusengau, it might be added, are also responsible for all dangerous and noxious creatures--they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, etc."

28: Spiro--137 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 761, 775 Ifalik

"Though old age is experience differentially, there is no dispute about death. Death is not welcomed, despite the native eschatology, which assures every one of continued life after death. Any attempt to obtain direct attitudes on death are, of course, a waste of time, since the responses would reveal only superficial, rational attitudes, rather than the deep seated, emotional feelings. The few individuals to whom I put the question, however, responded with: people are afraid to die, because they no longer remain in Ifaluk, and are consequently separated from their families."

28: Spiro--138 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik

"At death the soul leaves the body through the mouth, and becomes an alus."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Wqleaians-1
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

29: Spiro--193-194 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 775

"October 22, 1947. Today, while Tom and I were conducting some research, Tarev came to me to complain about his prob-[194] lems. It seems that the previous night people had tried to fight with him and kill him. He did not know who they were. He then said that he hears voices from Woleae (an atoll about thirty miles to the west of Ifaluk). When I questioned him, he replied that the voices were those of his (dead) wife, who was complaining to the chiefs of Woleae that he (Tarev) was incompetent and unable to work. The chiefs in turn told Tarev that he should be good. He then said that he had not eaten for two days and had sustained himself by drinking coconut juice. He explained, when I asked, that there was an alus on his head who did not want him to eat. I asked him if the alus were still there, and he said that it had left him. Unfortunately, I had an appointment, so I had to take my leave." I told him to go home and eat, and he promised that he would."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 769 Ifalik

"Ghosts of the dead (ngolu) constitute a special class of alus. They are among the most prominent in native belief and, though some are benevolent, among the most feared. Whether they are good or evil depends upon their character while in the flesh. A good (kindly) human being will become a good alus, while an evil (malicious) human being, even one who dies in childhood, will be an evil ghost. They are thought to linger about the places they inhabited before death, and to retain something of their former appearance. In general, ghosts of the recent dead seem to be most prominent in the native mind. Ghosts when seen - which happens not infrequently - are often recognized.

Ancestral ghosts whose lifetime may have been in the remote past are also influential. They are associated with homesteads inhabited by their descendants in the female line. Every homestead, as a rule, has one or more such ancestral ghosts. They are commonly helpful to their descendants, yet may do the kind of damage most frequently attributed to supernatural beings, that of inflicting disease. The sickness that took the life of the chief Paliuilimar while we were on the island was attributed to an alus associated with his ancestral homestead. Its particularly deadly character may have been due, though, to a strain other than ancestral; for Gargeligar said after his diagnosis that this was 'partly a sea-spirit'."

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The mystery which seems to cover the creation in the minds of the present inhabitants of Ifalik does not extend to the supernatural beings and places which, according to their belief, still exist. The general name for a supernatural being is alus. They are classified in several ways. According to where they live, they include alus lang or alus i lang, who live in the sky; alus tat or alus i tat, who live in the sea; alus salop or alus i salop, who live on land; and alus liol, or alus i li wol, who live in the trees. According to their behavior toward men, they are classed as alus mwan, good or beneficent gods, and alus ngau, bad or maleficent gods. There is some correlation between habitat and character of the gods; that is to say, gods of the sea are generally bad, and are among the most dreaded of all. Gods of the trees are also generally maleficent, but the harm they do (the commonest kind, that of inflicting disease) is in punishment for what we would call asocial conduct - disobeying the chiefs or lingering in the woods to shirk communal labor. Gods of the sky may be either good or bad, but among the sky-dwellers are the great beneficent gods.

Gods are of either sex. Gargeligar told Spiro that female gods are worse than male ones. Most of the important beneficent ones, including all the gods of navigation, are male."

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

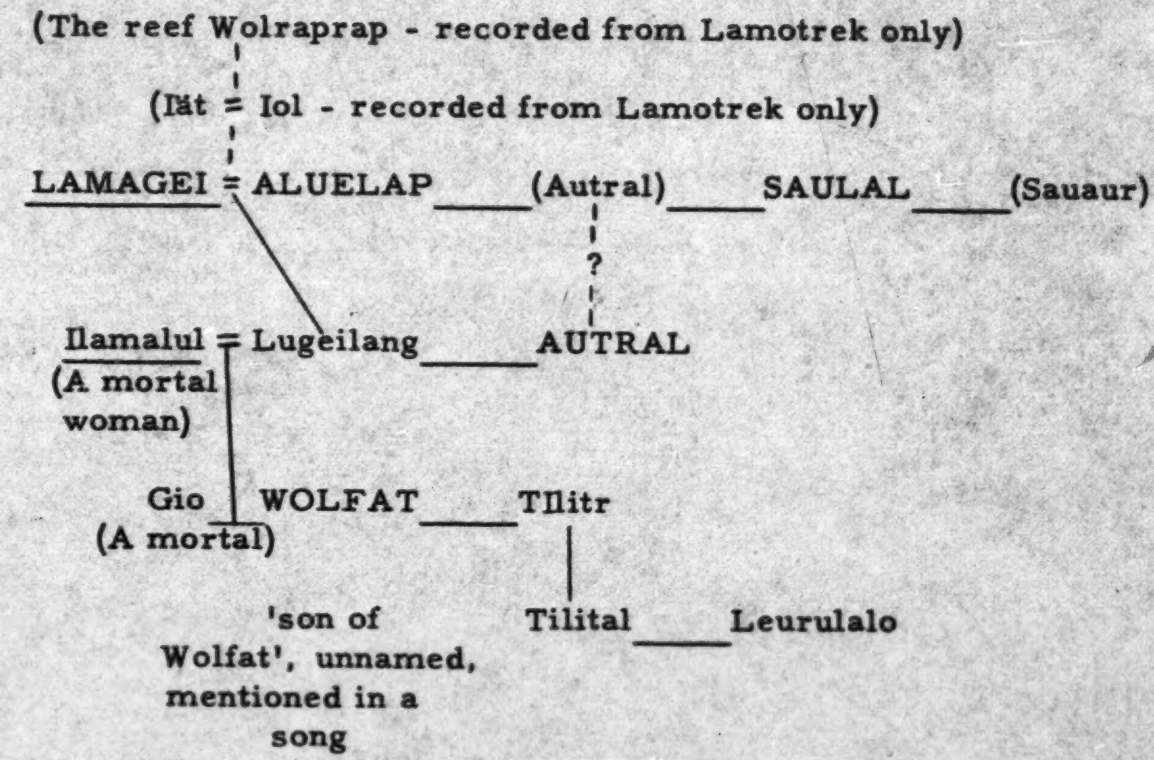
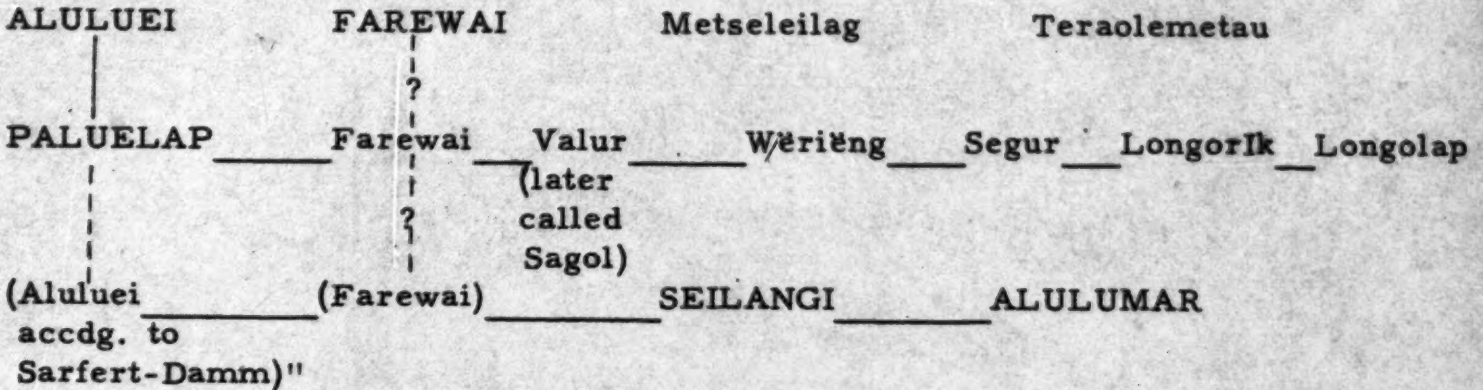

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP (Autral) SAULAL (Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang AUTRAL
(A mortal woman)
Gio WOLFAT Tlitr
(A mortal)
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.



1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-14
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I cān not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people!'

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIIItr, with TIIItr's son TIIItal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeon-

fish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or Lugweilang) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said
'Let him be called Dung!'
'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'
Other names were suggested by the felā fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.
Finally the star Mailap suggested the name Lugeilang.
'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.
Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the accoumt given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara- [176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIIItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIIItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIIItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented - or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIIItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.
Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
The god TIIItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIIItr as Aluelap's representative.

TIIItal or TIIIalo - son of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap' - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of

Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wëriëng to kill him.

Wëriëng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wëriëng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerep - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten

the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a

personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi, Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____.

Alulevalū or Alus falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti - Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIIItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIIItr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alúsiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falálap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alús, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the sur perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk sur perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) sur perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIIItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

Urumwaretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laūra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangule -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laūra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungā in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

2; Damm et al. --86-87 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776 Ifaluk

The starry heavens are the abode of Äluelŏb. He dwells as king in the house Fadjemál, which stands at the zenith (woliwū), and looks like a stately house on earth. He is larger than human beings, and omniscent; he neither eats nor drinks, and always has his eyes closed. He reposes on a platform in the middle of the house, while the other people sleep on the floor. His wife is Lamagéi. If one of the inhabitants of heaven does not know what to do about something (building canoes, weaving), he asks various people for information, then turns to Lugēilăn and if he does not know, he turns to Olofād. If he still can not find the answer to his problem, he begs Lugēilăn to ask Äluelŏb about it. [87] Then Lugēilăn goes to the king of the heavens, opens his eyes with his hand, and gets the information; and then Äluelŏb goes back to sleep.

Lugēilăn is considered to be the son of Äluelŏb, and people call him the right hand of the king. He has a house, which is near Äluelŏbs, but the name of it is no longer known. His wife is Lämälūl; she is not a heavenly being, for she comes from the earth. When Lugēilăn visited the earth once upon a time, he married her and lived with her. Finally, Äluelŏb sent a messenger to him, ordering him to come back and to call all the residents of heaven together to repair the Fadjemal, because the rain was getting into the building. While he was away, his wife gave birth to Olofād. During Lugēilăn's visit on earth men learned about tattooing.

Lugeilan has to superintend the work that is being done on earth on the various islands (building canoes and houses, fishing etc.). He gives a daily report to Aluelob, and if the inhabitants of an island are not industrious, but are wasting time eating and sleeping, Aluelob commands him to send storm and rain; he also orders Solal to stir up the sea. Then the island is visited by a typhoon, which is of a severity commensurate with the sins of the inhabitants. That is why Oleai was laid waste, and many of the natives died; the same thing occurred on Aurepik and Ifaluk, but with a smaller loss of life. The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugeilan himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mas), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

2: Damm et al. --87-89 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-4
116, 776 Ifaluk

After five months Lämälūl gave birth to Olofád, who emerged from the sutures of his mother's head. He could walk immediately, and paid no attention to his mother, when she wanted to wipe the blood off. He said he could do that himself, and so he rubbed himself on a coconut palm. That is why a number of palm trunks have a reddish hue. When his mother called to him, that she wanted to cut off his umbilical cord, he replied that he would attend to that, and so he took a knife, and cut it himself.

During his earthly life Olofád saw how all the other boys were drinking from coconuts. So he ran to his mother and asked: "Why do you not give me a nut, when all the others are drinking the milk from this fruit. ?" Then Lämälūl was frightened, because Lugēilán had told her that she would have a son, but that she should not permit him to drink any coconut milk; if he did so he would leave her and come up to his home in the heavens. Accordingly, she said to him: "You must not drink, for if you do, you will die." [88] And so Olofád lived. But one day he saw all his comrades drinking out of these nuts in the big house, and so he ran to his mother again, and said: "Mother, all of them are drinking nuts, why can I not drink? I want to drink nuts too!" The mother answered sharply: "Then you will have to die." Olofád replied: "Good! I want to drink coconuts too, and if I have to die, it really does not make any difference." But his mother refused to give him a nut, and so Olofád began to scream, and he would not stop. Finally his mother surrendered, and brought him a nut. Olofád took it, and

drank the milk. While he was drinking, he looked up, and saw his father Lugēilān. Then Olofād cried: "I am not going to stay on the earth any more, I am going to my father's house in heaven!" But his mother said: "You shall stay here; what do you want to do there ?" But Olofād kept on screaming. Then his mother prepared food from coconuts, laid it in the fire, and when the smoke rose, she said to her son: "Come in the fire!" When he entered the flame, he rose with the smoke to the heavens. On the way he met some boys, who were playing with some little nōk fish. Olofād said to them: "Come, give me a nōk, I want to play with one too!" But all of them answered: "Why should we give you a fish; they belong to us." Only one boy gave his fish to Olofād, so that he could play with it. Olofād pretended that he was amusing himself with it, then gave it back, and went on his way. But he said to the fish: "When I go, catch the boys and sting them!" And so the fish stung the boys with the stings on their dorsal fins, and only one was spared.

As Olofād went along, he saw some boys playing with little sharks. He asked them to let him have a fish, so that he might play too. But the boys replied: "From whence do you come, and what do you want to do here?" Only one of them gave him a shark, and he played with it. As he went further , he told all the sharks to bite the boys, and so it happened that only the one boy was saved. And Olofād went farther, and met boys, who were using play boats; they refused to let him join them, and only one boy loaned

him his boat. When Olofád left the boys, he said to the toy canoes: "You boats, go away quickly, so that the boys will not be able to catch you; go away quickly!" Then the canoes sailed away so rapidly that they could not be found. Only the boat of the one boy remained.

Then Olofád came to Fadjemál, and found that the men of the heavens were repairing the house. They went into the forest, to make supporting pillars out of the járo trees. When they saw Olofád, they noticed that he was an earth-dweller, and they resolved to slay him. While they were carrying a large prop on their shoulders to the house, they all walked on one side, and Olofád had to go on the other. When they reached the house, they all dropped the support quickly, so that it would crush Olofád; but he jumped quickly to one side, and was not injured. Then when the men wanted to sink the props in the hole [89] they sent Olofád down to enlarge it and line it with coconut fronds, as that is the custom when you set posts. Olofád took the leaf of the walimáko plant, and stuck some red earth (lāb) in his mouth. As soon as he was in the ditch, the men let go of the beam, but Olofád took the nerve of a coconut leaf, and quickly bored a passage through the soft marrow of the trunk, and then he spit out the red earth, and the leaf, which he had chewed. The pulp ran down along the outside of the beam. Then the men thought that Olofád was dead, and they believed that the red sap was blood, and that the remains of the leaves were gall. When the house was finished, Lugēilán prepared a repast for all the workers inside it. But Olofád crawled up through the hollow in the

marrow of the beam, and sat down out of sight on a diagonal rafter. While the others were eating, he ordered an ant to bring him a little piece of coconut. It did so. Olofád rolled it around from one hand to the other, and said that it should turn into a whole nut. And so it happened. Then he sent for a kernel of sand, and changed it into a stone, following a similar procedure; he cracked the nut, and then all the men looked up, and were very astonished to find that Olofád was again among the living. Then they all realized that Olofád was no ordinary mortal, but the son of Lugēilān. He told Olofád to come down, and to eat with them. And after this no more attempts were made on his life. Olofād was also tattooed in the Fadjemāl. He lives unmolested in the heavens, but occasionally he goes south, west, east or north and sees how the men on earth are singing and dancing, because he loves that; but he always goes back to Fadjemāl.

Another authority of Sarfert added the following episode to this story. Olofád saw the people cutting coconut fronds from the palms to plait the mats for the roofs, and he asked for a knife, so that he might help. But all the men refused his request, save one; he loaned his knife, and Olofád got up on a palm, and cut fronds. When he was tired of work, he gave the knife back, and as he left he said: "All the men are to get stiff where they are, and they are not going to be able to move any more." And so it happened. The men remained rigid, wherever they were, one was climbing, another coming down, the third chopping, and another was carrying the fronds to the house. Only the helpful man, who had loaned Olofád the knife, could move.

Baluelób * is another resident of heaven; nothing definite is known about his relationship to Aluelób, although many people think that he is a son. [90] He lives with his wife Jiawók and his sons Älülüéi, Selán, Farawái and Ällülümádj in Fadjemál, and in olden days, like the other residents of heaven, he used to visit the earth. At that time people on earth could also come up to heaven. Balüelób is an authority on sails, and he also knows how to mend broken canoes.

His sons also know about seafaring. So Älülüéi sees to it that the natives sail the

* The natives of Mogemog and Polap are supposed to know a great deal about him; the other islanders obtained their information from this source.

right course in their canoes, and that they find the islands, which they want to visit. He keeps bad weather away, and provides a good breeze. In payment for this, the captains have to make bánewan, and lay a sacrifice to him on the canoe; this takes the form of a loin apron and two coconuts. If the sea gets rough, Älülüéï takes this gift, that means, he throws it into the water. Älülüéï lives on Biemál Island, which is south from Ifaluk, and it is supposed to be a three months journey. It is uninhabited, and only has one pandanus tree. The canoe house of Älülüéï also stands here; it is called Gaiméïm, and it is the place where the spirit keeps thin coconut thread (galogál) for nets, houses etc.

Selán is the real canoe builder; he made the first boat in Módj, and taught the art to men. Módj is a small inhabited island in the east, that lies a four days voyage south from Truk.

Farawáï is a competent judge of the weather. He can tell at sun rise whether it is going to rain or not, and he informs Älülüéï about it. There is no bánewan for him.

Like his father, Älülümädj knows how to repair boats and houses, which have been destroyed by storms and tides. It is no longer known how he taught this art to men.

The air and its inhabitants.

The rainbow is a male spirit, Lauliăr, who is in the service of the king of heaven. The natives did not know anything about his origin. He came to Ifaluk once upon a time, and he was swimming on a piece of drift wood. A woman, whose name was Illegieri, was washing her child Illebanigi in the water, and had laid her loin apron aside. Lauliăr seized the little boy, and refused to give him back until the woman promised to become his wife. Then they went to her house, and Lauliăr stayed until Illebanigi was grown. Then he taught him the bănewan, and the Ifaluk natives learned it later from him. After that Lauliăr returned to the heavens.

The natives believe that the earth is ruled by Audjăl, the sister of the king of heaven. She has the normal figure of a woman, and no animal's body. Although she never married, she had a number of children, and they populated all the islands. The inhabitants believe that she is the first mother of humanity. [91] Audjăl demanded tribute from her children, and they paid it faithfully until modern times. Since her house Lamolŭ or Lamorŭ is in Kărebar * on Yap, the king of Kărebar occasionally sets a time for the various islands to pay their tribute. The amount depends upon what is assembled.

---

* This is Gatschepar on Yap.

The Ifaluk natives bring loin aprons, home made boxes, resin from bread-fruit trees to calk the canoes. In the boat house, where Sarfert stayed, there was a chest with about twenty loin aprons for Âudjál.

Tree spirits. There are also spirits in the trees, Ällüsiliwóli. Their king is called Jalüllefálu; he gets his orders from Lugēilän, and then conveys them to his subordinates. They pursue the men, who do not obey the earthly chief.

The ocean is also peopled with spirits (Ällüsidäd), who obey Solál. You can obtain their favor by engaging in a bänewan in the canoe; then Solál orders the spirits to give the fisherman a fine catch.

Aurepik has the cult of the great spirit Yăñelap, whose house is in Kadjebăr. * Most of the Micronesian islands pay tribute to him: for example, Mogomog, Feis, Sorol, Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal, Polowat, Hok, Truk, Pingelap, Kătāu (-Kusai?), Imăl, Meseliŏl, etc., because he populated the islands. He said to a woman: "Go to this place!" And to another: "Go to that island and beget children!" And so the women went with their husbands to those islands, and populated them. The first mother of Aurepik was Ligowurieliĕl, her husband was Ligowūw; the names of her children are not known. Hambruch on page 143, gives another version of the creation of man and the settling of Aurepik.

Yăñelap does not leave his house, but from time to time he goes up in the air, and looks at his islands. They all bring him tribute in the form of mats, bowls, etc. The natives of Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal and Aurepik all made the trip together, and they [143] started from Oleai. The canoes gathered here, and then travelled by way of Feis and Mogemog to Kadjebăr. The "king" of this pilgrimage then brings the tribute into Yăñelap's house where it remains untouched and goes to pieces. When the Hamburg South Sea Expedition was on Aurepik, a number of the islanders were away; they had gone to Kadjebăr, but the king had sent them to do some work on Nauru, and only one member of the group had remained on Yap.

" * It is Ašebăr on Yap (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 198).

2: Damm et al. --143-144 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 776 Aurupik

Hambruch heard another legend on Aurepik; it refers to Yanelap, and describes the creation of mankind on our island, but it also throws an interesting light on the origin of deities. Yanelap told the Yap native Choiss to go to Aurepik and then to make some people out of a spondylus shell. Choiss himself had a son, whom he called Raigumen. He is the real god of the seafarers; and he is invoked at the beginning of a sea voyage, when a typhoon threatens, and before a fishing expedition. Various kinds of sacrificial gifts hang in his house (garlands for the hair, mats, coconuts); just a short distance from the hut was his tomb, which was fenced with stones and well kept.

2: Damm et al. --19[7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776 Faraulep

Solăl (Thâuulăl, Thâulalŭ) rules the underworld (ilălo); he is a creature half man, and half fish. He created the animals in the sea, and then put an administrator over each island, in order to assure a fine catch for all the inhabitants. The sun shines in the underworld when it is night on earth. The islanders believe that this land is more luxuriant than the world, and they picture it as a kind of Utopia. The primeval reef is here too. Alŭelăp orders Solăl to stir up the ocean; this produces typhoons, and people perish.

Alüelăp has a wife, but her name is not known; their children are Nimegĕï (♀), who gave men the coconut, and Lugĕïleń (♂), but there is still another version about the origin of the latter. On Faraulip as on Polowat, Lugĕïleń is considered to be the confidant of the celestial deity. He had two wives; one in heaven, whose name was Lāmelŭl (Ilamalŭl), and one on earth, Taiaurŏx; she was the mother of his son Olufăth, while the other marriage was childless. The section on legends tells about the deeds of this god, who is known everywhere on the Carolines.

According to legend, Alüelăp had some more adopted children; and among them Thelăń and Paluelăp are especially important for the islanders. The former is the inventor of canoe-building, and it is to him that the natives dedicate the measuring string with two coconut pinnates (tjăts) hanging at the ends, and the canoe ax. The latter made the first sail, and he knows all the paths on the sea. For that reason, when the Captains want to be sure of reaching their goal safely, and of having a calm sea, they sacrifice a coconut and a mat to Paluelăp in the canoe house. His son Elülüe is his helper in everything.

2: Damm et al. --198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776, 241 Faraulep

The ruler of the air (oiutjăr; the blue of the heaven - li ma rauerau) is Thauur, a brother of Solal; he is the intermediary between the heavens and the underworld, and he communicates the wishes of Alŭelăp and Solal to mankind. He takes care of the ripening of the bread-fruit, taro, sweet potatoes, and any other foods.

Yoṅelăf

is regarded as a kind of demon. And since he brings the typhoon, he is greatly feared on the lower Caroline Islands. There is a story about how he became known on the islands:

Once upon a time the Yap men wanted to sail to Palau. But a strong wind rose, and blew them to Oleai. They told the inhabitants that a powerful king, Yoṅelăf, ruled in Yap, and that all the islands as far as Tarŏa (Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands) belonged to him. If they did not want to be destroyed by a typhoon, they should bring him some presents in the immediate future. The Oleai islanders were somewhat incredulous about this story, but they were rather frightened, and so they made regular sacrifices to Yoṅelăf. This cult spread east from Oleai.

Hambruch also heard about a fabulous country, Matăṅ, which is supposed to lie in the east, and it is certainly the same thing as the Mĕhăṅ of Polowat.

Hambruch said that mighty men like Ponijŏu, who became famous on account of his fish magic, were made local deities, and that the natives sacrificed to them in little spirit huts.

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1.2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

In connection with the canoe...it has been mentioned that Alúluei is the god of the navigators.... There he is referred to as the son of Paluelap and is called Alului, whereas on Truk he is thought to be identical with Aluelap. In other instances it has been claimed that he is identical with Paluilap. I learned that in addition to five gods there existed seventeen auxiliary navigators. Their names are:

Gods:

Alúelap	Olofat
Lugeileng	Alúluei
Eidjal	

Auxiliary Navigators:

1. Alulápelap	7. Sābug
2. Maselëlog	8. Fágara
3. Tarailemetau	9. Olopëlipen
4. Vórieng	10. Madjebol
5. Faludj	11. Lëbútobut
6. Gapiumolefádj "Pandanus fruit"	12. Uman

Carpenters:

Legedjilab	Sëlang

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

Semèligóror Meseiseit
Semeligodjúat

The large number of spirits is to be explained by the fact that every navigator has his own spirit, whereas Luluei is common to them all.

4: Krämer--144-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
776 Lamotrek

[VMM: For references to the specific rights, duties, and prerogatives of gods, see 4: Krämer 144-145.]

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Zelang is called Sëlang and is considered the inventor of the figurehead, its shapes and is one of the five assistants of Lugeileng and the carpenters; the other four are:

2. Semălegóror, the guardian of the form, of the outrigger, the planks; he draws and marks the lines, speeds up the work. Perhaps he is identical with Semágor the brother of Morva Feis in story 2...
2a. Semadjek looks after the thwarts, the ebĕp and fáraf and he helps with them.
3. Ligadjălap or Ligĕdjilab, the painter, takes care of the paint (lap), the line and the cement.
4. Simalĕgodjuát the "turner," from godjuat "to turn over" does the first rough work on the tree trunk in the bush and he checks on how the wood can best be used.
5. Meseîseit improves the work of Sëlang with his fine eye (mes).

In addition, Hambruch mentions Alülemez who helps the men with the caulking so that the boat will prove water-tight. In general he is responsible for the safety of the canoe, protects it from breaking and helps with repairs.

Above all these ranks Lugeileng. He hovers over the place of construction and his people execute the work. His dwelling is Falesidj* in heaven.

*sidj is supposed to be the word for bamboo on Yap, but is not found in Müller's book on Yap.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

For the voyage itself Paluelap is important because he is the "great pallu"; he is mentioned principally in connection with Pollat. According to Hambruch he married the woman Ilagaiidjor on that island and from her learned all about navigation and for that reason Pollap leads all other islands in that art.

4: Krämer--149-150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-12
116, 776, 173 Elato

Hambruch was told on Elato that the following are children of Paliulăp and Ilisagŏrŭ:

Farouâi (a boy)	he controls the weather and gives out warnings in case of bad weather
Alului (a boy)	see below
Rongerik (a boy)	he guides the canoes back home; see Pollap
Xaligi (a boy)	he takes care of the canoes and their construction on land
Rongelap (a boy)	he takes the canoes out to the open seas; [150]
Zemal (a girl)	
Mangear (a girl)	she is in charge of the food and sees to it that the dishes prepared for the drew of a canoe turn out well
Ilegafaz (a girl)	she takes care of the fire on board

It is said of Alulei* that under the name of Aluelap he is the navigator; on Pollap too he is the expert on canoes. In Muller 313 he is called Paloolop, or his father is known by that name. It is really of no importance whether Alului is the son of Paluelap or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical. He is best known as the god of the oracles.** Thus he is thought of as the god of navigation and has four eyes, two in

* On Oleai the word equals alu levei the spirit of the voyage...

**inopui or boe

front and two in back. . . Hambruch learned on Elato that Alului went out with the canoes on its voyages and safely guided it. His place, parang, is on the outrigger of every boat on which coconuts, begi, aromatic plants, etc. are placed before the start of any voyage. If the sea carries away the sacrificial offering, Alului is said to have called for them. He has a wife. His son is called Falus and he helps his father.

Lugeileng is also looked upon as the messenger of Aluelap. Hambruch learned on Elato that Lugeleng visited all islands and reported to Eluelap about their condition, about the inhabitants and their character, their behavior and their work; if they are industrious he helps them, but if they are lazy he sends them a typhoon. Zaulalu assists him in this work. Every day a report is made. Lugeleng gave the islanders the dance, and song, and medicine.

4: Kramer--150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Audjal is considered the real ressenger of the gods, whereas on Elato the concept includes Ururulang.... One day Audjal was very angry at the human beings because they were not good. For that reason and as a punishment he changed the figures; in the past one had counted: 10 seg, 9 tiv, 8 val, 7 fis, 6 uōl, 5 lim, 4 fāng, 3 ēel, 2 rū, 1 ēot so that one began with 10, which was the immediate return of work, now the counting begins with 1.

Urupo comments: originally their knowledge extended to the elbow but now it is limited to the tip of the fifth finger; but with every generation of white people it grows into infinity. God has given them four fingers, but to the Kanakas he has only given the fifth.

4: Krämer--150-151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

Ururulang, the messenger...is the guard who walks up and down in front of the heavenly house of Fadjamal (Hambruch: Fatsumel). He hears and sees everything and reports all to Eluelap. No soul is admitted to heaven unless he has been judged by him. The good may settle in the house of Fadjamal but the evil are thrown into the waterhold bŏl ipĕs where they have to stay for ever. Every mortal has a thread of life, the idjor e melau.* When a soul enters the heavens, Ururulang tells his people, Kula, that they should look at the [151] thread of life and see whether it is in order. If his men are able to disentangle it quickly the person is good but if it is a hard task and the thread remains entwined the person is bad. Oleiguso is the woman who cuts the thread, and Litafidjor (=woman hold straight the thread) the woman who turns it and keeps it in place and gives it to Eluelap. When a human being is born his "flesh" is on earth, but the thread of his life, his idjor e mĕlau is in heaven.

Hambruch also heard the name Yongelaf mentioned and his story was the same as on Faraulip; above he has been mentioned in connection with Yap. He was also told about Nigereger, the dweller on earth, who one day quarreled with the moon; the latter finally said: "Nigĕregĕr you shall die; if I myself die I shall be alive tomorrow, but you die once and for all."

*mellau, life.

4: Krämer--281 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Woleai

The three gods of the Carolinians* are Alouhilap =Alúelap, Lougheling =Lugeileng, and Olifad =Olefat.

*The same are mentioned by the native, Kadu see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 129. In other instances 7 gods are named: Ligopoup, Kantal, Alouilap, Litefeo (see Litobeo), Houlagouf, Lougheling, and Olifad.

"These sky gods are known as Alusiang. The word, Alus, is the generic term for supernatural, of which, as we shall see, there are two kinds--benevolent and malevolent. The benevolent supernaturals are called Alusemar, of which there are two categories; the alusisalup (literally, the alus of the earth) who, as we shall see, are the benevolent dead, and the Alusiang, (literally, the alus of the sky), who are this royal, family the pantheon of high gods.

Solan, the third child of Legobub, and the brother of Autran and Aluelap was assigned, it will be remembered, to the nether-world, Ilal, where he lives in his house, called Falisat. Ilal is inhabited by mortals, like those living on earth. It is all ocean, and enjoys neither sun, moon, nor stars. The people seem to live in water-proof houses. Solan, in some vague way, controls the fish supply. He is especially angry at men who catch fish immediately following sexual intercourse, for they 'stink', and punishes them with illness. (7)

"7. Solan is a very vague being in the minds of both the chiefs and of Arogeligar, neither of them remembering any details about him. This follows from the negligible role he plays in their lives and thought. Solal, too, does not fit into either of the two categories of alusemar, though in terms of the creation myth, he belongs to the pantheon of high gods."

Solan and Aluelap, according to the chiefs, cause death, the consent of both being necessary. If one of the two wishes a person to die, he informs the other. If the latter agrees, the person dies; if not, he continues to live. (8). [50]

These high gods, the alusiang, are not clearly defined conceptually because they are relatively unimportant functionally. If the chiefs and Arogeligar are vague about these supernaturals, the people are almost entirely ignorant of them. Invariably I would be told by men and women, adults and youths, that though they had heard of the name of

---

"8. Again confusion reigns. The malevolent dead, as we shall soon see are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Solal and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Lolal of his intention, and Solal informs Metha, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death."

Aluelap or Solan, or Autran, they did not know what they did, where they lived, or exactly whom they were, other than the fact that they were alus. The one exception is the alus, Tilitr. But Tilitr, strictly speaking, is not an alusiang, but rather the Ifaluk patron deity, and we shall discuss his role shortly."

"The Alusisalup comprise the second category of alusemar, and these are the functionally important benevolent supernaturals. Every person becomes an alus at death. If a person is evil or malevolent on earth, he becomes an evil or malevolent alus at death; that is, his immortal character is but a continuation of his mortal character. If a person is good or benevolent on earth, he becomes a good or benevolent alus at death, his immortal character being a persistence in time of his mortal character. (9) Now

---

"9. Actually, immortal, is a better rendering of alus than supernatural. Supernatural has been understood in western culture to mean an ontological realm of being, in contrast to and absolutely separated from, the natural realm, or nature. The dichotomy between the natural and supernatural orders is absolute and unqualified, so that only by an act of divine revelation can the two realms ever meet. Now this dichotomy of the universe into the natural and supernatural violates the native conons of thinking in Ifaluk. There is but one ontological order which comprises the 'Great Society.' of aramat inhabitants of the earth, and alus, inhabitants of the sky. There is constant interraction between them, and they are alike in most respects, except that the former are mortal and the latter, immortal."

it should be clearly understood that the western concept of supernatural reward and punishment is completely absent from Ifaluk thought. The Alusengau, the malevolent alus, is not such because he is punished for his immoral behavior on earth. Nor is the moral person rewarded at death by becoming an alusisalup. Both good and evil persons ascend at death to the sky as they were on earth. When a man dies, his soul (ngas) ascends to the sky on a special path. At the end of the path there stands a guard (10), who directs the souls to their respective habitations."

"10. This guard is named, but none of the chiefs could remember it, and inquiry about the village produced only negative results."

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

28: Spiro--51-53 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 787, 753 Ifalik

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

28: Spiro--55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The alusengau, we have already observed, also live in the sky, at its southern extremity. They are the malevolent alus, and according to all informants, they are much more numerous than the benevolent alus. As far as I could determine there are no alusengau that correspond to the Alusiang, the high gods, who existed before the creation of man. Now since the alusengau are wicked, it follows that had there been no evil people there would be no alusengau. This means that the only alusengau are those who formerly were mortals. All natives agree that there are many more alusengau than alusemar, the implication being that there are more evil people than good, a point to which we shall have occasion to address ourselves later. It is also universally agreed that the incidence of women alusengau is much higher than that of men, and they are not only more numerous, but they are the most viscious.

Not all the alusengau, however, inhabit the sky. Some evil souls are directed to live in the ocean, about the reef, and these are known as alusetat, literally the alus of the ocean. The alusetat are, it is agreed, more evil than those who inhabit the sky. (14)"

"14. According to Freudian symbolism that the ocean, or water in general, is a female symbol, particularly a mother symbol. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the female alus and the ocean alus are universally accepted as the most evil."

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753, 164 Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--62 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
776, 768 Ifalik

"Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly, in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

28: Spiro--74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"Aside from the alusemar already described, there are special alusemar for the different economic specialities, so that the alusezenap, are the alus for the carpenters, and the alusepalu are the alus for the navigators. These alus are members of the same family and dwell in the sky, near the abode of Aluelap. Aluluei is the father of this illustrious family, and is the chief navigator in the sky, as well as the patron saint of the navigators on earth. One son, Paluelap is also a navigator, Selangli is the master canoe carpenter, Alulemas is the repairer of houses and canoes, and Faravai is the weather expert. Each of these sons is proficient only in his own specialty, and is completely dependent upon the others for assistance in theirs.

The specialists on earth turn to these alus for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These alus are the recipients of a token-sacrifice known as io-io. (29)"

"29. Sarfert incorrectly calls these banewan. The banewan is any gift a person gives to another, whereas the io-io is a token gift offering to the alus."

28: Spiro--74 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"There are four alusto whom io-io are offered, three of the four being offered to the specialist alus. Lugeiling is the other alus who receives a io-io. The person who brings medicine to a sick man, whether he be Arogeligar or any other person, offers a io-io of coconuts to Lugeiling, asking him at the same time to ensure the efficacy of the medicine. A short time later he offers a io-io of food, which is placed in a special dish, and later thrown away."

28: Spiro--74 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 335 Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

28: Spiro--74 [4]
116, 776, 782, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

28: Spiro--87 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 776 Ifalik

"After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the Ulol or on its bed-mat, the giagi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat, between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to make it sick, it is protected by its parents on either side of it, so that one of them will become ill, and not the infant.

The baby, of course sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the babies sleep through it all. And even if he should wake and be fed, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and playing of the children."

28: Spiro--96
116, 857, 513, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--20 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 776 Woleai

For several weeks we tried in vain to ask Kadou concerning his ideas of God. He made every effort to understand us, but of no use. Finally, one day he succeeded; his face became animated, his whole body trembled. "Ah!" he cried, "you wish to know the name of that which we can neither see nor hear." At the same time he closed his eyes and covered his ears: "Its name is Taoutoup." Asked where he lived, Kadou pointed to the sky.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 777 Ifalik

"A ripe coconut in its husk may serve as a charm (mwiri). In one of the songs, a woman asks such a charm--simply a coconut in the husk, placed beside the house--to ensure the safe return of her lover who is at sea. With a strip of young leaf tied about it, knotted in three places, the coconut becomes a rol gapesh, and takes on special power. In the ritual performed just before a canoe sets out on an interisland voyage, one of these is tapped against the seams of the hull. It is credited with power to prevent leaks."

1: Burrows--135-136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784 Ifalik p3

"The most sacred part of all Katēlū is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katēlū is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katēlū, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect

for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katēlū, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so

that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784, 565 Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of SauvelārIk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

"The visible trappings of religion on Ifalik, like nearly all their artifacts are extremely simple. The so-called 'house of the gods' at Weluāra differs neither in appearance nor use from any other dwelling. The most distinctive building on the atoll, the men's house at Katēlū, has indeed some religious significance. The equipment for Maroligar's special ritual, described on p. _____, is kept there, and a cloth commonly hangs on the front wall as an offering to a god. But the symbolism of this building, as shown in the chapter on government, emphasizes human rank and authority more than religion.

Most conspicuous of religious emblems are what I have called shrines on some of the house platforms, just outside one end - the western end in every case I noticed - of a dwelling. These are little round flower-beds, about a yard in diameter, spread with clean, smooth sand that contrasts with the coral gravel of the rest of the platform. They are called tariaga (once recorded as tariege), but if Tom and I managed to understand each other on this point, the general word for flowers (mware), is also sometimes applied to them. The plants grown on them emphasize verdure and fragrance rather than blossoms: the large 'elephant-ear' leaves of true tar (wot) also prized as food; an occasional sprouting coconut, with leaves two or three feet high; and various aromatic shrubs, such as warung. During a ceremony the greenery was supplemented by a whole fresh coconut leaf and a leafy shoot of aro, stuck into the sand.

Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition

to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlItr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

1: Burrows--194-195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 782 Ifalik

"Another conspicuous religious emblem is the timás, a mat of white young coconut leaf a little more than a foot square, with the pointed ends of the leaflets projecting along one side in a stiff fringe. Numbers of these are plaited by the young men, taken to the house of the god - or sometimes elsewhere - to be endowed with divine power, then hung all about the shores of the inhabited islets. They are suspended from branches which overhang either the beach or - on the lagoon side - the water itself.

The ceremony of blessing these timás is brief, and not of itself an occasion for assembling the whole population. At Weluāra it sometimes accompanies one of the [195] regular ceremonies of invocation. In that case the prayer or incantation that confers power on the squares of mat is part of the regular song of invocation. Once the sound of a conch horn, blowing from Falārlk district, was explained as part of a ceremony of blessing timás. We were told it would be over before we could get there. Whether the usual hymn was also used on that occasion is not certain.

Once in position facing the shore, the squares of mat can be seen from some distance at sea, especially when they are fresh and of a bright ivory color, contrasting with their green background of leaves. They are thought to act as talismans and keep off evil sea-spirits."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 778 Ifalik

"Visible emblems (Sinnbilder) accompany invocation to certain particular gods, according to Sarfert. That for Lugweilang is a paddle with two coconut leaves tied about its handle. The adze-head had formerly been used when Lauliār was invoked, or rather exorcised - for the object was to prevent the rainbow-god from destroying canoes at sea. But this adze-head had been washed out to sea in the typhoon of 1907. Carpenters invoking Alulumar used a dancing-staff (guruguru) with a strip of coconut leaflet tied about one end. Maroligar used one of the few carved dancing-staffs seen as a walking-stick, but I never saw it used in connection with the repairs to canoe-houses that he supervised; and when I asked him if he knew how I could get a specimen of such a staff, he readily gave me one of the two he owned. He would hardly have done this if the staff had been a sacred emblem."

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 778, 178 Ifalik

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliăr, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIIltr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIIltr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians 1·2
116, 534, 778 Ifalik

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning.

Gargeligar had one of these whistles. Its sound at night was usually the first indication to us that the gods were abroad again. Wolpetau, paramount chief, had one too. He held it in his mouth and blew it occasionally during performances of religious dances, when he walked behind the rows of dancers, holding up a bit of tobacco or other little gifts which anyone was privileged to snatch from his hand. The suggestion seems to be that these are gifts of the gods. Attribution of divinity to the chief himself was never suggested, and would surely be denied. For that matter other chiefs, and even

commoners, might distribute gifts in that way if they wished. At least once, Tom took that road to the glory he craved.

Another occasion for blowing the whistles was during one of the nightly rehearsals of the uru dances. According to an ancient custom, women, muffled from head to foot in cloths, came up behind the dancers, and each put a garland on the head of the man of her choice. The complete wrapping-up was explained as a disguise, so that neither the favored men nor the woman's husband could recognize her. If the husband found out, Tom explained, he would be very angry. This institutionalization of jealousy must be left to Spiro to interpret. As to the religious significance of the whistles, it is diffuse and dim. I got no verbal explanation. All that is sure is that the whole performance, song, dance, and all, is essentially a religious ritual. As already noted, it seems to be taken lightly; and the blowing of the whistles may have no more vital connection with the supernatural than the costumes of ghosts and witches worn by children, among us, at Hallowe'en.

A final use of the whistles may have no religious significance at all. At least two of the whistles were sounded one night - and with them, conch trumpets - from canoes on the lagoon, surrounding a circle of seines in which a school of bonito was impounded. So far as I learned, these were simply noise-makers to frighten the fish and keep them from escaping. As noted in the account of fishing, it did not work. The point here is that these instruments seem to be not restricted to sacred uses."

2; Damm et al, --173 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 502, 778 Faraulep

Krämer obtained an old string pouch with snail shells; it belonged to the head chief, and was considered to be holy. It hung from the ridge pole of the canoe house, and was supposed to have been used to teach navigation in former times; the snail shells represented islands (or stars?).

4: Krämer--278-279 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 778 Woleai

In our day we did not actually find any sacred buildings, but the imaliĕlus, "the house of the spirits," [279] of Eangelaf (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise...page 57, name of the god: Engalap) shown in Figure 126 [VMM: see source] and located near the im Marúaru on Tagaúlap clearly points in the direction of old sanctuaries although the house itself in this particular instance is attributed to foreign influence. Raketip and his wife Lĕtago came to Tagaulap from Faróelap (Fároilap) where Uapei was worshipped as alus. They remained on the island and erected the im ali ĕlus. After many years Raketip and his wife returned to Faroelap. Here too, Eangelaf (Volea) was a secondary deity, and small containers of oil with vut wreaths were hung up on the house beam. On Falalis in the house Moelifal, Iletilimar was looked upon as alus.

6: Senfft--55
116, 502, 778

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Like many European sailors, these native seafarers are superstitious. Thus it was the custom formerly that a talisman for the wind ("Windmann") was taken along for every expedition. This lioss was a figure made of baked coral limestone which represented the upper part of a man's body; four spines from the tail of ray formed the legs, and a coconut leaf was wound around the neck.

28: Spiro--65
116, 346, 778

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Though Tilitr dwells in Fatuma, he and his sons have shrines on Ifaluk, to which they often descend. Of the eight shrines, seven are for Tilitr or his sons. (28)"

"28. [See following sheet for footnote 28.]"

28: Spiro--65
116, 346, 778

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"28. [Footnote p. 65] There is one shrine in Felarik, Bwutaliwenol, in the lineage house of Nuteitei for the son of Tilitr, Wuluaro. In Rauau, there are two shrines: Bwuter Tilitr, the shrine of Tilitr, which is inside the public house, the fanap of Atelu, and Bwuter Tiliwetan, the shrine of Tiliwetan, a son of Tilitr, that is in the courtyard of the lineage of the Uelepi house. There are four shrines in Falalap: Bwuter Talewearo, a son of Solal, and Bwuter Tilitr. Except for two of these, the shrines are merely circular mounds of white, smooth sand, surrounded on its circumference by rocks, with a medicine plant or two in the center. In case of illness, tobacco or even lavalavas may be offered to the alus to help exorice the alusengau. The shrines are made of sand because Tilitr does not like place 'all same wet and stink', which is the earth. He likes only dry and clean places.

The main shrine is Bwuter Tiltitr in Falalap, for here all the major ceremonies are held. It, too, is a shrine of sand, but in addition has four upright sticks, which represent Aluelap; Lugeiligg, his son; Olophat, his grandson; and Tilitr.

Bwuter Tilitr in Rauau is in the fanap, and is a platform, with sides about a foot high, on which are placed tobacco, and from its upright poles always hang offerings of lavalavs.

In Falalap one shrine is a small model house, in which hang offerings of lavalavas."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

597 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 597 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 489 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [143] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 552, 501, 782 Ifalik

"Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol, after a breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an overseas voyage:

Lay the anchor in the woods!
Lay the anchor in the woods,
O Soupalele!
Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!
Right in the middle,
The very middle of the land.
When my canoe goes,
Let me return to this land!"

"Songs for Divine Guidance

Seven songs were dictated by Tom as part of the navigator's lore. They seem to be both prayers and incantations, if we define prayer as an appeal for help to a divine being, and incantation as a song thought to have magical power in itself. Each song is accompanied by a bit of ritual, which reinforces its meaning as gesture reinforces the meaning of ordinary speech. But these are not mere optional gestures. They are essential to the proper utterance of the song. This seems to give them the character of magic, credited with power in itself, rather than of religion, appealing to an outside power. Yet the ritual can well be thought of as obeisance appropriate to an appeal, like a bow or salute to a human superior. It is my impression that the natives do not make the distinction between the two, but regard this behavior both as what we call magic and as what we call religion.

The texts of the songs will be given in the study of native art. One of them is an appeal to Sautā, a god not mentioned in the myths, for wisdom. [78] He is asked to illuminate the navigator's mind by lighting a fire within him. As he sings this, the navigator rubs over his chest sand, mixed with sea water taken from the point where land and water meet. A similar song, using the same figure of lighting a fire but not naming any particular deity, is uttered while cutting off the bud end of a coconut and mixing the juice with leaves of aro.

A third song, which Tom said was particularly advanced and hard to get, is intended to lighten the canoe so it will stay afloat. It invokes Loulemwau, whom Tom called 'god of the canoe.' It is sung while the navigator, holding a ripe coconut in its husk, bound about with a strip of coconut leaf, wades around his canoe, tapping the hull at the water-line with the coconut.

An appeal for fair weather is sung to the god Wĕriĕng. To sing this, the captain goes aboard with a piece of white young coconut leaf. This he taps against the sail as he sings, then ties bits of it to all the lines of the rigging.

Before the mast is set up, it is swept with a strip of white leaf, while the navigator sings a song to Ilĕkerĕp, god of the sea-lanes, asking him to bring the canoe safe to its port. A similar appeal for the return voyage is sung as the mooring line is untied from a tree, and rubbed back and forth against the landward side of the tree. In this song Soupalele, god of the navigator, is asked to anchor the canoe in the woods, in the center of the home island.

Far the longest and most comprehensive of the songs was described by Tom as his own special prayer for success at sea. It had been given by one of the gods of navigation--he did not know which one--to a navigator of ancient times, and handed down to his pupils from generation to generation ever since.

This song invoked not one god but a multitude of them, running up the number in a

final stanza from one hundred to ten thousand. It appeals for most of the gifts asked separately in the other songs: wisdom in seamanship, divine guidance of the canoe, strength and health for the navigator, fair weather, and shortening the distance between Ifalik and Woleai. As he begins singing it the navigator ties about his wrist a strip of white coconut leaf. He drinks a coconut for the gods, and offers a piece of taro and an umule fish."

"Offering (iōiō) to a beneficient god.

The general pattern is that these offerings are made by a chief of specialist at the conclusion (or at some crucial stage) of an important undertaking. (Commonly a first offering of coconuts is followed by one of cooked food. The offering is accompanied by a brief spoken prayer of thanksgiving and appeal for continued help in the future). The following seem to be the principal occasions:

(a) by the leader of a communal task (commonly a chief), at the beginning of the feast which celebrates its conclusion. The deity to whom the offering is made varies with the nature of the task.

(b) by a healer, to Lugeilang, who is asked to make the treatment effective. One offering of coconuts, a later one of food.

(c) by a master-carpenter, to Alulemas, when a building is completed. Coconuts are distributed to the workers; the juice that spurts from them when they are opened is regarded as the offering. The prayer offers thanks for success of the task, and asks for help with the next one. [189]

(d) by a shipwright. Such an offering, at an early stage of the work, is described in the account of canoe building. When a canoe is completed, an offering of coconuts is laid beside it for Seilangi. The prayer announces the offering, and asks that the builder's next canoe may be a good one. Later, at the

feast for the workers, a package of fish and taro wrapped in a leaf is put into the sea for Seilangi.

(e) by a navigator, to Aluluei. When a canoe enters the pass through the reef, outward bound on a voyage, the navigator offers, first two coconuts, later food and a new cloth. Asks protection from wind and rain and safe guidance to the port. These offerings are not thrown into the sea. The food is later eaten by the navigator and crew, the cloth kept for use."

1: Burrows--194-195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 782 Ifalik

"Another conspicuous religious emblem is the timás, a mat of white young coconut leaf a little more than a foot square, with the pointed ends of the leaflets projecting along one side in a stiff fringe. Numbers of these are plaited by the young men, taken to the house of the god - or sometimes elsewhere - to be endowed with divine power, then hung all about the shores of the inhabited islets. They are suspended from branches which overhang either the beach or - on the lagoon side - the water itself.

The ceremony of blessing these timás is brief, and not of itself an occasion for assembling the whole population. At Weluāra it sometimes accompanies one of the [195] regular ceremonies of invocation. In that case the prayer or incantation that confers power on the squares of mat is part of the regular song of invocation. Once the sound of a conch horn, blowing from FalārIk district, was explained as part of a ceremony of blessing timás. We were told it would be over before we could get there. Whether the usual hymn was also used on that occasion is not certain.

Once in position facing the shore, the squares of mat can be seen from some distance at sea, especially when they are fresh and of a bright ivory color, contrasting with their green background of leaves. They are thought to act as talismans and keep off evil sea-spirits."

2: Damm et al. --197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
396, 782 Faraulep

According to legend, Alüelăp had some more adopted children; and among them Thelăn and Paluelăp are especially important for the islanders. The former is the inventor of canoe-building, and it is to him that the natives dedicate the measuring string with two coconut pinnates (tjătš) hanging at the ends, and the canoe ax. The latter made the first sail, and he knows all the paths on the sea. For that reason, when the Captains want to be sure of reaching their goal safely, and of having a calm sea, they sacrifice a coconut and a mat to Paluelăp in the canoe house. His son Elülüe is his helper in everything.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--245 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 173, 782, 226 Aurupik

[LEM: Concerning an isolated house and grave, Hambruch was told:] the god Yongelap gave orders to the man Choiss in Yap to travel to Aúrepik and there to create men and women out of a Spondyl shell so that the island would be populated. This was done, and Choiss became the father of a son, Raigumeng, whom Yongelap appointed as protector against typhoons. Raigumeng is revered like a god. The natives invoke him before they go fishing: "Raigumeng, give us fish!" On other occasions, e.g. before a sea voyage, offerings are made to him. Within the house many offerings were suspended: wreaths, necklaces, mats, coconuts, etc. Since Raigumeng's death his house and grave have to be kept in good condition.

28: Spiro--74 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 335 Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

28: Spiro--74 [4]
116, 776, 782, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

28: Spiro--145 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 264, 782 Ifalik

"Usually, when the meal is prepared, a dish of food is set aside for the benevolent alus of the household, and the chief of the household recites a few words of thanksgiving, thanking the alus for protecting the members of the household. On the other hand, if the alus were a poor protector, and illness had befallen some of the people, no food is offered him. This offering is called either agai-l'alus or maipi-l'alus."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

Yoṅelā́f

is regarded as a kind of demon. And since he brings the typhoon, he is greatly feared on the lower Caroline Islands. There is a story about how he became known on the islands:

Once upon a time the Yap men wanted to sail to Palau. But a strong wind rose, and blew them to Oleai. They told the inhabitants that a powerful king, Yoṅelā́f, ruled in Yap, and that all the islands as far as Tarṓa (Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands) belonged to him. If they did not want to be destroyed by a typhoon, they should bring him some presents in the immediate future. The Oleai islanders were somewhat incredulous about this story, but they were rather frightened, and so they made regular sacrifices to Yoṅelā́f. This cult spread east from Oleai.

Hambruch also heard about a fabulous country, Matā́ṅ, which is supposed to lie in the east, and it is certainly the same thing as the Mēhā́ṅ of Polowat.

Hambruch said that mighty men like Ponijṓu, who became famous on account of his fish magic, were made local deities, and that the natives sacrificed to them in little spirit huts.

4: Krämer--152-153 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 783 Lamotrek

The alus Roiang. . . was sent out by Aluelap to request that the houses were to be cleaned and all signs of blood and birth stains were to be removed. [153] [ER: The words of a magic song are given in the original text, but are omitted here.]

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik

"Coconut leaves, commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs. Another symbolic use is waving a coconut leaf over the patient in several of the little healing rituals that accompany administration of medicines."

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy."

l: Burrows--83J (1947-48) Woleaians
784 Ifalik

"During the observance of turu [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (mar). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both pulax and the scarcer wot--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons."

1: Burrows--83M
535, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)"

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
784, 538 Ifalik

"For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

1: Burrows--135-136 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 778, 784 Ifalik

"The most sacred part of all Katēlū is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katēlū is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katēlū, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect

for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katēlū, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so

that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784, 565 Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of SauvelārIk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians 12
116, 784 Ifalik

"The concept of taboo, widespread among Pacific island peoples, prevails on Ifalik in a rather simple form. The term itself, taken into English from a language related to that of Ifalik, is in use there, though the final sound is not voiced and speakers of English can notice it more readily by lip-reading than by listening. Following common practise, the local form is here spelled tabw.

The common expression E tabw can usually be translated 'It is forbidden.' But it is not applied to all prohibitions. Conduct disapproved because it is regarded as queer or foolish is not ordinarily called tabw. Nor is the term applied, commonly at least, to the prohibitions emphasized in the chapter on government; though usage seems to be somewhat elastic here. The term tabw, in a strict sense, refers to prohibitions thought to be sanctioned in a special way. We should call it a supernatural way; yet the sanctions are not, as a rule, thought to be administered by supernatural beings.

Conduct called tabw is thought to be dangerous in itself, to incur automatic retribution. The connection made between the misdeed and the penalty is something like what we have in mind when we say 'Don't get your feet wet, or you'll catch cold'; or 'Don't touch that wire, or you'll get a shock.' Yet an essential difference remains. In the case of taboo the connection between deed and consequence is not, as we should say, rationally explained. It remains somewhat mysterious, and is regarded with some awe, though not to the extent of avoiding discussion of it.

The kind of impersonal power believed to enforce the prohibitions called tabw is that

commonly called, by students of comparative religion, mana, --another term borrowed from an Oceanic language. That word itself, however, was not heard on Ifalik; nor was any other with an equivalent meaning. The power behind taboo seems to have, on this atoll, no explicit name."

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--180-181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"Childbirth is another event that imposes this condition. A woman is not surrounded by taboos during most of her pregnancy, except that sexual intercourse is prohibited from the time pregnancy is first diagnosed--commonly by the interruption of the menses --until the [181] external signs become apparent. The duration of this taboo is said to be about a month; intercourse during that time, it is said, would kill the baby. Thereafter intercourse is resumed, and indeed, approved, until a late stage in the pregnancy."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 846, 784 Ifalik

"When labor pains begin, or are momentarily expected, the woman goes to the birth house (im lipelū) on Falalap near the channel. This building is strictly tabw to men. If a man were to enter it, all the food would rot, and all the people suffer famine. Spiro did not succeed in having an exception to this taboo made in his case; even the psychopathic Tarobweliman did not venture into the birth house, so far as known.

While a woman is in the birth house, her close relatives, which means, approximately, her parents, husband, and children; perhaps one or more sisters as well - go to live in a house reserved for this purpose near the birth house. They stay there as long as the mother and child remain in the birth house. The conventional length of her stay is ten days. All are fām during that period. All return together to their home, and at this time the taboos are lifted from all except the parents.

Work other than caring for the child is tabw to the mother for a considerable period. First stated as two months, this was later defined more strictly as follows: if the moon is visible at sunset, or during the rather short interval thereafter before people go to bed, this tabw lasts for one month; if the moon is not visible at that time, for two months. It was also said that the mother may not leave the homestead for three months. The homestead is here defined to include a bit of shallow water opposite the house site, where the baby is bathed. The father too, is subjected to some restrictions, though they are less rigorous, for the same period as the mother. One taboo--on sexual intercourse lasts until the child can walk. The penalty ascribed to violation of this is the same as

that for sexual intercourse during early pregnancy--the death of the baby."

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term fäm applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falārlk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falālap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting wot, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is tabw. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

1: Burrows--182
116, 562, 343, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from Falārĭk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 252, 784 Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 784 Ifalik

"The morning fast imposed upon builders of a new canoe on the two crucial days of the job--the beginning, when lines are drawn to shape the hull, and the day of attaching the outrigger--is a ritual precaution to ensure that the vessel will sail fast and well. Though explained to me in this positive way, it could as well be put in the negative form usual in discussing taboos. Eating is taboo to the workmen on these two mornings. The penalty of a violation would be failure in their task, to the extent that the canoe would be slow."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

1: Burrows--183
116, 685, 345, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

1.2

"The same preoccupation appears in the following list of penalties thought to follow violation of a taboo:

Misdeed	Punishment
A man enters the birth house-	famine
A man enters a menstrual hut-	one version, starvation; other version, sickness
A man enters a pool for soaking coconut husks-	he will be unable to catch fish for 20 days; so his household will be short of food
Fish caught in a big trap are cooked in a pan-	no more driftwood, no more fish for the big traps; i.e., shortage of food
sexual intercourse during turu fishing, or immediately before trolling-	failure to catch fish; (shortage of food again)
sexual intercourse during early pregnancy, or between birth and walking-	death of the baby
menstruating woman approaches rongonax tree-	typhoon. (Typhoons are followed by famine.)
menstruating woman visits taro patch-	the taro will not thrive

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Misdeed
leaving a dead body ashore-

Punishment
the vegetation will wither, and the people will starve."

Aluelöb established the Tapu. (etab; the opposite is daitab). If a man is tabu, no one is permitted to take food or drink from him, or to give him anything. He can not sleep with a woman. Various things cause a person to be tabu, and this state usually lasts four days.

a) If anyone is undertaking a banewan, he is tabu for four days, and in case a cure is operated in this fashion, it applies to the patient too.
b) Women in the menstrual lodge are tabu; during menstruation it is for four days, or until the end of the period; after births, for ten days.
c) If a man is consulting an oracle (buä) for someone, who wants to travel to a distant island, he is tabu for four days.
d) During canoe-building all the workers are tabu, but only on the days when the banewan is undertaken.

Then individuals are tabu for certain specific things; captains, or people, who know the banewan for Allülei, or those who can prophesy (buä) from knotted coconut leaf strips, are not permitted to go to the blood house. Then there is a general tabu on the bread-fruit trees; that means that none of them may be felled.

The natives did not know whether the custom decreeing that women may not go into the canoe house, goes back to an ancient tabu, or not; they just said that it was an old custom. Neither do they know the basis for the custom of not eating certain sea animals;

in general, the shark is not eaten "because it eats people, and therefore, men are afraid of it"; then the báro, láwud, lódj (poisonous fish) and fái (ray) are not touched either.

2; Damm et al. --201
116, 784

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Faraulep

At certain times there are injunctions (etáb: Polynesian tabu); for example, the chief put tabu signs on his property, so that no one could set foot on it..

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--259 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 784, 423 Faraulep

A taboo-sign which had been posted by the owner of the island [LEM: of Eat], the chief Sâuerū, debarred the inhabitants of the sister-islands from entering Eat; at certain times only they were permitted to collect there coconuts, turtle-eggs, or tobacco-leaves.

If one draws a line from here southward which crosses the inland water and reaches the southern reef--formerly at the rock Faisar (which disappeared in the last typhoon)--one gets the sósor boundary... which is the western limit of the district of the island of Lamotrek. East of the line no taboos need to be observed, but west of it one must fast if one sails early in the morning westward across the boundary. Smoking, too, is forbidden under such circumstances.

Hambruch mentions:

Edible plants

swamp taro	uŏt, file	papaya	papuâi	
mountain taro	bulăk	sugar-cane	uâu	
breadfruit	mai	sweet potato	gamŏti	
banana	uĭs	pandanus is not eaten		
fig	faliap	coconut palm	liu	
cucumber tree	awŭs (Krämer gavudj)	chicken	măluk	animals
		dog	gălăgo	animals
pumpkin	kălăvăs			

...[45]

The coconut palm claims first place as a source of food, but breadfruit, mai, is very important. For that reason, the taboos which the breadfruit god Sauaur imposes are of special importance. In September one tries to find magic and an oracle for the voyage to Guam and to discover which boats are good and lucky. Then the period of the breadfruit taboos sets in. During that period no trees may be felled, no bulis extracted, no wooden bowls and wooden boxes must be made and no nets may be woven (no handle nets may be made either). Cords must not be twisted, clay cannot be fired and sails must not be made of pandanus leaves. The end of the breadfruit harvest comes in July and is known as the eamóimai.

Then follows a solemn banquet, the iles, which is held in the evening and which is mainly given for returning fishermen and navigators who have fasted up to this time. At the banquet a prayer is said in order to avert evil.

On the island, breadfruit dough, mär, is prepared in the same manner as on Truk; it is said to be especially good when it is eaten together with tak, Belone fish.

Breadfruit dough is prepared for preservation on Elato and is known as mär (Hambruch)

The alu Saulal* is responsible for many of the fishing taboos. He has close contact with the ocean into which, deep down, he was banned because of his evilness; to him come the souls of the evil after their death. He has three servants: Alusitét, who is thought of as his son, who comes whenever someone breaks a taboo and Pónerol and Lepériperúodj (from périper "to cut"=falafal see the discussion of boat construction, and uodj "reef" which would give it the meaning of "reef cutter"); they are sent to help the humane beings. Soulal gave mankind the turtle which he made hard and strong. But if men want to get the benefit of his deeds they must obey his taboos; e.g., a man must wait for 10-20 days after having had sexual intercourse before he is again allowed to go out fishing; he must not touch the lure pa which is used for bonito fishing during one month, and by no means before the next new moon; in the case of the flying fox fishing, the fisherman must wait for two to three months before he may return to his house.

The fisherman must not touch the water holes in which coconut fibers are soaked; if he does he must wait for 4 days and for the same length of time may not eat any bonito in case he has beaten coconut fibers; the same taboo applies to any person who has touched excrement. The regulations apply also to women; they may not eat any bonito at all as long as they are in the imatamai, nor for three months after they leave. When a woman has been in the imafatiu she must wait for ten days.

*He is thought of as the elder of the two brothers of Aluelap.

We have reported on the taboos west of the sósor boundary; sósor is the word for the fishing ground in the inland water mainly west of the mentioned boundary. If one wants to go fishing in that area no fire may be lit in the village after 10:00 o'clock at night [48] and no food may be eaten at that time. The boats that sail to the spot must first call at the islands of Puik (Búiüg) and Faleit before they may get started on the actual fishing trip. If the taboo is broken, legs and abdomen are believed to swell.

Among the sacred activities is the killing of fish with the ceremonial axe tellẽ i lolomai which is also used for the boat construction.... Taboo for women on Elato are the gorurĩãp, sonmalot sóu (mackeral) and the skipiia which is held sacred on Satoan and before whom the natives must bow.

Customs in Fishing

Later on there followed further taboos and magic and fishing at night to the illumination of torches.

Fishing of flying-fox starts in December and continues almost through the entire season of the trade winds. When the fishing period is finally over, the fisherman, after an additional waiting period of four days, may return to his house.

Fishing (búil) of bonito, garangap is still practiced. The fish is considered sacred only if it is caught with the lure pa (bā) on sea; this is quite in line with the Polynesian customs. We have already discussed the taboos; they are exceedingly strict.

Soon after a fish is caught, it is cleaned of all dirt with an ear branch. The catch is greeted with a special exclamation. A fisherman, who comes home feeling cold is the object of mockery. The men who have not caught anything are not in favor with the women. Fasts are prescribed for the time of the trade winds but are not necessarily observed from March to September. With reference to the banquet, iles...

After reaching the shore one carefully lays down the fish with their heads facing inland. They are seized by the tail and carried. Fish may not be swung to the sides as they are carried. If the person who carries them meets someone on his way he must not stop. When the fish is laid down by a house, it must be placed alongside the building with the head pointing in the direction of the sea. Then the stove, um, is started. When the fire is lit and the stove is getting hot, the fish may be cut. The animal is laid on its back and

the bamboo knife (not an iron knife) is held in the right hand. The stalk of a coconut frond may be used. One cut each is made lengthwise and across and then the fish is peeled out with the first finger and the skin of the belly together with that of the throat is removed, is whirled in the smoke of a fire that is lit on a coconut frond róurou, wrapt in breadfruit leaves, magárigar, and put in the stove. [51] The insides of the fish and particularly the roe are eaten raw, after they have been waved through the smoke for just a little while; the heart is given a similar treatment. The other insides are cooked. The head which is cut off, the shoulder pieces, the tail without bones and the back pieces are all laid out on leaves, wrapped and cooked on hot stones. The dress for the karangap fish is called magárigar. That finishes the taboos.

If a fisherman has broken the taboo and been near women and is taken sick after his fishing trip, Alusitét is thought of as the originator of illness and a sorcerer addresses a prayer to him while he stands holding two bunches of coconut leaves in his hands.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-9
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

On Palau the felling of the tree from which a canoe is to be made is a sacred action, but on Lamotrek it does not involve any kind of ceremony. Felling of a breadfruit tree is called komádj ali mai, and transporting the felled tree is urur ali mai. Everybody lends a hand in the latter. The trunk is hauled to the beach where the rough work is to be done. In order to be able to move the tree, the trunk which is lying on the ground, is surrounded by coconut fronds and their pinnae are plaited together. Both the tree trunk and the stalks of the fronds are notched and fastened by tying, so that they may not slip as the tree is dragged away. This system makes hauling ropes unnecessary and the weight of the tree is somewhat lightened. The roughest work on the tree is done in the bush itself in the spot where it has been felled and is under the supervision of the god Simalegodjúat.... When the trunk has finally been transported to the beach, the actual construction work begins with rough-hewing with an ax. On this occasion the ceremonial ax sometimes is displayed...

The work on the beach is begun by instituting a fast. Women may not come to the place of construction but otherwise no special taboos are imposed. After the fast is over, the juice of young coconuts is drunk and their meat eaten. Cracking of the first nut, the giligel, is a solemn action; the term includes the word for stick got, and because it is an action it is made into molegot. The nut is placed in front of the person selected to crack it and the spirit Tautúp, the giver, is invoked.

[ER: a short prayer is said before the coconuts may be eaten, but it is omitted here.]

[93] Then follows the first blow of the ax, the kakilet... and the rough work on the canoe is done before the line is used.

Now is the time for further work on the breadfruit tree trunk which in the songs is simply called mai. The explanation of the second song by Faragau (house 1) revealed that in earlier times the tree trunks were soaked with oil inside and outside and charred in order to simplify the later treatment with the adze. But the work of the ax, the first blow, and the first steps at least were always important and done in as expert a fashion as possible. Another important step taken without special ceremony was

1. the laying of the keel known as tilegab (solegab, "the keel"). The keel is roughly worked.... When the keel is laid, the workmen fast all day long and may not touch any food but coconut juice; this fact is most strictly enforced when the line (Leine?) the tal e fálefal has been laid. It is not until the evening that food may be taken and then the banquet, iles, is held. On the second day, the day after the laying of the keel is the time of
2. the gapileval, which means the "keel of the bush." It refers to the measuring of the trunk in order to determine the length of the hull of the canoe, the bul, which is done with the line talefélĕfel.*

*There are four different types of measuring lines, tal: a, tal i motaisam (spirit of the 1st sib ... b. tal i ngulu c. tal i gedj (connected with it is the 4th song of the canoe construction collection ... d. tal i gudj (with it the 2nd canoe construction song). For every measuring line a song is necessary; similarly the taboos change with them.

(Fig 60 [VMM: see source] which may not be used for anything but canoes. If the line tears, it is a bad omen for it may not be knotted. First the entire length of the canoe is measured off and then the line is folded and the halves are determined by finding the center, the lug. (Fig. 61a) [VMM: see source]. In a similar fashion the quarter sections are measured and marked off. Straight underneath two of these quarter section marks there are the two ends (fétang, Oleai; fátang) of the lowest keel, gapiálei. From the fétang ends the keel rises a little bit on both sides in the longitudinal direction and to the further end, gom; the part between the two ends, fétang and gom (Oleai: falegóm), is called gapiléisap and the section from the gom end to the bow with the figurehead is known as faisap (Oleai: fatob) (Fig 61a [VMM: see source]). It is important that the fétang end be laid correctly and that the keel between [94] the fétang is straight so that the canoe will not yaw. On both sides of the upper longitudinal line, a red line is painted on with a brush. . . for measuring the length; the paint must not be black because it would strangle the spirits. In a vertical cross section through the middle of the hull of the canoe, through the lug, the following lines appear: the keel, gapiálei, and above it the hollow djölifadj, which looks like a pandanus leaf; and above it as the upper margin the edge, úlut, which has been indicated in the longitudinal cross section in Fig. 61a [VMM: see source]. The úlut line in the interior is the boundary line

of the bilge. Above it is the side of the hull known as órol which at the upper end is thickened, lugulepal; on this edge rests a wooden pole serving as gunwales, mesep (papa le vá) which is fastened by a string, ngareliva. Special care is taken when the bilge, the space above the keel is hollowed out. (Hellwig: niua). The bottom, lauâilol grating, is divided by means of coconut frond stalks into three sections similar to the space of the deck which has three red lines. Then the space is hollowed out and the bulkheads, the kábong, are not forgotten in the process. The line is used on the orol side. Attention is given to the thwarts, to:

1. tolefatefat
2. metangór often with failo reinforcement (Truk, page 229: fauílo)
3. tipalefang
4. ti válim
5. sáragio
6. fatamat with the lower bail seat

All this is taken care of on the second day. Then the measuring line is rolled up. While the hull of the canoe is dug out many mats are often laid out as a sign that work is under way. The people who pass the spot are greeted with the greeting of faîro, in order that they may not spoil anything by their possible evil thoughts. [95]

3. velap. The work of the preceding days is improved and the exact sizes of the areas are determined. The uppermost line indicates the boundary for the

work. Everything underneath it is sacred work and everything above it does not matter. That is to say that attention is concentrated on the lower búl section of which as much as possible is left standing. Then the planks are cut and the figureheads for both bow and stern; their lower parts are called padj and the term applies to the section where they are fitted into an echelon-like groove above the gom, and then they constitute the section called faisap. Like a thigh they extend to the knee, borolemet, where the wood turns to the inside so that the heel, monga Selang... changes into the foot pointing to the outside or the forked metál i va, the "ship's eye". The two prongs of the fork are called mongarëdj and the upper sole of the foot seapolimet.

4. vëdjik. A day of taboos because the finer work is done on the keel section. Everything is checked and finished, including the planks. The god Meseiseit supervises this work....
5. póufar. It is not until this day that the boat rests on the keel. It is another day of taboos, no rough hewing may be done, but only detailed work on the superstructure. The planks that were previously cut are put in place but for the time being they are only temporarily fastened with hibiscus fibers (gilifau) and provided with wedges, djib or kadjór, which necessitates strict attention and supervision. One prays to Bórumai* "rising water," bor, and "good,"

*Belongs with Semalegóror...

mamai, i.e., good tide; [ER: a song, lulur, is sung on this occasion but is omitted here.] The canoe is filled up with coconuts and food for the god. Now the construction head may dismiss his assistants. In the final placing of the planks, coconut husks are utilized (pal ali va), they are laid down after artocarpus sap, bilis* has been put on the wood. The sap may be applied after the planks have been moved into place; in this case a smouldering leaf-sheath is held close to the stick with bilis. Now the péret approaches; the sewing on of the figurehead, padj, which is known as bau ipadj, is very difficult. Stitching through the holes with the gólemong cord...is known as yógeyog. [96]

6. kabukio with taboos. In order that the kio, the outrigger beams may be fitted in, kabuk, notches úoș, must be cut. One tries to do the fitting as tightly as possible. The kio on the leeside rest on the geligeaá and on the weatherside on the faramoe. In order to allow lashing "holes," ngata le olotráol, (Fig. 61c [VMM: see source]) are drilled underneath the uós. The drill resembles a chisel; in recent times it has been made from a piece of iron, búrubur, which

*The juice of the breadfruit tree trunk, the ralimei...is collected in coconut shells. One allows the milk to settle, pours off the water and washes the deposits in salt water; then they are filled into coconut sheaths and are kept in this condition; juice treated in this manner is called bilis.

usually is used only for the making of coconut slabs...in the past it was a piece of madrepore which had to fill this purpose. As the drill pierces the material, magic is made. It attempts to chase the evil spirits away. This is done by shouts of all present; eho! eho! eho! The calls are followed by a great deal of noise, more shouts and beating of the arms, etc. Then everything is lashed on temporarily or permanently. The sórang are made for it, the cuts between the holes through which the lashing is put.

7. votap. The hull is set up, the keel placed on longĕs beams; the longĕs are short wooden beams with grooves into which the keel is to be fitted. If it is impossible to fit the keel exactly, the error of cutting is repaired by coconut husks. If the canoe stands well and correctly, it is easier to do the work. At this point everything is done with a veiw to permanency. All shaping is done well and accurately because the wood shrinks as it dries. Now all small pieces are added.
8. kámor with taboos. The main job on this day is the smoothing of the hull of the canoe. Stretching out the line reveals the irregular spots; wherever wood is left standing high it is chopped down, but this work is done most carefully, a little at a time. This is known as the kalúl ali metál e boédj "the beautification of the face of the cement." For the caulk used on the canoe, the cement, boédj ali va, "cement for the boat," is prepared from burnt clay, which is mixed

with a great deal of coconut wood coal and is mixed with the liquid gained from young coconut husks. This caulk is pressed into the holes and cracks and any residue is removed by means of calophyllum leaves. Caulking may not begin until it is certain that the boat will not be a subject to future strong movement and the "beautification" must have been finished. [97] In this connection ray or shark's skin may be used, or corals. "Scraping" is called feîr; see faiür.

After the caulking, the painting is done. But before this step may be taken, the outrigger must be provided with the float, tam; this action is known as the fai eám (connected with the taboo val e vêi, the "bush magic")....And the stanchions ám must be fastened to the outrigger boom kio. At this time the men fast, for anganga sórosol, "work in the early morning," is necessary.

Painting of the Canoe

Now the painting may begin, but usually is postponed for some time. After cement has been applied, bedjë vā, on both sides of the hole, the boat is lowered into the water after at least four days have gone by. At this time the ceremony, gafeîfei, is held; the canoe is decorated with young coconut pinnae, úbudj...all the fishing canoes that happen to pass throw fish over so that after a little while there are quantities of it large enough to provide for a banquet. And indeed a great banquet is given by the owner of the new canoe to the sellap and his assistants, and gifts to the gods are not forgotten on this occasion.

4: Krämer--92-97 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-9
116, 396, 784 Lamotrek

At that time, the rigging and sails are still lacking, but their names will soon be given.

Then follows the tárabos song...as a dedication ceremony and the last step before the canoe starts sailing. At this time all the taboos are ended.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 837, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise. . . Vol. III, page 135: "The men live with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they are nursing the infant." "When a friend asks the hospitality of his friend, the latter offers him his wife for the time of his stay."

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 264, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Vol, III, page 132: "Several people may not eat fruit from the same cluster of bananas. Only the person who has eaten one of the bananas should eat the others."

5: Kittlitz--163 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 175, 609, 784 Aurupik

We now looked for the Eurupyk Island group, which lies south; the Uleai inhabitants had given directions to the Captain, and we found it easily on the 12th of April. It consists of just two little islands, whose inhabitants did not make the slightest effort to associate with us. We saw several canoes through our telescope, but they remained quiet on the beach, and we did not see a single boat on the water. At the time we thought this was very strange, but later W. Floyd's explanations shed some light on the matter. Probably the natives on those islands were celebrating the great yearly festival, and during the first few days they are not permitted to use their boats at all; later this tabu just applies to the use of sails.

8: Senfft--284 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
161, 784, 828 Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it.

24: Christian--239
116, 226, 784

(No date) 1899

Woleaians
Lamotrek

"'For four days before a fishing expedition the Lamotrek natives sleep apart from their wives. They go out fasting in order to ensure success. When they make their first haul they drink one green coco-nut apiece, and put in shore for the ceremony of Yaf-ilok--The Coming in of the Fire. A fire is made, each takes a fish, broils it, and eats it. Each fisherman then goes down to the sea, washes mouth and hands in the salt water, and invokes the blessing of Aliu-set and Sau-lal, gods of the sea. This ceremony over, the distribution of the heap of fish commences. If any women or children come near and break the taboo by helping themselves, the same will receive swelled ankles or elephantiasis as a punishment and visible token of the anger of the spirits.'"

28: Spiro--36
116, 358, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-12
Ifalik

"When doing major construction work, there are a number of taboos and rites which are practiced. Food is taboo until the completion of the job, so that the meal is very welcome when it comes. If the job requires more than a day for its completion food may be eaten only at the end of the day's work, and then the men must resume their fast until the completion of the next day's work. (2) Women and children are not permitted near the canoe-house during these major operations, and those living adjacent to it must

---

"2. This fasting illustrates, I believe the psychology of all sacrifice--fasting of course being a sacrifice, the sacrifice of food. You sacrifice a lesser good in order to obtain a greater good. Conversely, you accept a lesser evil in order to avoid a greater evil. In this case you sacrifice food in order to retain life and/or limb, and there is little question but that abstinence from food is a great sacrifice in this culture. Lest the reader ask how the native might lose life or limb, I should point out that the beams and pillars of the canoe-houses are huge, and if a person were to be struck by one he might very well be injured or killed."

remain in their houses. This is sharply contrasted with the other repair jobs in which children are very much in evidence, shouting, playing, laughing, and getting in the way. Furthermore, on these major jobs, the men wear young, white coconut branch strips about their arms and their ankles, which serves as talismen, and protect them from falling beams and other forms of potential injury."

(1947-48) 1949

"If a man is engaged in constructing something new, he may not participate in the repair of an old object. For example, since Tom was building a new canoe he could not participate in the repair of his own canoe house when it needed rethatching. Should a person violate the taboo, he becomes ill. (3)

The day after the job is completed, the chiefs may tell the men to go fishing, while the women prepare food, and then a feast is held, each household bringing his own food and fish, but all eating together. A characteristic of these feasts, and of other feasts following a religious rite is the complete absence of conversation during the meal. The people eat uninterruptedly, no one speaking to any one, let alone holding a conversation."

"3. This taboo on the mixing of opposites is a symptom found quite widely in obsessive compulsive neurotics."

28: Spiro--38 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 784, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Except for the taboo on the owner of the newly-constructed canoe to participate in repair jobs, I discovered only one other taboo in canoe-construction. When working on the keel, the men must fast until the afternoon."

28: Spiro--64 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 613, 784 Ifalik

"Aside from these important curing ceremonies, there are medicine ceremonies for the ill, in which only the lineage participates. They are held in the house of the sick person, and the house is taboo to any one but the participants.

There are other taboos associated with the making or consumption of medicine. After making medicine from herbs, there are periods of isolation, ranging from a day to a month--depending upon the nature of the medicine--during which time the person neither sleeps in his house, nor eats of its food.

The consumption of a certain medicine creates the taboo on eating food cooked on a fire of breadfruit wood, or taking a light from a breadfruit-punk fire."

28: Spiro--70 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 755, 784, 462, 778 Ifalik

"The people returned to their homes, work and sexual relations being taboo. The next day there was to be a feast, and that night the men went fishing after the appearance of the moon. The next morning the men resumed their fishing, while the women prepared taro and breadfruit. (Dr. Burrows and I contributed two tines of beef). It was not until late afternoon that we started for Falalap. As we approached we saw the women sitting around the shrine singing, while making garlands. The possessed man was still semi-delirious and would break into song at unpredicable intervals.

The shrine was then completely encircled by garlands, after which others were distributed among all the people assembled. Arogeligar announced that the alus had informed him that the American visitors were very fine men, and that they should receive garlands.

The chiefs then gave their permission to begin eating. This time, the sexes were not spearated, because the people sat in family groups, except for the chiefs who ate together with the ethnographers. At the conclusion of the meal, the people disbanded and returned to their homes."

28: Spiro--76 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-
116, 784 Ifalik

"Part of any people's Belief System is a number of taboos, the violation of which results in some undesirable consequence. As far as I was able to determine, the consequences of taboo violation are automatic. The alus do not punish the people for taboo violation though it was they who instituted the taboos, Aluelap ordaining all taboos except the incest taboos, which were ordained by Autran. It seems rather that some inherent causal relationship inheres between the taboo and its consequences, so that none of the natives I spoke with attempted more than a feeble attempt at a rational explanation.

The native term is etap. I have already referred to a number of taboos in the course of the text, and will have occasion to refer to others. But at this point I should like

here to underscore the observation made above, that ritual multiplies in those areas of culture that are relatively uncontrolled or are held in great value. (32)"

"32. It is obvious, of course, that the listing of these taboos in catalogue fashion does not imply that they were obtained that way. It is of methodological interest that if a native is asked to name as many taboos as he can, he will name two or three at the most, and no probing will aid him in recalling any others. For example, in discussing food habits I asked the four men with whom I was speaking, whether Ifaluk observes fasts, and I received a negative reply. But that very afternoon, I observed that the men were working on the hull of a canoe, and could not eat, as food was taboo. Almost all the taboos recorded in this manuscript were obtained by actually observing them in the course of my stay on the island."

28: Spiro--77 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 784 Ifalik

"In our entire stay I discovered only one taboo that involved the idea of holiness or sanctity per se, rather than being connected with a very pragmatic activity. That is, the plot of ground, known as Atelu, which belongs to the chiefs, and on which the fanap is located, is considered sacred ground, and one portion of it, directly behind our tent, is so sacred that no one is supposed to tread on it. The violation of this taboo results in rain and even typhoons. We discovered this purely accidentally. The trade winds had set in, and still the rains, which usually cease with the onset of the Trades continued, and both the natives and the anthropologists were very surprised. One afternoon, I observed the natives moving an old over-water-head to the beach directly in front of our tent. When they had finished their work, Tom came to us and said that this little hut was to be for our use, that we had been using part of Atelu as our private lavatory, and that perhaps that is why the rain continued, since it is taboo to walk on that ground, and the penalty for the violation of the taboo is rain. (33)

"33. That afternoon, I walked into our new lavatory, the rain stopped, and the sun appeared. The native view emerged triumphant! It is this kind of vindication, of course, if only once in a thousand times, that confrims the validity of the taboo for the natives."

All the other taboos are concerned either with illness, or with construction work; or the food quest, particularly fishing; or with dangerous physiological processes, such as birth and menstruation."

28: Spiro--82 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. If these taboos are violated the parents would become ill.

Sexual intercourse is taboo for the first three months of pregnancy, after which it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would kill the infant. After the third month, the baby begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm the baby, but it can expand the walls of the vagina, and thus expedite the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the baby is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery."

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed

cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--120-121 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 881, 841, 343, 784 Ifalik

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--141 [4]
116, 765, 784, 551

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A general taboo, which lasts not only for the four days of mourning, is the mentioning of the name of the dead. The immediate family may not ever mention it, nor may a stranger mention it in their presence. I saw a little child receive a beating from its mother for repeatedly using the name of its dead father, after she had warned him not to."

28: Spiro--141 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Finally, I accidentally discovered a taboo which applies to certain specific people, and which lasts during the four day mourning period. Lautrilus, a girl in her early teens, was eating some coconut meat, and I asked her for a piece. She extended her hand, but Tom, who was with us, would not permit her to give it to me. It seems that should any living person have had the same illness from which the deceased dies, he may not share his food, for the four days of mourning, with others."

28: Spiro--141-142 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 765, 784 Ifalik

"Taboos on working and cooking are much more stringent should the death occur in [142] a chiefly lineage. The immediate family may not work for one month, the clan may not work for ten days, and the entire village must refrain from working for four days. However, the men may fish, which is what they did after the death of Navor, who was a member of a lineage of chiefs. The canoes houses, however, are empty and the women merely sit idly. The men may climb the coconut trees, though they may not climb trees along the beach where they can be seen, but must go into the bush."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

29: Spiro--201-202 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians 1-2
116, 159, 786 Ifalik-1

"January 22, 1948. Yesterday Tarev came to the tent and discovered our calendar hanging on the tent pole. He turned it page by page, looking at both the numbers and the pictures, with an almost beatific smile on his face, and singing all the time. Later in the day, while we were gone, he took the calendar to his home. Some of the others saw him and made him return it. When they asked why he took it, he said that I was his father and therefore he had a right to take things from me.

Last night, however, I witnessed one of the weirdest things I have seen him do. Just as I was falling asleep, I heard [202] his falsetto--singing in front of our tent. He remained there for some time, alternately singing and stopping. Then he began to sing quite loudly and I decided to stop it and take him home. As I stepped out of the tent, I saw him, in the light of a full tropical moon, standing in front of the public meeting house. His hands were in the prayerful pose he often adopted in imitation, he said, of the padre, and he was singing to and bowing before the wooden phallus attached to the pillar. (18)

"18. This is quite a large carving of a penis, attached to the front pillar. Most of the people do not know what it represents, but the chiefs say it represents the penis of one of the earliest chiefs."

Intermittently, he would spit on it. He continued this for some time, alternately bowing to the phallus and spitting on it. This was a most impressive scene, and I stood watching it for a long time, until Tarev finally returned home."

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIIItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIIItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

"Several ways of foretelling the future, particularly by means of strips of coconut leaf, are rather generally known. Yet some know more about them than others. In these Maroligar was a specialist, and had been from his youth: for two love-songs composed in his honor mention this skill of his. The list of excerpts from the journal notes that on several successive mornings in November he was seen to go out, soon after sunrise, on one of the stone piers that projected into the lagoon from Katelu. [191]

Another man, a fellow-clansman, accompanied him. They sat facing the water, the other man a little to the rear and to one side of Maroligar. Maroligar tore little strips of leaflet, about a quarter of an inch wide, from a coconut leaf he brought with him. These he manipulated, one by one, for a long time, then stared solemnly out to sea. Asked what he had been doing, Maroligar explained in his rudimentary English, 'Suppose some man, woman, boy, sick. Man come. I make.' He explained that he talked to the strips of leaf; then looked at them, to find what ailed the patient; and so determined what should be done for a cure. Of the strips of leaflet he said 'All men savvy make. No all men savvy talk, look.' The words then, were in a particular form, evidently a prayer or incantation. The whole procedure was an attempt at diagnosis of desease and prescription for it. Maroligar volunteered his opinion that its efficacy was limited: 'Me think, small no-good; small good.'

More specific explanations of two kinds of divination with strips of coconut leaf were obtained from Tom. One, called bwei, is a specialty of sea-captains, hence within Tom's

special sphere of knowledge. He tore off three strips of leaflet and tied a series of simple knots in each. Then he laid them in the spaces between his fingers. The knots, he said, are counted off in a series of fours. The number of the last knot determines the answer to the question in mind. Each of the numbers - 1, 2, 3, and 4 - has a special meaning. These meanings are known only to a few, Tom said, and did not tell me what they are. This kind of divination may be used to determine what evil spirit is inflicting disease. It has to be worked separately for each alus until the one responsible is found.

Another method is called trip or tribwe. (The first pronunciation seems to be the common one in ordinary speech. It may be a contraction of the second, which was recorded in a song text.) Tom said he did not know all the rules of interpretation, but showed no reluctance in imparting what he did know. This attitude, contrasted with his reticence about the form he was supposed to know, suggests a belief that imparting the true lore to an outsider may impair its effect, while there can be no harm in passing along mere hearsay. To make a trip, the four fingers of the left hand are extended, close together, and a strip of leaflet, without knots in it, is wound around them. The answer to the question in mind depends on what part of the hand is reached by the end of the strip. If it comes to the second finger, on the inside of the hand, the augury is good. If it comes to the second finger on the outside of the hand, the augury is very bad. If it reaches the little finger - whether inside or outside was not specified - the omen is favorable.

This divination will reveal whether someone far away is alive and well. A song celebrating the homecoming of a seafarer says: 'The coconut leaf told me you were well.' It may also be used to find out whether love is requited. One of the songs about Maroligar describes this:

He sits under a tree nearby
And splits off a strip of leaf.
I must go see how it turns out!
Out there in the sunshine,
Taking another strip, he sees that he will win me;
The charm has told him so.
We were both very happy;
We looked in each other's eyes
And shyness overcame us.

When I told Maroligar about the plucking of daisy petals in our culture, and how they say 'He loves me - he loves me not', he was much pleased at the similarity of custom."

1: Burrows--192 (1947-48) Woleaians "2
116, 787, 753 Ifalik

"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro'. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--193-194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 759, 787 Ifalik

"As a prominent healer, Gargeligar was called tautavē or master of medicine. Skill in the healing art is even more a matter of degree than specialization in other matters connected with religion. Indeed, not all healing was religious. Some herbal remedies, like those listed in the chapter on technology, seem to be common knowledge. Others are hereditary, apparently within the lineage. Massage, with a kneading or pinching motion, was practised by various experts, among them Maroligar. Maroligar, [194] indeed, as leading diviner, was probably second to Gargeligar in the healing art. As noted in the excerpt from the journal for December 26, he and Gargeligar both invoked the great gods while the woman Nobwórs was on her death-bed. I did not hear the term tautavē applied to him - as a chief he had no need of lesser titles - but am confident he would qualify for it. Indeed, this seems not to be as formal a title as tamól (chief) or palū (navigator), which are applied exclusively to a few individuals who have been awarded it by 'due process.' As far as I could make out it seems rather elastic, like the title of master-carpenter on houses. At any rate, Gargeligar claimed pre-eminence among healers on the ground that he alone received diagnoses and prescriptions for treatment direct from TIIItr. He would invoke the god, then follow instructions--a different process from divine possession, for then he was supposed to remember nothing of what the god said."

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil." Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

28: Spiro--53
116, 787, 276

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Possession is called alusemar bwuter, literally, the benevolent alus has arrived. It is marked by a kind of convulsive seizure, called zagogo or chato alus, in which there seems to be a high degree of dissociation, which may last for quite a long time.

Possession can occur in both men and women. It is a relatively infrequent phenomenon, however, and occurs only at night. In our seven month stay on Ifaluk, there were only several possessions. Almost invariably, the person possessed, some other member of his household, or perhaps Arogeligar announces the possession by blowing shrill blasts on a whistle (obtained from the Japanese and Americans). At the sound of the whistle, other people may assemble in the courtyard of the one possessed. At other times, the possession may become infectuous so that others become possessed, in a minor sense. The become 'happy' and the entire group joins in the singing of a chapeng, a religious song, or hymn, and then the young men may walk through the village singing.

I do not mean to examine the causes of possession at this time, but merely wish to point to two relevant factors, cultural and physiological. The few possessions that we witnessed followed imeediately upon a major religious ceremony, their occurence at that time being, therefore no 'accident'. In other words, the influence of the ceremony, at which the alus are evoked, acted as a strong stimulant, in which suggestion played a major role. Secondly, possession occurs only at night, after the people have consumed

large quantities of toddy. The toddy, particularly the fermented kind, is a strong stimulant, and induces a state of mind corresponding to what we call being 'high'. The persons possessed were all 'high', and very obviously under the influence of the toddy, as we shall see in a moment."

28: Spiro--54-55
116, 156, 787, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-5
Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--64-65
116, 755, 771, 787, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"This association of religion and medicine is found not only in the healing of individuals but also in the group or public ceremonies and rituals. The public ceremonies are all medicine ceremonies, in which medicine is made and consumed immediately as a prophylactic against future illness, and in which the alusemar are invoked to protect the people from illness. Though other Alus are involved, it is Tilitr that plays the important role in these ceremonies. Tilitr is difficult to conceptualize in terms of our two categories of alusemar, for he is really intermediate in rank between them, being neither in the pantheon, nor having ever been mortal. He lives in Fatuma, with the royal family of alus, but descends to Ifaluk frequently, particularly at the public ceremonies when he is invoked, and then returns to Aluelap to report to him. Tilitr, as has already

been indicated, is the patron saint of Ifaluk, protecting them from evil and from illness. (27)" [65]

"27. Tilitr predicted an American victory in the war. The natives, of course, knew of the war because of the airplanes which flew over-head, because the Japanese had told them of the war, and because Ifaluk young men had been on Yap during the American bombardment of the island. During the war Tilitr had told Arogeligar that the Americans would win, and that he (Tilitr) would assist them. He also had told him that the Americans were a fine people, that they had 'very fine head, very fine stomach,' and that the Ifaluk head and stomach were small, by comparison."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--75
116, 788, 241, 342, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"It is of note that Malinowski's observation that ritual is used in those areas of life in which the degree of control and predictability is slight, is borne out on Ifaluk. There is no garden ritual of any kind that I could discover. The taro grows regularly, only weeding and transplanting with fertilization being required. There has never been a crop failure, or drowth or any other unforeseen contingency that has effected the supply. Breadfruit and coconuts grow without any tending. Thus in these matters there is no ritual. There are a number of taboos, the violation of which will adversely effect the food supply, but that is a different matter.

But in hazardous undertakings, such as house construction, in which there is the chance of men being crushed to death; or ocean voyages, in which storms may sink the canoe or drive it off its course; or canoe construction, in which a faulty job will endanger lives, ritual is used. Not only are the io-io offered, but there are other rituals performed as well. After the canoe is completed and before it is painted it is sailed inside the lagoon to find out whether and where it may leak or may be faulty otherwise. When it is brought back on land, one of the carpenters sits astride the canoe and recites certain set formulae while waving a coconut branch over it. Unfortunately I did not record the texts but

it asks that the canoe be speedy, that it not drift away when on a journey, and that it not be shattered. (30)"

"30. This ritual is known as the gavaiven. I chanced to see Taroman performing the ritual, and I asked Tom what it was. He became quite sheepish, and said, 'I don't know, another place, another color', which means for reasons, I have never been able to understand, that every society has its own customs, which is a charming way of stating the position of cultural relativism. He proceeded to describe a ship-christening he had witnessed in Manilla, which was, to his way of thinking, the western analogue to the Ifaluk custom."

"Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me, --a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire. [11]
Turn aside, wind and cloud!

Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked 'like a charm', --which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.
. . . . . .

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.
. . . . . .

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches.
. . . . . .

Now the food is nearly gone.
We watch each other eat.
Look up, and there are no trees,
Here, where it used to be so fine."

1: Burrows--21 (1947-48) Woleaians
789 Ifalik

"In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish or many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-snails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 245 Ifalik

"Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with ubwūt, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing."

1: Burrows--78-79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 532 Ifalik

"An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single [79] image. They are said to be vangvang (? Dann uses bangwang for 'prayer', but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifalik when we were there."

"Some idea of the frequency of communal religious activities is afforded by a list of entries on this subject from the field journal kept during our stay. It must be noted in advance that this records only the more conspicuous events. Such little ceremonies as making flowers for the gods were too numerous to mention. Some performances found noteworthy the first time they were observed were disregarded later on, when they seemed merely 'more of the same'. A few such instances have been inserted in parentheses at about the time they took place, though the exact date can not be remembered. Finally, [184] since the center of ritual was the homestead Weluāra on Falālap, while we lived across the channel on Falārlk, a number of minor ceremonies undoubtedly escaped us altogether. As noted in one of the journal entries, 'They do this often in small groups, and say nothing about it.'

For what it is worth as illustration, the list of journal entries follows, with inserted comment:

July 29.-Just after we arrived, a dance, later found to be a gapeng peng or invocation to a god, was performed for Americans ashore. It was given in front of the men's house on Falārlk, instead of the usual place on Falalap. Though the dance and song are primarily religious, this particular performance seems to have been intended simply as entertainment for the visitors.

A rather long gap between entries here is probably due to the fact that this was the beginning of our stay. We could not yet interpret what we saw, nor talk to anybody except

Tom; and the people did not volunteer information as they did later on, because they did not yet know what we were interested in, and were still a bit shy and distrustful.

August 18. -Ritual to ensure safe arrival of a canoe departing for Faraulep. Most of the other departing canoes shoved off so early in the morning that this ritual was not seen. It is my impression that for the most frequent trip, to Woleai, it was dispensed with; whether because the people of Woleai, who are more or less Christianized, disapproved of it, or because this trip was too short to be considered a serious risk. Actually the ritual acts that accompany the beginning of a voyage do not form an integrated ceremony, but consist of various bits of ritual and incantations, some of them standard, others known only to a few navigators. So it might be hard to find two departures exactly alike, unless they lacked ritual altogether.

August 21. -Shouting overheard from Falālap. Explained as the conclusion of a thanksgiving ceremony given by a few people, probably one household. (Presumably a minor offering of flowers, invocation, and perhaps distribution of 'medicine'.)

August 26. -Funeral of a man who died the night before. (All funerals are preceded by a night of wailing. Women had been wailing over this man for about a week.)

September 12. -Rite of passage for a girl's first menstruation. (The song that accompanies this is also an incantation to drive off wind and rains.)

September 19-20. -The entire population devoted two days to the most elaborate invocation and distribution of medicine we saw. The gods invoked were TIlltr and his son

Tilital.

September 22. -A woman saw an evil spirit. Gargeligar possessed by TIIltr. He and a group of young men roamed about far into the night to exorcise the demon.

October 1. -Gargeligar possessed by a god again. He was instructed [185] to make medicine.

October2. -Gargeligar made medicine on Falālap, distributed it to all comers.

October 4. -Gargeligar on the prowl again, blowing the boatswain's whistle which is supposed to make a noise like a god. Hymn of invocation sung at the homestead Falevelū (a frequent occurrence at several of the more pious homesteads. The head of this household was distinctly a religious man.)

October 8. -Gargeligar once more roamed the island with the young men, singing.

October 9. -Dance to invoke the god on Falālap, followed by distribution of medicine. (A holiday for the whole population, but less elaborate than that of Sept. 19-20.) At night, Gargeligar and his young men walked and sang again.

October 11. -Funeral of a woman on Falālap.

October 12. -Tom drove off a threatening storm by going out on the stone pier at Katelu, blowing his conch horn, singing an incantation, and waving the clouds away.

October 21-23 (approximately). -Maroligar busy early every morning on the stone pier, sitting facing the lagoon, with a kinsman, doing divination with strips of coconut leaf. Said it was for a sick person.

October 23. -Beginning of rehearsals for uru dance, a religious performance, but held this time at my request. (Thereafter until the final performance, rehearsals were held nearly every evening unless it rained, at three canoe-houses; one in Falārlk, one in Rauau, one in Falālap).

November 1. -Boys went to Falālap with Maroligar to 'make medicine' for his sick kinswoman Nobwór.

November 15. -Final daylight performance of uru at Rauau. Whole populace attended, though Falarlk men did not perform. An all-day celebration.

(During a period of rainy weather about this time, I happened upon Tom on the stone pier in Falārlk, trying his incantation again on a storm coming from the west. He did not repeat the success of the other performance we saw, but kept valiantly at it until drenched.)

November 27. -Invocation and distribution of medicine on Falālap. (By this time the parades of Gargeligar and the young men by night had come to seem commonplace, and were no longer noted.) [186]

December 3. -Overwater head built for us beside pier at Katēlū (not the one used by Maroligar and Tom for their rituals), to end our violation of the tabooed site of the ancient men's house. The chiefs attribute the recent bad weather to indignation of the spirits of the great men of old.

December 12. -Offering of food noted at beginning of a feast to celebrate completion of

repairs on a canoe-house. Such offerings were made at the beginning of every communal meal; so such entries might have been made at the conclusion of all the public works listed in the section on economics.

(About this time, another rite of passage was held for first menstruation of a young girl, but not noted in the journal.)

December 26.-Invocation and making of medicine for the sick woman Nobwór. (Noted again on Dec. 28; we were told it was performed for four successive days by Maroligar, after that by Gargeligar.)

December 27.-Lines drawn to guide hewing the hull of a new canoe for Tom's elder son. Workmen observed a partial fast.

December 28.-Outrigger attached to Tom's canoe. Workmen fasted. (This was a different canoe, and different workmen. The fact that the crucial tasks on the two came on succeeding days was a coincidence.)

January 2.-Feast at the homestead Soumat, concluding the series of invocations for Nobwór. The sick woman, now very weak and wasted, lay in one of the houses used for the feast.

January 12.-Ritual for diagnosis and healing of the chief Paliuilimar, who has been suffering for some time from a wasting sickness, apparently the same as that of Nobwór.

January 15.-Funeral of Nobwór.

February 2.-Funeral of Paliuilimar.

In spite of the incompleteness of the list, the entries average less than a week apart, showing that religious services of one kind or another are more frequent in what may be called the church of Ifalik than in churches that hold services only on Sundays. Plainly they are not held at any fixed interval. As a matter of fact, the time for each of the more important ceremonies, in which the whole population takes part, is set by the chiefs, though the initiative is often taken, as the people believe, by a god, who takes possession of some man--most often Gargeligar--and commands that a ceremony be given.

Some of the gaps in the list are due to irrelevant factors, such as our poor observation during the early days of our stay, perhaps sags [187] in interest later on, and such misfortunes as bad weather and fatal disease. Aside from that, I had an impression of something like waves or tides of religious interest. Data are insufficient to test this, except that one concentration of religious feeling is clearly perceptible, from September 19 to October 4-or perhaps, tapering off, to October 9. The big invocation seems to have heightened religious feeling to the point where other events followed in quick succession; a woman saw a demon, Gargeligar was repeatedly possessed by a god, and thereupon roamed the trails with the young men to drive off evil spirits. Observation over a longer period might well show a recurrence of such surges of feeling, possibly even some regularity in them."

1: Burrows--187-188 (1947-48) Woleaians #2
116, 789 Ifalik

"Casual as the list is, it still shows something of the kinds of rituals that prevail on the atoll, and the interests about which they cluster. An attempt at classification of ritual follows:

1. Invocation of beneficent gods:
   (a) communal, to ward off disease, ensure a plentiful supply of food, or for other purposes, more than one of which may be combined in one ceremony. Involves flower offerings at the shrine (described on p. ___), singing a hymn of invocation, making and blessing a medicinal drink, and a concluding feast.
   (b) invocation by communal performance of the song and dance called gapengpeng. One dance for men, another for women; both performed seated.
   (c) invocation by communal performance of the dances called uru. Performed by men only, mostly standing. The only performance witnessed was held at my request and may have been less heartfelt than usual; at any rate, the religious element in it seemed subordinate to one of merrymaking. The song texts are partly religious, partly a medley including at least one love-song and one lament.
   (d) private incantation by a religious specialist; most often for diagnosis and treatment of disease, or for help in driving off an evil spirit, --these, too, feared mainly for diseases they are believed to inflict.
   (e) by a builder (an individual performance, but commonly in the presence of his

workers), to ensure success in his work.

(f) by a navigator (again individual but in the presence of others) to keep the canoe afloat, ward off storms, and otherwise ensure a successful voyage. One ritual seen was addressed to Paluelap. [188]

2. Exorcism of evil spirits:

(a) communal, by invoking a blessing on square mats (timās) of young white coconut leaf, which are hung about the shore so that they are visible from the sea.

(b) by groups of young men, under the leadership of a religious specialist possessed by a god; the other too may be possessed. They roam the trails by night, singing songs which are both invocations to beneficient spirits and incantations to exorcise evil ones.

(c) private, by a healer who sings incantations to exorcise the evil spirit responsible for illness.

(d) by navigators, who sing incantations to drive off storms or evil spirits."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 778 Ifalik

"Visible emblems (Sinnbilder) accompany invocation to certain particular gods, according to Sarfert. That for Lugweilang is a paddle with two coconut leaves tied about its handle. The adze-head had formerly been used when Lauliār was invoked, or rather exorcised - for the object was to prevent the rainbow-god from destroying canoes at sea. But this adze-head had been washed out to sea in the typhoon of 1907. Carpenters invoking Alulumar used a dancing-staff (guruguru) with a strip of coconut leaflet tied about one end. Maroligar used one of the few carved dancing-staffs seen as a walking-stick, but I never saw it used in connection with the repairs to canoe-houses that he supervised; and when I asked him if he knew how I could get a specimen of such a staff, he readily gave me one of the two he owned. He would hardly have done this if the staff had been a sacred emblem."

Bắnewaṅ means the invocation of a deity; several inhabitants of the heavens have a sort of symbol (wālewṓli) *, which plays a certain part in the bắnewaṅ. It is not known in every case how men learned about it. In this connection the islanders made a reference, which is worthy of note; they said that the people of Mogemog and Polap were the first ones to know how to sail great distances, and that Sarfert would be wise to consult them about this matter. At all events, only certain men understand about bắnewaṅ.

1. The bắnewaṅ for Lugēilắn is used during sickness, because this god lets men get ill. In order to be successful, it is necessary to undertake four different bắnewaṅ in an interval of 4-5 days. It is best to do this when the moon is in the west or the east, in other words, when it is small. If the disease is not yet cured, there is nothing to be done. Solắl gave these bắnewaṅ to Älueló̆b, who transmitted them to Lugēilắn, and also to his sister Aûdjắl; it was she who taught them to men. In 1909 there were still two men who knew these bắnewaṅ. The symbol (wālewṓli) is a paddle, with two coconut leaf knots fastened to its handle.

2. There are two bắnewaṅ for Lâuliắr; and they are designed to drive away the rainbow

* According to another version, Sarfert calls this bắnewaṅ invocation wāliwṓl.

which Lauliär wants to use to destroy the canoes on the sea. The bäñewañ only succeed [92] however, when the oarsmen have not made Äluelöb too angry, and when he has not resolved to kill them. These bäñewañ, which were called faruelüs, were only known to two men, not to the king. An ax (dälai bäläi) served as a symbol, but the last typhoon took it away; now there is no such wäliwöl.

3. The bäñewañ of Älülümädj is called böuwän. It is employed during house repairs. Using the wäliwöl, a dancing stick with a coconut leaf knot (uwüd) on one end, a native utters the charm, pushes the stick against the damaged house, and runs around it.

4. The bäñewañ for Älülüëï is liolau; it was a wooden figure, equipped with ray stings; but Sarfert found a second waliwöl of Älülüëï in the men's house, and this one had the shape of a conch shell (daui); it belonged to a captain. Both are used to drive rain away. While you are repeating the charm you swing the first wäliwöl back and forth, and thrust its point in the direction of the storm; meanwhile, the conch shell is blown from time to time.

5. The bäñewañ for Leläñ is called lümüliwalewal. It is pronounced during the canoe building, at the time when the bow and the stern crest are added. While this is in progress, a coconut leaf knot is hung around each worker.

6. Baluelöb has no special bäñewañ; so the ones for Leläñ and Älülüëï are used for him.

7. Bäñewañ with coconut leaf knots for sea spirits.

2; Damm et al. --180 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789, 177 Faraulep

As on all the Carolines, the natives practice weather magic with carved wooden figures (xóos), equipped with ray stings (sting - pera, ray - fáix); occasionally they are hung with several coconut leaf knots (úwud) and with Seepocken to hold color to paint the statue. They are treated the same way as on Polowat. The much-traveled man Buimén brought this weather magic to Faraulip.

Before a long voyage the natives conjure Thelán in the following way: they blow a conch shell, and then hang it up in the big house where they return. Mats and coconuts are sacrificed to Alülue on the out-rigger. When they pull a sail boat on to the beach they sing a long song (báne), which really resembles a working song. [CS: Omission of the text of the song.]

2: Damm et al. --200-201 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 789 Faraulep

Another important charm is the matśumáts, the weather magic. There are two types: a) when there has been no rain for a long time, the chief defecates in a sailbreadth (giri), and hangs the excrement up in the big house (fál). [201] The conch shell is also blown occasionally to produce rain. Children sail toy boats for one kind of field magic. This applies to the bread-fruit, which is the most important item of food for the islanders, because they use it to make a kind of preserve, which helps them over the famine. When the ripening season starts - growth and ripening require six months - each boy makes a toy boat (uárits) and sails it as a greeting for the bread-fruit. Alúelap ordered Thauúr to tell men about these toy boats.

4: Krämer--58-59 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 533, 789 Lamotrek

I present here some poems in their original text although they are said to have come from Oleai; but Agupelior of the latter island was not familiar with them.

[ER: The songs are omitted here. Their subject matter includes the following:

1. Songs sung on fishing trips.
2 Song to drive away rain.
3. Song to drive a wind spout away.
4. Song against sharks.
5. Canoe song sung when passing a shoal.
6. Song sung when a boat starts out on a fishing trip.
7. Fish song.
8. Catching of the Bonito.
9. Bonito song.
10. Song about turmeric leaves. [59]

This is followed by a breadfruit prayer, the gatóketok ali mai which refers to the growth of breadfruit. At the time when the prayer is uttered crushed ongorik leaves are shaken up and scattered.

Magic, bolebol, and the Oracle

(cf. photos 2, 4, 10, 12 and color plate 3) [VMM: see source].

In the main there is no difference in this field as compared with the other islands. In the houses (e.g., Sopo's house) hanging altars are found; the beautiful altar from Udot on Truk is said to have come from Lamotrek.

A novel feature is the gobai rod with eyes. The sorcerer, vãk, (Fig. 70 and 71) usually has a house (im bólebol), in which he prepares his medicines and which generally is located near the hut of the sick. Some of the magic songs have been rendered in the section on medicine and canoe construction and in other places numerous references have been made to magic activities, because they play an important part all through life."

4: Krämer--151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789 Elato

On Elato I noticed a fan, gáliba, in the yard of a building complex which was there for the sake of magic, kuet. . . .

4: Krämer--151-152 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

Some songs have been given...magic songs of rain: If there is too much rain and it is to be ended, conjuration is done by an address, by the Triton's horn, taui, and [152] by means of a rain switch made of the coral plant kaini lidal; it is handled by a professional conjuror. As the magic song is chanted, the switch with the horn is swung in the direction of the clouds, after the horn has first been sounded with all possible strength. alis ali touber is the magic song for the purification of the house of Ikelur (house 3); no one must be present while this magic is made with the exception of Faragau (house 1), because Ikelur is afraid that he will have to die otherwise.

4: Krämer--154-155 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 789 Lamotrek

Here we can give a summary description of the setup for the practice of magic. For garangap fishing, canoe construction, house purification, storm magic and medical treatment young coconut pinnae, uvudj or ubudj are used. Hellwig has some specimens.

a. Double knots (knots, djedjabedda), held with both hands horizontally by both knots; when the two hands approach one another the double leaf splits; a quick return movement of the hands makes the leaves beat against each other and produces a clapping sound. By this sound the magic formula is accentuated in some places and the song is given rhythm which is of some importance, for instance, when a group of people led by the sorcerer, vak, move along the beach. Thus the double (see Figure 74) [VMM: see source] is used like a sled whip; it is called ubudj vai vei or vei vei l'ubudj and was shown to me mainly in connection with the canoe construction song. In contrast to the mentioned metál* alus it does not have to be put on.
b. Four switches with coconut pinnae, owute asse (ubudj) are used by the conjuror to drive illness from the island. [155]
c. Two headbands or armbands , ōwute matalál, with one bow metalōris (see metál alus).

* "His eye," alus, demon.

d. Headdress of split coconut pinnae.

e. Two headbands, marre marre ōwúte metalöris. Two bows are on the forehead, and the ends are either tied together at the back of the head or are fastened with a comb (see above metálálus Figure 73)[VMM: see source].

Needles used to fasten the decorative pinnae are made of the ribs of pinnae and are known as lo[illegible], sivel. Hellwig discovered a complete outfit of a conjuror hanging from a tree on the beach in the northwest of the island, near a hut in an otherwise lonely region; the inhabitants of the little hut did not object to the removal of the set-up. The magic was directed against Truk from where the illness, mass, was said to come.

The Wands of Storm Magic, gosilifei

The spirit Roiang...learned about storm magic from the spirit Tipoeo, who in turn had been told about it by Aluelap. Storm magic was vigorously practiced at the time of the visit of the expedition. We could see that from the objects publicly displayed on the beach of Lamotrek which are shown on photo 4d [VMM: see source]. The drawing of Figure 76 [VMM: see source] even more distinctly shows this arrangement on the beach. One observes that a Triton's horn is hung up with it and that a sacrificial offering is attached to the top. Another specimen, given to me by Ikelur, is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart no. 77830 (see photo 7) [VMM: see source] and many coconut pinnae are tied to it. [156]

...the Central Carolinian sorcerers, the vak, fight the storm with ray spines on their wands which are greatly feared in combat and are considered one with the god Saulal....

The wood represents the god Aluelap and the cement unites the two. The stings, sometimes, are turned against the conjuror himself when he tries to force the realization of the wish. The janus head represents Paluelap and Aluluei...who are supposed to look out to all sides. Accordingly at the very beginning of a voyage when the mast is planted, one makes the fore alus for Aluluei....it has been said that he appears to be one with Aluelap or Paluelap. Therefore the janus head is supposed to represent Aluluei and has two eyes in front and two in back....Such magic figures are attached to canoes or set up on land (see idols on Figure 77, 78). [VMM: see source] [157]

4: Krämer--155-157 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -2
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

The latter are dedicated to Ligóubub. . . and are called ëpil alu; ëpil has the meaning of lower, e.g., the root of a tree or the bottom of a bowl. The root of the plant ëlau is scraped; the scrapings are put into coconut juice and the liquid is drunk against illness or wind. They are kept inside of houses, but otherwise are identical with the others mentioned. The kuling. . . is said to have given directions for the magic figures. The meaning of the ray spines, ohét, remains unknown.

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789 Woleai

[ER: The formula for storm magic follows, but is omitted here.] The rain and the storm shall pass. The sorcerer uses his wand while he speaks these words.

Above it was mentioned that the sorcerer's wand was taken on board and details have been discussed in the section on Lamotrek. I heard about the ray stings on Volea, that Paluelap carried a spear with ray stings with him on his journey and that he punished wrong doers with it. Ray stings were considered fearful weapons.

The name Aluluei here again is derived from alus levêi, the spirit of travel. One says.

i bale vai	I travel
go bale vai	you travel
oa levei	the boat travels, voyage, canoe for high sea voyages.

I found a gosilifei 52 centimeters long and with four ray stings (two of them had broken off in the typhoon of 1907) in Mariong in the canoe house called Falefō, Figure 132c [VMM: see source]. An old form is represented in Figure a, Krämer which instead of the head has only a slab and where the body is made of two sticks. Another old specimen is in the Museum in Hamburg.

11: Born--190 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 789 Woleai

The natives use all sorts of magic and enchantments for animate and inanimate objects. They twist their bodies into grotesque shapes and clap their hands as they utter their formulas. The formulas are applied to all the accidents of human existence. They are used to prevent illness and death, to help canoes which have lost their course, or at least to guide them to a neighboring island. If a rainstorm is approaching, a formula prevents it from hitting a canoe out on the open sea. Once when I was on my way to visit a woman who was very ill with dysentery, I met a canoe in which a woman adorned with flowers was sitting. She sang magical formulas and made strange movements with her paddles as she rowed out toward the sea. The purpose of this was to induce the devil, aissis, to leave the sick woman and to follow her voice. Later, when the woman recovered, her relatives probably explained it by this magic, and not by the Ipecacuanha which I had administered.

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1 -2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--76
116, 821, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, it is controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, then an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators, know the technique. The person sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them collected by Dr. Burrows follows:

Incantation to drive away a storm

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near dark clouds!
Stay far away!
No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather turn aside!
Die away,
Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. I quote this one because it is typical. They are all attempts to control the elements by magic--that is words and gestures. It will be noticed that the bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency but is conceived as an autonomous entity."

28: Spiro- 131 [2]
116, 789, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."

"Specialization in religion among the people of Ifalik is a matter of degree. There is no sharply differentiated priesthood. Yet two men were distinguished, while we were there, as oracles of a god and one other was recognized as a neophyte. Still another was the leading diviner; while several, especially Tom and his fellow-navigators, controlled limited lore and powers in connection with some other specialty.

The oracles were Orgalebwā and Gargeligar. Orgalebwā, old and emaciated, was confined to his sleeping-mat, on the floor of the house at Weluāra which was also the house of the great gods. He was the one upon whom the god descended to assemble the people for the most elaborate invocation ceremony we saw. Gargeligar was the most [193] frequently possessed and far the most active, both as master of ceremonies and as healer. In his capacity as master of ceremonies he was called taubwòngbwòng. This term, if I understood Tom's explanation, means master of waving to and fro. This refers to the beginning of the full-fledged invocation ceremony, when a fringe of dried coconut leaf, rather like a miniature thatch-sheet, is waved to and from by men who squat about the altar of the great gods and intone the first part of the hymn of invocation. The meaning of this particular bit of ritual has been extended to cover the whole. Sarfert translated what seems to be the same word as Anrufung or invocation. Indeed, Gargeligar told Spiro that bwòngbwòng is the same as gapeng, the name of the song and dance of invocation; but Tom denied this.

The neophyte was Truesai, son but not heir of the paramount chief. He had not yet

been possessed by the god, Spiro was told. He seemed to be word-perfect in the hymn of invocation; but so did a number of others. He sang part of it as a solo at the great invocation ceremony. He was prominent in dances of Falālap, and walked with the chief mourners - though he was not one of the closest relatives - in at least one funeral procession, when the body of the woman Nobwór was carried from her house to a canoe for burial at sea. Both he and Gargeligar were muscular, handsome men, fond of adorning themselves with flowers and filling the public eye. A foreigner, to whom matrilineal succession is not a matter of course, might well wonder whether one reason for Truesai's taking this road to prominence might be that his father was paramount chief, while he, as a member of his mother's lowly clan (Bwèl) had no chance of succeeding to a title, unless one exceptional and even questionable possibility announced by the chiefs - that of a man succeeding his father - were invoked in his case. Everyone seemed to expect that the god would descend on Truesai later, and that he would succeed Gargeligar as taubwóngbwóng.

Divine possession was not strictly limited to Orgalebwā and Gargeligar. They seemed, indeed, to be the first choice of the god TIlItr as messenger of Aluelap. It was through Gargeligar's mouth that TIlItr first sang the two final stanzas or sections of the hymn of invocation. The preceding parts were known before Gargeligar's time. He told us that after the god left him he knew nothing of what had happened. Several times we saw Gargeligar when the god was supposed to be upon him. He was unquestionably in an

exalted state. To us it seemed that, whatever other influences might be at work, he showed every sign of having imbibed freely of fermented toddy. Orgalebwā was the only one I heard speaking in the special way Tom called 'talk for god'. It consisted of a strange intonation, - beginning on a high pitch, descending waveringly to a low one, then starting on the high pitch again. Whether the words uttered differed much from ordinary speech I could not be sure. The people seemed to understand them without difficulty. I could make out nothing; but this was rather early in our stay, when I understood very little even of ordinary speech. From time to time the god descended upon others. The youth Talimeira, assigned by the chiefs to help us, told Spiro that the god had descended upon him during one of the nights of walking and singing with Gargeligar. Asked how he knew, he said that he found himself shaking from head to foot, and singing at the top of his voice. He was distinctly a 'minor,' and in all probability had not had any fermented toddy. At the time of the first great ceremony, before any of this nocturnal activity, the chiefs told Tom to explain to us that we would probably notice the young men walking about at night and singing. They had Tom caution us against thinking that the youths were drunk. The psychological nature of this divine possession falls in Spiro's field on [sic] inquiry."

Only a wise man (tau baneban) can make magic. His equipment consists of

a) tšöripö: young coconut pinnates bound around his right wrist.

b) xejapetax: young coconut pinnates fastened around the neck, and tied with the characteristic knot (buxebux).

c) üwüd tabi'ip: young coconut leaf strips, which are used to rub the patient, while the spells are uttered; then the strips are hung on the canoe mast for Alülue.

d) xürup: "medicine", stirred in coconut water, which the patient drinks.

e) xuäli üwüd: leaf pinnates (ilagit) of the coconut frond; they are used like c) and then laid in the canoe.

f) popöu: a large palm frond, which is used to drive the demon of disease out of the house.

g) täötä: the same kind of medicine bag that is used on Polowat; it is made of coconut fibre from the leaf covering (leaf strips for decoration - eäm, fibre pouch - üd, medicine - täfe.)

28: Spiro--10
116, 651, 631, [illegible]6, 793

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This tribute [WPM: see pp. 9-10] is not entirely unreciprocal, however. Yap supplies Ifaluk with gifts, both of a material and a non-material nature. The material goods consist of turmeric, the native paint, which is highly valued on Ifaluk for both bodily decorations and for painting canoes. They also supply them with bamboo poles for construction purposes, for though bamboo grows on Ifaluk it is not too plentiful, nor is it as good in quality as the Yap bamboo. Finally flint stones are brought from Yap to be used to make fire.

Furthermore, Yap makes a non-material, or spiritual, contribution to Ifaluk. The Gagil priest accompanies his chief, and performs a religious ceremony, whose nature unfortunately, I did not manage to get any information on."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 431, 796, 828, 152 Ifalik

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

Lütke tells us a few things about the religion, but it is uncertain whether everything deals with Oleai. There is also doubt about the following report by Freycinet, which does not seem to be without importance for the total picture and therefore shall be treated here: Hammo or Hammulap can be seen only by a few, but they hear him and serve as media for his orders, through shamanism. Even children may be the carriers of his news. The obsessed howl and have convulsions. Shamans are covered with oil, painted, and carry two lances; they shout as they approach. They attack the sick person who rises and tries to defend himself. They fight, then throw away the lances, and dances of the rods are performed for days and sometimes for weeks until the sorcerer is definitely the victor. Thus the will of Anulap becomes known. An annual festival is celebrated for Anulap and lasts for an entire month. It means that the men must stay away from women often up to two months. No sail may be hoisted, and during the first week no boat may set out to sea. Strangers are not allowed to land on the island. Four days before the main celebration, coconuts and breadfruit are gathered. The morning of the principal day is spent fishing. [281] Then everyone goes to the temple, led, which is an ordinary house. It is closed for one night. The next morning after sunrise, while the population is assembled, the chief enters the house through the northern door. He is elaborately ornamented and carries a stick in his right hand, with which he apparently feels his way. He looks down in front of himself and mumbles to himself. His brother, leading a small group of islanders, enters the house just before the chief through the

door on the southern side. The people are seated, but rise when the chief enters and sits down on three beautiful mats. Then the others may also sit. No one else is allowed in the sanctuary. The brother goes up to the provisions that are set up and takes a little from each one of the fifty dishes. He gives the largest fish and the biggest coconut to the chief with a basket and cracks 50-60 nuts for him. The rest he distributes among the people present and then sits down next to his brother to partake of the breakfast with him. As remuneration for his services, he receives the husks of the nuts, which are of great value for the making of ropes. Within half an hour everything is over. Now the house is once more accessible for anyone. Only the ashes must not be touched. Sick people usually stay in the building, but not alone for fear of Anulap.

28: Spiro--65 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 796, 805 Ifalik

"Having neither calendars, nor formal reckoning of time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chief at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious."

28: Spiro--71
116, 755, 796

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No ceremony was held for over a month and a half. On November 27, a minor ceremony was held in the late morning, but only the people of the Felarik district were in attendance. It was held, as usual, at bwuter Tilitr. When we arrived, we saw the alter surrounded by red and white colored maramar, which were distributed among the people, each receiving at least one of each color. Arogeligar then made a speech addressed to the chiefs telling them that they must ensure better care of the shrine. He then announced a medicine making ceremony for the following day, and told the women to prepare the times, which we shall explain below. The people then gathered about the shrine to say the traditional farewell.

The women retired to prepare the times. The times are coconut mats, made of young coconut branches, which the young men hang on trees along the shores, encircling both islands. Before they are hung on the trees, five men sing a ritual song over them. The words of the song cling to the Times, and as they sway in the breeze the words are automatically repeated over and over again. The people, of course, cannot hear the words, but the alus and illness can, and when they attempt to enter the islands and cause illness, they are frightened by the song, and do not enter. Times, therefore, may very well be a contraction of itoae mas, 'not die'."

28: Spiro--135-136 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 562, 593, 796, 462 Ifalik

"If a husband and wife should walk through the village together, the wife always follows behind him, never preceeds him. But what was most impressive with respect to this differential treatment of the sexes was the following treatment, which I observed at each religious ceremony. The religious ceremonies are usually held on Falalap. A channel of about 30 yards separates the two islands. Ordinarily the people walk across the channel, since the water at its highest point only reaches to their chest. Now the people 'dress-up' for the ceremonies--new skirts or loin cloths, painted faces, flower garlands, feather head-dresses, etc. It is understandable that they do not wish to get wet. Consequently what amounts to a ferry service is set up. The young men paddling canoes back and forth across the channel bearing passengers. But the passengers are almost invariably men! Since time is short, and there are not too many canoes, the men ride across, but the women wade through the water, despite the fact that the men would dry off sooner than the women, since they wear only loin cloths. Their answer to this differential treatment was that the men do the hard and dangerous work, whereas women's work is light. 'Man work strong. Woman no can work, for too hard. He work on canoe and house for woman. Very hard work that man. Woman-work more down. Man work on tree, maybe he fall down. [136] He catch fish, maybe shark cut him.' This is most interesting in view of the fact that women actually work much harder and longer than

men. Women almost always have work to perform, whereas the men spend hours just sitting about in the canoe houses. Men's work may theoretically be more dangerous, but no one has ever fallen from a tree, and the men know of only one case in which a man was attacked by a shark. These reasons, therefore, are patent rationalizations.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

796 [126] story. This went on for nearly an hour, with the three of us too busy with cameras and recording machine to really appreciate what was going on. Then there was an intermission. Arueligar, the high priest, distributed the two cases of corned beef and the two cartons of cigarettes we had donated for the occasion. Dancers and onlookers refreshed themselves by drinking coconuts. Then the dance was resumed, this time by the women, who formed their line along the west margin of the clearing. Their dress was similar to that of the men, except that of course they wore lava-lavas, not loin-cloths, under their coconut-leaf skirts.

796 178 533 Ted was interested to discover that two of the dances performed by the women were new—a concrete demonstration that the traditional form of the ur dance does not necessarily impose traditional subjects. One of the new dances, turning on a poem composed by Letaweriur, Yani's wife, concerned the first coming of the Americans to the island. It was a very long chant, recounting in detail the appearance of the first ship, the delivery of an official document, the nature of America and the Americans, and the like. Ted's translation of the opening stanza is:

[539]

Now all our women rejoice;
Now the Americans have come.
This is pleasing to the chiefs.
They have given us a paper.
This place is to rise;
This island is to be lifted up.
The chiefs say we are to dance.
We will dance, we will rejoice!
This very month, for this is a good year! Eil
The Japanese are gone.
We did not like their rough ways.
The gods have been good to us;
Now our crops are safe.
The Americans talk kindly. . . .

527 123 262 When the women's dance was over, the people scattered into small groups—made up by family, by household, or by friendship—for the feast. Perhaps "feast" is too strong a word, since there was nothing

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 212, 797 Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

4: Krämer--14 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 177, 797 Lamotrek

There is no [MR: mission] station on the island [MR: of Lamotrek] but influence is extended from Truk and from the west.

4: Krämer--203 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 797, 175 Woleai

There is no white missionary on the island of Woleai.

On Oleai I learned more about the missionary Snelling, after he had been ordered to leave the island. He sailed to Onoun and Póloat but missed both and on his return voyage arrived on Aurepik after drifting on the high seas for three months in a native canoe; the crew of a boat from Oleai saw him on Aurepik. He had become so thin that he looked almost like a skeleton. The crew of the Oleai canoe reported the news at home, and the head chief Agupelióor set out to get Snelling. He actually brought him to Oleai and transported him to Vósavo to his house on a stretcher--he was too weak to walk--where he died after a short time. Agupelióor had promised him to take him to Truk as soon as his wife had given birth. It seemed as if the Japanese had interfered in a disagreeable fashion.

1: Burrows--170-171 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 771, 798 Ifalik

"Religion, for the purpose of the following description, will be defined broadly and loosely, as any belief or activity that involves the supernatural. The supernatural, in turn, will be defined as an order of phenomena different from the common run and involving power of a mysterious kind, greater than everyday, well understood kinds of power.

Here and there in the foregoing pages there has already been mention of beliefs and acts that fall within this definition. They could not very well be saved up for a separate chapter, for the people of Ifalik are not inclined, as we are, to seal off religion from the rest of life. Their religion has been particularly evident in the accounts of fishing and navigation, activities which involve risk of failure and consequent disaster. Religion pervades everything they do.

For all the pervasiveness of their religion, the people of Ifalik make a clear distinction between natural and supernatural, or secular and sacred realms. As we shall see, the supernatural has its own personnel and its own geography. The distinction was consistently emphasized by Tom though he did not always draw the boundaries just where we might have done. Whenever anything came up that he regarded as religion, he would label it, 'talk for god.' Except in connection with canoe-building and navigation, he did not profess to understand much about it, and would nearly always consult the chiefs before giving any information. This seems to have been partly due to a special caution about revealing the sacred lore - another sign of a distinction between that and other

information. The people of Ifalik know that on all the islands round about, white men have attacked and, to a greater or less extent, destroyed the native religion. Because they still cherish their old faith, and get reassurance from it where they most need reassurance, they were naturally reluctant to expose it to attack by us or other foreigners.

Early in our stay, I made the mistake of failing to observe this distinction. Because the people seemed so frank and helpful, I decided to begin at the beginning in collecting tales, and asked about the creation. I got nowhere with my questions. They told me that all such matters had been forgotten. They, or rather their fathers, had made the same excuse to Sarfert thirty-eight years before; yet he had obtained some information. I gave them bits of this, following the newspaper man's technique of showing that something is already known, and thus suggesting that they might as well be frank. The chiefs did not remember Sarfert's brief visit, and were rather irritated and suspicious. They wanted to see the German book. But I had no copy, only brief notes I had taken, and fuller excerpts translated by Spiro. They admitted they knew the names of the gods he had recorded, but insisted they knew nothing more about them. At last it dawned on me that it was too early to try for that kind of information, and I asked for other kinds of stories, much to the relief of all concerned.

After the two-day ritual to be described later, I returned to the attack. At that time I was spending half of every day taking song texts; and it seemed appropriate to ask for the songs that formed part of the ritual. The chiefs began to give them, but - if I am

right about what happened - word of this reached Gargeligar, who may be called the native priest, and he objected. At least he spoke with the chiefs, whereupon the word issued 'No more songs.' Without questioning their decision, I made a little speech to them, which was translated by Tom. I thanked them for the songs already given, which would be most valuable; and regretted I could not have more. I added that I approved of what little I had seen of their religion and that, as far as Spiro and I were concerned, we would not try to change it, nor recommend any change to other Americans. [171] Fortunately for the purpose, I meant every word of it. It seemed to make the desired impression, for in a few days the flow of song texts was resumed, and eventually even the other religious ones were forthcoming - with only one exception that I know of. Meanwhile Spiro got around to interviewing Gargeligar. Partly in consultation with the chiefs, he obtained a number of the myths which, when I first inquired, had been ostensibly forgotten.

This chapter is intended to give a more comprehensive and systematic description of the religion than could be derived from the bits that come out in describing other activities. It will begin with what is available about beliefs; then will examine religious behavior. The account is by no means exhaustive. The tales Spiro collected, except for bits that seem essential to this account, will be left to him. Some of the interpretation, of a phychological sort, also belongs to his special problem. For that matter,

it is likely that a number of points, some of which may be quite important, have escaped us both."

28: Spiro--141 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 764, 801 Ifalik

"After the burial, a number of taboos and practices are observed by the family of the deceased. The 'pall bearers' may not sleep in their own homes, but must sleep in the house of the deceased for four days. (4) Their food is prepared on a separate fire, and they may neither take from nor give another a light. Talemera, for example, would not share the cigarettes I had given him with Woromai, after it had been lit, because the latter had been a pall bearer. This taboo on the sharing of fire seems to be true of members of the family as well. Tom refused to light the cigarette of Novogopok, the mother of the man who had died, during the mourning period: 'I am afraid dead man,' for he might make him ill."

"4. Four is the sacred number in Ifaluk. Almost all abstention taboos, as well as any other acts of supernatural import involve the number 4."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the

1: Burrows--5-6 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 802, 193 Ifalik

"The native system of enumeration is organized decimally. For numbers from one to ten, four sets of terms are used, according to what is being counted. Three of them have also their own interrogative forms. All are variants of one fundamental set of forms. Two add suffixes to the fundamental forms. The other reduces them to monosyllables, mainly by omitting second syllables. The monosyllables are used in counting aloud, as in distributing fish or measuring the length of a rope in fathoms.

	General	Human Beings and Fish ('Animate')	Trees and Canoes ('Long Objects')	Monosyllables for Counting Aloud
How many?	vitou?	veteman (u?	vetevar?	---------
1.	seu	seuman	sevar	ot
2.	ruou	rumen	ruovar	ru
3.	selũ	selimen	seluvar	en (sometimes 'sel')

4.		văou	vamen	vavar	vang
5.	(limou)	nimou	limen	lifar	lim
6.		wălou	wălemen	olovar	ol
7.		vĕsou	visimen	visivar	vis
8.		walou	walimen	walivar	wal
9.		tiwou	tiwemen	tiuvar	tiw
10.		seg	seik	seik	seg

From ten on, there is only one set of numerals. Eleven is 'seg ma seu'-- ten and one; twelve 'seg ma ruou', and so on. For multiples of ten the suffix 'eik' is added to the first syllable of the numerals from two to nine: [6]

20. rueik

30. seleik

40. faeik

50. nimeik

60. oleik

70. vɛsik

80. walik

90. tuweik

The corresponding suffix for hundreds is 'bwugu'. The count by hundreds to a thousand is:

100. sebwugu

200.	rubwugu (once, in a song, recorded as 'lugubwugu')
300.	selubwugu
400.	väbwugu
500.	limoubwugu
600	olobwugu (wolobwugu)
700	visibwugu
800	walibwugu
900	tiwbwugu
1,000	senne

From this point the numerals given by Tom disagree with those in a list collected by Sarfert. Sarfert has sangalas for 1,000. For 10,000 Tom gave senne me sangares; Sarfert, sang. Tom said there is no word for 'million'; but Sarfert's list continues to 100,000,000. There seems to be no reason to doubt its correctness. The higher numerals, being little used, may be forgotten. At least Tom did not know them. Lacking a copy of Sarfert's list to suggest it, no search was made for others who may know more than he."

1: Burrows--830 (1947-48) Woleaians
802 Ifalik

"The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toroman. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on."

2: Damm et al. --212-216 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 212, 176, 802 Faraulep

The Faraulip natives use a peculiar script (see Figs. 279, 280) which is very similar [213] to the Polowat writing; they also have their own numerals, which the chief Sâueeru invented. He teaches them to the young men, who put them to practical use in their copra dealings with the Japanese. The signs were derived from tattoo patterns and Japanese characters which the chief had taken from Japanese newspapers. [CS: Omission of illustrations of writing, and of the numerals, pages 212, 213, 214, 215, 216].

4: Krämer--191 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802, 192 Woleai

[VMM: According to James Wilson (1797) the native numerals] are as follows:

	Carolines	Palau	
1.	iota	tong	tang
2.	rua	oru	orung
3.	tolu	othey	odéi
4.	tia	oang	oáng
5.	lima	aim	oĭm
6.	hŏnu	malong	malong
7.	fizu	oweth	uĭd
8.	warrow	tei	laĭ
9.	hivo	etew	ĭtiu
10.	segga	mackoth	magod

4: Krämer--277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802 Woleai

Counting by means of knots, see Figure 133 [VMM: see source].

4: Krämer--284 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 802 Woleai

Counting. For counting a string with knots is used; Kotzebue, Vol. III, page 89 says that in this manner the native, Kadu, kept track of the months of his stay on Ratak. Hellwig shows a specimen (Figure 133) [VMM: see source] with which Géaf, the owner of a house counted his palm trees. (100=100).

28: Spiro--95 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 802 Ifalik

"Talking is stimulated by the parents. When the baby shows signs of talking, they encourage him to acquire a vocabulary. For reason, which I could not ascertain, they first teach them to count. (14)

Parents take great pleasure in their children's speech, and are praised by others for the progress their child makes."

"14. The children learn not only how to count, but the motor behavior associated with it. That is, the people often count the number of persons in a house by pointing with their lips. The children soon pick up this motor behavior.

It may be pointed out, incidentally, that lip pointing is also a sign of agreement or affirmation. The women, who were quite shy at first, would answer questions in the affirmative by pointing their lips."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--21 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 802 Woleai

When we took. . . [LEM: Kadou, the Caroliner] on board we told him that he would be at sea for two months without ever seeing land, and he did not appear frightened. But having spent several weeks without observing land, he put no more faith in our words. He believed that we, as well as he, had been driven by winds far from his country and that we searched for land in vain. However, having observed that we were at ease, and that nothing on board was amiss, his anxiety soon ended.

About his neck he wore a string on which he marked the time by knots. But his count lacked accuracy.

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
804 Ifalik

"The instruments used for measuring are a sennit line (tal ni valval), a flexible ruler (tagelu-a) made of a strip of coconut leaf midrib, a bit of leaflet midrib for measuring short spaces, a pot of red paint and a wooden pen or marker.

First the length of the bottom is measured off with the line. Then its middle point is found by doubling the line. The line is redoubled, giving a length one quarter of the total. This quarter distance is measured off from each end and marked. This divides the bottom into three parts. The two at the ends, called pōpō, are a quarter of the total length; the one in the middle, called gawal, half of the total. The bottom is to be curved along the pōpō, straight (or nearly so) along the gawal. This ensures that the two curving ends shall be of the same length."

Measures are taken from the human body, that means that when Sarfert's authorities speak of "fathoms", they mean the length of the outstretched arms, and the width of the chest.

one fathom	ăn̆ăf	six f.	olon̆ăf [104]
two f.	ruan̆ăf	seven f.	fišin̆ăf
three f.	selin̆ăf	eight f.	walin̆ăf
four f.	fan̆ăf	nine f.	diun̆ăf
five f.	liman̆ăf	ten f.	săk

Shorter lengths are indicated by simply taking hold of the body, for example:

the first finger joint	makorĭk
the first and second finger joint	makōlăp
a finger length	segăd
a hand length	săbăranĭm
a half forearm	sădjeliwŏr
a forearm	săm̆ăluk
an arm	săbaû
an arm and half the chest	sădilŏup
an arm and chest	săfăl
an arm and chest and a forearm (up to the elbow)	gōbaû

an arm and chest and three quarters of the arm, (up to the middle of the forearm)	dalidăṅe gōbáu
an arm and chest, and an arm (up to the wrist)	dago ăṅăf
length of the outstretched arms and chest.	ăṅăf

2: Damm et al. --217 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 804 Faraulep

The measures of length are taken from the human body:
a span's width (length of the outstretched arms and the chest) ʕanáf.
a half span ʕeteroúp
an arm ʕepōi
half an arm (the forearm) ʕemárü
middle finger and thumb ʕeán
middle finger to the knuckle ʕeʕelipotšó
index finger length ʕerát
half an index finger length maróilap
one finger marói i rúx

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Measures

gat, sigat	length of a finger = 3 inches
ruagat	length of two fingers = 6 inches
siligat	length of three fingers = 9 inches
fagat	length of four fingers = 12 inches
ang, siang	1 span
ruang	2 spans
siliang	3 spans etc.
rolibos	1/2 Elle [ER: an elle equals about 0.7 yards]
gopa	1 Elle
sipap	from the finger tips to the middle of the chest
singaf	1 fathom
sigip	1 foot

28: Spiro--46 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 177, 804 Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

"LAMOTREK MEASURES

Gat; Si-gat. A finger's length, i.e., 3 inches.
Rua-gat. Two " 6 inches.
Sili-gat. Three " 9 inches.
Fā-gat. Four " 12 inches, and so on.
Si-ang; Ang. One span.
Ru-ang. Two spans.
Sili-ang. Three spans, and so on.
Rolibos. A half-cubit.
Gopa. A cubit.
Si-pap. Distance from tip of finger to centre of chest.
Si-ngaf. One fathom.
Si-gip. One foot; literally, footprint."

113, 502, 805, 821

Nomoi	OR14
Puluwat	OR17
Southwest Islands	OR18
Ulithi	OR20
Woleai	OR21
Yap	OR22

/For information on native astronomy in the central Carolines, especially the Sidereal Compass, and the Calendar and Almanac, see 18: Goodenough, OR19 Truk, category 116./

"The people of Ifalik do not count the passing years. Nobody knows how old he is, except relatively, --that is, he knows only that he is younger than this one and older than that other. They know perfectly that many things in nature--stars, prevailing winds, the flowering and fruiting of some kinds of plants, and the coming and going of some kinds of fish and birds--recur in cycles. They even have 12 month names, which could be used to count years, with only the adjustment required by the fact that each of their months has 30 days. But they have no name for the 12-month period as a whole. The longest period they do have, the rag, will be discussed later.

Even the month names are little used. Many, it is said, do not know them. There is a good deal of reckoning by moons, but usually in terms of 'next moon' (ulubwaling), 'the moon after next' (uletegulun), or 'three months from now' (sepelaugal uletegulun).

The month names are names of stars, which again shows some awareness of a stellar (solar) cycle. Each may be used with or without the preface Fale. Fal or fan is a general term for 'house'. Each month is thought of as being 'in the house' of its particular star.

The five chiefs had no difficulty in remembering the month names and were confident that they had them in the right order. But Wolpetau, first chief, said that it was then the moon Aramaus. It was December by the European calendar; about a month after the trade wind became established. But in their list Aramaus was not second in the

trade-wind rag, but midway in the other rag, or about midsummer. (Such a discrepancy could come about, of course, because their 30-day moons do not [8] fit the solar cycle.) Moreover, the order of the names in their list does not correspond to that in a list Sarfert collected in 1909. The list as the chiefs gave it follows. The corresponding names from Sarfert's list are placed opposite, with their order in his list indicated by numbers in parentheses:

Month Names

(Five Chiefs, 1947)	(Sarfert, 1909)
1. (Fale) mairig	maidjik (7)
2. (Fale) mailap	mailap (8)
3. (Falu) eliel	eluol (1)
4. (Fal) ūl	ūl (12)
5. (Fan) nag	lāki (10)

6.	(Fale) mal	malu (2)
7.	(Fale) gu(a	gū (11)
8.	(Fale) tumur	tumul (6)
9.	(Fal) aramaus	elemadj (5)
10.	(Fale) sarabwolu	djalewol (4)
11.	(Fal) itr	idj (3)
12.	(Fale) sotā	soda (9)

Concerning one of the months, the chiefs made what seems to be a traditional comment. During Falitr, they said, there is little food.

There are also names for the 30 nights in each moon. The first night is dark of the moon; or, as our interpreter put it, 'no can see in east; close to come up in west.' He said these terms had no meaning, 'only name'. The list follows:

1. segouru	11. epei	21. kopelang
2. eling	12. olabwua	22. koretaleavelag
3. mejeling	13. olmäo	23. saper mai muli
4. mesan	14. mär	24. kilei mei muli
5. mezavus	15. ur(u)	25. komalo
6. mezaman	16. netū	26. tromaleval
7. mejatiu (e)	17. ilăi	27. arovu
8. nametan	18. alēwa	28. iaū
9. truawong	19. sapas	29. evāing
10. arobwugu	20. avelag(i)	30. erapf(i) [9]

There are names also for main divisions of the day; morning (nijor); noon (ulelial); early afternoon (apeik o tangouel); mid-afternoon (lipelelian); late afternoon (nivegov); sunset (nivegov eror) and night (bwong). Finer designation of time is usually attempted by pointing, with arm and fingers extended in a line, at the position the sun is supposed to occupy at the time in question. Though there are names for stages of the tide, I never heard these used as designations of time.

The people have some interest in the remote past, but do not try to measure time in that area. They only tilt their heads back, point upward with wrinkled noses (the usual gesture of pointing), and say 'Musuwē, musuwē (long, long ago)'. They do not keep

genealogies. Most of them can give the names only of those ancestors whom they knew in life. Maroligar, No. 2 chief, managed in the course of several days to think back five generations. That was a unique feat. There is no reckoning time by generations. As for the remote future, I saw no indication that they ever think of it. In general, their time span is short, as compared with that of some other primitive peoples, particularly their distant neighbors in the Pacific, the Polynesians."

The year does not have any particular name; it is divided in two parts: edjăk or răk is the season, when the west wind prevails, while ĕwăn or niwăn is the time of the east wind.

The year has twelve months, which are named for the stars; (fŭs); they fall into the following groups: [98]

ĕwăn	edjăk
elŭŏl	măidjĭk
mălu	măllŏb
idj	sŏdă
djelewŏl	lăke
elemaŭdj	gŭ *
dumul	ul

Sarfert calculated the 7th of November, 1909 as the 26th day of the month măl u. Each month has 30 days (răau, daŭat), which were named for phases of the moon; they are:

1. sugŏru	11. jalowugŭ	21. wosolăn
2. jelĭn	12. olawŭe	22. garodălu jafalăk
3. mădjălĭn	13. olomălu	23. sabăr măimŭli

[Continued on next slip.]

* a fish; this star extends over the whole sky.

[Continued from previous slip.]

4. mădjăl
5. mădjafŭs
6. mădjoăl
7. mădjălo
8. lamădjăl
9. djuawŏn
10. ăbĕi

14. mădj (full moon)
15. ŭlu
16. nădŭ
17. gilăi
18. galăuăr
19. sabădj
20. jafelăk

24. ilăi
25. gomălŏ
26. djumalifăl
27. jarofŭ
28. jŏu
29. ifaiñ
30. erăfi.

[AN: the names for the various parts of the day have been omitted.]

Division of time. The year has twelve months, which are divided between the two seasons: rák (also ledják) and niiwán. The names of the months are:

rák

1. úl
2. elúel
3. mál
4. it
5. serewól
6. eremális

niiwán

7. dúmul
8. máidjik
9. máilób
10. sóda
11. náke
12. gúi

Each month has thirty days:

1. sigorú
2. ellín
3. mádjálane
4. mádjále
5. mádjafís
6. mádjáuále
7. mádjadfu
8. jamedále
9. jabéi
12. wolawúl
13. wolomáu
14. mádj
15. úre
16. nédu
17. kiléi
18. kalaua
19. sábádj
20. jáfalák
23. sabári meímúri
24. kiléi (like the 17th)
25. somaló
26. somálifál
27. járofú
28. jóu
29. ifáin
30. etáfi

10. djiawoṅ 21. koselāṅ
11. jārowugū 22. karodāli āfālāk [145]

The following expressions indicate times of the day:
nīsoro or nimāliōl about six o'clock.
suorōāl about seven o'clock
jāfālāk about eleven o'clock
uōle about twelve o'clock, noon
jabāl jādolowāu about one p. m.
jādeligōdj about six p. m.
niwarāwe in the evening.

Division of time. The year is divided into two parts, like our seasons: thâu e făṅ and thâu e răx. The months (marăm) are named for the stars, and they are in two groups:

thâu e făṅ		thâu e răx	
ŭliŭl	November	mâlirŭx	May
malŭ	December	mâliloṕ	June
ith	January	thadă	July
thărebol	February	năx	August
eremâui	March	xŭe	September
tumŭlŭ	April	uŭl	October

Each month has 29 days (răl), or really nights (poṅi), which are determined according to the different phases of the moon. The names, beginning with the new moon, are:

ŝegōrŭ	epeìi	xerăṅ
eliṅ	olabuĕ	keretieverăx
mederiṅ	olomâl	thapăs merioumŭr
mejăn	măxth	komăla
mejafîth	oură	komalafăṅ
mexuăn	natiouă	erofŭ
mejatŭi	kirêi	ēeû

emetatí	kaneuắ		efáin
šruobŏ́n	thapắs		ērăpf
arabogŭ́	ewerā́x	[212]	

The day is divided into various parts:

morning, sunrise	nī thorŭ́
noon	nuĕ́l
evening, sundown	nifigắfi
twilight	niga pŭ́n
midnight	nŭ́k i ni pŭ́n
dawn	pŭ́n e nilṓ

4: Krämer--133-134 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 805 Lamotrek

The months, gédj, are named after the stars that rise around midnight and stand at zenith early in the morning.

Thus the monthly periods have derived their name from the time when the stars are found at zenith.

A. Kramer		Hambruch	Month
ul	Aldebaran	ŭl, ül (round)	September
ĕliol	Orion's Belt	üliül	October
māl	Sirius	mall, māl (animal)	November
idj	"Fog" west of Regulus in the lion	its, itj	December
sárepol	Corvus	zăre üŏl	January
aremaus (...moi)	Arcturus	aremauz	February
tumur	Antares	tumul	March
mairig	Star west of Atair	mai rik	April
mailap	Atair	mai i lap	May
seŏta	in Pegasus	zăta (thaūdha)	June
lag	∝ Pegasus	la χ	July
gui	in the Pisces	kŭi (whale)	August

Moondays

1. segóuru	("we wait to see") new moon
2. èleng	1st moon, not visible in the tropics
3. mesëleng	2nd moon "see the moon"
4. mesal	see the bush from the side
5. mesáfuis	see the stars [134]
6. mésoal	see the bush from above
7. mesëtiu	look down (tiu, Truk, page 49, 64, down, below)
8. émetal	everything clear
9. épei	at an angle, somewhat on the other side of the meridian
10. djuabong	complete nights (in the west)
11. eărobungu	no longer so pointed
12. olobuă	swelling form (ol)
13. ólobuă	good form
14. émadj	ripe
15. eur	full moon, the sun and moon simultaneously at one height
16. lóteu	lot = scaevola bush, which is incomparably higher at the rise of the moon. teu, westerly, since the moon shone down upon them from the west.

17.	kil'li	"beginning of the dark nights
18.	kalovalu	the last remnants of the day disappear in the west
19.	sŏparr	phosphorescence of the sea
20.	ĕ efalag	still obliquely to the meridian
21.	gosĕlág	a little less oblique
22.	gárotaliéfalag	no longer oblique; half moon
23.	sŏparemêimor	phosphorescence a little later
24.	killi	beginning of the eastern nights
25.	gomala	the moon begins to hide
26.	romálefal	pointed, rom, like the houses, fal (gables)
27.	eărofui	stars disappear
28.	eăŭ	on the verge of dusk
29.	fèing	must go away (from the sun) (fèing ilog, take away).
30.	érapfi	finished.

Days of the Month (moon days).

See Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III; page 63.

1.	segóuru new moon	1.	lingiling
2.	ëleng	2.	sigaur
3.	mesëleng	3.	mesul
4.	mesán	4.	meseven
5.	mesëvis	5.	neselim
6.	mesoval	6.	mesaul
7.	mesëtiu	7.	mesevel
8.	ëramatal	8.	mesavol
9.	ëpei	9.	mesaalu
10.	suávo	10.	tjabong
11.	ërabógui	11.	alabugi
12.	olavul	12.	oloboa
13.	olamāl	13,	olomoal
14.	mas moon not entirely full	14.	alat
15.	úr full moon	15.	ir
16.	nétu	16.	ladi
17.	killei no longer truly full moon	17.	gilei
18.	galoa	18.	kaira

19. sŏpas	19. sopatemir
20. ĕ fālag	20. ortavalan
21. garataleĕfālag	21. olabugi
22. sopadjmĕmur (sĕtap half)	22. olahue
23. killei	23. olamahe
24. gomālo	24. tamalaval
25. gomālefal	25. ereve
26. eĕrafui	26. eii
27. eóu	27. erevi
28. efeing	28. euu
29. iéjaf	29. evan
	30. etav

It is obvious that the names do not agree absolutely accurately but are somewhat changed, but naturally the moon and its phases are the basis for the determination of the month. Since only 13-14 days are needed from one full moon to the next, the thirty days listed by Chamisso are really too much, and the same is true of the 29 I have received. This might explain that for "year" simply seikmaruou is listed which has the meaning of twelve. [277]

Division of the Day (day, rāl)

sunrise	tagajeál
approximately 8 A. M.	ětameilug
approximately 10 A. M.	lingárafat
noon	gáŭel
2 P. M.	e pal'log
4 P. M.	atelivai
5 P. M.	atelilŭel
6. P. M.	ě ateluelim
sunset	eatupeál
7 P. M.	nifagaf
8-9 P. M.	nifagaf e mesou
10 P. M.	ětajojo (everyone is sleeping)
11 P. M.	lefagaf tonga lugelibung
midnight	lugelibung
1 A. M.	lugelibung tongaltět
2 A. M.	olimatauat
3 A. M.	olimele malug (cock) first crow
4 A. M.	olimadjál
5 A. M.	olimalemaiu

4: Krämer--276-277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 805 Woleai

Division by Months

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 128: "On the Carolines, days and months are counted and the year is divided up according to the appearance and disappearance of the constellations and thus the seasons are derived. But no one counts the number of years."

"MONTHS OF LAMOTREK YEAR

1 Sarabol.	5 Mai-lap.	9 Ul.
2 Aramaus.	6 Seuta.	10 Alliel.
3 Tumur.	7 Lakh.	11 Mán
4 Mai-rik.	8 Kū.	12 Ich. "

(No date) 1899

"DAYS OF THE MOON'S AGE

Crescent Moon

1 Sigauru.
2 Elling. (Root, Ling, to shine.)
3 Mes-elling.
4 Mis-al.
5 Mesa-fois.
6 Meso-ual.
7 Messe-tiu.
8 Emital.
9 Epei. (When at sundown the moon is canted over a little to westward.)
10 Rua-bong. (The joining together (Rua) of the nights.)

Full Moon

11 Yarabuki.
12 Olo-boa.
13 Olo-mai
14 Mares (=Ripe; developed.)
15 Ur. (Sun and moon together on sea in the evening.)
20 Evelak.
21 Kochalak.
22 Karotali-evelak.
23 Saopas-maimor
24 Kili.
25 Omolo.
26 Romuli-fan.

[Chart continues on the next master.]

16 Lotiu.
17 Kili.
18 Kalawalo.
19 Saopas.

27 Arafoi.
28 Eoi.
29 Effeng.
30 Eraf."

[Chart continued from preceeding master.]

28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--65 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 796, 805 Ifalik

"Having neither calendars, nor formal reckoning of time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chief at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious."

28: Spiro--122 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 805, 561. Ifalik

"The people, as we have seen, do not know their ages, since they do not count the passing of time. The exact knowledge of a person's age would be useless information in this culture. There are, however, five categories of age classes, which serve to classify people, but these classes are not age-grades, and the distinctions between them are not marked by abrupt discontinuities. They merge almost imperceptibly into each other, with the exception of the change from the state of zari-rauwut, girl, to that of tari-veivel, young woman, which is abrupt, being brought on by the first menstrual flow, and marked by the menstrual ceremony. These age classifications are:

Male	Female	Translation	
		M	F
ligau	sauwau	infant	infant
zari-man	tari-trauwut	boy	girl
Tari-man	Tari-veivel	young man	young woman
Mann	trauwut	man	woman
Tuvai-man	tuvai-trauwut	old man	old woman"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—

1: Burrows--80-81 (1947-48) Woleaians/3
116, 815 Ifalik

"The following attempt to identify the guiding stars with names used in our astronomy is due to the kindness of Dr. Maud W. Makemson of Vassar College. She computed the azimuths of the stars as located by Tom according to points of the compass, and identified them as nearly as possible from such rough data. In the third column are given identifications of some of them as given by Sarfert. Several agree with those worked out by Dr. Makemson from Tom's location. Others differ slightly; for example, one of the possibilities for Pauievang is Alpha Aquilis, in Dr. Makemson's list, while Sarfert gives 'Adler' (Aquila) for the next star to the south, Mailap. Still others, such as Sarfert's 'Orion' for UgilIk as compared to Dr. Makemson's Nu Ursae Majoris, are completely incompatible. But in that case Sarfert's own identifications are inconsistent; for if UgilIk is Orion, then Elieli, half a sky away, can not be the drei Könige im Orion or Orion's belt.

Possible Identifications of Stars

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wolwol li ievang	Polaris	Polarstern (fr. report on Faraulep) [81]
Mailap e li vang	Beta Ursae Minoris	- - - - - - - - -

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wileugo	Alpha Ursa Majoris (Zeta Cassiopeiae)	- - - - - - - -
Ugillk	Nu Ursae Majoris	Orion
Mēl	Vega--Alphae Lyrae	Leier (Lyra)
Megarigari	The Pleiades (Pollux Beta Geminorum)	Plejaden
Ūlu	Aldebaran-Alpha Tauri (Arcturus-Alpha Bootis)	Aldebaran
Pauievang	Betelgeuse-Alpha Orionis (Altair-Alpha Aquilae)	- - - - - - - - -
Mailap	Belt of Orion (3 stars)	Adler (Aquila)
Pauiaūru	Spica-Alpha Virginis	- - - - - - - -
Elieli	Alpha Capricorni or Epsilon Leporis	Drei Könige im Orion (Orion's Belt)
Sarabwol	(Beta Fornacis) Fomalhaut- Alpha Piscis Australis	Rabe (Corvus)

1: Burrows--80-81
116, 815

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Tumūra	Theta Scorpii or Lambda Velorum or Alpha Phoenicis	Jungfrau (Virgo)
Metārua	Canopus-Alpha Carinae	- - - - - - - -
Ipu	Alpha Cantauri Beta Cantauri	- - - - - - - -
Metremeital or Metremeiat	Magellanic Clouds	- - - - - - - -
Wolwol li aūru		- - - - - - - - "

113, 502, 805, 821

Nomoi	OR14
Puluwat	OR17
Southwest Islands	OR18
Ulithi	OR20
Woleai	OR21
Yap	OR22

/For information on native astronomy in the central Carolines, especially the Sidereal Compass, and the Calendar and Almanac, see 18: Goodenough, OR19 Truk, category 116./

1: Burrows--79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Ifalik

"For some reason, Sarfert was told that the old lore of navigation had been mostly forgotten. But the two best navigators of Ifalik were away at the time. He did collect names and positions of 28 stars, which correspond fairly well to the 32 given me; and some other details. However that may be, Tom had a remarkable amount of 'talk for cap'n' in his memory. The supernatural part of it has been given. What we would consider the practical part follows. Even this has many details that seem to us fantastic and impossible; notably the bits about sighting particular birds and fish at particular places. Some of the guiding stars named for certain islands, even, are not accurate, according to our charts. Yet conceivably they may serve the purpose, for some reason of wind or current. It is noticeable that the directions have not the vagueness and inconsistency of the myths. At any rate, canoes are able to reach neighboring islands most of the time, though being lost at sea is unquestionably one of the people's haunting fears. Directions for more distant points are little used and may be more dubious.

Fig. 16 shows the positions of the stars used for navigation in Ifalik; of the nearer islands and reefs; and a few of the more important ones at greater distances. Tom gave them to me from memory, but with a compass before us; and I wrote them down on sheets of paper with circles drawn on them like those on Figure 16, marked to show the points of the compass. This kind of notation was suggested to me by Tom's occasional use of English terms for points of the compass. He approved it, and at times supervised my notations closely, so far as directions are concerned."

"Damm, from a sketch by Sarfert, shows positions of some stars on a rectangular figure. Undoubtedly Tom's approval of my use of circles came from his familiarity with the European compass. It is questionable whether natives unfamiliar with the compass would conceive the universe with either square or circular boundaries. What they would have in mind, pretty surely, is something corresponding to the horizontal lines of Figure 16, which represent the courses or paths of the stars from rising to setting. When I asked Tom what a navigator would do when his guiding star was not in sight, he said 'He must know the road for that star.' Damm, too, speaks of the road of a star (die Bahn dieses Sternbildes) and may be quoting, via Sarfert, a native expression.

To save space, the corresponding charts for other islands are summarized in Appendix I. This does not exhaust the lore in Tom's memory. After giving me the lists from several islands, he asked me whether I wanted them all. As the process was taking a good deal of precious time, I decided that lists from the nearest islands and from the three most important farther ones--Guam, Yap, and Truk--would do to illustrate the nature [80] of native lore and suggest the extent of it. How many more he could have given I am not sure. Perhaps not many; but I recall his speaking as if he knew a similar list from Puluwat, which seems to have been a center of particularly high development of native navigation. And probably he could have given several others.

It is noticeable that the lists from the farthest islands are the least complete and

exact. That for Guam, which because of the east-west direction of prevailing winds is the most inaccessible by sail from Ifalik, is the worst of all. Putting Europe north by west from Guam is the nadir. But in that Tom was, of course, departing from anything in native tradition. I suspect that the mistakes in locating Saipan and 'Nuta' (Rota?) from Guam are not errors in his knowledge but in his use of English. He was subject to lapses in which he would say 'south' for 'north', and vice versa. One such would account for these errors. In spite of this, the Guam list is not impressive. Yet the total amount of his memorized information, and the accuracy of a good deal of it, do speak well for native mental capacity."

1: Burrows--80
116, 821, 132, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Stars as Weather Signs

Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ūlu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west."

2; Damm et al. --45-49 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-3
116, 502, 821 Ifaluk

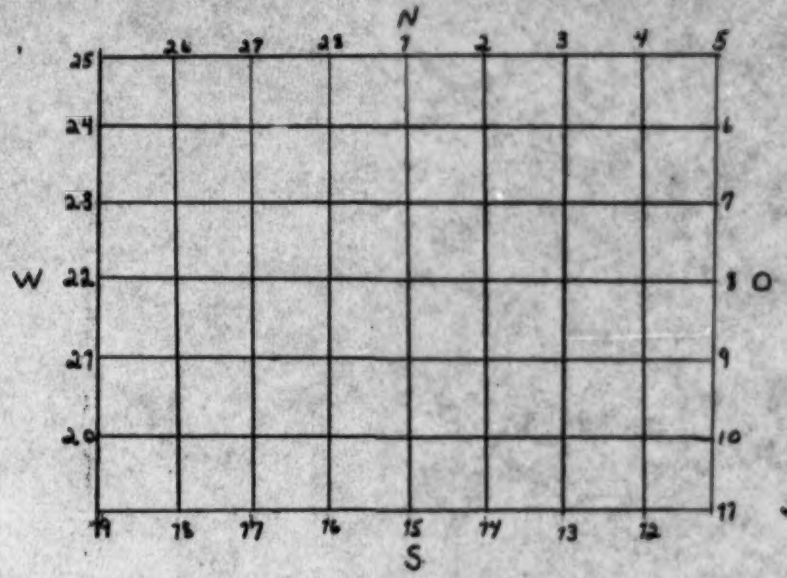


Fig. 143. Compass Rose (sketch by Sarfert).

A knowledge of the stars is the basis for all nautical information. The natives knew the following stars: (fúś).

mŏl	Lyra	eruol	Three Kings (in Orion)
ugelík	Orion	dumul	– Virgo
mărigeŕ	Pleiades	djerewol	Raven
ūl	Aldebaran	lup	
mắilŏb	Eagle	wolewole	
gŭi	Fish, an enormous star, which travels all over the heavens;		

ugelík and erŭŏl belong to it. [46]

lăke		dagalíp	
dŏbi		mŏlărŭl	
fdj		mắidjik	
mắlu		ắlalimẽi	Milky Way

mắlăm moon, the natives knew about the man in the moon, or Liganós: but they had no more exact information about him. The sun had no significance, whatsoever. Sarfert did not give a native term for it. They had no conception of the stars; the Yap inhabitants had told them that they were stones! Shooting stars - jajăle fúś.

Drawing 143 shows a picture of the compass rose; the horizon was conceived in a rectangular form; point 1 is the place where a star rises in the vicinity of the polar star;

it sinks in number 15, so line 1-15 represents the course of this constellation. The same is true of the other constellations. [47]

Drawings 144, 145 show the position of the stars in the heavens at various times; when Altair goes down , and when it is at the zenith.

The natives know the following directions:

north	jifaṅ	northwest	ilodolifaṅ
south	jǒr	northeast	kodolifaṅ
west	ilodǒu	southwest	ilodolijǒr
east	jǒdou	southeast	kodolijǒr

[AN: the terms for the directions of the winds, pages 47-49 of source have been omitted.]

2: Damm et al. --131-132 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502, 821 Aurupik

The nautical knowledge of the Aurepik islanders is not inferior to that of the other Caroline natives, for example the Polowat men. Sarfert's authority, Captain Wasäu, had visited all the islands between Ngulu in the west, and Satowal in the east, in his canoe; he had also sailed to the Marianas (Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan).

The heavens (star is fűis)

1.	Eagle	mäilöb	9.	Three Kings (in Orion)	elűel
2.	Aldebaran	ül	10.	Raven	serewől
3.	Pleiades	märegīr	11.	Virgo	dűmur
4.	Procyon	mäl	12.	?	medärű
5.	Orion	ugelik	13.	?	dagalibu
6.	?	wőlago	14.	?	madje - mäidől
7.	?	mäilöb barāwäri	15.	?	wőlewol - elibu
8.	?	wőlewől			

The moon is märäm (new moon - lűgulaőli märäm, full moon woninäbäli märäm, waning moon - äliolän, waxing moon - jaurugili märäm).

Fig. 222 shows the Aurepik compass. Numbers 1-15 give the starting points of the stars in the preceding list, and with the same numbers; 16-28 show where they disappear below the horizon (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 89). [132]

The names of the points of the compass are:

north	jíwaṅ	northwest	lodoáwäṅ
east	chodū	northeast	chodoáwäṅ
south	jŏr	southwest	lodoár
west	llodŏ	southeast	choduŏru

There was naturally little material available about their nautical information. Among the stars (star - foi-l) they knew the

polar star -	olūol	Eagle	mailop
?	uolāgor	Three Kings	
?	ugeliga	(in Orion)	ōliōl
Procyon	māl	?	ɣarawūon
Pleiades	maraegiri	Virgo	tumur
Aldebaran	oūl	?	metarū
?	matjomáidan	?	tubulūp

2: Damm et al. --196-197 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 821 Faraulep

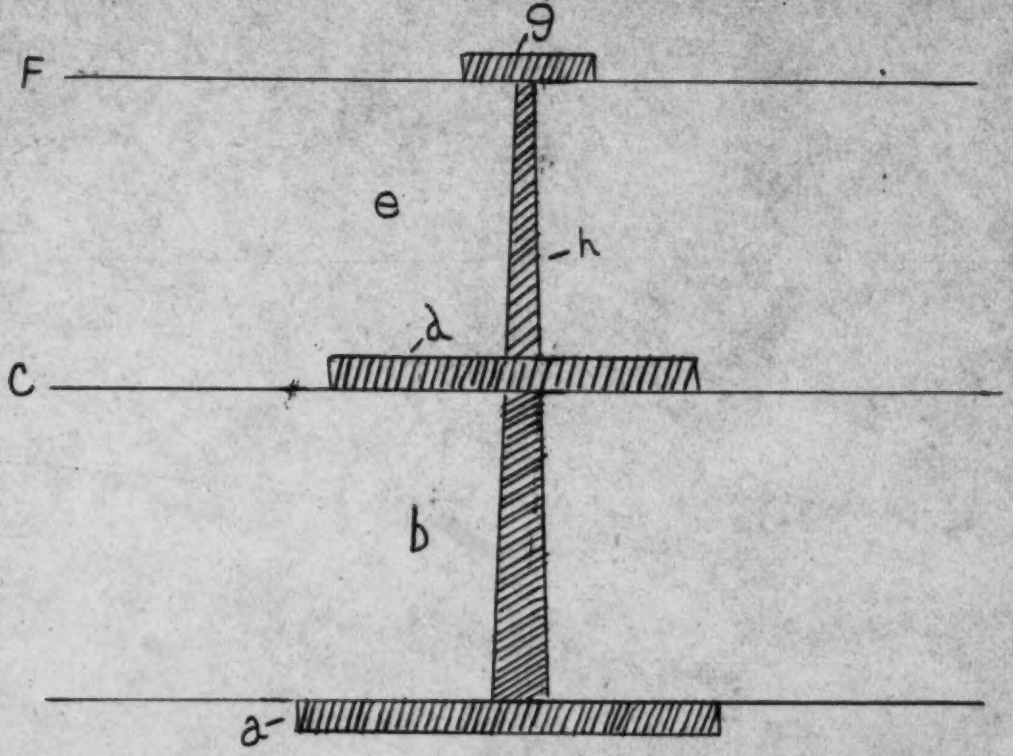


Fig. 272. Diagram of the Universe (after Hambruch's sketch).

At a meeting of pilots, presided over by Arrumiat, the captain fixed the lines of their compass cards. On the table in the cabin a figure was laid out with the aid of beans and the captain copied it on paper as well as possible. "When I thought that I had set up the wrong figure by the choice of my points and wanted to improve it and to make it into a more perfect quadrant I was not allowed to do so. When I repeatedly rounded the corners of the square figure I was requested to leave it as it was and for that reason it must be accepted in the condition it is."

They divide the horizon up into four quarters or perhaps better into two semi-circles: the [129] eastern and the western, Uebuel* is the name of the Polar Star and Mailab** is Orion's Belt. The three points which are meant to represent east and west are all called Mailab and Tubule mailap. None of the three has a special name, but only the general term for all of them is known. It is noteworthy that there is no term available for East to North or West to North. On their compass card the corresponding points are North to East, Northeast to North and Northeast to East, but East to North is not included; the place for it remains empty. The same thing happens in the four quadrant, although the points of these angles seem to equal ours. Their third quadrant resembles the fourth, but the second does not bear similarity either to the first or one of the

*Hambruch on Elato: uĭluĭl
** Hambruch: ŭliŭl; Altair, mai i lŏp.

others. Their first quadrant is divided into 8 parts, for Tagale mol corresponds to NE; of the eight only seven are marked and have names. The others are not divided up evenly but are arranged in the manner shown in the figure. I was unable to find an explanation for this peculiarity.

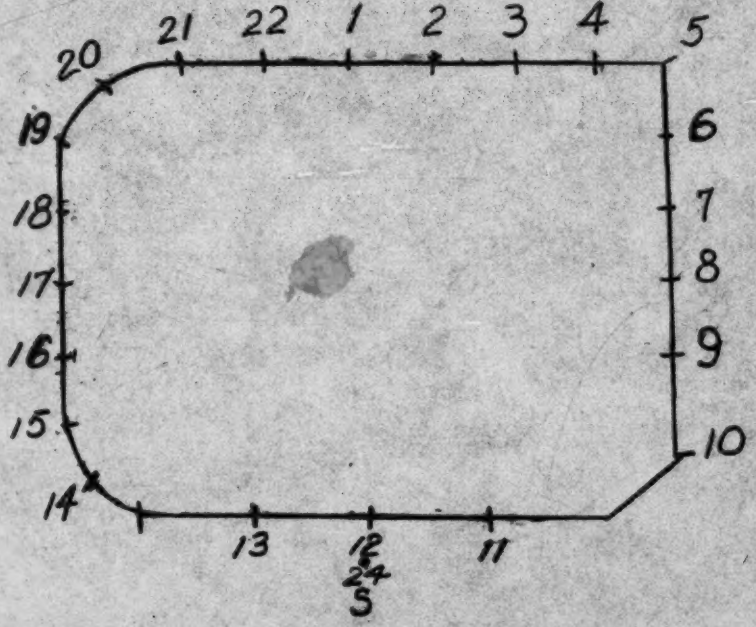


Fig. 66 Compass Points of the Carolines according to Sanchez

4: Krämer--128-132
116, 502, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Lamotrek

Compass points of the Carolinians, Sanchez 1866, Figure 66	Record by Krämer, 1909.	Compass points of Ikeram on Pollap with the number of little stones.
1. Mailab Ueleuel	1. volevol iefang N.	1. volevol, star fúmaket from Sog to Póloat [130]
2. Tagale mailes pelevant	2. mailap ále fang 15° (little bear)	2. mailúpélefang
3. Tagale olego	3. volégo 30° great bear	3.
4. Tagale iguelie	4. úgulúg 36° Cassiopeia (island of Pikelo)	4. ugulik
5. Tagale mol.	5. mäl 51° Vega	5. mol
6. Tagale mangariguec	6. magariger 63° Pleiades	6. moiriger to Póloat, Tamatam
7. Tagale ul.	7. tagalul 73 1/2° Aldebaran (Island of Goteu)	7. un
8. Maitab	8. mailap 81° (Sëtoval, Poloat, Djug, Rálug, Falepei, Gadjau)	8. dál mailap voyage to Botelés (ku.), from there to Truk by un

9. Tagale eliel	9. tangali elüel 88° Orion Gürtel Orion's Belt between 8 and 9 Atair 99° sarabol Raven 68°	9. a liel
10. Tagale lumur	10. tumur 64° Antares (book by Faroilap) metaru (2 eyes) 52° Scorpion	10. tumur voyage to Pőleat return by mől arebol mareg galu
11. Tagale liup	11. tagal lup 27° (Pikeram from Sog, back by 3.) medje meiet (medj in between)	
12. Mailab delub	12. volevol iaur S. medje-meitol	12. volevol to Sog galu mareg arebol

4: Krämer--128-132 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-5
116, 502, 821 Lamotrek

13. Tubule liup	13. lupu metaru (Pikêlo back by)	
14. Tubule lumur	14. tumur sáraboi	14. tumur
15. Tubule eliel	15. tubul elüel	15. e liel
16. Tubule mailab	16. tubule mailap W. (Ifaluk, Volea, Sorol, Ngolu)	16. türun (tóron setting) e mailap
17. Tubule ul.	17. ul (7)	17. toron un
18. Tuble magarigueo	18. magariger (6)	18. moériger
19. Tubule mol	19. mël (Faroilap 5.)	19. mŏl
20. Tubule igueli	20. ugulüg (4.)	20. ŭgulik
21. Tubule olego	21. voelĕgo (3.)	
22. Tubule mailab pelevant	22. mailapalefang (2.)	22. mailŭp elefang dolel fŭmáket
23. Ueluel = N.	23. volevol	23. volevol fumaket
24. Olelup = S. [132]		

The reporter cannot recall the names of the stars of the unknown points in the lower section. There existed some analogy with the upper points.

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Wolealans-1
Lamotrek

The Winds

from the North	iefang	from the South	iaur
	efangelap		aurulap
	gailoil		aurulesol
	fangileás		lotoár
	gotuáfang	from the West	iletóu
	gotu mei		lotóelap
from the East	gotu(e)		lotoáfang
	gotuór		efángilesol
	eroileas		

It is said that star winds exist which arise with every new star. When a star rises they are generally easterly and when it sets they are westerly. [135]

Constellations (their rise: tagal, their setting: tubul, according to Hambruch)	Time	Winds mor, strong; djigor, light
Aroturus aremoi (Truk: aremoi	October, beginning of the monsoon.	easterly wind: balaremoi (meaning of ba: coming out of the water)
djóu (dróu) (Truk: djéu) Corona	Rise in December	mor a djou; strong easterly winds for a few days

			dji geredjou; less violent winds for seven days.
Antares	tumur (Truk: tumur stands for the Great Bear)	Rise in December	mor a tumur; strong easterly winds. They are too violent to allow sailing, which is possible at the most on the inland waters. djigerë tumur lighter winds
	metáriu (Truk: measáru)	rise in January	mor ale metáriu, easterly winds westerly winds at the time of the setting of the constellation.
Atair	mailap (Truk: the term stands for the Eastern Star)	rise at the end of January, in the morning	djigerali mailap; less stiff winds
in Pegasus	seõta (Truk: sõeda)	rise	mor seota, good easterly wind

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Lamotrek

	tëbbi	beginning of February --	djigerali seota winds lasting for ten days mor a tëbbi last only for a few days
Pegasus	lag	beginning of March	mor a lag; stiff, strong and indefinite winds.
	gap	end of March	moi tagale gap (moi i tag "to break upon arising"), uncertainty as to strength; last for a few days mor ale gap, strong } last djigeraligap, weak } about 2 weeks
"Fish"	ig	end of April	mor alig, strong } good djigeraligap, weak } weather
	alimento, the stomach of the ig		moi le alimeto, easterly winds for two days, followed by westerly winds

4: Krämer--134-137
116, 821

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-4
Lamotrek

Pleiades	magárigar (Truk: moériger)	April	tafalimagárigar, evening wind when the Pleiades stand at 30'; when they set at night there follow calms, mopele magárigar [136](mop, to drown; see Onoun); this is the best time for angle fishing, when the water is calm, without strong currents.
	when mag rises in the East	in May	the wind is known as kobuádj; the word is derived from uádj "to cook," because for 6-12 hours violent easterly winds prevail, which make the ocean appear as if it is followed by djigerali mag.

			which lasts until the ul sets in.
Aldebaran	ul	middle to end of May	djelul, renders the water ripply, because often short squalls blow from the East and Northeast.
Orion	irir ali ol (eliol, Orion's Belt)	July	westerly winds for 2-3 days when aliol rises in the morning, light rángaliol blow from the east for 2-3 days
Sirius	mal, gongalemál or golongalemal	early in June	westerly winds for 1-2 days, but uncertain
		sets about the middle of June	liurap (from rap "to cover, lay down close together) alemál, calms.
Mist in the Lion	idj	setting between July 1-15	westerly winds kalangalidj for about 14 days, followed by easterly winds djangalióI, (from djang

			"to hang up" when aliol stands at a certain height)
Regulus	ililigëk	July-August	eangalililigek blow SW, W NW for about 6 weeks without intermission when the tail of Canus major (sirius) rises; eangali faliuk alimal is the last of the period and is easterly (faliuk from iuk, tail and mal, see above).
Southern Cross	bup	end of August to the beginning of September	djep alup strong southwesterly winds, with generally clear weather
	gap	setting in the evening at 35°	for 12-24 hours the easterly ëtang prevails (sitang, ëtang "the pressing down"

			-- of the bupi djep)
Canopus	gap i eaur	equinox	the winds may be changing and may come sooner or later
		upon setting	atangaligap, easterly winds for 1-3 days
Arcturus	áremoi (see above)	upon setting	eang ali aremói mopolog ali aremoi (mop "to drown"). [137]
	efang àlúl	rise at the time of the breadfruit harvest, 15 days after ul (Aldebaran)	strong easterly winds prevail for half a day and blow down the ripe breadfruit
	póulimal, the lowest star of the tail of Canus major "shakes the animal (mal)"		easterly winds preceding eangalifaliuk (see Regulus)
			in the same manner the

on the fishing line | | wind shakes the bread-fruit trees.

[ER: An additional list of stars and constellations is given in the source, but omitted here]

4: Krämer--134-137 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
821 Elato

[VMM: For the natives' knowledge of the winds, see Lamotrek, 4: Krämer 134-137.]

4: Krämer--151-152 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

Some songs have been given...magic songs of rain: If there is too much rain and it is to be ended, conjuration is done by an address, by the Triton's horn, taui, and [152] by means of a rain switch made of the coral plant kaini lidal; it is handled by a professional conjuror. As the magic song is chanted, the switch with the horn is swung in the direction of the clouds, after the horn has first been sounded with all possible strength. alis ali touber is the magic song for the purification of the house of Ikelur (house 3); no one must be present while this magic is made with the exception of Faragau (house 1), because Ikelur is afraid that he will have to die otherwise.

The Wands of Storm Magic, gosilifei

The spirit Roiang...learned about storm magic from the spirit Tipoeo, who in turn had been told about it by Aluelap. Storm magic was vigorously practiced at the time of the visit of the expedition. We could see that from the objects publicly displayed on the beach of Lamotrek which are shown on photo 4d [VMM: see source]. The drawing of Figure 76 [VMM: see source] even more distinctly shows this arrangement on the beach. One observes that a Triton's horn is hung up with it and that a sacrificial offering is attached to the top. Another specimen, given to me by Ikelur, is in the Linden Museum in Stuttgart no. 77830 (see photo 7) [VMM: see source] and many coconut pinnae are tied to it. [156]

...the Central Carolinian sorcerers, the vah, fight the storm with ray spines on their wands which are greatly feared in combat and are considered one with the god Saulal....

The wood represents the god Aluelap and the cement unites the two. The stings, sometimes, are turned against the conjuror himself when he tries to force the realization of the wish. The janus head represents Paluelap and Aluluei...who are supposed to look out to all sides. Accordingly at the very beginning of a voyage when the mast is planted, one makes the fore alus for Aluluei....it has been said that he appears to be one with Aluelap or Paluelap. Therefore the janus head is supposed to represent Aluluei and has two eyes in front and two in back....Such magic figures are attached to canoes or set up on land (see idols on Figure 77, 78). [VMM: see source] [157]

4: Krämer--155-157 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -2
116, 789, 821 Lamotrek

The latter are dedicated to Ligóubub. . . and are called ëpil alu; ëpil has the meaning of lower, e.g., the root of a tree or the bottom of a bowl. The root of the plant ëlau is scraped; the scrapings are put into coconut juice and the liquid is drunk against illness or wind. They are kept inside of houses, but otherwise are identical with the others mentioned. The kuling. . . is said to have given directions for the magic figures. The meaning of the ray spines, ohét, remains unknown.

4: Krämer--272 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Woleai

Prerequisites for a Successful Voyage to Feis

favorable seas, djeger ali ĕle métau
favorable winds, djeger ali gūi (gūi, month of August)

during the good season, muriliefang, which is the name for the monsoon period at the end of the gui month. At that time, the star māl (Sirius) is visible in the sky and in the north the ūgelík is seen.

When e áiimeto appears in the morning sky, the wind is favorable (on the return voyage it is the gáp, Spica and the eramoi=aremoi, Arcturus). Unless these stars are out, the sails are hauled in and the canoe is left to drift until the stars become visible once more.

The voyage is divided into stages, gátag; a certain number of them apply to one course. The first gátag, for instance, is determined by the period of time needed by the canoe to sail out of sight of the island; it is checked by a member of the crew who climbs the mast for a better lookout. The first course by the ūgelik lasts until the fourth gátag (northwesterly direction); the second course is taken by the constellation magĕreger, the Pleiades, and amounts to only one gátag (west); the final course is taken by the māl and it includes only two more gátag (northwesterly).

24: Christian--388-389 (No date) 1899 Woleaians 1-2
116, 821 Lamotrek

"LAMOTREK STAR-NAMES

1 Uiliuil-al-evang. The Pole-star.
2 Uiliuil-al-eaur. The Southern Cross; also called Pup, or the Leather-Jacket Fish.
3 Tumur, Antares.
4 Meal. Vega and a Lyrae.
5 Ualego. Ursa Major. Literally, 'The Broom.'
6 Ul. Aldebaran. Literally, 'The Virile Momber.' [389]
7 Evang-el-ul. Capella; its appearance denotes heavy gales and bad weather.
8 Magarigar. Pleiades.
9 Oliel. Orion and Rigel.
10 Kolong-al-mal. Sirius; i.e., literally, 'The Body of the Animal.'
11 Ping-en-lakh. Arietes; i.e., literally, 'The Centre of the House.'
12 Met-a-ryo. Scorpio; i.e., 'The Two Eyes.'
13 Sor-a-bol. Corvi; literally, 'The Viewer of the Taro-patches.' Shines during Taro season. (Sor, to look; bol, a Taro-patch.)
14 Tchrou. Corona; i.e., 'The Fowling-net.'
15 Mai-lap. Althoea and (a) Aquiloe.
16 Aramoi. Arcturus. (Ara, to conclude; moi, to come.)
So called because the rising of Arcturus marks the end of the north-east winds which bring visiting parties to the island.

17 Yuk-ol-ik. Cassiopoea; literally, 'The Tail of the Fish.'
18 Mongoi-sap. Gemini.
19 Ik. Pisces.
20 Mal; man. Canis Major.
21 Ililigak. Regulus.
22 Gapi-sarabol. Speaker
23 Ngi-tau. Piscis Australis.
24 Gapi-lah. Pegasi."

28: Spiro--46
116, 821, 177, 804

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The sky, is a physical object, in the shape of a dome, which meets the oceans at its extremities. The surface of the earth--land and ocean--is flat, and is bounded by the sky at its limits.

Though the world is bounded and the sky is a material, impermeable object, no native has reached these points. The chiefs asked me whether any American had ever reached north or south. That is, these terms do not serve merely as directional indicators, as they do for us, but they are actual physical places, which one reaches if one travels far enough. They also wished to know if any American airplane had ever flown to the sky. The Japanese had told them that they (the Japanese) had done so."

The sun, moon, and stars, are fixed to the sky, and move along it, much as a train moves on its tracks, so that the sun, for example, has its ial, its path, which it follows every day. The people assign the same function to the sun as they do to the moon and stars--to provide light. Were there no heavenly bodies, people would die, say the natives, because they would have no light by which to work. [47]

The causes and functions of other cosmic phenomena such as rain, wind, thunder, lightning, are unknown. It is not realised that rain is necessary for the growth of vegetation, nor should this be surprising, since there is no period of growth nor its concommitant destruction of crops which would indicate such a relationship."

28: Spiro--75 [2]
116, 787, 821, 177

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1.2
Ifalik

"We have already described in detail the rituals employed in healing. But divination is also used in healing, as well as in predicting the weather. Divination, called trip or bweng, is practiced by means of coconut strips, the configuration of the knots being interpreted as a predictive mechanism. (31)"

"31. [See following sheet for footnote 31.]"

28: Spiro--75 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 787, 821, 177 Ifalik

"31. [Footnote pp. 75-76] One afternoon I saw Maroliger divining for a sick woman. I asked Tom what he was doing, and he replied that this was 'Katt', that is, he was playing cards. I didn't press the issue any further, assuming that Tom was reluctant to speak about the matter, and making a note to ask him about it at a later time. It was entirely accidental that I later learned what he had meant. In the latter part of November we had a few days of heavy wind, that the natives called a minor typhoon. Trees were blown down, the waves were coming on shore. Since there was little I could do, I spent a part of one afternoon playing 'solitaire.' While playing, Tom came to see how we were weathering the storm, and found me playing cards. Now previously Maroligar had seen Dr. Burrows playing, and after each hand Dr. Burrows would say, 'Good', or 'bad' [76] depending upon whether or not he had won, and Maroligar had interpreted this evaluation to mean that Dr. Burrows was divining for something. When Tom came that day, he told me that the people were very disturbed about the storm, and that he too was worried, and would be unable to sleep that night. But he insisted that I finish my game so that I could tell him whether the storm would continue or would abate. Wishing to put his mind at rest, I told him that the storm would stop. He sighed with relief, and was most happy, because Maroligar's divining by means of the coconut strips had predicted the same thing."

28: Spiro--76
116, 821, 789

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-1
Ifalik

"With regard to the weather, however, its course is not only predicted, it is controlled. If the divination indicates continued storm, then an incantation is recited which can control the weather. Only the navigators, know the technique. The person sits on one of the stone piers, and blows a conch horn. He then points it into the storm, and recites the appropriate verses. One of them collected by Dr. Burrows follows:

Incantation to drive away a storm

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire.

Don't come near dark clouds!
Stay far away!
No more, no more, no more!

Turn aside, wind and cloud!
Bad weather turn aside!
Die away,
Move away!

Depart bad weather!
Come good weather!
Fair and bright.
Let there be fine days!
Cloudless the sky.

There are also incantations to clear the weather, (involving the breaking of the rainbow, which they think causes the storm), to drive off rain, to bring a departing canoe safely home, to keep a canoe afloat. I quote this one because it is typical. They are all attempts to control the elements by magic--that is words and gestures. It will be noticed that the bad weather is not caused by a supernatural agency but is conceived as an autonomous entity."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-3
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--119-120
116, 841, 881, 821, 539

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--121 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 821, 841 Ifalik

"Again, should the [WPM: menstruating] woman not remain in seclusion, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. In this case too, vegetation would die, and the 'chief am very angry at that lady.' Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Felarik, where the Rangona tree grows, a typhoon would ensue."

28: Spiro--141
116, 764, 171, 821

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Ocean burial is not the rule in the Central Carolines. On the contrary, Ifaluk is the only culture that practices it, the others burying their dead in the ground. The natives say that there are two reasons for this practice. If the corpse is not removed from the island, a typhoon will destroy the idland. If the corpse is buried in the ground, its body fluids will mix with the soil, causing the vegetation to die. (3)"

"3. It should be noted that the fear of the presence of the dead is related to two of the people's most severe anxieties--the lack of food, and typhoons."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

gauge wasn't unpacked and set up yet. A stiff wind came up in the afternoon and kept increasing in force. Late in the afternoon Tom came by with Maroligar, the number two chief. Tom pointed out across the lagoon to the west and said, "Maybe typhoon." Maroligar seemed somewhat worried as well. What the two wanted, apparently, was a weather prediction—from us newcomers to the tropical Pacific! It showed a touching and completely misplaced faith in the famous "American know-how." I was in charge of the meteorology department and I peered at the thermometer (79°F at 5:45 P.M.) and barometer (1005 millibars) but I was unable to draw any deductions from these helpful facts.

In the evening, quite a number of men gathered in back of the Fan Nap, clearly worried about the weather. Maroligar borrowed one of the big Navy battery flashlamps and learned how to turn it on and off. He wanted some sort of a light so that if the weather worsened during the night, he could round everyone up and lead them to some safer spot, perhaps the boulder ridge on the windward side of the island—the highest spot, some fifteen feet above sea level. The houses were mostly along the lagoon shore and Ted remembered that waves had reached to the Fan Nap on his previous stay, with a wind of considerably less than typhoon violence. Don and I read what there was on typhoons in the books we had brought along, and I tried to remember what I could about the characteristics of Caribbean hurricanes—but nothing helpful came out of this.

The wind settled down to a steady blow, and I comforted myself, going to sleep, by thinking that hurricanes struck suddenly, after a period of still, oppressive heat, so that this slow build-up of wind could hardly be dangerous—misinformation, but none-the-less comforting.

The next day, Saturday, started out cold, with a completely overcast sky. But the rain had let up, so we sallied forth to begin work. Our first project was to make a census of the people on the island. Ted had made a census on his 1948 visit and he wanted to get a record of the changes. For Don and me, the census would be an essential basis for our studies of "human ecology." Further, if we made the census our first item of business, it would give us an opportunity to meet all of the people on the island.

"General recognition of distance is implied in terms like igei, 'here' and igelan, 'there'. Igan, also translated 'here', seems to indicate an intermediate [7] distance. Ei, following a noun, means approximately 'this'; i lal, 'that'. The same distinction appears in the pronouns melēn, 'this', and menna, 'that'. There are two words for the direction upward: iät, implying a moderate distance, and wënang, a great one, as of clouds or stars. Relative measurement of space is accomplished rather precisely, in such work as canoe-building, by use of improvised measuring sticks, marked or broken off at the length desired, which then can be matched in another place. Measuring cords are used for the same purpose. A given length is halved or quartered by doubling or redoubling the cord.

More abstract units of measurement seem to be confined to the span and the fathom. The terms for both these units are used with numerical prefixes. One span is seang; two, ruang; three, selang, four, vang. One fathom is sengaf, and so on.

Greater distances are not measured with any exactness. Distances overland on Ifalik are so short, and so universally known, that there is little need to discuss them. For distances overseas there seems to be no native unit of measurement. In giving sailing directions in English, Tom named relatively short distances in miles. For example, 'because of currents, take first (the star) Tagalemailepalevang for 4 miles; then Tubwumailepalevang, for 1 mile; then Wolewol. After following Wolewol for 1 1/2

miles, you should be able to see Faraulep.' No corresponding native unit of distance was found. Apparently navigators have to judge such distances by experience. Total distances to other islands are commonly measured in terms of time, such as 'an overnight voyage.' "

1: Burrows--81-82 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 823 Ifalik

"Lore of Currents"

On any voyage, as soon as the canoe is out of the pass and far enough from the island it is leaving to be clear of currents affected by that body of land, the direction of the current in the open sea is tested. First the sheet is let go and the sail left flapping until the canoe loses headway. Then several light lines, weighted with sinkers, are lowered over [82] the sides. Each has attached to it a strip of coconut leaf, as shown in Figure 18, to act as a weather vane. The lines are lowered until these strips are far enough below the surface not to be knocked about by waves, but are still in plain sight. The current will then swing them around until the longer end points in the direction in which it is flowing. The several lines provide a check on each other, and prevent the navigator from being misled by some accident, such as a swirl of water around bow or stern, that might affect one of the vanes.

The captain then picks his course to allow for the current. If, for example, the current is flowing from north to south, he will choose a guiding star farther north than the true direction of the island he is heading for. Thus he guards against one of his great perils, --drifting off his course (mennāxo)."

1: Burrows--82-83
116, 487, 502, 823

(1947-48)

Woleaians 12
Ifalik

"Detailed Sailing Directions

The following directions include, besides guiding stars, some further directions: a rear sight on Ifalik while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been misled. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali-or tubwuli-for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifalik to Woleai and Return

Guiding Stars- Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.

Rear Sight- Keep Matolo, the channel between Falārik and Falālap, 'open'; that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ellā in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falālap are visible to the south of it.

Birds- If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it). [83]

Stars for Return Trip-The star indicating the true direction is Elieli. If the current flows north, take a course between Elieli and Mailap; if it flows south, between Elieli and Sarabwol."

1: Burrows--173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775, 823 Ifalik

"Tom said that the gods of navigation live in a part of the sky reserved for them, but did not give it a name. Since Virár is one of these gods, it might be inferred that this place is Ururio (Ruialo), named as his home. Yet the myths about seamanship are set largely in Bwennap, which seems identifiable with the earthly island Pulap (p. 163). Longolap and Longorlk travelled from there to Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei). Pie li Eluluei resembles Bwennap (but not Pulap) in having only sand and one tree above ground, but a large and populous place below, abounding in all food-producing plants. Sarfert-Damm name another residence of Aluluei - the island Piemal, three months' journey by canoe to the south of Ifalik.

'Naturally, the gods of navigation were accomplished travelers. Aluluei went from Bwennap to the strangely similar Pie li Eluluei by magic. Valur and his brother Wëriëng went by canoe from Bwennap to Truk; and Valur, after he changed his name to Sagol, visited Ifalik and all the islands about. Since the canoes of these gods roam the skies as well as the seas, there is no great difficulty in supposing that they could take off from one medium to the other, like a sea-plane. Nevertheless, the information at hand does not enable us to plot the celestial islands on a chart."

4: Krämer--124-125 (1909) 1937 Woleaians -1-3
116, 103, 823 Elato

The following islands are known and in addition numerous rocks are named: eastwards, tuas:

Sëtoval*
Pikëlo** (lo anchorage) (NE)
Pik ("small island")***
Olóul or Volóul (Onóun Volume 61 page 191)

Mágur
Ulalu
Piserar
Fáiau ("stone")
Lámoil
Rua
Murilo
Rug or Djug (Truk page 19)

Póloat****
Sog
Tametam
Pol'lap [126]
Lémma (Nama
Lámolu (Námoluk)
Lukulór (Lukunor)
Lukuór (Nukuor)
Pikeram(Kapingamar-
Ingadjig(Ngatik)[angi)
Fálepei (Ponape)
Maki (Mokil)
Pingelap
Gajau (Kusae Truk page 53)

*East: Oraisaŭ, Suat, Póloat. North: Uraitúefu, Gaitag (east of Pikëlo (2)).
**Also Pikelot, supposedly named after the fish lot.
***West: Bäbä (near Gaitag), north: Sapan, Móul, east: Olipig, Fauriap, Onóun.
****South: Rúral, Sog.

4: Krämer--124-125 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 103, 823 Elato

Ebon in Ralik
Salevis (Djalūt)
Laur

North:

Miriales (=Marianas Spanish)
Faiau (high) and south of it
Ralugoisong. (Vorolegeisam

West:

Oléa
Faróilep
Ifaluk

Aúrupig
Sorol
Feis ("Rocky")
Ulûtiu or Ulutiu(Moke-
Eap [mok)
Ngólu
Ban noe(Palau I, page
Sóngorol [184)
Bul
Merir
a Tógobei (Tobi)

A. V. Chamisso. . . tells us that the Ralik and Ratak Islands were known to a native of Lamureck whom he met on Guajan. On Arno. . . in the Ratak group, there lived five natives of Lamureck who had been cast adrift and carried to this island.

The Names of the Parts of the Ocean are:
between Lámotrek and Sëtoval= Oireg*
between Lámotrek and Olimarau=Goisa
between Lámotrek and Elat =Mëtol

* Woirä; but it is not mentioned that on Sätoval Lamotrek is said to be called Lamõireg.

4: Krämer--124-125
116, 103, 823

(1909) 1937

Woleaians-3
Elato

between Lámotrek and Ifaluk=a Pilerup
between Lámotrek and Fariolep =Pilimetau

4: Krämer--273-275 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 823 Woleai

On Oleai, the following islands are known:

Waghal, Guajan or Guam (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 93).

Bannŏe	Eā̆urpĕk
Eap	Faráūlap (Fadjaūlap), also Faroelap
Katogóbei (Tobi)	
Merir	Ifaluk
Bul	Wolé̊a
Sóngorol	Elát
Soról	Olimarāo
Ngolu	Námodjek
Namolūlūtíu (Mogemog)	Sĕtovan
Fais	Fáiĕo [274]
Pikĕlo	Setovalaito
Pikĕlot	Nukulóor, Nukuor
Poloat	Pikĕram (Kapinga...)
Sóuk	
Tamèlam	Vóroluk
Bón'nap (Pollap)	Ingádjik (Ngatik)
Volóul (Onoun)	Fálepei (Ponape)
Pisĕrars (...ĕdj)	Pingelap

Volou
Mákor
Faiĕoín
Namoín
Falálu
Rūo
Mūrilo
Dju (Truk)
Losap
Némo
Namolúk
Gúiop

Mokil
Gadjau (Kusae)

Rātak
Tapitóuĕ (Gilbert Islands)
Arorai
Náuro

Sáneuis
Jépōn
Vŏu

lugáiapal is the term for any place where the sun happens to be at zenith, e.g., the tropics. Anything north or south is considered this side and that, peigil ma peigil.

The native, Kadu, mentions the visit of Palau (see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 31).

Lands (falu) in the south, countries of the black people:

In the East, South of Pikeram:

Faluelnugaraurau

In the West, South of Bunat (St. Davids):

Falučlidjel
Falučlikelau

Faluelnumáu	Faluĕliep
Faluelnúdja	Jĕvisi
Faluelnutétĕn	Námofizi
Faluelluiól	
Faluelnauporoi	Mores

These statements are of importance in view of the special nautical experience of the Oleai islanders due to old-established contacts of the Carolinians and Melanesians, but nevertheless localization is extremely difficult. In Lukunor-Namoluk Nudja is listed, which probably is the known island of Nusa at the northern tip of Tombara. Numau here may be identical with Numul there; Nuiol may equal Nuol, etc., so that the Melanesian places in the past [275] most likely must have been known over a wide area.

6: Senfft--55
116, 823

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The natives have a thorough knowledge of the stars and configuration and use it to determine the geographical position of other islands; their knowledge of geography thus covers an extensive area.

14: Born et al--568-570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-1-2
152, 823 Woleai

[MR: During the typhoon of March, 1907] We soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been

wrenched from the ground with all its roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER III

MAPPING THE BOONDOCKS

THE IDEA was to study the human ecology of Ifaluk: the interrelations of man, his culture, and the environment. For man and his culture there was the reservoir of information accumulated by Burrows and Spiro during their 1948 residence on the island: studies which Ted planned to continue during his second visit. Don and I, with the enthusiasm of amateurs, wanted to help in this anthropological work. But there was also the environment to be studied—the land, the reef, the lagoon, the sea, the plants and animals. This "simple" situation—260 people living on half of a square mile of coral rock and sand—was incredibly complex.

When we had finished the counting, weighing and measuring of *Homo sapiens*, the next step seemed to be a start with the environment. The logical first move here was a map, a topographic survey of the situation.

The map problem was greatly simplified by the fact that a little previously a Navy reconnaissance plane had made a series of vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the whole atoll. The Ifalukians were fascinated by these photographs. They seemed to have no trouble at all in grasping the significance of either the vertical or oblique shots, and most people easily recognized the major landmarks, even locating their particular family dwellings. They knew the atoll thoroughly, and the aerial photographs gave them a chance to stand off and look at the whole thing at once, for the first time.

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48) Woleaians 12
116, 241, 824 Ifalik

"If we may use the word taro for a moment in a broader sense than the botanists would approve, there are three main types on Ifalik. The one that should not be called taro is the giant arum (filē; Alocasia macrorrhiza) sometimes called in English by the Polynesian name kape. A second is the coarse yellow-fleshed pulaka (pulax, Cyrtosperma chamissonis) grown on atolls far and wide over the Pacific, commonly in artificial pits. The third is true taro, of the type favored on high islands (wot, Colocasia esculenta). This is smaller than the other two, and its leaves are rounded where theirs come to three points. Its flesh is finer-grained, gray in color with a purplish cast.

The giant arum of filē is less exacting in the matter of soil than the others. It grows rankly about the edges of water-holes or, apparently, whereever it can get plenty of moisture from below. Though the natives plant it and weed around it, they eat it much less than the others. (Tom said this was a matter of individual taste, and possibly we did not happen to observe households particularly fond of filē.) Two reasons were given for this. One is that not all women know how to prepare filē properly. A good deal of the outside must be taken off, for one thing. If it is not properly prepared the minute spicules in it will bite the tongue and throat. The other reason is that 'If a man eats filē, he won't catch any fish.'

Pulax is the type grown in greatest quantity in the Falālāp taro swamp (nibwel--to

distinguish from niwel, which means forest or 'bush'.) Everybody on either island has a hereditary right to share in at least one patch in this swamp.

Wot is grown in smallest quantity, apparently because it requires most cultivation. Though highly esteemed, it does not seem to be preferred to pulax to any such extent as on high islands, where pulax may be considered fit only for areas where nothing better will grow. Young leaves of wot, tenderer than those of pulax and filē, are chopped up, stripped of their ribs and cooked for greens."

"Though bananas (wir) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (mogmog; Tacca leontopetaloides) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (mwisi) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar-cane (wou; Saccharum officinarum) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is gop (Portulaca samoensis). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear very little, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I can not recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were avūs (Crataeva speciosa) and song (Bruguiera conjugata). The nuts of kazās

(Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the aroma (Pipturus argenteus) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream."

" Native Timber Trees

Names of other trees used for timber, with more specific notes on the uses, follow:

aro-Straight shoots used for palings on house walls, or slats on canoe platforms; saplings used for canoe poles; large trunks for house posts.

gaingei-Proverbially strong. Used for some of the small pieces of canoe outrigger attachment. A favorite for levers, poles, walking sticks.

kelau, kalua-First choice for house posts. Said to be very durable in the ground.

kili-A small tree. The tough wood is used for canoe paddles and smaller house timbers.

lel-House timber.

mog-House timber.

ragēs-(Also called sevāng and vitou) canoe end-posts and outrigger booms.

sol-House timber.

treli-a hard wood with various uses; its forks favored for the forked sticks attaching outrigger floats to booms.

wutu-House timber.

tria-Hard, straight-grained wood used to make men's combs."

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 278, 824 Ifalik

"The following list of plants used for medicine was obtained during the general survey of plants and their uses. Many remedies are hereditary secrets, so the list is certainly not complete. As will appear in the list of rituals seen (p. 184-6), the main emphasis is not on herbal remedies, but on getting supernatural help.

angorlk-aromatic herb, put in medicine ritually prepared, blessed by the gods, and drunk as a preventive. Also considered healthful in drinking water for babies.

aro-a green leafy branch is waved over the medicine as part of the ritual, dipped in the bowl, and used to sprinkle these who are taking part.

bwogorewau-an aromatic sedge that grows in the taro swamp. Said to be very good for the stomach, if taken in coconut juice. Used in babies' drinking water.

korax-Herb. Used medicinally; no details obtained.

livaltus-Tree. Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric, strained into water for babies to drink.

olu-Leaves wrapped in coconut fabric and soaked in water, which is then drunk to help stomach trouble and loss of appetite.

sol-Some men know (informant did not) how to make a medicine from this tree to cure a red eruption on the skin.

song-Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric and strained into water for babies to drink.

ualomax-A vine. Infusion of leaves drunk for stomach."

1: Burrows--43-44 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 824 Ifalik 1.2

"Both men and women, but especially men, are fond of wearing flowers on the head, about the neck, or in the hole in the lobe of the ear. A few kinds such as the red hibiscus, are worn for color only; but fragrance seems to be even more prized.

angorIk-(turmeric) The crushed leaves are rubbed on the skin, hung in the ear-hole, or worn wherever they will hang. Especially fragrant when [44] partly dried. One of the plants beloved of the gods, which grows in the sky as well as on earth.

aro-This tree, whose leafy branches are used in ritual, has also a fragrant flower.

atogobwei-A vine. Lovers are said to rub the leaves on their necks to sweeten their embraces.

Flerōs-(Red hibiscus). For color only.

giop-(Spider lily). For form, color, and fragrance.

guruguru-Herb with aromatic root.

Kerriō-Bush with clusters of small flowers used in garlands.

raguēs-(also called geval and sevang) fragrant flower.

remag-(also called natu) Flowers worn in hair, or used for garlands.

seuru-(Plumeria) For color as well as fragrance.

waryng-An herb with aromatic leaves, grown on house platforms. The gods grow this in the sky.

wutu-The long-tubed white flowers of this tree are prized for their fragrance. This, too, grows in the sky."

1: Burrows--44-45
116, 824

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Miscellaneous Uses of Plants

Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, riri, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, ènènux, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing.

Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called ueluelio̅p, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called bogo li le pā is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the aroma tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader.

The aerial roots of the giliao, a banyan, are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe, before the permanent lashing of sennit cord is put on.

A dried moss is sometimes laid between the planks of a canoe. It is said to [45] decrease leaking. This was not done, however, in any of several canoes built during our stay on the island."

1: Burrows--45
116, 824

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The following plants were dismissed as weeds ('blong nothing'):
atilt, a small herb.

buyol-The creeping grass which is the great pest of the taro swamp.

kamarag-Staghorn fern, apt to overrun the ground under the breadfruit trees.

Keisis-also kevakual. Small herbs.

talingilipat-mushroom or fungus--'Many kinds, one name'."

"The visible trappings of religion on Ifalik, like nearly all their artifacts are extremely simple. The so-called 'house of the gods' at Weluāra differs neither in appearance nor use from any other dwelling. The most distinctive building on the atoll, the men's house at Katēlū, has indeed some religious significance. The equipment for Maroligar's special ritual, described on p. _____, is kept there, and a cloth commonly hangs on the front wall as an offering to a god. But the symbolism of this building, as shown in the chapter on government, emphasizes human rank and authority more than religion.

Most conspicuous of religious emblems are what I have called shrines on some of the house platforms, just outside one end - the western end in every case I noticed - of a dwelling. These are little round flower-beds, about a yard in diameter, spread with clean, smooth sand that contrasts with the coral gravel of the rest of the platform. They are called tariaga (once recorded as tariege), but if Tom and I managed to understand each other on this point, the general word for flowers (mware), is also sometimes applied to them. The plants grown on them emphasize verdure and fragrance rather than blossoms: the large 'elephant-ear' leaves of true tar (wot) also prized as food; an occasional sprouting coconut, with leaves two or three feet high; and various aromatic shrubs, such as warung. During a ceremony the greenery was supplemented by a whole fresh coconut leaf and a leafy shoot of aro, stuck into the sand.

Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition

to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlltr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

28: Spiro--88 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 824 Ifalik

"Besides water and milk, the infant is fed some special medicine twice a day--morning and night--for the first three months. This medicine is a concoction of water in which are mixed the leaves of the ragnz, galua, and karavwan trees. This medicine is given to make the baby's 'stomach very fine.'"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs

1: Burrows--82 (1947-48) Woleaians
825 Ifalik

"Birds-If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to Mwarigari instead of Ulu, two white sea birds (paiennai, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the paiennai birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called malrang, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it)."

28: Spiro--7 [4]
116, 136, 825

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The only indigenous mammals are rats, whose activities are by no means restricted to the bush, however. Aside from the rats, lizards are the only other indigenous animals. There are a number of species of lizards, ranging in size from the very tiny to the giant lizards, of which there are two, both of whom were imported from Yap for the purpose of exterminating the rats. (9) Neither rats nor lizards are eaten, and the natives were repelled by the suggestion."

"9. An interesting sidelight on 'primitive logic' confronts us at this point. The natives distinguish each species of lizards by a separate name, and do not classify them under a generic title. To them they are different kinds of organisms, so that one kind is the object of a genuine phobia, but the others are looked upon with indifference."

28: Spiro--57
116, 775, 825

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The alusengau, it might be added, are also responsible for all dangerous and noxious creatures--they created the flies, mosquitos, sharks, etc."

6: Senfft--55
116, 764, 826

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

When there is a death in the family the nearest relatives cut off their hair.

28: Spiro--87-88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 826 Ifalik

"Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut, the nourishment consisting of the breast-milk and water, the latter always preceeding the former. But the water is more than water; it is 'medicine' as well. That is the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorik, and is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother feeds water to the infant she squeezes the walewa which has absorbed the water, so that the water streams into the infant's mouth. This practice often is disturbing to the baby, because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Besides, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as its streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow. [88]

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed whenever it cries, or whenever it turns.

The breast, then, serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That the breast assumes the function of pacifier is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at the breast, or else place it in their mouths."

28: Spiro--21 (1947-48)1949 Woleaians
827, 514, 177, 636 Ifalik

"The chiefs informed the people that they were to follow implicitly the recommendations made by the Military Government officers and the Navy doctors, about clearing the rubbish around their houses, and building over-water heads (1)."

"1. This is an example of navy unwarranted generalization. On Yap the natives defecate on the ground, with the result that Yap is plagued with diseases of all kinds. The Navy has encouraged the natives to build over-water heads to preclude the polluting of the ground, and thus preventing disease. When they arrived on Ifaluk, they assumed that the Ifaluk pattern was similar to Yap's, and suggested to the chiefs that over-water heads be erected. This suggestion, however, was entirely unnecessary since the Ifaluk natives almost invariably use the lagoon for their ablutions, abhoring the sight and smell of faeces."

28: Spiro--83 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 842, 827 Ifalik

"As between boys and girls, the latter are preferable. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but then qualified this equality by saying that 'boy more down,' expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that 'boy more down' because the girls can have babies (when they become mature, of course) but the boys cannot, and this was the decisive factor. When discussing the relative status of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasized, again, the great importance and value of children. (3)"

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]"

"3. [Footnote p. 83] One can also question the native's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement. For though it is true that only the women bear the children, the men play an equally important role in conception, which they seem to completely overlook in this regard. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occured to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, 'You talk true', and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this stiuation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology, it will be recalled that Legobub, the primordial goddess, gave birth to three children, without having a male consort. This 'virgin birth' is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but rather accepted without question.

It is possible that their knowledge of physiological paternity has been borrowed since contact, and has not become integrated into the indigenous belief. But this theory is entirely speculative, there being no way to establish it."

28: Spiro--88-89 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 827, 865 Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

28: Spiro--90 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 863, 514, 827 Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--91-92
116, 862, 593, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--96 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 869 Ifalik

"Children ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, and are answered in accord with the traditional body of knowledge. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portend of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house.

Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue.

A hiccough (alowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for a long time, without attempting to do anything to stop it."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28x Spiro--116 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--120
344, 827, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"2. The fanap, the 'townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tattooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their justaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, its presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The choice of the ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--121 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 841, 827, 753 Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--125 [2]
116, 831, 827, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--127 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 832 Ifalik

"Standards of sexual beauty, of course, are culturally variable, but it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since they insisted on the great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman in the TAT, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the 'big' (that is, thick) legs of another woman in the TAT. But all questioning this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex says that the women remove their pubic hair because the men consider it unaesthetic. Inquiry did not bear out this contention. It is true that many women do remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Second, the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts. The water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and will thus be noticeable, much to their embarassment."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

28: Spiro--128 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 827, 833 Ifalik

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

28: Spiro--129 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 514, 827 Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--144-145 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 264 Ifalik

"After eating the people may belch with impunity. Belching is simply not considered indecent, as it is in our society, nor is it an indication of having enjoyed the meal, as it is in other societies. It is just a neutral physiological act. [145]

The same is true, incidentally, of picking one's nose. People do this in public without any sense of shame."

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

2; Damm et al. --87
753, 828

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugēilān himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mās), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

8: Senfft--284
161, 784, 828

(1905) 1906

Woleaians
Gaferut

This island [MR: Grimes] is known to the natives by the name of "Gaferut," but they have never visited it. They call it the "devil's island" and are afraid to come near it. Yet they were unable to explain their fear for not even any member of the crew of the ship had seen it.

28: Spiro--96 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 828 Ifalik

"Dreams (tal), are inexplicable. [WPM: see p. 96, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7.]"

28: Spiro--136 a [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 828, 764 Ifalik

"Both men and women recognize differential sexual reactions, (temperaments), and numerous men and women I questioned agreed completely, without exception on the following facts. A woman is more sensitive than a man, and is hurt much more readily, so that her feeling of sorrow at the loss of a relative is much greater. This accounts, they say, for her behavior at funerals, tearing her face and hair. (18)

A woman loves her children more intensely than does the man. (19) The man is more prone to anger than the woman, and his anger is more intense. His anger cannot be appeased by his wife, whereas the wife's anger can be assuaged by her husband. A man is braver than a woman, so that the latter fears such dangers as typhoons, sharks, airplanes, etc. more than the man. The woman succumbs to illness more readily than the man. She will take to her bed at small provocation, whereas the men will go about his work."

"18. This funeral behavior is culturally patterned, so that it is interesting to note the use made of a culturally expected behavior pattern being employed to indicate a factor of feminine character.

19. This shown in the songs collected by Dr. Burrows, many of which are mother's lamentation for their dead children or praise of them."

28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--54-55
116, 156, 787, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-15
Ifalik

"In contrast to the general infrequency of possession is the frequency with which Arogeligar is possessed. Unfortunately I did not record the number of times he was possessed, but hardly a week passed without his being possessed at least once. And invariably he would blow blasts on his whistle and walk through the village hoping to induce others to follow him. Often these possessions occured late at night after most people were asleep. Unlike the others, who are possessed by the alusisalup, Arogeligar is possessed by an Alusiang, the Ifaluk patron diety, Tilitr. This possession is known as 'abwuter aluseuelaush', our father has come.'

We may now look at two cases of possession that I witnessed. The first happened two nights after a two day ceremony. We were sitting in our tenst when we heard singing and the shrill blows of a whistle, and I went out to see what was happening. The people of the house closest to our tent were seated in the courtyard, singing what was obviously a chapeng, but this in itself did not mean a possession since the singing of chapengs in the evening is not at all unusual. I was then attracted by a much louder singing proceeding from another house much further from our tent. When I arrived, I noticed that there were about 20 people seated in front of the house, singing a chapeng, and that a few showed minor degrees of possession, by euphoric smiles on their faces, the quality of the singing, and the movement of their arms and bodies. Arogeligar was leading the

singing, and was obviously 'high.' Normally he would greet me with a smile, and with the native greeting of mauwas. That night, however, and indeed on all nights that he was possessed or high--and usually it was both--he would greet me with one of the few English phrases he had picked up--'good morning'--in a shrill voice, accompanied by a sharp jerk of his arm in my direction. By this time Dr. Burrows had arrived, as well, and he offered us both a wreath. It was evident that he had been possessed before we had arrived, and had come out of the possession, but was still influenced by it, and this impression was later confirmed when our boy, Talimera, informed me that the alus had come to Arogeligar. After about half an hour of singing, he announced that he was going to the home of Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, and invited us to accompany him. The women remained behind, and he was accompanied by the young men, all singing as they walked up the path, whilst he was blowing his whistle. Talimera had just been possessed, too, as he informed me the next day. At Paluelimar's there was more singing, and at Arogeligar's request, Paluelimar placed tobacco on the shrine in his courtyard. After about twenty minutes, the entire group left Paluelimar to go to Tom's house. Arogeligar asked Tom to tell us that he and the boys were going to continue their walking through the woods, and that it would be better if we returned, which, of course, we did. I heard singing and whistling until late into the night, when I finally fell asleep.

The next day, Talimera informed me that a woman had been bathing in the channel

between Felarik and Falalap in the early evening, and an alusengau had frightened her by throwing stones at her, and by rustling the water. Just about the same time Arogeligar was possessed, and he frightened the alusengau, so that it had separated.

On the evening of Octoger fifth, I was scoring the day's Rorschach records when I heard chapeng singing coming from a near-by house. I went to investigate, followed later by Dr. Burrows. Arogeligar was just leaving the courtyard of the house, as we approached. This time he recited his 'good morning' again, but instead of jerking his arm as a form of greeting, he seized the hand of Dr. Burrows and kissed it.

As we came to the house, we saw the members of the family seated, singing a chapeng, but we could not make out their movements, since it was a coal-black night there being no moon. We sat down, and the husband of one of the women of the house brought us a mat, and also a small fire, and explained that the alus had arrived.

With the aid of the light, we could now make out the two women, Levagoman and [55] Tavelear who were seated in front of the doorway, and the other members of the household who were seated in the courtyard. The former was was a widow, in her late thirties, and the latter, her 'sister', a very beautiful woman in her early thirties, whose husband whom she had not seen for a year, had just returned from Woleae the previous day. Tavelear was obviously possessed. She was singing the chapeng in a tremulous

voice, with a pronounced trebel, clapping her thighs to the rhythm of the music, and intermittently breaking into laughter and hysterical giggles. Her voice was quite hoarse, and at times was scarcely audible, so that she would sing in a falsetto. Throughout she was gay and 'happy', in a strange way. There is little doubt but that her behavior was hysterical. I had known her very well, having spent much time in her house observing her baby, and it was difficult for me to realize that this was Taveliar. Normally she is quiet, taciturn, not given to exaggerated movements of any kind. The contrast was glaring. This hysterical seizure lasted about fifteen minutes, after which, she passed out of it, singing along with the rest, but in her normal voice, and patently exhausted. (13)"

"13. [See following sheet for footnote 13.]"

"13. [Footnote 13, p. 55] It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for her posession. Her husband had just returned the day before from Woleae, where he had been living quite a long time. She had a suckling baby that could not yet walk, and intercourse is prohibited until the baby can walk. Now Tavelear has the reputation of being a sensuous woman, and Tom often remarked how difficult it had been to satisfy her sexually when he had had an affair with her. Now her husband had returned, she had been with him for two days, and could not yet have intercourse, which for her constituted a severe frustration. Her aroused sexual feelings that could not find a normal expression, were 'converted' or canalized into the hysterical seizure. This, of course, is in agreement with the psychoanalytic interpretation of conversion hysteria in general.

The dance she performed during the seizure lends credence to this interpretation. It was a most sensuous dance--her hips and thighs rolling and swaying to the weaving of her arms, in perfect sensuous rhythm. The atmosphere, Dr. Burrows and I agreed, seemed laden with sex."

28: Spiro--77-78 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 831 Ifalik

"Songs are abundant. Dr. Burrows collected over two-hundred songs, which are of three kinds. The bwarux are the love songs, which formed the largest category. These are composed by the women and are traditionally sung by the women to their sweethearts as a prelude to love-making, while they perform a love-dance. They are also sung and danced, as we have already seen, during fishing expeditions. [78]

These songs, are quite candid in their treatment of sexual organs and processes and sexual practices, which stands in marked contrast to the customary avoidance of any sexual allusion in daily life."

28: Spiro--94
116, 123, 858, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--106 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-12
116, 857, 524, 831 Ifalik

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

28: Spiro--106 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 857, 524, 831 Ifalik

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--120
344, 827, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"2. The fanap, the 'townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tattooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their justaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, its presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The choice of the ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

28: Spiro--125 [2]
116, 831, 827, 152

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--128 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 521, 533, 831, 562 Ifalik

"Sex is a favorite topic of conversation, among the men and women both, though it is completely taboo in mixed company. The men, young and old, sitting about in the canoe houses in the evening sing bwarux, though only the women are supposed to sing them. And there is the almost universally-found ribbing and kidding of others with respect to sex. My informants were very happy to talk to me about sexual relations, and were in constant good humor, kidding and ribbing each other and me throughout. As Aluelimar, the elderly informant put it: 'No can leave talk about women.'"

28: Spiro--128 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 533, 177 Ifalik

"The young men were eager to learn of sexual practices in America, as were the adult informants. Women, when alone, are constantly singing bwarux. When the men make the statuettes which they sell to the ships, there is usually some kidding about the length of the penis. In one case Taualimen was carving a man with a long penis, and was about it every day. Otilivok one day, while this kidding was going on, went to a corner, and carved very diligently for a long time, finally coming back with a carved vagina, which he gave to Taualimen."

28: Spiro--128 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 831, 827, 177 Ifalik

"Though the people are neither modest in dress nor in sexual practice, in terms of western standards, that is, they are actually quite puritanical. Any sexual reference or term, either anatomical or physiological, is completely taboo in mixed company.

As we have seen, a man does not even permit another man to see his genitals. And anyone would be horrified if a member of the opposite sex had seen him nude. (9)"

"9. The Japanese shocked the sensibilities of the Ifaluk by bathing in the nude. Women would run away if they saw the Japanese bathing, as they were shocked by their boldness."

28: Spiro--129 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 593, 115 Ifalik

"This puritanism goes great lengths. A man would never dream of kissing his wife goodbye, not because kissing does not constitute a form of displaying of affection, but because of the absolute shame of being seen engaging in a sexual activity. No man would even hold the hand of his wife in public for the same reason. Our adolescent pattern of hand-holding would shock any Ifalukian. Any overt form of sexual activity or display of fondness between the sexes is inhibited. The candid reference to the sexual anatomy and physiology in the love songs stands in glaring contrast to their public attitude of shame. This means that one never sees overt affection displayed between spouses. One might interpret this as lack of affection, but this would be an untenable interpretation. In the intimacy of their homes, affection is shown, and patently felt. A wife will serve her husband, with no expressed feeling of gratitude on his part in public. But in private this pattern is different. One afternoon, for example, Tom and I were administering a battery of tests, and his wife came up bringing us coconuts to drink. Tom was very pleased at this gesture, his face beamed with pleasure, and he exclaimed: 'My wife, my wife! Very good that my wife.' On another occasion, I was giving his wife one of the tests, and she did not respond very well. Tom became quite angry at her, so that her feelings were hurt. He was immediately sorry for his treatment of her, smiled at her, and all was forgiven."

28: Spiro--129 [2]
116, 831, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same puritanical attitude is displayed with reference to excretory behavior. All people perform their ablutions in the lagoon so that they are in public view. But they would be terribly ashamed if a person, even of their own sex were to see them urinating or defecating on land. If a man urinates, and other men are present, he will bend down on his haunches, so that his penis is concealed. A person in a group who must evacuate his bowels or bladder will not tell where he is going, when he leaves. He says, 'I am going over there.' Flatulation is in the same category. Should a person flatulate in public, people laugh at him, and he is greatly ashamed."

28: Spiro--129 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 192 Ifalik

"Unlike our own culture, sexual and excretory words are not employed as obscenities, with one exception. There are only two 'swear words' on Ifaluk: Go copulate with your mother (or father), And ganizin, literally, 'I (give food) to my mother'. This is obscene, say the natives, because you invoke the name of your mother in vain, which is bad. But I am inclined to interpret the phrase in psychoanalytic symbolism. The fact that the only tabooed words are sexual and excretory, and the fact that the other 'swear word' is a commission of incest, I think it not unlikely that the frequently found equation of eating with sexual intercourse applies here, and the seemingly innocuous phrase (unconsciously) means intercourse.

The former, go copulate with your mother (father)' is used by the children when taunting one another. The latter, ganizin, is used often, and is equivalent to our dammit.' That is, if one hits his fingers with a hammer, or a fish escapes, or a flint will not give a spark, the person will often express his anger or frustration, by muttering, ganizin. In other words, it is a means of 'letting off steam.'"

28: Spiro--129-130 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 192, 831 Ifalik

"All obscene words are called 'kapat engau', literally, 'bad talk.' It is of interest to note that though there are many forms of bad talk, culturally defined, such as lying, gossiping, etc., it is only obscene conversation that is literally designated as 'bad talk.' The young men and boys have devised a special sexual vocabulary which enables them to talk about sex, without betraying that fact to others. They employ one term, chagiach, which, as far as I could determine, was a universal generic term referring to any aspect of sexual anatomy or physiology, the meaning of which depends upon the context. Aside from this generic term, there [130] are two specific terms. The native words for penis and vagina (gai and tingi, respectively) which are completely taboo, are replaced by the terms, tamoneliman, and tamolelitrauwut, in which the root tamon means 'chief,' and the roots man and trauwut mean man and woman, respectively.

Now neither of the above substitutions corresponds to our distinctions between polite and obscene forms of words. The distinction does not exist here, all sexual terms being taboo. On the other hand, there is one term which does have a socially acceptible polite term, as well as one which is taboo. Gamar, the word for lover, is tabooed. However, if the occasion calls for the mention of the concept, a circumlocution is used--tralia-mukakat. (11)"

"11. My knowledge of the language is inadequate to break this down into its component roots. The boys insisted that it was merely a nonsense term. On the other hand, tral means water, and kapat means to speak."

28: Spiro--130
116, 831, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This same verbal taboo applies as well to excretory references. No mention may be made of them in mixed company, not even one's own wife. For example, Tom's brother-in-law was ill, and I brought him some medicine. I wanted to know whether his bowel movement was regular, and asked Tom to ask him. Tom tried but he stuttered and blurted out nothing. Finally, he asked his wife, who was sitting with us, to leave the room. When she left, he could then address my question to his brother-in-law."

28: Spiro--130 [?] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

28: Spiro- 131 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 789, 831 Ifalik

"Despite the importance of sex, there are no supernatural techniques of obtaining love or sexual favors, no love magic. The natives said that love magic is found on Truk, but no one had brought it from Truk, since all the people would fear it."

28: Spiro--133-134 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 581, 462, 831 Ifalik

"When I asked my informants why people marry, I provoked great laughter. The men looked at me with amazement, as if I were incredibly naive, and then Auelimar, [134] the oldest of the men raised his hands towards me, and forming a circle with the forefinger and thumb of his left hand, thrust the forefinger of his left hand into it[sic]--an obvious symbol of intercourse. When the laughter had died away, I pointed out that men and women could have sexual relations without marriage, so there must be other reasons as well for marrying. They replied that if a person did not marry, people would talk about him, implying that the unmarried state is not quite normal. And all would ask him, 'Who will give you chow?' This is a recurrent theme, in the case of both males and females--a spouse is necessary in order to obtain food. In a culture which has a strict sexual division of labor with respect to the production and preparing of food, this factor does assume importance. Yet there seems little doubt that sex is the preeminent reason for marriage, other factors being equal. This is indicated further by the response of my informants to the question as to whether the institution of marriage to inanimate objects is practiced.' Suppose she no alive, what he copulate?', was the immediate response, rather than, 'suppose she no alive who cook for him?'"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a constant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present completely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur, the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too," he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

1: Burrows--197-198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 832, 533 Ifalik

"Another gap in the pattern is love magic. Lovemaking is perhaps the dominant [198] interest during the early years of maturity, and this interest is slow to wane. Throughout life, if only by reflection, it is one of the major interests. Study of sexual life was left to Spiro but this point was apparent even in casual observation and conversation. It is reflected, too, in song texts. The very name of the love song and accompanying dance (bwarux) is forbidden in mixed company, itself an indication that the subject is exciting. Yet love songs are the most numerous, and the most frequently heard of any kind of song. There is divination in the course of lovemaking, and it is mentioned in the songs. If there were any attempt to win love by magic, that would undoubtedly be mentioned too."

2: Damm et al. --189 [8] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 832 Faraulep

The lips of the vulva (fix) are artificially lengthened.

11: Born--187 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 304, 832 Woleai

Many, but not all of the women and girls are tattooed on the mons Veneris. The pattern represents a bird or a kalong with outstretched wings, the tips of the wings touching the groins, the point of the beak pointing toward the vulva.

28: Spiro--123
116, 832, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual behavior of sweethearts and of married couples is the same. Often, both man and woman will bathe and annoint themselves with coconut oil, use perfume, and generally beautify themselves. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux, for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only."

28: Spiro--127 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 832 Ifalik

"Standards of sexual beauty, of course, are culturally variable, but it was difficult to obtain the Ifaluk conception of sexual beauty, since they insisted on the great variability within the culture itself. Tom referred often to the small breasts of a woman in the TAT, which he admired greatly, and many men commented favorably on the 'big' (that is, thick) legs of another woman in the TAT. But all questioning this score produced only animated discussion and much laughter. Sarfert, in his discussion of sex says that the women remove their pubic hair because the men consider it unaesthetic. Inquiry did not bear out this contention. It is true that many women do remove their pubic hair, but for different reasons. Long pubic hair may injure the man's penis during intercourse. Second, the women bathe in the lagoon while wearing their skirts. The water on the pubic hairs may not dry when they emerge, and will thus be noticeable, much to their embarassment."

2; Damm et al. --75 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 833 Ifaluk

The natives talked with animation about the forms of coitus... On Ifaluk the usual procedure is for the woman to lie on her back, and the man to squat between her knees and to draw her legs over his thighs. Other forms were only known to a few men, who had learned them on Yap and Mogomog. After the intercourse the man cleans the vagina with his Lavalap.

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833, 201 Lamotrek

It is usual for the man to ask the woman whether she is willing to have sexual intercourse, ramoidjau. The woman expresses her consent by moving her hand over her face from the forehead down; this gesture is known as tŏfi (mat).

4: Krämer--142-143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833 Elato

The word for coitus is tengi.

It is usually preceded by lengthening of the labia minora and defloration of a virgin, ulut* which takes place as soon as the breasts of the girl begin to develop. The former is best known from Oleai. The mother calls in a man, the válevei. She sits on a porch, metalim, and the man and young girl stay in the gapel in the rear. For four days the man tries to stretch the labia minora, fir, which is considered absolutely necessary. The women laugh at a dărefir (not lengthened).

After four days follows the rupture of the hymen, ŋgatangat; the vagina is gradually widened, first with the fifth, and then with the fourth, third, second and first finger and finally with two fingers simultaneously. [143] The mother pays the man for his work, but probably not always. It is not certain whether he is the first to have intercourse with the girl. In any case, the valevei is taboo for the girl.**

*All women without children are also called ulut; a widow is known as lipidj.

**ua, boat; level, voyage... Thus the literal meaning of the word valevei is "boat of voyage," which is a beautiful name for this man; see Krämer Die Samoainseln, I, page 81 where the word used for the priests means "warship."

4: Krämer--143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173, 833 Elato

On Elato, Hambruch learned the following about the origin of coitus:

In olden times the people did not know anything about coitus. Then Lūgeilĕn came and saw a man and a woman, the man Temōnémōn and the woman Liparáre. She was very beautiful. "Well, what are you doing? Where is your husband?" "He is out fishing." "All right, go and bathe and afterwards I shall show you something pleasant." "But first I have a question to ask you. Do you like to have intercourse?" "I don't know." "Then go into the house. I shall show you something." And then he instructed the woman in sexual intercourse. The woman was very pleased about it. Lugeilĕn said good-bye to her. Being most interested in what she had just learned the woman completely forgot about her cooking. She ran down to the beach and called loudly for her husband: "Come, come, quickly! Leave the canoe and the fish. I'll show you something new!" "Whatever is the matter?" "Come, come quickly," and the man had to go into the house. The woman showed him how he was to lie down, because he did not know anything at all. When he did not have an erection, the woman took his penis in her hand and rubbed it thoroughly and then he could sleep with her. This they practiced for days and weeks until finally they had lost all their flesh. Then Lugeilĕn returned and asked the two: "What are you doing?" And they told him. "Oh, stop! You should do it only once a week, otherwise you will die." And they followed his suggestion.

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (gamar). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The gamar relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his gamar presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gamar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gamar, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the gamar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the

parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-5
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly?', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik,

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in a typhoon)
Not too close to shore,
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

"Sexual foreplay may include the kiss (tiluoal), the 'French' kiss (enguloa), kissing of the breast and nipple (etut), cunnilinguis (erangitingial, and felatio (erangai).

Lovers may employ culturally patterned words of endearment to express their love for each other. The generic term, Igatrux, (I like you, or love you) is employed to express any feeling of love or fondness existing between any two people, including sweethearts. The same is true of the superlative, Igatruxamesau, (I love you to death). There are at least two terms, however, that only lovers employ--Gamararangi (I love you very much), and Atimazei (You are my liver).

Intercourse is effected in three ways--with the woman lying on the ground, and the man squatting between her legs; the man lying on the ground, and the woman on top of him; or the man entering from the rear. Orgasm (zapash) is recognized in both men and women, though it was impossible to obtain information on the relative intensity of desire in men and women. The male informants did agree that there was a differential quantitative difference in the number of outlets males and females may enjoy. Men tire after two acts of intercourse, they maintained, but women do not tire. (5)"

"5. The men may merely be ignorant of the fact that women can have intercourse without desiring it."

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing (Ted[Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on
And says stand up; the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

In the presence of any member of the other sex the rules of etiquette are strictly observed. No improper word may be used; for example, every term applying to sexual relationship, and even the words for apron, bälebal and siwisif, are forbidden. If the group is not a mixed one, the conversation is extremely blunt. Even in the presence of little boys, the men discussed sexual matters, and the children laughed about them. In the same way, the women used obscene language when little girls were around. When Sarfert was alone with the women, they spoke in round about ways of intercourse. When he showed them a waliwot with penis, they imitated coitus movements with it, or suggested this with their fingers. They made no attempt to hide the fact that they wanted to sleep with Sarfert, but they were afraid of their husbands, and of the head chief. This bold and provocative demeanor is in striking contrast to the custom, which requires that in the presence of their husbands, the women shall be restrained, even shy and frightened. Sarfert could always tell the difference. When men were in the group, the women only dared show their affection for him by sly signals, which they made from a distance.

5: Kittlitz--155-56
116, 562, 609, 834

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

Here too all the women were hidden at first, and the men who accompanied us kept crying: farak! farak! [156] every time that we came near one of these little houses that were all closed up. If anyone of us made any move to stay there, the natives all behaved like people who did not want any fooling about the matter. But on the whole they paid much less attention to us than did the men on Lugunor, and it soon came about that I took one of the most frequented paths on Uleai and met a woman who was walking alone too. She did not flee as the ones on Lugunor had done; but when I tried to talk to her, she looked around anxiously as if she were afraid that somebody might be angry if she were seen with me; and on this account, I did not accompany her as far as the door of her dwelling. On the fourth day after our arrival the men themselves began to present their wives to us, but it was simply in order that we might give them presents because immediately afterwards we heard the farak! farak! again. On the morning of the 8th of April we saw several canoes of women, who were rowing around our ship and who seemed to be looking at it attentively although from a safe distance.

28: Spiro--40
116, 462, 226, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The women are not inactive, for while the men fish along the shore, the women are preparing starch foods to be eaten with the fish. When the men are after a school of fish, the women dance and sing. For reasons, which no one could explain, except by the universal explanation of 'from before', the women perform a bwaruch while the men engage in this kind of fishing. A bwaruch is a love song-and-dance. Normally it is performed by a woman for her sweetheart as a prelude to lovemaking. The dance is very suggestive and lascivious, and the words to the song are quite candid, in their reference to sexual anatomy and physiology. Yet, while the men are engaged in catching the fish, the women assemble on the beach, one or two households together, and perform these dances, and sing the songs sometimes entering the water.

When the men return with their catch, it is taboo for small children and women to witness them or the fish, and they must retire to their homes until the fish is unloaded on the shore and distributed.

There are other taboos connected with fishing. The men may not have sexual intercourse the evening preceeding a fishing expedition, for they 'stink' and Solal, the god of the ocean will make them sick. After a fishing expedition the men may not have sexual intercourse, nor may they work, for three days. Should they violate this taboo the fish will not bite in the future."

28: Spiro--41
116, 226, 462, 834

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The second category [WPM: see p. 40] of fishing is the three month fishing period at the beginning of the westerlies. Fishing during the other seasons of the year is sporadic because fish are not abundant. But in these three months the 'flying fish' are found in large quantities, and the men catch them in the open sea at night by the light of flaming torches. This period is characterized by the complete separation of the sexes. The men and boys sleep in the canoe-houses and are brought food by the women who sleep alone in their houses with the babies. All sexual relations are completely taboo during these three months."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro-131 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 226, 834, 768 Ifalik

"Though sexual mores are liberal, there are periods in which any sexual activity is taboo. Should a school of fish enter the lagoon during the day, and the men spread their nets in the passage, leaving them over night, no sexual activity is permitted that night. Should a man violate the taboo, his spear, directed at the fish, would enter his own body. During the season of night, torch-light fishing, which lasts for about three months, the men sleep in the canoe houses, and may have no social or sexual intercourse with the women. The men bring fish and toddy to their families, but leave them at the door of the house, and may not enter. The taboo extends for one month after the end of the period making a total of four months. Should a person violate the taboo, a shark or sword-fish will kill him, or an alus of the sea will make him ill. At the death of a spouse there is a one month taboo on intercourse (and on remarriage)."

29: Spiro--199-200 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 123, 834 Ifalik-1 - 4

"January 6, 1948. Tarev has been behaving very well since the last altercation. He moved, with everyone's consent, to an uninhabited house in an uncleared part of the island, and lived there without molesting anyone. He spent his time clearing the bush, walking about, and doing a lot of the 'ventriloquist' singing which has already been noted.

Towards me he has been like a little boy. His relationship is almost the classical 'transference' situation. He was constantly doing favors for Ted and me. He cleared the brush from our camp. He brought us fish and coconuts. He would go into the woods to bring me flowers and angorik (a cherished herb). Whenever he wished to go someplace or do something, he would come to ask for my permission (which I always gave him). I would praise him for his good behavior and reward him with a cigarette. And, of course, he would greet me and depart with the smell-of-the-hand routine.

The day before yesterday, however, his behavior changed completely. One of the young men was fishing in the lagoon in front of Tarev's house. Tarev told him to leave, and when he refused, Tarev began beating him with a coconut branch. A passer-by saw what was happening and called some men to help him subdue Tarev. By the time I arrived on the scene, the fight had ended. Tarev was having a heated argument with Arogeligar (the young man's father), and they were surrounded by a large group of people. Tarev began to threaten Arolgeligar, but the latter made no attempt to defend himself. At this point Tom arrived on the scene, his face livid with anger, and shouted at [200]

Tarev to desist from his activities. The latter lunged at Tom, trying to strike him, when I intervened. I took Tarev by the arm and asked him to come with me. He followed me without a word of protest, becoming as meek now as before he had been aggressive. As we sat in his house talking, some men came in to tie him. When he saw them, he ran out and refused to let them near him. They managed to surround him, and then one of the men untied his loin cloth. While he was occupied with keeping his loin cloth up, the men seized him, threw him to the ground and tied him. (16)

"16. Ifaluk exhibits a strong pattern of sexual puritanism. No form of sexual behavior is permitted in public, nor are sexual terms, either anatomical or physiological, ever spoken in the presence of members of both sexes. Though the men wear the briefest of loincloths and the women wear skirts, but are nude from the waist up, they have an inordinate sense of shame concerning the exposure of the genitalia. The men, for example, cover their genitals when bathing in the lagoon or when urinating, even if they are in the presence of men only. Should a person of the other sex see one's genitals, the sense of shame would be overwhelming. The seizing of Tarev's loincloth, therefore, was a shrewd tactic, designed to catch him off guard, and, of course, it was effective."

By this time the people were angrier than I had ever thought they could possibly become. Until now they had all been patient with him, exhibiting the greatest restraint in their treatment of him. But this, apparently, was the stimulus that evoked all their pent-up hostility. Tom was so angry that he slapped him in the face--an unheard-of act of aggression in this culture. Their anger was soon dissipated, however, and in the evening a number of people went to visit Tarev and asked if they could do anything for him. Tom told me that he was terribly sorry for what he had done and had invited Tarev to sleep in his house.

Yesterday I was busy and had no time to visit Tarev. Last night I was awakened by loud sobbing and wailing near our tent. Tarev had left his house and had come to ask me to remove the rope from his hands. The men followed him, however, and took him back to his house. This time they tied his legs as well.

This morning some boys came running to me to say that Tarev was coming to see me. His hands and feet were still tied so that he had had to inch his way to our tent, a distance of about three city blocks from his house. I untied his feet, took him home, and left him in the care of his uncle.

Later in the afternoon, as I was watching a canoe-launching ceremony, a young boy came to tell me that Tarev had taken a hunting knife from our tent. The entire village was alarmed, thinking that he was going to attack someone with it. We searched for him without success. Just as were returning from our search, we saw him carrying

three large bunches of coconuts to our tent. He had taken the knife in order to cut the coconuts. The nuts were heavy and his wrists and ankles were chafed from the rope, so I asked him to let me carry some of them, but he would not permit me to do so, saying that they were not heavy."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Polynesian cultures, had almost endless ways of catching fish. Individuals or small groups fished with spears or with hook and line. A method that appealed to me particularly was to attach the hook and line to a kite, which was sailed from a canoe in the lagoon: thus combining the pleasures of fishing with those of kite-flying (one of the numerous instances where I couldn't decide whether a particular operation should be called "work" or "play"). There were also a variety of ways of trapping fish, with traps ranging from the large, permanent stone weirs built along the lagoon shore, down through various types of wattle traps, to improvised affairs of plaited coconut leaf sometimes set by the women in the shallows—the only fishing operation of the women, aside from collecting crabs, shellfish and the like. Women, in fact, were subject to various sorts of taboos in relation to fishing, and sex was strictly suppressed during a prolonged fishing operation.

There were various ways of catching special fish, like tuna, bonito and flying fish, when these appeared, but I didn't get to see any of these operations. Later in the summer, however, Don and I did spend a very active day trying to get a complete photographic record of a lagoon seining operation—the kind of fishing called yating.

The Ifalukians had an immense supply of seines—great piles stored in each of the canoe houses. The accumulation of seines and of rope seemed a direct consequence of the almost compulsive male habit of making sennit twine. Whenever a group of men were sitting around gossiping, or helping us gather information, or quietly watching the horizon, some of them would pull handfuls of fluffy leached and pounded coconut fibers out of their purses, and start twisting them into twine. This process, like knitting with the women of the West, did not interfere with either conversation or thought; and since it went on constantly, the twine output was considerable. The sennit twine had a great many different uses, but much of it ended woven into seines.

In the case of the particular yating operation that we photographed, the morning started with groups of men shouldering lengths of seine and carrying them down from the canoe houses to load them into canoes beached on the lagoon shore. The canoes took off in orderly procession, each dumping its seine in turn and connecting with the next until there must have been nearly a mile of seine forming a great

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 835 Ifalik

"The word tabw is used for the incest ban, or prohibition on marriage within the clan or between some other close relatives. This taboo is said to have been ordained by the goddess Autran, though it was not said that she took an active part in punishing violations of it. Since the sanction of death or banishement, inflicted by unquestioned human agency, was said to be the punishment for violation of this rule, it seems to belong to a middle ground between taboos in the strictest sense, with supernatural sanctions, and rules of government, deliberately enforced by men."

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
836 Ifalik

"Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifalik as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip."

2: Damm et al. --75-76 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 582, 836 Ifaluk

Marriage is forbidden (etăb) with all the women, who live in the same house with a man, that is with his sisters, etc. These restrictions apply to two generations, but not to the third; [76] accordingly, the grandchildren of brothers and sisters are permitted to wed. In olden days, when the population was smaller, father and cousin were allowed to marry. There is no objection to free love between unmarried people, and boys and girls.

2: Damm et al. --189 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 836, 864 Faraulep

As a rule, there is no sexual intercourse before the marriage, but this is not always true. The older people instruct the younger ones systematically about it (ria - vagina, ǒunum - clitoris).

4: Krämer--110 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 582, 836 Lamotrek

Girls marry as young as ten years and up, whereas the men wait until they are grown up. The parents simply express their consent or disapproval when the question of marriage is put to them without any further ado. Close relatives do not marry. Before marriage, there is complete freedom. Faithfulness in marriage is a rare occurrence. Marriages between close relatives are possible if this relationship is on the side of the man, in the sense of the totemistic matrilineal right. It has been mentioned that marriages may not take place between members of one gailang, one clan; in the same way it is possible within the first clan, but only between members belonging to different ones of the three branches.... That means that as close relatives as cousins may marry, if they do not derive their relationship through two sisters, but rather from a brother or sister, or best from two brothers.

6: Senfft--56
116, 836, 585

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The man does not care whether his bride is a virgin or not. The natives have sexual intercourse as soon as they are physically mature; this occurs at an early age.

During their menstrual period, pungelog, the women and girls stay in a small house for menstruating women. The girls wear a bunch of light green leaves inserted in their grass skirts at that time. They have strict dietary rules; they may not eat anything prepared or even touched by a man.

It is against the custom to have sexual intercourse with a girl who has not yet begun to menstruate. This, however, is frequently disregarded, especially by older people, in spite of the belief that it may hurt the girl's health.

The Jap custom of isolating a girl for three months after her first menstrual period and blackening her teeth does not prevail here. Public opinion disapproves of sexual intercourse before marriage, while this is allowed on Jap. A girl is always accompanied by a group of children of both sexes, who are, as it were, the guardians of her chastity. It is considered very [189] improper for a girl to go into the bushes by herself. In spite of that, many girls follow their own inclinations at night. There are, however, a large number of 15 and 16 year old girls who remain virgins until their marriage.

28: Spiro--147 [8] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 836 Ifalik

"Sweethearts do not meet until after dark, when the others are already asleep."

1: Burrows--145 (1947-48) Woleaians
837 Ifalik

"Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce."

2; Damm et al. --76
116, 837, 684

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Adultery occurs. If a husband hears about it, he scolds, but does not strike his wife. The adulterer must pay a penalty in the form of loin aprons, wooden boxes, and small or large canoes.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 837, 784 Woleai

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 135: "The men live with their wives when they are pregnant, but not when they are nursing the infant." "When a friend asks the hospitality of his friend, the latter offers him his wife for the time of his stay."

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 562, 837 Woleai

Mertens says that the women had a lot of freedom and that, as on Feis, they came on board alone without paying much attention to the men. Occasionally they pulled up alongside of the ship in their canoes and called the names of their friends. Everything needs their consent. On the other hand, men have been known to offer their wives to their overnight guests.

At meetings and on the occasion of visits of strangers, the women keep silent.

Lütke says that many terms are taboo (pennant) in the presence of women; in case of negligence, exile threatens the offender.

11; Born--180 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
837 Woleai

Among the buildings of the Oleaï Islands, there are first of all the large houses, fal. Here the men spend the larger part of the day and night, a custom which is also found on Jap. However, the women and girls are also permitted to stay in the large houses, and the custom of keeping mongol, hetaerae, is not known here; in these two respects the houses here differ from those on Jap.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 837, 684 Woleai

Adultery among the inhabitants of the same island is not unusual and is not regarded as anything important since in that case the inhabitants consider themselves almost one family. If the offender comes from another island of the atoll, however, adultery is considered a serious crime and is revenged. As soon as a crime of this sort has been discovered, the word spreads to all the islands, and almost all the men sail to the island of the guilty man to punish him. They burn his house, cut down his breadfruit and coconut trees, and break his canoe, in short, he loses his fortune. There is never any corporal punishment.

13: Lutké--159
116, 837

(1827-1828) 1836

Woleaians
Woleai

The bizarre custom that rules in the Ouléaï group and which consists in the husband allowing his friend, if he is under his roof, to replace him for a night beside his wife, is absolutely unknown in the islands [AN: Murilo]...

17: Meinicke--384
116, 837, 572

(Prior to 1875) 1876

Woleaians
Woleai

...in Ulie alone... [LEM: a formal friendship] is carried so far that when one friend visits another he is loaned his wife.

28: Spiro--127 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 837, 548 Ifalik

"As one might expect in a culture the size of Ifaluk, there is no prostitution. However, a woman might sell her favors. A man meeting a woman in the bush might offer her a present if she would have intercourse with him."

28: Spiro--131 [3]
116, 584, 848, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

28: Spiro--134-135
116, 586, 837

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-4
Ifalik

"Divorce, zamotalax though its incidence is small, there being only eleven cases of 66 marriages studied in the geneologies, is very easy. The dissatisfied partner merely informs his spouse of his decision. There is no ceremony or legal proceedure involved, nor any property settlement. The children, of course, remain with the mother. Though divorce is easy, the culture recognizes certain basic causes. [1]. The spouse does not provide his/her parents-in-law with food. [2]. One spouse has a lover, and refuses to leave him/her. [3]. Either spouse is economically unskilled. The man is a poor provider. The woman is a poor cook, so that when visitors arrive from other islands, her husband does not offer them food, and is consequently ashamed. [4]. One of the spouses is sexually attracted to another person. If he is still young, his parents will exert pressure on him not to abandon his spouse. 'No. You chow fine face, fine body? Your wife look out for me. She (his new love) look out?' An actual analysis of the eleven cases of divorce reveals that four were instituted by women, eight by men, and in two of the three cases they were motivated by the husband's becoming psychotic, (malebush). Thus the man almost always divorces the woman. The actual reasons given for the divorces were as follows:

Desire for different spouse: four cases (2 men, 2 women)
Infidelity: three cases
Mental illness: two cases

Domestic ineptitude: one case (a woman)
Unknown: one case

Divorced couples are very cordial to each other, as are old and new mates of the same man and woman. They fish together, work together, care for each other's children, even in cases in which a man has divorced his wife for infidelity, the relationship between him and the man who seduced his wife, and who married her after her divorce, are warm and friendly. Both men are equally concerned about the children the woman bore the first husband, both take care of them and raise them.

From the above discussion it is apparent that marital infidelity does occur. As a matter of fact, its incidence is quite high. My informants insisted that almost every person--man and woman--has a lover. Now they may have been wrong, since all sexual activity is concealed, as we have seen, and they may have been guilty of a personal projection.

Now, whether they do or do not have lovers is, of course, important, but even if they do not, the statement of the informants is of great psychological importance, since it shows that they think it is true. That infidelity does occur, and that the people are disturbed by it, and become unhappy is indicated by a number of songs [135] collected by Dr. Burrows, in which a woman laments the infidelity of her husband. The motivations

of infidelity are not too clear. Tom, for example, was married to a woman, much younger than himself, and very attractive. He was much in love with her, praised her highly, and was generally very affectionate towards her. One evening I met him walking from his home, his hair combed, and his body perfumed. When I asked him where he was going, he became sheepish, and would not say. But he asked me not to walk past his own home, lest I see his wife. I asked why he did not wish me to see her, and he finally confessed that he was on his way to a liaison with a woman, and had told his wife that he was going out to see me. (16)

There seems little doubt then that married people do have affairs. Its incidence, however, is in doubt, but it does seem to be taken for granted by the people that everyone, including one's own spouse, is having an affair with another person. And this knowledge

---

"16. Later that evening, he came to our tent, very disappointed. The woman had not appeared. He was indignant, because she had lied to him. She had promised him that she would meet him, but did not. He had waited in the bush for her, and finally left, because it was getting dark, and he was afraid of the alus."

creates no apparent jealousy or anxiety. If the person is indiscreet, however, and his affair becomes known, his spouse will then insist that he terminate the affair, not because of jealousy, but because of shame. Infidelity constitutes an illicit aspersion on his sexual ability and attractiveness, and it is a blow to his ego that others should know. But the theoretical knowledge of infidelity is not disturbing, the philosophy being, apparently, that what you don't know won't hurt you."

28: Spiro--125-127 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 838 Ifalik

"My informants knew of no cases of homosexuality or sexual perversions. (5) [127] [WPM: poem on p. 126 omitted here] Nor did I observe any. An interesting practice, however, that related to this problem is the very common practice of young men in their teens walking hand in hand. The young men are very affectionate with each other generally. They lie next to each other in the canoe houses, singing bwarux. They may stand together, their arms encircling the others waist. And almost universal is their practice of walking down the path, hand in hand. The fact that neither adult men or small children practice this habit leads one to assume that the homosexual component in these young men is quite high. Their libidinous drives are high, unlike the young children, but it finds no heterosexual outlet, unlike the men, so that it finds some outlet in these mild homosexual manifestations."

"5. Auelimar, an elderly man, said that there were some people that did not 'like' sex, whereupon the other men laughed at him, and called him 'tuvai.' (old man)."

28: Spiro--127-128
838

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"They also maintained that the [128] children indulgé in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.)"

2; Damm et al. --75 [4] (1909) 1938 Wolcaians
116, 839 Ifaluk

Erotic abuses. Onanism (sīlisíli) is known, and some people practiced it. Coitus in anum is unknown; according to Sarfert's native from Faraulip it is practiced on Mogemog. Sarfert's interpreter from Mogemog testified that cunnilinctus is also practiced on Ifaluk, and is called monodíni. On the other hand, the women do the same thing only when their husbands are dead, and then call this mǫ́norâi. Possibly it is a similar custom to the one on Luangiua. We have already discussed the lengthening of the labia of the vulva, and the removal of the pubic hair.

2: Damm et al...189 [7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 839 Faraulep

Fat people practice cunnilingus, and usually three or four times a month.

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 839 Lamotrek

The following perversities are known:

onanism	sir
irrumatio	faigabóng
cunnilinotus	móngo
sadism	li

4: Krämer--278 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 839 Woleai

Perversities: on Oleai the labia minora are lengthened up to ten centimeters to simplify cunniiingus.

6: Senfft--54
116, 839

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Their level of morality is low, and cases of perversion are not infrequent with both sexes; they even seduce children.

28: Spiro--116 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 291, 864, 839 Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--116 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--117 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, and the men none in the presence of boys. Often, the men will engage in sexual 'horseplay' with the boys. For example, a young man or grown one, for that matter, may grab at the exposed penis of the boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with a mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was bit different from that of the natives. One other person, Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped-penis, a person might tease him by saying 'just like Talemelemar', that is, his penis is like Talemelemar's."

28: Spiro--122 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 839 Ifalik

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publically, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him."

28: Spiro--127 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839 Ifalik

"The only contact with animals I observed, and the natives do not interpret it sexually, is the suckling of infant pigs. The few times I observed this, the woman in question removed the pig from her breast, as if she was ashamed to be seen by me. On Yap, on the other hand, where this is a common practice, there was no shame at all."

28: Spiro--127 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 203, 839, 684 Ifalik

"The concept of rape (garo) is known to the people, but as far as I know, it has never occured on Ifaluk. My informants did know of one case of rape that occured on Satawal, an atoll in the Central Carolines. (6) Eight men working on a canoe in the bush fell upon a lone woman and all had intercourse with her.

A variation of rape, ganou, is found on Ifaluk. A man will enter a house at night, and copulate with a woman while she is sleeping. Should she awake and object to his behavior she awakens the household. (7) Again, the incidence is negligible."

"6. This incident is of interest for it indicates that the people do not live a completely insular life, but that news and gossip from the other islands is diffused throughout the area.

7. It is of interest to note that the verbal taboo on sexual terms obtains even in this situation.' The women does not say that a man is copulating with her, but states that a man is in the house."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 841, 784 Ifalik

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term fäm applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falārlk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falālap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841, 881 Lamotrek

The women stay in the menstrual hut im a fatiu for four days. No ceremonies are involved in the first menses nor the attainment of puberty (see Pollap).

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841 Woleai

It has been mentioned that the daurang [VMM: young girl] at the time of first menstruation stays in the imalipel for eight days. During this period of time, youths bring her young coconuts, but she may not have much to do with them.

After her return home, her parents and brothers and sisters ask her what young men have brought her coconuts and she names them all. An admonition follows: it is suggested that she choose one of them for a husband and not to bother with vague love affairs.

6: Senfft--55
116, 841

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips.

11: Born--188-189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 841, 836 Woleai

During their menstrual period, pungelog, the women and girls stay in a small house for menstruating women. The girls wear a bunch of light green leaves inserted in their grass skirts at that time. They have strict dietary rules; they may not eat anything prepared or even touched by a man.

It is against the custom to have sexual intercourse with a girl who has not yet begun to menstruate. This, however, is frequently disregarded, especially by older people, in spite of the belief that it may hurt the girl's health.

The Jap custom of isolating a girl for three months after her first menstrual period and blackening her teeth does not prevail here. Public opinion disapproves of sexual intercourse before marriage, while this is allowed on Jap. A girl is always accompanied by a group of children of both sexes, who are, as it were, the guardians of her chastity. It is considered very [189] improper for a girl to go into the bushes by herself. In spite of that, many girls follow their own inclinations at night. There are, however, a large number of 15 and 16 year old girls who remain virgins until their marriage.

28: Spiro--23
841, 241

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits."

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--121 [2]
116, 821, 841

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Again, should the [WPM: menstruating] woman not remain in seclusion, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. In this case too, vegetation would die, and the 'chief am very angry at that lady.' Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Felarik, where the Rangona tree grows, a typhoon would ensue."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

28: Spiro--81 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Physiological paternity, though vague and ill-defined, is recognized in Ifaluk. Pregnancy is the resultant of two causes--sexual intercourse and the intervention of Aluelap. If the couple are in love ('like too much'), then Aluelap will intervene when the semen enters the womb, and he will 'give baby.' On the other hand, if the couple are not in love, then despite sexual intercourse, and despite the fact the the semen may enter the womb, the woman will not become pregnant because Aluelap will not intervene. Thus we see that sexual intercourse is a necessary, but not a sufficient cause of pregnancy. Sexual intercourse is necessary in native birth theory, however, is indubitable. Every adult with whom I spoke, without exception, maintained that without intercourse, there could be no pregnancy. The additional factor--the intervention of Aluelap--helps explain why some women are barren, or why not every act of intercourse results in pregnancy. It further explains why a casual relationship will not result in conception, for any non-institutionalized sexual relationship--either in marriage or in the institution known as the gamar, will not produce children, because Aluelap will not intervene."

28: Spiro--81 [2]
116, 842, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"With the birth of the first child another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child, had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising children, and will not give them any more."

28: Spiro--81 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Assuming that Aluelap is favorably disposed, conception begins when the semen mixes with the mother's vaginal blood. The baby being thought of as a mass of water and blood. By the end of the third month, the head is formed, and soon after, the body begins to assume shape. The natives recognize a nine month pregnancy, and could remember no case of a premature birth. Since a two month cease of the menstrual flow is taken as a sign of pregnancy, it is a simple matter for them to know of the nine month period of gestation."

28: Spiro--81 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842 Ifalik

"Babies are preeminently desired, probably more than any other single thing, so that a couple that does not have children is greatly pitied. But it is not only pity, but sadness which the people feel towards a barren woman (ulut) -- 'all people very sad, for no have baby, by'mby no more people.'"

28: Spiro--82
116, 842, 843

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This great love of infants and the ardent desire to have babies may account for the relative absence of psychosomatic disturbances on the part of the pregnant mother. Neither my informants nor my direct questioning of pregnant women revealed any minor physical inconvenience, nor feelings of nausea."

28: Spiro--82 [4]
116, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Contraceptives are unknown, and if they were known they would probably not be used, since babies are desired, not avoided."

28: Spiro--83 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 842, 827 Ifalik

"As between boys and girls, the latter are preferable. At first my informants said that there was no preference, but then qualified this equality by saying that 'boy more down,' expressing relative value in spatial terms, as they are wont to do. They all agreed that 'boy more down' because the girls can have babies (when they become mature, of course) but the boys cannot, and this was the decisive factor. When discussing the relative status of men and women the same response was given by still other informants. Women are more important than men because they can bear children. This emphasized, again, the great importance and value of children. (3)"

"3. [See following sheet for footnote 3.]"

28: Spiro--83 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 842, 827 Ifalik

"3. [Footnote p. 83] One can also question the native's actual knowledge of physiological paternity from this statement. For though it is true that only the women bear the children, the men play an equally important role in conception, which they seem to completely overlook in this regard. In a discussion of the relative status of the sexes with still other informants, I pointed out that the child-bearing role of women is paralleled, by their own theories, by the procreative powers of the men. They all looked surprised, as if the thought had not occured to them, and finally Arogeirox exclaimed, 'You talk true', and they then changed their evaluation, and said that men are more important. The next day my informants returned to this point, and praised me for my--to them--very acute observation.

But this disregard of the man's role in procreation in the context of this stiuation is not the only reason that leads one to question their fundamental knowledge of physiological paternity. In the mythology, it will be recalled that Legobub, the primordial goddess, gave birth to three children, without having a male consort. This 'virgin birth' is not interpreted as a miracle, a prerogative of the supernaturals, but rather accepted without question.

It is possible that their knowledge of physiological paternity has been borrowed since contact, and has not become integrated into the indigenous belief. But this theory is entirely speculative, there being no way to establish it."

28: Spiro--93
116, 842, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Infants are not only greatly desired, as we have already seen, but they are given the greatest care and indulgence possible. The infant is idealized to the point that its over-indulgence and pampering become phantasties from the standpoint of Western standards. We have seen that no infant is ever left alone, day or night, asleep or awake, until it can walk. To isolate a baby would be to commit a major atrocity, for if a baby is left alone, 'by and by dies, no more people.'

Should an infant cry, it is immediately picked up in an adult's arms, coddled, consoled or fed. Thus the baby is in a state of almost complete dependence on the adults about it. This oversolicitude extends to the two and three year olds as well, assuming that another baby has not entered the household. Should the baby fall, and begin to cry, he is immediately picked up."

28: Spiro--96 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

"The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either private phantasies, or they are ignorant of them completely. Children and young people both, seem to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked their parents or other adults the answers to the two questions that I asked them. Some of them were embarassed by the questions, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance, and admitted to a lack of curiosity concerning the matters.

A poll of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen reveals the following results.

Table 4

Theories of Conception

Theory	No. of children
Intercourse	3
Food	3
Man	3
Chiefs	2
Good alus	2
Woman	2
Child	1
Ignorance	24

Their phantasies are most interesting, and we shall indicate them briefly. Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby. [119]

Of the three that said that the baby is created from food, one said that the husband gives his wife food to eat, from which the baby is created, whilst the others said that it is created from her own food, not mentioning the husband.

Of the two answering, man, one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, woman, one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but they become alive only when they marry.

Most of the children, however, simply did not know how babies were made, nor were they curious to know. They had never asked anyone. The same is true of the baby's birth. Most were ignorant of the birth of a baby. There were some who had ideas, however, which are shown in table 5.

Table 5
Children's Birth Theories

Theory of Birth	No. of Subjects
Vagina	8
Anus	5
Stomach	3
Mouth	1
Ear	1
Navel	1
Ignorance	23"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

1: Burrows--180-181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"Childbirth is another event that imposes this condition. A woman is not surrounded by taboos during most of her pregnancy, except that sexual intercourse is prohibited from the time pregnancy is first diagnosed--commonly by the interruption of the menses --until the [181] external signs become apparent. The duration of this taboo is said to be about a month; intercourse during that time, it is said, would kill the baby. Thereafter intercourse is resumed, and indeed, approved, until a late stage in the pregnancy."

2: Damm et al. --168 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 843 Faraulep

Pregnant women are not permitted to have any fish at all, and they have to observe other prohibitions about food. These last for five months after the child is born; if they are disregarded, the natives believe that the guilty woman will be very ill.

2: Damm et al. --189 [10] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 843 Faraulep

A woman knows that she is pregnant when she stops menstruating. Just a little while before her confinement she goes to the menstrual house and stays there for two months. The islanders believe that the child will die if there is any sexual intercourse for five or six months after its birth.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Lamotrek

The sorcerer... stays on the lot next to the house of the pregnant woman; in his hut he prepares medicines. All people around here may only drink the juice of coconuts and no other liquid. Once a month, for three or four months, the sorcerer makes the tafei i lólomei... as a precaution against loss of blood, for the liquid of the broken stalk of the plant is red like blood. Fasting is prescribed for all as the magic is practiced. The sorcerer, vak, has an ax similar to the one used in the construction of canoes; with it he shapes a djep fish, a Caranx, takes a wooden bowl, lifts it four times and then starts his magic. The fish is tied to a fishing rod, (Fig. 62 [VMM: see source]) and placed on the abdomen of the pregnant woman with the head pointed up. Then the sorcerer takes the ax in his right hand and with it beats the fish three or four times; then he lifts up the fish on the angle rod as a symbolic expression of removal of the illnesses. djep is the term for "to leap" from which the Caranx, as a leaping fish, has derived its name. The action is meant to have the effect of making the child jump out; first comes the water, djal.

4: Krämer--107-111 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
843 Elato

[VMM: For the beliefs and customs regarding pregnancy, see Lamotrek 4: Krämer 104, 111.]

4: Krämer--140 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Lamotrek

Women who are pregnant for the first time, are given a medicine, tafei i lolomai* once a month....

*At that time the medicineman carries the póul i lolomai, the angle, and the devil's eyes.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 843 Woleai

A pregnant woman (ĕsiál, Kotzebue: sasiel) is subject to few taboos.

28: Spiro--40 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 225, 373 Ifalik

"If turtle eggs are discovered the people of the district in which they are discovered may not take a light from another person for four days. A pregnant woman and her husband may not eat turtle eggs at all during her pregnancy."

28: Spiro--81-82
116, 843, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Babies are desired both for themselves, and as a form of old age insurance. That is, babies are constantly being handled, kissed, hugged, played with, etc. The people have an inordinate desire to fondle babies, and babies are always the center of attention and of attraction in every home, and in every gathering. Babies are wanted, therefore, because of the pleasure they afford. Caring for the baby is never considered a bother or a chore. I have never seen a mother or any other person express resentment over, or anger towards, a baby because of the care and attention she must give it. It is no exaggeration to say that the adult's care [82] of the infant is a labor of love, and we might even question the very use of the term, 'labor.' I have never heard a mother complain of the restrictions on her behavior caused by the infant. A baby knows only smiling and laughing faces, soft arms and soft words. No baby is ever handled roughly, no baby is scowled at or spoken to with bitterness. To repeat, I have never heard an adult utter one word of complaint about the additional burdens caused by a new infant."

28: Spiro--82
116, 842, 843

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This great love of infants and the ardent desire to have babies may account for the relative absence of psychosomatic disturbances on the part of the pregnant mother. Neither my informants nor my direct questioning of pregnant women revealed any minor physical inconvenience, nor feelings of nausea."

28: Spiro--82 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"The parents observe few taboos during pregnancy. They may not cut their hair, nor can they eat any food cooked over a fire made of driftwood. The husband may not begin a canoe during his wife's pregnancy. If these taboos are violated the parents would become ill.

Sexual intercourse is taboo for the first three months of pregnancy, after which it is desirable. The reason for this differentiation is that for the first three months the baby is but blood and water, and should the parents have intercourse they would kill the infant. After the third month, the baby begins to be formed, and intercourse can no longer harm the baby, but it can expand the walls of the vagina, and thus expedite the delivery.

The same logic applies to the relative amount of work performed by a pregnant woman. For the first seven months she performs only light labor, because the baby is weak. But in the last two months, she works hard, working even in the taro patches, as it is believed that manual activity will facilitate a rapid delivery."

28: Spiro--82-83 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 843, 774, 602. Ifalik

"It is during the period of gestation that the foetus acquires its soul.(ngas) It is the ngas that differentiates the dead from the living, so that before the entrance of the ngas, the infant is not yet alive, and when it departs the person dies. The ngas, whose size is unknown, resides in the 'stomach', and is conceived of as a vaporous substance. ('all same wind'). But its actual formation and derivation is a matter of speculation. Arogeligar maintained that Aluelap gives the baby its ngas inthe eighth month of pregnancy. Others said that the soul enters the embryo through the umbilical cord. (1) The chiefs, on the other hand, maintained that the soul evolves in the baby in the course of its development, like any other organ, though the nature and time if its growth is unknown.

But the foetus not only receives its ngas during the period of gestation, it also receives its blood. Both blood (tra) and food, which the foetus requires to keep alive, are received by means of the umbilicus. Blood is necessary for life. If a person has much blood, he will be strong; if he has little, he will be weak; and if he has none, he will die.

But though the foetus receives its blood from its mother, all questions concerning

---

"1. Thus deriving from the mother, which would explain matrilineal descent."

28: Spiro--82-83
116, 843, 774, 602

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

[83] 'blood relationship' elicited negative replies. All blood is the same, there being no differences between individuals or people, and the concept of relationship through blood is completely foreign to them. (2)"

"2. Again it is possible that matrilineal descent is related to the fact of the infant's receiving of his blood from his mother. But questions of this kind, as well as other similar questions sent my informants into peels of laughter. How should they, or any one else know the answers to these questions, and who but an idiot would bother about them. Auelimar, one of my best informants expressed the concensus of the group when he exclaimed, 'who can savvy that?'"

28: Spiro--83 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843 Ifalik

"The natives claim to be able to determine the sex of the embryo. If the mother has a craving for coconut water, and if she feels the embryo moving in the womb, it is a boy. If, on the other hand, she has no craving for coconut water, and if the embryo's movement is slight, it is a girl."

28: Spiro--128 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 843, 827, 833 Ifalik

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."

2: Damm et al. --76 [4] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 844 Ifaluk

Birth occurs in a special hut (imelibélu); the afterbirth (bái) is buried in the sand on the shore.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 844 Lamotrek

According to Elisabeth Krämer, Ilolumai is an old medicine-man who was the first to have prepared the medicine (taffe). Payment for the efforts of the medicine-man are 1-2 mats. When labor pains have set in, the taffi ale ngërak prepared by the husband takes place. In order to hasten labor and the birth of the child, the taffi ali gauli ali medak is used. jitengi, to press.

Midwife, vâle malâu.

4: Krämer--267-268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 844 Woleai

For her confinement, the mother-to-be goes to the imalipel. The midwife, valimelau, squats between the legs of the woman in labor and receives the newborn baby. An assistant, surëlifëtël, sits behind the woman in labor and supports her. If the birth is a slow one, she calls tsong, tsong, press, press!

When the child has appeared, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, the bus; this is usually done with a duck shell (Entenmuschel?), giligil, and without tying it off. If the afterbirth, bëi, does not follow, nothing is done about it or at most, the abdomen is massaged very lightly, which is known as sõgi.

Born: The birth is announced by a shout which serves as a signal. Position: kneeling with her hands on her thighs or half reclining in the lap of another woman. The umbilical cord is cut with a giligil shell without being tied off. Herbs are chewed and spit on the wound. The placenta, pei, is buried....

If the woman in labor bleeds profusely, nat leaves are steamed over a fire and she sits in the vapor. When everything is over, the new mother goes to the beach and bathes [268] in salt water; other women go with her and massage her. The mother remains in the imalipel for at least four more days during the discharge of the lochia. After ten days she returns to her home. Usually her husband builds her a small imalipel in the dwelling and she stays there with the baby. The daughters of the family also stay in it for eight days when they menstruate for the first time. Soon after birth, the child, too is taken to the beach and bathed in salt water, and the afterbirth is buried. Cradle made of coconut frond plaiting. Photos 19f and h [VMM: see source].

11: Born--188 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 844 Woleai

The woman gives birth either in a kneeling position, leaning slightly forward and pressing her hands on her thighs, or she rests in the lap of another woman in a half sitting, half lying position. A shell with a sharp edge, gilgil, is used to cut off the navel cord. The cord is not tied; one of the women present chews a herb and spits it on the bleeding wound; this is said to stop the bleeding immediately. They bury the afterbirth, pei.

"When the mother first begins to feel labor pains she retires to the house in Falalap, called Weluar, which is close to the birth-hut, Emelipen. When the pains become acute she goes to Emdipen, itself, accompanied by her mother and mother's sister. Emedipen is the only birth hut in Ifaluk. It is strictly tabooed to any male, who may not walk within 50 feet of it. Should he violate this taboo, all food would rot, and a famine would ensue.

If she is still in labor at night her relatives and the relatives of her husband hold a sial for her. That is, they assemble in Weluar, where they remain awake all night, keeping watch over her, and offering her herbs to drink should the birth be difficult. (4)

"4. The necessity of actual observation, as opposed to the exclusive use of informant was brought out very clearly in obtaining this information. I did not know whether I would have the opportunity to observe a childbirth, so I organized a committee of informants, consisting of two men and two women, from whom I hoped to obtain the information. After a great number of exhaustive sessions I was sure my information was completed. Some time after these sessions, I observed a group of young men leaving in the evening for Falalap. I asked them what they were up to, and all I could make out was the word Sial, which I had never heard of. After a number of unsuccessful attempts to explain its meaning to me, they suggested that I ask Tom. Later in the evening, I saw Tom, who explained what the sial is. I immediately departed for Falalap, but I was too late. The birth had already taken place."

[84] While in labor, the mother kneels on a mat, catching the baby in her arms when it emerges. The length of labor varies considerably, but it was impossible to receive any estimate, other than the general statement that, 'some very quick, some very slow.' Though the mother is accompanied by her mother and her mother's sister, they do not serve as midwifes, except in the event of a difficult delivery, in which case they will extract the baby from the womb. Ordinarily, however, the mother delivers her own baby. She is, moreover, not to indicate her pain by any overt manifestations. Should she cry out, she would shame both her mother and herself.

After the baby is born, the mother's mother takes it, holding it in her arms until the afterbirth (bei) is discharged. She then severs the umbilical cord (buch) with a small ocean shell, wraps it in a new lavalava cloth, and buries it at the side of Emelipen. The afterbirth is disposed of in the same fashion. Should either not be buried, and should the

mother see them, she would become ill. (5)

Should the baby be born prematurely, before the mother could get to Emilipen, the mother proceeds there immediately following the birth. Should she remain in her own home with the baby, all vegetation would die."

"5. The small shell used to cut the umbilicus is called a giligin. It is very tiny and white, and is sought by the mother in her ninth month, who then keeps it in her basket containing lavalava thread until she retires to the birth-hut. Again, this is interesting in terms of the selective nature of the acculturative process. The natives have plenty of knives, of many sizes, which they esteem very highly, and use exclusively for all purposes. But in the matter of the birth, which is an act of danger, one of the rites du passage, the older shell is retained. One apparently doesn't tempt the fates, even at the gain of greater efficiency."

28: Spiro--85
116, 844

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"After the burial of the afterbirth, women of her own and of her husband's family bring the mother food--coconuts, taro, and breadfruit. While she is eating her mother takes the baby to the ocean to wash it, whether the weather and the ocean be hot or cold. When she returns she feeds the baby some water, followed by some ripe coconut oil. This is the infant's first feeding. The baby is then handed to it's mother who gives it the breast, more as a gesture than as nourishment, for as yet she has no milk, and usually has none until the fourth day."

28: Spiro--136
116, 562, 844, 593

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Women are 'more high' because they bear children. The day following this discussion with the informants, I was struck by the idea that the stress on the woman's role as the bearer of children might have further implications for the problem of physiological paternity. I asked them, therefore, if the reason they gave for woman's superiority is valid, since they had all told me that man has a share in the procreation of children, as well. This question made them all sit up. They were completely taken aback, and answered as a man: 'You talk true, we talk lie. Man more high. You throw away that paper for yesterday. You put in book, man more high.'

This sudden reversal was quite interesting. So the next day, I assembled a number of women to get their evaluation of relative sexual status. There was a brief pause for reflection, after which they answered that men enjoy greater status as indicated by the fact that a woman must obey her brother. Though there is no full-blown avunculate here, as we have seen, the brother's relationship to his sister and her children is an intimate one, and apparently an authoritative one, as indicated by their answer, and the women's subservience to her brother in this sense emphasized for them the male superiority.

This answer was doubly interesting because a few months later, in discussing this

same matter with the chiefs, they said that men are 'more high,' (17) for the same reason, a man can give orders to his sister, but she cannot give orders to him."

"17. It is of interest to note the conceptualization of social status in spatial terms, which is identical with the usage in English, for example."

the households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

590 844 until it is able to walk, but the adopting mother shares the care and affections from the beginning; and when the baby is able to walk, it moves officially into the household of the adopting parents.

593 597 The child thus really acquires an extra set of parents, since it continues all through life to have close association with its real parents as well as with its adopting parents. The child acquires extra sets of "brothers" and "sisters" as well. Don found some difficulty with the word "brother" in teaching English since, while the Ifalukians all knew who were blood brothers and who were not, the matter seemed of little importance to them.

Our friend Yani, for instance, and his wife, Letaweriur, had three children. His oldest had been adopted into his mother's household, Soumat, and his next into his father's household (since his father was a re-married widower with no children by the second wife). Only the youngest had he kept to himself. Yet Yani was with all of his children every day. In this case, Yani and his wife, although they officially belonged in her household, Falepenach, spent most of their time in the Soumat household, since it was less crowded. This sort of casualness gave us a great deal of trouble with that census.

126 133 487 But this is straying from the problem of trying to get the Falarik trails down on the base map. With the broad highway and the canoe houses as fixed points of reference, we started to map the principal trails across the island. Falarik was a crescent, following the curve of the circular atoll reef; it was a little over a mile long, with an average width of about 300 yards. There were a dozen or so trails across the island from the inhabited, lagoon side, to the outer, ocean side.

The first of these, taking off from the canoe house beside the Fan Nap, began as a "highway" rather than a "trail." Like the broad highway, it was a wide, straight path, marked on both sides by lines of moss-covered coral rocks. On the left side of this trail was the dense vegetation of Katelu, the sacred site of the ancient Men's House which [1178] was in use in the time of Maur, the island's "culture hero." This sacred spot was never entered by anyone except Maroligar, who was its official custodian. As a result, it was a wild tangle of natural vegetation. At one point on the path by Katelu was a large, fresh-water pool in [643] which Fagolier, the paramount chief, sometimes bathed. On the right

4: Damm et al. --76 [5] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 845 Ifaluk

The woman remains for eleven days in the hut, and does not leave it until the "little moon" has been in the west for five days. Then the chief sends another woman to get her. The natives laughed heartily at Sarfert's question, whether this happy event were celebrated with songs and dancing. For two months the woman does not do any work; she takes care of herself, and looks after the child, which is kept in a cradle (gulóul). The husband and wife are not permitted to sleep together until the child is able to run around. If they disregard this, the child will die.

2: Damm et al. --189 [11] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 845 Faraulep

There was no material available about twins.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 845 Woleai

Twins and more births at one time are rare.

11: Born--188 [2] (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 845 Woleai

I was told that many women have twins; some time ago, a woman from Falalis had even given birth to quadruplets, but they did not live. The natives believe that white women, "like cats and dogs", always give birth to several children at a time.

28: Spiro--84
116, 845, 764

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Still births occur, though I could obtain no information on their frequency. The mother's mother will massage its head, arms, and legs, and often this will vivify the infant. If this is of no avail, it is wrapped in a lavalava, tied with a fishline, and after a brief wailing by the family, it is buried at the side of the birth-hut. The reason for burying it on land, rather than in the ocean, as is the practice with adults, is that the new-born is 'no people, only something,' that is it is still not looked upon as human."

28: Spiro--84 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 845 Ifalik

"Twins (nipwe) occur, though infrequently. At present there is one pair of twins--two middle aged women. Triplets have never occured, and the natives were amazed to learn that they do occur in other societies. There is no magical idea associated with twins, though if one should die the other is killed."

"When labor pains begin, or are momentarily expected, the woman goes to the birth house (im lipelū) on Falalap near the channel. This building is strictly tabw to men. If a man were to enter it, all the food would rot, and all the people suffer famine. Spiro did not succeed in having an exception to this taboo made in his case; even the psychopathic Tarobweliman did not venture into the birth house, so far as known.

While a woman is in the birth house, her close relatives, which means, approximately, her parents, husband, and children; perhaps one or more sisters as well - go to live in a house reserved for this purpose near the birth house. They stay there as long as the mother and child remain in the birth house. The conventional length of her stay is ten days. All are fām during that period. All return together to their home, and at this time the taboos are lifted from all except the parents.

Work other than caring for the child is tabw to the mother for a considerable period. First stated as two months, this was later defined more strictly as follows: if the moon is visible at sunset, or during the rather short interval thereafter before people go to bed, this tabw lasts for one month; if the moon is not visible at that time, for two months. It was also said that the mother may not leave the homestead for three months. The homestead is here defined to include a bit of shallow water opposite the house site, where the baby is bathed. The father too, is subjected to some restrictions, though they are less rigorous, for the same period as the mother. One taboo--on sexual intercourse lasts until the child can walk. The penalty ascribed to violation of this is the same as

that for sexual intercourse during early pregnancy--the death of the baby."

1: Burrows--197
116, 846

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to birth, it can not be said that this crisis is entirely unaccompanied by ritual. The taboos imposed on the parents and closest relatives constitute ritual precautions. The observance takes this negative form rather than the positive one of a definite rite of passage, such as a birth or naming feast or some more distinctively religious act."

2: Damm et al. --189 [12] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 846 Faraulep

When the first child is born, the husband's father gives the father-in-law a large quantity of fish, nuts and bread-fruit.

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Lamotrek

The navel is underbound, gogoi budj. The child is nursed right away and soon is given palm juice, coconut milk, etc.; after about three or four months it is fed fish and taro. Sometimes infants are nursed until they are three years old. The afterbirth, pai, is buried, and the woman goes bathing in the sea. Some resort is taken to exercises, jüjü, in order that the women may become thinner.

4: Krämer--111-112 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 846 Lamotrek

As on Tobi, we found special birth-huts on Lamotrek; they are called imu or imatamái and are included in the plan of the village. It was mentioned that the im no. 30 is frequently used by the women of the leading families; here they spend a few days of the tenth month before they move into the imatamai for the actual confinement. Here especially women who are giving birth to their first child receive their medicine, the tafei ilólomai, which is generally given to them once a month... Naturally magic, bólebol, is involved in the practice... and for that reason the im no. 30 is also known as im ali bólebol. As long as they stay in the im, the women may not have any visitors; at the most their mother and sisters are allowed to see them and, of course, the servants who pick up the food that the relatives put down on the boundary, róros of the lot. All the fruit trees on the grounds of the house are taboo. Generally the woman stays away from her normal living quarters for one month (Elisabeth Kramer: ten to twenty days). The word for month is aliulang; but there are also little months, aliulang a ket, which last only ten days and constitute the minimum period of absence. There is a difference in the regulation affecting the wives of the chiefs and the ordinary population....

If a child is born when the moon is not visible, that is to say at the time of new moon and up to two days before and after it, the woman in childbed stays in the birth-hut for only 10 days... But if she gives birth when the moon first appears, e.g., on the second or third day after a new moon, then the mother must wait until the 26th day, the

romálefal...and in this case we are dealing with a "long month," aliulang e lap. If, on the other hand, the child is born [112] after the romálefal, the waiting period is a short month. Upon leaving the imatamai the mother is cleansed with a magic bunch of ferns and coconut pinnae, which is known as eafuju lubobo, Figure 63 [VMM: see source])... The separation of husband and wife after birth lasts for three or four months. Divorces are rare. The children stay with the mother.

[ER: A magic song of purification is given in the original text, but is omitted here.]

Poor women, the ordinary people, remain in the im ale gogóbong for four days to "fill the nights" for purification; during that time their name must not be pronounced and not until that period is over do they return to their living quarters. On them lies the sëgë bobo, the taboo of the chiefs. The evening of their departure from the imatamai the wives of the chiefs subject themselves and their servants who have been with them, to the ceremony of the frond of legát; then they go directly to the im. After the birth of the first child the wife of a chief moves as soon as possible into an imalifam (see Oleai), which is located far out on the beach on the weatherside; at night a fire is always kept burning in order that the child may be kept warm and the spirits may be scared off by the flames and smoke which they fear. The husbands do not work in the taro fields during this period of time and all fruit trees are considered taboo; the cutting of toddy is allowed as the one exception. The woman stays away from her house for four months. During the first month she may not go to the waterhole and during the second month she may go out into the taro field but may not do any work. After the fourth month the child is gauák and may be taken away. The cradle of the child is a square frame with net; the type we observed in use is shown in Figure 64; another specimen is in Stuttgart no. 41250 see above photo 7 [VMM: see source].

The woman Ledjelimar of house 10 knew how to practice conjuration of the spirits and the purification of the women after they have left the birth-hut imatamai. Elisabeth

4: Krämer--113 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 565, 846 Lamotrek

Krämer noted the following: Generally several women together leave the hut as the moon is waning completely and with their mats and food assemble around the menstrual hut of one of them. Here the female conjuror sits and makes four elulape, magic knots from coconut pinnae out of ferns (see Figure 63 [VMM: see source]) and a bunch of them ealus uru poepoe* which she slowly moved in a circle; [ER: her action is accompanied by special magic words, which are omitted here].

*alus, the spirit, böe, the oracle knot... sometimes knots are made of young coconut pinnae; cf. above saruju lu bobo.

4: Krämer--267 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846 Woleai

For three months after her confinement, a woman must not have sexual intercourse; from that time on she is free to do as she pleases until she gives birth the next time.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846 Woleai

After having given birth, the mother remains in the imalípel for eight days to a month; the hut may be close to her home or at some distance from it. Then she spends ten days in the im ali gogobóng, "enough nights" (from sagon, enough), and five months in the im ali fam, which is probably to be translated as to "give board."

The parents or the closest relatives of the mother take good food to these houses in order that the newborn baby may grow to be healthy and strong. Good care is given to the child. Special cradles are available for them and square frames with cord netting which are covered with a pandanus mat, geagi. (Photo 7). [VMM: see source].

Hellwig: üloid, frame; wa lüloid, net; üloid, rings; taling.

When a woman gives birth to a child, she utters several strange, piercing cries. This is a signal which can be heard by everyone. Each house used for a confinement is newly built especially for that occasion. These im-mellepel are situated at some distance from the dwelling houses, on the beach, and a woman remains there for ten days after the confinement. [188] The members of her family, even the men, visit her constantly, except for those men who are skilled in the art of navigation and who are in charge of deep sea sailing expeditions. Her food during this time is the same as that of the other women.

After the ten days have passed, the hut and all the mats used by the woman during her stay are burned down, and she returns to her home. During the pregnancy and for a long period after the confinement the woman may not have sexual intercourse. I was told that this rule covered a period of several years. There are ways, however, to circumvent this prohibition.

28: Spiro--85 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"The baby is then [WPM: after first nursing], for the first time, allowed to rest. It is placed in its 'bed' (giagi), a pandanus mat placed on the floor, over which is placed some cloth, either the cotton cloth introduced by the Japanese, or the native cloth. The baby itself is wrapped in cloth, as a kind of diaper, and is then covered completely with another cloth. This last 'blanket' is used invariably no matter how hot it may be, so as to facilitate perspiration, for if the infant does not perspire freely, its growth will be retarded. Of course, when the baby soils itself, the diaper is replaced with a clean one, the excrements are carried to the ocean, and the soiled diaper is washed.

The infant and mother remain in Emelipen [WPM: see pp. 83-84] for ten days after the birth. During that time her behavior and treatment of the baby are strictly institutionalized. The mother and her attendant (her mother, mother's sister, or husband's mother) take the baby to the channel between the two islands to be washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is not washed in the evening lest an ălusengau make it sick."

28: Spiro--85 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Ifalik

"For its first four days the infant is fed water and coconut oil, and whatever milk the mother may have. The infant is fed whenever it cries and when the mother and her attendant think it proper. That is, if the infant should sleep for an extended period, the mother will wake it in order to feed it.

On the fifth day, the mother's milk is usually sufficient, and the breast replaces the coconut oil. But the feeding follows the same pattern--in which first water is given the infant, and then the breast. Again, it is fed whenever it cries, and whenever its mother sees that its stomach is flat or not swollen. If the stomach is swollen, it is assumed that it is not hungry."

28: Spiro--85 [4]
116, 846, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"What must be stressed is the constant attention the infant receives. The mother and her attendant are at the constant service of the baby. One of them is always awake while the other sleeps to ensure that the infant's wants are immediately satisfied.

While the mother and infant are confined to the birth-hut, her family and that of her husband are busy. The men of both families go fishing every day, and their women-folk bring the fish to the mother, since fish will make her milk flow abundantly."

28: Spiro--85 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846 Ifalik

"No male, of course, can go near the birth-hut, neither her husband, son, brother, or stranger. When the mother takes the infant to the channel to wash it, the male relatives may stand on the other side of the channel and thus catch a glimpse of the baby. Any woman, however is allowed free access to the birth-hut. They bring the fish to the mother, as well as the other vegetable foods. However, even they cannot handle the baby, this privilege being restricted to the mother and her attendant. Nor can they remain in Emelipen overnight. They must return to their own homes to sleep."

28: Spiro--86 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 352 Ifalik

"The infant's father has one additional responsibility. He must build a cradle (ulol) for the infant. The Ulol has four sides, made of wood, which are fastened together as the bottom with plaited rope, to form the bottom, on which the baby is to lie. Rope is then attached to the four corners, and to the rafters of the roof, so that the cradle is suspended from the rafters, and can be rocked or swung. Eventually, when the baby is brought home, a pandanus mat is placed in the cradle, and the baby is placed on the mat, and then covered with cloth."

"At the end of the ten-day confinement, the baby is brought home, at which time there is a minor celebration. The baby and mother leave for home at dawn, accompanied by the female relatives. The latter also bring food they had previously prepared, and they gather in the house of the mother, where they eat. Men are not allowed in the house at this time, though the taboo is not too severe, because I was permitted to enter. The women merely sit quietly, conversing in subdued tones, offering a suggestion at intervals to the mother, but otherwise remaining inactive and contained, which is very unusual behavior for them. The mother and infant are the centers of attraction, and all eyes are on them.

The mother sits on a pandanus sleep mat, and does not leave the mat, except when she retires to the lagoon for ablutions. The baby lies on a small pandanus mat, which in turn, is placed on a large pandanus mat, which in turn is placed on a large coconut mat. The baby wears cloth swaddling clothes, and when he sleeps he is covered with a very stiff cloth, which acts as a head rest when the mother nurses him, so that his head does not fall back. Covering the cloth is a small pandanus mat, and this is then covered with a blanket, which completely covers the infant. Breathing under these conditions is probably difficult, but, as pointed out above, this facilitates the infant's perspiring, which is deemed so important by the natives.

At the baby's head is the same kind of fire that burns in the birth hut. A small pit is

dug in the house prior to the mother's return, in which is buried the bonito head, and on top of which burns the fire for the duration of the mother's confinement. As already explained, this fire prevents the infant from becoming ill. The fire is sacred in that it may not be used for any secular or profane purpose, except by the mother and her attendant. My attempt to light a cigarette from one of its embers elicited a chorus of sharp etaps. The women remain with the mother till the end of the day, after which they return home, and the mother and child are left to themselves, except for the usual degree of daily visiting.

The father has not as yet entered the house, and it is only after the first day has elapsed that he may do so. However, neither he nor any other person, male or female may touch the baby, or even approach it beyond the mat on which it lies, with the exception of the mother and her attendant. To do so is strictly taboo as I, again, learned from my own behavior. On the fifth day, he is allowed to hold the infant, but he may not yet pick it up by itself, since he cannot approach its mat until the end of the mother's confinement, so that the mother must hand him the infant, if she grants him permission to hold it. If he should take the infant himself, the baby would take sick. At the end of the

mother's three month confinement, she prepares a new mat, the old one is discarded, and the baby can then be directly approached. (6)"

"6. This avoidance taboo is very interesting in light of the theories of paternal sibling hostility towards the new-born. Both paternal and sibling hatred are shorn of the possibility of over expression by this taboo. One can also interpret the exclusion of the father from the birth-hut in the same manner."

28: Spiro--87 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 846, 784, 854 Ifalik

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed

cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--92 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"As pointed out above the mother does not leave her home for the first three months after the birth. At the end of the three month period, she may go about her work, but the infant is not taken with her. It is left in the care of another adult (or adults), and is never left alone, even when it sleeps. It is never left in the care of a child, but may be cared for by an older boy or girl, sibling or non-relative. Though she is permitted to leave her home, the mother does not remain away for a long period, while the infant is still nursing. If she remains away from her baby too long, her nipples feel sore, from which she understands that the baby wants to fed. It should be remembered, moreover, that the mother is never more than twenty minutes from her baby at any point of the island."

4: Krämer--108
116, 847

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

Infanticide is not known.

28: Spiro--81 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 626, 848, 581 Ifalik

"Aside from the offspring of incestuous unions, there is no native concept of illegitimacy. The children of unmarried sweethearts (gamar) are evaluated no differently from those of married couples. The natives point out that they desire babies, that they love them, that they are necessary to replenish the population, and what difference, therefore, does it make whether they are born to married couples or to sweethearts. Thus the native name for an infant, sauwau for a girl, ligau for a boy, is the same whether its parents be married or unmarried.

It is expected, however, that a man will marry his sweetheart should she become pregnant. This is not compulsory, but should he refuse he would be scorned and called a 'very bad man' by all the people."

28: Spiro--131 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 584, 848, 837 Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."

"At the end of the ten-day confinement, the baby is brought home, at which time there is a minor celebration. The baby and mother leave for home at dawn, accompanied by the female relatives. The latter also bring food they had previously prepared, and they gather in the house of the mother, where they eat. Men are not allowed in the house at this time, though the taboo is not too severe, because I was permitted to enter. The women merely sit quietly, conversing in subdued tones, offering a suggestion at intervals to the mother, but otherwise remaining inactive and contained, which is very unusual behavior for them. The mother and infant are the centers of attraction, and all eyes are on them.

The mother sits on a pandanus sleep mat, and does not leave the mat, except when she retires to the lagoon for ablutions. The baby lies on a small pandanus mat, which in turn, is placed on a large pandanus mat, which in turn is placed on a large coconut mat. The baby wears cloth swaddling clothes, and when he sleeps he is covered with a very stiff cloth, which acts as a head rest when the mother nurses him, so that his head does not fall back. Covering the cloth is a small pandanus mat, and this is then covered with a blanket, which completely covers the infant. Breathing under these conditions is probably difficult, but, as pointed out above, this facilitates the infant's perspiring, which is deemed so important by the natives.

At the baby's head is the same kind of fire that burns in the birth hut. A small pit is

dug in the house prior to the mother's return, in which is buried the bonito head, and on top of which burns the fire for the duration of the mother's confinement. As already explained, this fire prevents the infant from becoming ill. The fire is sacred in that it may not be used for any secular or profane purpose, except by the mother and her attendant. My attempt to light a cigarette from one of its embers elicited a chorus of sharp etaps. The women remain with the mother till the end of the day, after which they return home, and the mother and child are left to themselves, except for the usual degree of daily visiting.

The father has not as yet entered the house, and it is only after the first day has elapsed that he may do so. However, neither he nor any other person, male or female may touch the baby, or even approach it beyond the mat on which it lies, with the exception of the mother and her attendant. To do so is strictly taboo as I, again, learned from my own behavior. On the fifth day, he is allowed to hold the infant, but he may not yet pick it up by itself, since he cannot approach its mat until the end of the mother's confinement, so that the mother must hand him the infant, if she grants him permission to hold it. If he should take the infant himself, the baby would take sick. At the end of the

mother's three month confinement, she prepares a new mat, the old one is discarded, and the baby can then be directly approached. (6)"

"6. This avoidance taboo is very interesting in light of the theories of paternal sibling hostility towards the new-born. Both paternal and sibling hatred are shorn of the possibility of over expression by this taboo. One can also interpret the exclusion of the father from the birth-hut in the same manner."

28: Spiro--91
116, 551, 851, 183

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The child is given a name at the age of three months. And, here, once again we face the 'problem of ethnographic truth'. First of all, we may point out the agreements. The name is given around the third month. There is no ceremony connected with the naming nor any magical or mystical associations with respect to names, either children or adult, with one exception: a sick person given a new name in order to hasten the departure of the illness, though the natives do not know why name changing should have this result. Names are sex-linked, so that a boy will never be given a girl's name, and vice versa. Names have no etymological significance or meaning. So much for the agreement. The disagreement enters with reference to who actually gives the name. My committee on infant development informed me that the maternal grandparents name the child usually after a dead kinsman. The chiefs maintained that the parents name the child, and that it is not named after any one. Finally, an actual experience sustained neither. In giving a Rorschach to a young married woman, I asked her the name of her baby, and she replied that the baby had not been named as yet. Saying that I should wait a few minutes, she entered her house, had a brief conversation with the people inside, and came back, saying they had just named the baby, so-and-so. The genealogies reveal that practically every person living and dead has a unique name, though there is some overlapping, and that these names are derived from combinations and permutations of a number of prefixes and suffixes that can produce a vast number of names."

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Lamotrek

The navel is underbound, gogoi budj. The child is nursed right away and soon is given palm juice, coconut milk, etc.; after about three or four months it is fed fish and taro. Sometimes infants are nursed until they are three years old. The afterbirth, pai, is buried, and the woman goes bathing in the sea. Some resort is taken to exercises, jüjü, in order that the women may become thinner.

28: Spiro--85 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 853 Ifalik

"For its first four days the infant is fed water and coconut oil, and whatever milk the mother may have. The infant is fed whenever it cries and when the mother and her attendant think it proper. That is, if the infant should sleep for an extended period, the mother will wake it in order to feed it.

On the fifth day, the mother's milk is usually sufficient, and the breast replaces the coconut oil. But the feeding follows the same pattern--in which first water is given the infant, and then the breast. Again, it is fed whenever it cries, and whenever its mother sees that its stomach is flat or not swollen. If the stomach is swollen, it is assumed that it is not hungry."

28: Spiro--87-88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 826 Ifalik

"Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut, the nourishment consisting of the breast-milk and water, the latter always preceeding the former. But the water is more than water; it is 'medicine' as well. That is the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorik, and is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother feeds water to the infant she squeezes the walewa which has absorbed the water, so that the water streams into the infant's mouth. This practice often is disturbing to the baby, because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Besides, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as its streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow. [88]

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed whenever it cries, or whenever it turns.

The breast, then, serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That the breast assumes the function of pacifier is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at the breast, or else place it in their mouths."

28: Spiro--88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 853, 157, 862 Ifalik

"It has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration, in which the breast is always available, that children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of children on Ifaluk are thumb suckers, not only those who have been weaned, but those who are still being suckled. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking, while others are unconcerned about it. Those opposed to the practice say that it weakens the thumb and kills the child's appetite.

Thumb sucking, then, is not only a function of oral frustration. It may be a simple satisfaction of the sucking reflex. Or, in older children, it may be a regression to the oral level of mastery. This would be particularly true on Ifaluk, in which the older child is, relatively speaking, neglected, so that the thumb sucking is a return to the security and emotional gratification of the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she lifts it from its bed or cradle, returning it to its place, when she is finished. Always care is taken to support the infant's head, so that it does not fall back. At first the stiff cloth is used which prevents the head from falling. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl. Again, I learned this the hard way, by violation of the practice, and being taught the correct way by the father of the infant I had 'maltreated'.

(1947-48) 1949

Only the mother may feed the baby during its first three months. If she should die, a wet nurse will be found, but not if her milk is scarce. In the latter case, coconut juice will be added to the diet."

28: Spiro--88 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 824 Ifalik

"Besides water and milk, the infant is fed some special medicine twice a day--morning and night--for the first three months. This medicine is a concoction of water in which are mixed the leaves of the ragnz, galua, and karavwan trees. This medicine is given to make the baby's 'stomach very fine.'"

28: Spiro--88 [3]
116, 853, 183

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"My informants said that unlike the ten days in the birth-hut, the baby is not wakened to be fed. My own observations, however, did not confirm this statement, which was probably a statement of a cultural norm, rather than an empirical description. For at least the first month, the mother will feed the infant often, and will wake it in order to do so. The baby is wakened by the stream of water in its mouth. Often, however, this does not wake the baby, and the mother will ease her nipple into its mouth, which automatically induces the sucking reflex, though to all appearances, the baby is still sleeping."

28: Spiro--89 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 262 Ifalik

"In its third month, the infant's diet is increased, and in a sense, this is the beginning of its weaning, though the natives do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces it into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only the fresh toddy that had just been collected is given to the infant, and even it is first diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like the solid food, it is not forced to take it, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals, until it gets to like them."

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 854 Lamotrek

Infants are laid in cradles consisting of a square wooden frame and filled with a net on which lies a mat (see photo 7 [VMM: see source]).

6: Senfft--57
116, 854

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

There are cradles for children (uiluil), made of a frame in the shape of a parallelogram; a loose net of coconut strings is drawn across the framework and the children may be placed on the net. This is suspended by four strings which are tied together on top. A young coconut leaf is attached to the cradle to guard the child against misfortune.

28: Spiro--81-82
116, 843, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Babies are desired both for themselves, and as a form of old age insurance. That is, babies are constantly being handled, kissed, hugged, played with, etc. The people have an inordinate desire to fondle babies, and babies are always the center of attention and of attraction in every home, and in every gathering. Babies are wanted, therefore, because of the pleasure they afford. Caring for the baby is never considered a bother or a chore. I have never seen a mother or any other person express resentment over, or anger towards, a baby because of the care and attention she must give it. It is no exaggeration to say that the adult's care [82] of the infant is a labor of love, and we might even question the very use of the term, 'labor.' I have never heard a mother complain of the restrictions on her behavior caused by the infant. A baby knows only smiling and laughing faces, soft arms and soft words. No baby is ever handled roughly, no baby is scowled at or spoken to with bitterness. To repeat, I have never heard an adult utter one word of complaint about the additional burdens caused by a new infant."

28: Spiro--82 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 593 Ifalik

"Adults not only want children because of their great love for infants, but also for a very practical reason, as providers for them in their old age. 'Suppose baby he grew up, he take fish, chow, coconut, he give mama and pappa.'"

28: Spiro--85 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"The baby is then [WPM: after first nursing], for the first time, allowed to rest. It is placed in its 'bed' (giagi), a pandanus mat placed on the floor, over which is placed some cloth, either the cotton cloth introduced by the Japanese, or the native cloth. The baby itself is wrapped in cloth, as a kind of diaper, and is then covered completely with another cloth. This last 'blanket' is used invariably no matter how hot it may be, so as to facilitate perspiration, for if the infant does not perspire freely, its growth will be retarded. Of course, when the baby soils itself, the diaper is replaced with a clean one, the excrements are carried to the ocean, and the soiled diaper is washed.

The infant and mother remain in Emelipen [WPM: see pp. 83-84] for ten days after the birth. During that time her behavior and treatment of the baby are strictly institutionalized. The mother and her attendant (her mother, mother's sister, or husband's mother) take the baby to the channel between the two islands to be washed three times a day--morning, noon, and afternoon. It is not washed in the evening lest an ălusengau make it sick."

28: Spiro--85 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"What must be stressed is the constant attention the infant receives. The mother and her attendant are at the constant service of the baby. One of them is always awake while the other sleeps to ensure that the infant's wants are immediately satisfied.

While the mother and infant are confined to the birth-hut, her family and that of her husband are busy. The men of both families go fishing every day, and their women-folk bring the fish to the mother, since fish will make her milk flow abundantly."

"Though the father sleeps in the house with his wife, after the second day of her return [WPM: from the birth-hut], parental intercourse is strictly taboo for two rag (approximately one atronomical year). Violation of the taboo will result in the baby's death. Though it is difficult to check on the observance of this taboo directly, there is indirect reason to believe that it is observed. In the first place there are no children whose closest siblings are within an age period that would indicate a conception within the tabooed period. Secondly, at least two fathers left the island after the birth of a child, may well have been motivated by the desire to avoid temptation. And finally, infant mortality is sufficiently high that few would wish to risk the imputation by themselves, as well as by others, of having killed their child by lack of sexual restraint.

The mother and her attendant are confined to their home for three months. They are in constant attendance upon the infant, and may leave the house only for bathing and the performance of their ablutions. But one of them must remain in the house, when the other leaves. The mother is not permitted to do any work that may distract her attention from her baby, so that the only activity permitted her is the making of lavalavas.

Except for this constant attention to the child, which monopolizes her time, there seems to be no indication of differential status or role on the part of the new mother. The only avoidance pattern is the sexual one just described. I discovered only one indication of a slight change of status. While talking with a group of people one evening, I had passed

cigarettes around the group, lit the cigarette of one of the women, and having no more matches, used her cigarette to light the others. Tom refused to take a light, explaining that the woman had just had a baby, and that if he, a captain, should make use of her fire (of any kind), he would drift off his course while on an ocean voyage."

28: Spiro--88-89 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 827, 865 Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This crying, however, is mild, and usually lasts but a few seconds, until the infant feels the nipple in its mouth. It is the early morning washing that produces intense crying and screaming. As we have seen, the infant is first washed in the channel, at birth, by its mother's attendant. After that both the mother and her attendant together wash the infant until the end of its second month. It is washed three times a day--morning, noon and afternoon. It is the morning bath in particular that elicits the crying response, and understandably so. In the early dawn, when the infant is washed, the lagoon is extremely cold, as I can testify from personal experience. The infant is usually wakened from its sleep, taken from its overly-warm 'bed' in which it is covered with many cloths and a blanket, and is immersed completely in the water, with only its head above water. The result is always bitter crying on the infant's part, and understandably so, for this is, indeed, a traumatic experience. Either the mother or her attendant washed the infant, after which, while still standing in the water, the mother nurses it. His screaming has been dissipated by this time, and the breast seems to be very welcome. (7)"

"7. The natives are not unaware of the pain this bathing ritual inflicts on the infant. But the mothers explain it by the refrain of musuwe, musuwe."

28: Spiro--89-90 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1.2
116, 854, 157, 609 Ifalik

"As we have already observed, the infant is constantly and continously watched over by its mother and her attendant for the first two months. If it cries, it is picked up, nursed, rocked in their arms, or rocked in the cradle. After this two month period, there is no restriction on the people who can attend to its needs, so that its father, or siblings, or any stranger may and does pick it up, rock it, or attempt to cajole it if it cries.

Already at this age, the infant is exposed to the faces and arms of many people. For the westerner, the amount of handling the infant receives is almost fantastic. The infant, particularly after it can crawl, is never allowed to remain in the arms of one person. In the course of a half hour conversation, the baby might change hands ten times, being passed from one person to another. This transference of the infant is not due to the fatigue of the person who is holding it at the time, but is done at the request of the others. The adults, as well as the older children, love to fondle the babies and to play with them, with the result that the infant does not stay with one person very long. This means, of course, that the baby gets to know the faces of many people, and learns to appreciate the love and protection that an adult can and does give it, be he a relative or stranger. This intimacy of contact with strangers at an early age, which establishes a freedom of relationship with non-relatives at a later age, increases the uneasiness the

[90] babies might normally have towards strangers. Every person in the district, at least, is part of the infant's in-group, and is known to him from earliest infancy. The stranger, therefore, is really a stranger, whose behavior is entirely unpredictable, since he is entirely unknown. With few exceptions, therefore, the young children were very shy and in many cases downright afraid of me for a long time, until they got to know me. (and the candy I gave to every child I met was not a minor factor in establishing initial rapport with the children.)"

28: Spiro--90
116, 854, 151

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A universal feature in picking up a baby is to smell it. Whether the mother picks the baby from its cradle, or a 'stranger' takes the baby from the arms of another, she will first place her face in its belly, and its genital region, nuzzling it, and smell it with deep and long draughts. The same behavior can be no more articulated than the reasons for our kissing babies. It is a sign of affection, both the form (smelling) and the region (genital) being culturally determined. It should be remarked here, though we shall have occasion to return to this point, that the olfactory sense is very important in this culture, the natives loving highly scented odors, such as cheap perfume, and abominating any offensive odor. ('it stink too much'.) (8)"

"8. Olfactory values of course, are in part universal, and in part culturally conditioned. As a whole the natives and I agreed on those odors we considered offensive. There were two exceptions. Their preserved breadfruit emitted a rancid odor that I found very repugnant, whereas our mild American cheese repelled the natives."

(1947-48) 1949

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--92 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 846, 854 Ifalik

"As pointed out above the mother does not leave her home for the first three months after the birth. At the end of the three month period, she may go about her work, but the infant is not taken with her. It is left in the care of another adult (or adults), and is never left alone, even when it sleeps. It is never left in the care of a child, but may be cared for by an older boy or girl, sibling or non-relative. Though she is permitted to leave her home, the mother does not remain away for a long period, while the infant is still nursing. If she remains away from her baby too long, her nipples feel sore, from which she understands that the baby wants to fed. It should be remembered, moreover, that the mother is never more than twenty minutes from her baby at any point of the island."

28: Spiro--92 [3]
116, 854, 513

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The infant sleeps between its parents. It continues to sleep with them until about the age of three, or until the birth of another baby. With the birth of the baby, the older infant is not only deprived of its mother's breast, but is also compelled to relinquish its sleeping position."

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

28: Spiro--87 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 776 Ifalik

"After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the Ulol or on its bed-mat, the giagi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat, between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to make it sick, it is protected by its parents on either side of it, so that one of them will become ill, and not the infant.

The baby, of course sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the babies sleep through it all. And even if he should wake and be fed, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and playing of the children."

28: Spiro--93
116, 842, 854

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Infants are not only greatly desired, as we have already seen, but they are given the greatest care and indulgence possible. The infant is idealized to the point that its over-indulgence and pampering become phantasties from the standpoint of Western standards. We have seen that no infant is ever left alone, day or night, asleep or awake, until it can walk. To isolate a baby would be to commit a major atrocity, for if a baby is left alone, 'by and by dies, no more people.'

Should an infant cry, it is immediately picked up in an adult's arms, coddled, consoled or fed. Thus the baby is in a state of almost complete dependence on the adults about it. This oversolicitude extends to the two and three year olds as well, assuming that another baby has not entered the household. Should the baby fall, and begin to cry, he is immediately picked up."

28: Spiro--146 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854 Ifalik

"Both men and women may take charge of the children. The older children, of course, play by themselves. The infants are cared for by their mothers. But those intermediate may be taken to the canoe-houses by the men, or by the women."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

1: Burrows--112-113 (1947-48) Woleaians
855 Ifalik

"....the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused."

6: Senfft--56
116, 855

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

Children are treated with great kindness and their only punishment consists of an occasional scolding.

28: Spiro--81 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 855 Ifalik

"With the birth of the first child another factor appears that may effect any future pregnancy. If the parents had mistreated their first child, had not satisfied its needs, Aluelap deems them incapable of raising children, and will not give them any more."

28: Spiro--99 [3]
116, 593, 867, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--100-101
116, 593, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"The relationship between siblings, indicated evidence of sibling rivalry, though the evidence is not complete. Sibling rivalry can be expressed in many ways, directly and indirectly, overtly and symbolically. There is little question in my mind that much of the play of the children is an expression of this rivalry. Here I only want to record one of two instances of overt attempts of an older child to compete with a younger sibling for his mother's love. While sitting with a group of people, a young mother was sitting nursing a few-month's old baby. Her four year old son came out, stood behind her with his arms about her neck. After a time, he took his mother's breast from the mouth of his baby brother. His mother sent him away. In another case Lautrimar, a woman of about 35 was holding her baby daughter. Talemelemar, her five old son, walked over to her, put his arms about her waist, and began to fondle her breasts. She rebuffed him at first, but finally picked him up, and carried them both. A final example: Talavusman's father was playing with the young baby, and the Talememamar was looking on very enviously. He left them to sit on the lap of his mother, but in a short time she told him to get off. He at once grabbed a stick, and threatened his little parallel cousin with it. (This, of course, is an obvious displacement of aggression). He then took a cloth, covering his penis very ostentatiously, at which everyone laughed. Since the two younger babies in the house were girls, and they received all the attention, this little bit of behavior was probably an attempt to be a girl, so that he too could receive attention of the adults.

This latter incident brings us to crucial point in the emotional development of the child. As we have emphasized repeatedly the baby is king in Ifaluk. Not only are babies desired, not only are their every wants fulfilled, but they are the constant center of attention. They are always the focal point of the household. This orientation, moreover, remains constant. The adult eyes are always focused on the babies, so that once the baby grows older he is out of focus, so to speak, and a new baby is now in focus. There is little eye accommodation, which would enable both the infant and the growing baby to be in focus. In other words, the king is dethroned. His place of centrality is now usurped by a younger infant. From the position of extreme overt love and attention he now finds himself ignored. Adults are still concerned about him, but they leave him to shift for himself. He is free to come and go when he wants, to eat where he wants, as long as he is not too far from sight. But what is even more important, the constant overt affection displayed towards them when young, is now withdrawn. I have seldom seen a child four or five years old being held in an adult's arms, kissed, hugged, or in general receive over, physical affection. From a state of infancy--overabundant love--they pass directly to a state of adulthood, as far as the diaplay of affection is concerned. The result of this differential treatment is a child starving for affection. And much of child behavior--agressive behavior towards adults and children, rivalry, is certainly a result of this age differential treatment.

This behavioral fact, though it is patent, did not assume significance for me for some time. I had attributed the fondness of the children for me as gratitude for the candy I gave them and as the novel experience of knowing a person of different physical type. And, though these factors played some role, I later realized that they were by no means the major factor. The fact is that I was the only adult in their world that showed genuine interest in them, that played with them, that displayed overt affection for them. In other words, I was playing the role vis a vis [101] them that their parents and other adults had played when they were babies. I was filling a deep emotional need in their lives. This first began to dawn on me as I was sitting in a canoe house watching the men doing a repair job. Talemelemar, who is definitely a 'problem child', aggressive, uncooperative, disobedient, etc., came in and sat down next to me. He was strangely quiet and unboisterous--abnormal behavior for him--so I kept one eye on him and one on the men at work. After many abortive attempts he snuggled against me, resting his head on my arm. I put my arm around him, drawing him to me, whereupon he nestled against me, sinking his head into my lap. And for the duration of the afternoon he lay on my lap with a look of peace and serenity that I had thought he was incapable of. The bully and devil were completely gone. This was, for me, and impressive and crucial experience. For the first time I gained some insight into Talemelemar, and through him into the other children. I had done something that no other adult had done since he had been a baby. I had

shown some affection for him, had not rejected him, and had not, when later some babies came into the canoe house, discarded him in favor of them Later, this impression was confirmed in many other individual cases of children who were withdrawn and terribly insecure, but who warmed up to me when I gave them the same kind of affection."

28: Spiro--101-102
116, 593, 855, 578, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"But what is even more impressive than this adult absorption with the infant, which results, in the ignoring of the emotional needs of the child (unwitting rejection), is the conscious ignoring and rejection of the child. The minutest frustration of the infant is attended to immediately, whereas even larger frustrations of the child are not only ignored, but often provoke amusement. A few examples may illuminate this point. One afternoon as I was resting in our tent I heard a tremendous outcry coming from the household behind us. It sounded like Talemelemar or Iliakong crying, and after it continued for a long time I became very irritated and went to discover the source of the trouble. As I approached the house, I saw that the disturber was neither of the two younger children, but rather Lemalialok, a girl of about seven. She was sitting on the ground, outside of her house, wailing at the top of her lungs. The wails seemed to be of frustration rather than of pain, and I remained to observe her, though she did not see me. Very soon, members of the household, some of whom were sitting in the house and some outside of the doorway, saw me and told Lemalialok that I was watching her. All this time, it is to be emphasized, the adults did nothing at all to appease her feelings, permitting her to lie on the ground, screaming to the point of exhaustion. When she was informed that I was watching her, she turned around, looked at me, and continued with her screaming. I walked towards her, and asked her why she was crying, and she answered that Leangteisai,

a sister a few years older than herself, had taken a knife from her. After talking to her, and giving her some candy, she finally stopped her crying. If I had not intervened she might have persisted in her behavior for an hour, and no one would have intervened. (18)

Another time I had been typing and was disturbed by crying coming from a house near us, crying which continued for a minimum of twenty minutes, after which I decided to investigate the trouble. It was three year old Lepiemar. It seems that her mother was holding her (the mother's) grandchild, and Lepiemar wanted her to hold her, but her mother refused, and shoved her away. Here is the rejection of the child and an obvious (to the child) preference for the younger baby. She sobbed and wailed, but her mother made absolutely no attempt to appease her. (19)

"18. When she stopped crying I called to Leangteisai, and asked her the cause of the difficulty. She gave me the same reason, but she told me the story with a smirk and a look of superiority on her face, --another of many examples of sibling rivalry.

19. The frustration stimulus may seem slight. But we have already indicated that infantile over-indulgence has created a low-threshold of frustration tolerance."

[102] On another occasion, four year old Lezabung, was the culprit. Again I heard a long protracted crying before I went to investigate the cause. Her mother, older sister, and four women were all sitting outside the house, but none made any gesture to help her. When she saw me, she came running to me, and wept bitter tears on my shoulder. Unfortunately, I did not ascertain the cause of her misery, as my linguistic ability, poor at the best, could not cope with the sounds of the crying girl."

28: Spiro--103
116, 855, 123

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 2
Ifalik

"Rivalry between children for the attention of the adults is very obvious, and I shall restrict my examples to those in which I was the object of the rivalry. One evening, sitting in one of the houses, I saw Iliakong, but she ignored me. I began to play with one of the little girls, and immediately the former came over, laughing at me, sat on my lap, forcing her attention upon me.

Lezabung wanted some candy, and I gave her some. She asked me to carry her to her home where the other children were playing. As we walked, I asked her why she didn't eat her candy, but she only smiled coyly. The reason soon became evident. When we came to her home, she proudly showed off her candy to the other children. The whole point of my giving her the candy and carrying her home, was to show off to the others.

Almost every day, the children would fight with each other over who was to sit on my lap, and the problem could be solved only by permitting two and even three to do so simultaneously.

Walking down the path, Talavusman and Talemelmar were fighting as to which would hold my hand. The latter struck the former with a coconut leaf, who fell to the ground crying. (An older girl picked him up and consoled him).

Two children were playing with a tennis ball, competing with each other to see who would throw it at me. When one threw it at one, the other would fall crying to the ground, and vice versa.

What they want, in all of these antics, is the adult's exclusive attention, and they are unwilling to share it with the others. If I held one in my arms, the others would try to intrude, and if I would not hold them as well, they would try to pull the first one off. If one can't have the desired object, the other cannot, either. One day, this would not work, and they tried other techniques. They tried to draw my attention from the child in my arms to themselves, by an exhibitionistic performance. Talemelemar rolled a record disk on its side. Velaut threw a stone in the air. Lezabung asked me to look at a sore on her leg. The others showed me sham sores, asking that I put medicine on them. Talavusman showed me two or three, and I refused to put on medicine as they were slight scratches. Talememar then grabbed Talavusman's penis, saying I should look at it."

28: Spiro--142-143
116, 765, 775, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1 4
Ifalik

"The behavior of the people following the burial is extremely interesting because of a seeming paradox. The paradox was obvious from the first death that I witnessed, and the same pattern was repeated in the other four deaths, and in each case my field notes remark on the phenomenon, though with different possible interpretations. I refer to the great discrepancy between the intense wailing prior to, and immediately following death, and the apparent lack of mourning and seeming forgetting of the person after death. The same person who indulges in the intense wailing, scratching of face and chest, and indulging in what seems like almost pure hysterical behavior, will, after the burial, revert to his normal personality, smiling, laughing and joking with no signs of bereavement. One would superficially say that this shows that the people do not really love their kin, and the wailing at the funeral is entirely formal and stylized. But this answer would be far from the truth. Despite the patterned nature of the mourning, the feelings felt are genuine. There is no question about the intense feelings of Arivimae, who burned his mother's house, or of Navor's husband. Yet, despite their acute suffering, they too showed no evidence of mourning or acute suffering even a couple of days after the burial. After the four day mourning period, they were in the canoe houses, laughing and joking, interested in the daily events, and eating heartily. The men had returned from fishing, and Navor's husband was intensely interested in the fish he was about to eat, displaying

a remarkable appetite for a man in sorrow.

But the problem goes even deeper. The people are vitally concerned about the recovery of an ill person. They will, and do, sacrifice energy, time, wealth, to ensure his recovery. Maroligar, and Wetriliar, for example, the maternal uncle and brother-in law, respectively, of Navor, did everything in their powers to save her when she was ill. They conducted rituals, they made medicine, they literally devoted their entire day for a period of at least a month, when she was critically ill, to her service. When they saw that she could not be helped and that she was going to die, they were deeply crushed. Their mental suffering was obvious to anyone. But immediately after the burial, the very same day, they were laughing and smiling, giving no evidence of any mourning. It is as if the deceased is completely forgotten, as if he never existed, and life goes on. In fact during the official mourning period, Maroligar spent his days playing cards with the young men.

Now to us this may seem callous. This is another indication, some might say, of the primitive' lack of sensibility. But, such an interpretation would be false and merely display a narrow ethnocentrism. That the people love each other deeply is shown throughout this entire monograph. It is true, of course, that the love applies only to the living not to the dead. And in a small society, such as Ifaluk, reality dictates the necessity of such behavior. Since all the people interract with great intimacy, and the relationship

between them is very close, the culture would collapse if mourning were long and protracted, and the people let themselves be overwhelmed by death. Intense suffering would incapacitate them, they could not do their work, and the results would be disastrous. Instead, the mourning is brief, but intensely acute, a real catharsis is experienced, and then life continues.

But the reality situation alone cannot explain this phenomenon. People do not or cannot always adjust to the demands of reality. Furthermore, what must be explained here is not the overt behavior but the psychological experience. The people could conceivably return to their normal living, but still suffer. What accounts for the seeming abrupt end of the psychological mourning? As far as I can see, there [143] are only two conceivable reasons. First, there is the belief in the continued existence of the soul. The person is not extinguished, his existence continues, but in another form, and there is some communication with him. This answer, however, is not adequate since the same belief obtains in other societies, and the reaction to death is not the same. Another answer suggests itself, which we shall point to only briefly here, and examine its implications and ramifications in the section on personality. The growing child, it will be remembered, forms no exclusive emotional attachments. He is surrounded by many adults, many of whom play as important roles in his life as his own parents. This means that the emotional cathexis of the individual are not intense, but are distributed over a number of

people. This means that though the indivdual feels a loss at the death of a loved one, this loss is not as a severe drainage of one's own ego since there are numerous other individuals for whom the individual feels similar attachments. In a society in which individuals form exclusive emotional cathesis, death means a serious drainage of one's own narcisstic supplies, since the identification has been intense, and the other's extinction is felt as one's own. But there the cathexis are diffuse, the loss of one is not severe, since the person has established many other identifications and they continue after the death of any one. This means, to employ a figure that though one psychological tentacle has lost its object, the others still cling to theirs."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

353 sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

123 125 The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the [516] people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the [600] presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was super- [502] ficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

291 There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

855 861 The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

854 The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

28: Spiro--95 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 802 Ifalik

"Talking is stimulated by the parents. When the baby shows signs of talking, they encourage him to acquire a vocabulary. For reason, which I could not ascertain, they first teach them to count. (14)

Parents take great pleasure in their children's speech, and are praised by others for the progress their child makes."

"14. The children learn not only how to count, but the motor behavior associated with it. That is, the people often count the number of persons in a house by pointing with their lips. The children soon pick up this motor behavior.

It may be pointed out, incidentally, that lip pointing is also a sign of agreement or affirmation. The women, who were quite shy at first, would answer questions in the affirmative by pointing their lips."

28: Spiro--95 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 856, 593 Ifalik

"Parents and other adults encourage children to walk, when they first show signs of walking, but they do not stimulate them to walk prematurely. As they take the child to the lagoon in the morning, they may hold his hand, permitting him to walk, rather than be carried. (15) The baby's walking is facilitated by a wicker-work structure, built like a play-pen. It has a narrow base, and the sides fan out as they extend from the base to the top. The infant is placed in it at certain times, and his standing is supposed to strengthen his legs. (16)"

"15. With reference to sibling rivalry, it is of interest to note that older siblings have been observed knocking down their younger siblings when the latter begin to walk.

16. This structure presents a minor light on the form-function controversy in anthropology, and illustrates the danger of interpreting a culture trait on formal grounds [96] only. Its form looks like a play-pen, and I was confident that it was. Later as I came to know the culture, I was perplexed: why should a play-pen be used in a culture in which small children are never left alone. It was not till a number of months had passed, and I had actually seen one used, that my question was finally answered."

28: Spiro--97 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-I 2
116, 856, 593, 621, 821 Ifalik

"As the child grows older and becomes aware of the world about him, he also becomes aware of the patternings of relationship and of interraction between himself and others about him. Before examining the pattern of those relationships, it may be well to point out two facts of general consideration. Though the family is the most important institution in defining patterns of interraction, the family is not as crucial a group here as it is in other cultures for two reasons. In the first place, the family is seldom together at one time. The father is in the canoe house, the mother in the taro patch, the children are playing, the young people are about their activities. There are few meals at which the entire family is present, or required to be present, people eating when and where they choose. On the other hand, there is little distinction between one's own relatives and 'strangers.' Every one knows every one else in the village, so that the child moves in a world in which there are no strange faces or strange people towards whom one's behavior must be different. All individuals look alike and all treat him alike. If he is hungry any of them give him food; if he needs something anyone will try to satisfy his need. Every house is open to him and he never has to learn that some houses are different from others; he can walk into any house (without knocking) at any time of the day or night.

These two facts add up to one general point of psychological significance. Children grow up in an atmosphere of at-homeness with many people, but there are no deep ties

with a particular group of people, known as the family. There is a more intimate relationship between the child and his household than with other people. But, except for infants, there is no greater intimacy between the individual and his primary family than between him and his household."

"This also indicates the precocious maturation of the girl, as compared to the boy. Girls that I had thought were in their early twenties, I later found out to be younger sisters of the young men that I spent my time with. This early maturation continues into old age. Women age much more rapidly than men. Middle aged women look like old women, as compared to their husbands who maintain a very youthful appearance."

2: Damm et al. --76-77
116, 857

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

Children lead a happy and carefree existence; they help their parents, but most of the time they play outdoors, sing, and dance in the moonlight. On all of his expeditions Sarfert was accompanied by a throng of children, who tried to attract his attention by doing all kinds of tricks (standing and running on their hands). Naughty children are always whipped. The smallest boys are allowed to go into the men's house, and so they participate in the life of the men from a very early age. When they reach a certain [77] size, between the age of 4 and 7, the boys receive a loin apron; the natives say this is "because the mothers and sisters do not want to see their boys naked any more." At this time the column of the nose is also pierced with a fish-bone, and a fragrant blossom (waróñ) is inserted in the opening. Little girls receive the apron siwisiǰ sooner than they do on Sorol, for example.

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 857, 881 Lamotrek

No initiation ceremonies are held.

Young girls early go out to gather fire-wood and they also take care of the hearth, cook, etc. When they are ten years old they are sent into the taro fields. For the sake of solemnity at the time of puberty, gabuitiu, a little banquet is held and taro, bananas, etc. are served; the men occasionally contribute young coconuts, fish and pigs. For three or four days the girl is bathed three or four times daily and is rubbed with the yellow turmeric color substance known as rong. The women at that time often perform dances....

12: Lutke--137
116. 857

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

On the wind side we noticed with pleasure how the boys ran bravely and skillfully into the breakers and captured some enormous sea-urchins.

28: Spiro--96 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 513, 776 Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

28: Spiro--96 [2]
116, 842, 864, 857

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

28: Spiro--97 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 538 Ifalik

"There are no children's stories to stimulate the child's imagination, nor any other tales of fancy."

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

28: Spiro--103 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 578, 865, 231 Ifalik

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

28: Spiro--104
116, 857, 476

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Explicit patterns of solicitude and mutual helpfulness in the young children are not too frequent. Naturally, since they play together all day, their interractional patterns are more cooperative than antagonistic. But the number of overt gestures of care and concern are not many. At times, if I gave candy to one child, he would not keep it, but would pass it on to another, and then ask for another piece for himself. At times, if two children are fighting, and one falls to the ground, a third child will pick him up. One afternoon Talavusman and Talemelemar had a battle royal, the former screaming with fear, rage, frustration, and pain all in one. Later in the afternoon, he came to have his leg rebandaged, Talemelemar came with him, and displayed great concern for his welfare. He brought him a mat on which to sit, told him how to hold his leg, and was most solicitous and sweet. But these occasions are infrequent."

28: Spiro--104 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 573, 186, 591 Ifalik

"We may now examine the broader aspects of the interraction of children with their peers. From infancy through the latency period boys and girls play together, and comprise play groups. These groups are usually comprised of all the children of one district, though may at times include children from the other district of the island, as well. But rarely will a child from one island play with the children of another island, and never will he be a regular member of their play group. This does not mean that the play groups are formalized or structuralized, because they are not. It means that children of one district play together because of the factor of geographic contiguity, and thus patterns of interraction are created between them in terms of dominance, subordination, etc. But it is not only contiguity that creates the formation of these children's play groups. The adults deliberately restrict their mobility. A child under 9 or 10 is not permitted free access to the entire village, and never does he go from his district to another, unless accompanied by an older boy or girl, or an adult. This means that only children who establish intimate contacts with children outside of their own district are the aevam, adopted outside of their district who spend time both in their biological and foster parental homes. The other children see little of each other except at public gatherings--economic, political, religious. When adults are asked for the reasons for these restrictions on mobility, they give two answers. First, the parents want the children near them so that

they can instruct them in certain skills, whereas if the children were constantly away, they would never learn. Second, the children might break something belonging to a stranger in another district.

This restriction on mobility is carried through into adult life. It is on rare occasions that inhabitants of one island visit the other, or even another district. Except for the women of Felarik to Falalap to work the taro patch, or the men in either island collecting their toddy from their inherited trees which may be in another island, they remain in their own districts. And, as we shall see, this pattern is reflected in the choice of a mate, who is usually chosen from one's own island."

28: Spiro--104-105
116, 857, 573

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The play group is comprised of all the boys and girls of a district. The ages may range from two or three to eight or nine. Always, however, when a large number of children play together, they are supervised by one or two girls in the latter ages. That is, two or three children may play themselves, but if a number of children [105] play, they are accompanied by two or three of the nine or ten year old girls, who act as supervisors. This is part of the girls' social responsibilities that the older boys do not share. The latter by this time have formed groups of their own."

"A few general notes on children's play may be in order. Generally, one is impressed (after long and constant observation) with the egocentricity of the children's play. (21) Each child seems to be acting out his own private phantasies, in conjunction, to be sure, with other children, but with his own private meanings. There is no real integrated or meaningful interraction, in the sense of role taking, but each child is trying to serve his own ends, which may be served by playing with others. That this is true is demonstrated by the fact that the child, if he is dissatisfied with the way the others are playing, will drop out of the group, and play by himself. Another characteristic is the lack of consistency or constancy in their play over a sustained period of time. They precipitately change from one activity or game to another with no warning at all, or may drop all activity for no discernable reason. Another characteristic of the older children is the randomness and/or lack of goal directed activities. When I was still new to the culture, I would ask a group of boys what they were doing, and they would answer, 'tar', nothing. When I got to know them intimately, I began to understand the truth of the remark. At the same time, their behavior may be completely random--throwing of stones, not at any target, or goal, just throwing of stones.

This randomness of behavior is even more marked in the younger children, but one would expect it in them, since they are still in an exploratory state, and at the same

---

"21. Susan Isaacs states this as a general characteristic of the play of children."

time their behavior is more egocentric. Theirs is isolated play, in which the contact is geographical, not interractional. For example, two little boys, about two years old, were playing near the cook-shed, in which the women were preparing food. As I walked up, one was sitting, sucking on a blade of grass, laughing to himself, as he chewed it. The other one just sat and stared at me, after which he put his hand in his mouth, sucked it, and then kicked the dirt with his feet. He then rose, smiling, and walked from the shed. One of the women (not his mother) brought him back. He sat down, sucking his finger, then sucked a twig. Meanwhile the other boy was endlessly winding a piece of grass around and around the twig to which it was attached. The other boy began to play with his toes. This went on for a long time, each child turning from one activity to another, completely ignoring the other one."

28: Spiro--105 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 526 Ifalik

Another characteristic on all levels of child play is the absence of competitive sports, or any other competitive activity involving physical skill or prowess. One might expect to find fighting or wrestling matches, tree climbing contest, canoe races, etc., but they are completely absent."

28: Spiro--105-106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The number of games the children play is quite limited. Boys play a game, called kat, which is similar to checkers, and which was unquestionably brought from the Japanese on Yap by the young men who had worked there. The game is played by both boys and men, often a boy playing a man. A board is ruled into horizontal and vertical lines, about nine vertical and twelve horizontal. Each player has twelve pieces of coral or coconut midribs, with which he tries to 'capture' those of his opponent, by 'jumping'. One may jump in either direction, and the 'king' may traverse as great a distance as he wants. The winner, of course, is the one who captures all of his opponent's pieces. This game, it should be noted, is the only game in which there is a 'winner', and it is not native. The boys and young men play it with avidity, [106] often with great enthousiasm. This is true, also, of the card games that the young and old men, but not children play. Adults have no competitive games or sports either. The Japanese had taught them some card games, but they had no cards. We gave them a deck, and they played the game with great relish, often spending hours at a time at it. What is significant, of course, is that the culture provides no competitive games, in which one child is victorious over another."

28: Spiro--106 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524 Ifalik

"On windy days, the boys make human-like figures from coconut leafs (karigeli), with long legs', and when they are placed in the wind, they 'walk' for some distance.

The older boys make kites from coconut leafs, which they fly on windy days. They also make model canoes, and sail them in the lagoon on windy days.

Some of the boys made a wagon, which I saw used only once. They used four wooden disks, as wheels, used long poles as the body proper, and pulled each other around, having great fun.

A frequent activity of the boys is the spinning of tops. A coconut stem is inserted into a coconut bud, which when twirled in the hand and released on the ground, will spin very well.

The younger children, both boys and girls, play with these tops, but do not spin them too well. Usually they merely throw them into the air, retrieving them when they fall, repeating this pattern incessantly. This retrieving pattern is a favorite one. They roll plates on the ground, balls and other objects, running after them to retrieve them. Or else they play 'catch' with some object, throwing it, or batting it, back and forth."

28: Spiro--106 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 857, 524, 831 Ifalik

"A game played by two children involved rolling a bottle-cap on the ground, which the other child, would pick up, and return to the other. But the formal structure of the game is always accompanied by personal behavior and symbolism. For example, Iliakong and Talavusman were playing this game when the latter had a sore knee so that if she over-threw the mark, she would have to retrieve the cap, since he could not run. Each time she ran for the cap, she would bend her head to the ground, put her hand between her buttocks, and giggle, and he would laugh with her.

Another game, a variant of this, is rolling a ball (made of coconutleaves) on the ground, while a model windbreak is standing near one of them. The windbreak is not touched, but it fell over in the course of the play, the participants and observers would break out into peals of laughter. Instead of windbreak, they would set up a coconut fan against a stick, with the purpose of knocking it down with the ball, and if they succeeded, they would again break into great laughter. (22)

"22. From the intense excitement and the 'obscene' nature of the laughter, one could probably infer that the knocking over of the stick with a ball is an unconscious coitus phantasy, shared by all."

28: Spiro--106 [2]
116, 857, 524, 831

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Another favorite game is the play-wearing of clothes. Both the little boys and girls (nude) would wrap cloth about them, and parade about the house or courtyard. Or they would wrap themselves in blankets, parading around the house, and then lie down together under the blanket."

28: Spiro--106-107
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another game was a semi-wheelbarrow game, in which one child would hold the leg of another, the latter thus attempting to walk on one leg. [107]

The children also had a game of 'it.' Two children would stand opposite each other at about a distance of thirty feet, and another child would be 'it' in the center. The two on the outside would attempt to hit him with a coconut leaf 'ball', and the one who succeeeded would then take his place in the center.

Playing 'house', I observed only once. Two pre-pubertal girls had erected a house of coconut leaves, and had spread mats on the floor inside. They sat outside the house, like two Ifaluk matrons, making wreaths, while a number of younger children were playing in the house, and were treated as the children of the two girls."

28: Spiro--107
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1.2
Ifalik

"Much of the play and games occurs on the beach or in the water. One favorite was jumping head first into the lagoon from the run-way that led from the shore to the over-water-head. Another was just swimming or splashing in the water, or playing tag in the water. On the beach, many kinds of activities were indulged in. A few examples might be of interest. One afternoon some children dug holes in the sand, trying to build bridges between the holes. The boys became weary and lay down, and the girls covered them completely with sand, and then ran off leaving them. The younger children would often build and destroy one sand pile after another. The following description is a complete account of the sand play of an entire afternoon. Talemelemar (boy) and Iliakong (girl) were kneeling in the sand on the beach, piling sand on their legs and thighs until the laps were covered. After tiring of this, they each filled a basket with sand, filled it with water, and threw the mixture into the air. Iliakong threw a basket of sand at Talemelmar who became angry, and retaliated by throwing some at her. They, both seem to enjoy this, so they continued throwing baskets of sand at each other, enjoying the entire proceedure immensely. They suddenly tired of this and returned to the task of filling their baskets. When hers was filled, Iliakong threatened to throw it at Talemelmar. He screamed and ran into the ocean. He then returned and played in the sand about fifty feet from Iliakong. She knelt by me, playing in the sand, then came over and tried to

look up my shorts. Failing in this, she returned to her play in the sand, this time making a ball from the sand, and kept patting it, and shifting it from hand to hand--singing at the same time, oblivious of everything and everyone. Suddenly she jumped up, threw the ball of sand into the air, then tried to walk on her hands, failed, and returned to her play in the sand, Talemelemar saw her trying to walk on her hands, and attempted to imitate her. They both decided to do it together, and insisted that I watch them. They soon tired of this play, and Talemelemar ran off by himself, while Iliakong reverted to the making of balls. Soon Talemelemar came running back insisting that I watch him as he jumped up and down in the shallow water. When Iliakong finished making her balls she ran to the ocean and threw them into the air. She then returned to pile sand on her legs, as Talemelemar began to make balls. Iliakong too returned to the ball-making, and both of them continued, almost monotonously, to shift the ball from one hand to the other, patting them as they did so. Iliakong accompanied this activity with song, coordinating her singing and patting in perfect rhythm. She made three sand balls and put them beside her basket. I touched one and accidentally broke it, at which she shouted at me, threatened to throw sand at me, and ended by burying the other two in the sand. In the meantime, Telemelemar had built a little hillock out of sand, scraping sand away from it, so that it was separated from the sand surrounding it. He then picked it up and placed it beside the ball he had made. He then made another ball and buried it too in the

sand. Then, taking the other two balls on shore, he began to pack them with great care with mud. At that point, Iliakong ran to him and deliberately broke one of the balls, but he said nothing. She tries to kick the other from his hand, but he pulled it away. The ball she was carrying fell accidentally to the ground, and broke, at which they both laughed uproariously. She then threw sand at him, which he dodged. At this point it began to rain, and we all sought shelter in the canoe house."

28: Spiro--107-108 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 524, 177 Ifalik

"The children would play other games at various times. They would attempt to climb a tree or a stump, but if seen by adults, they would be stopped. They would [108] jump into the air, trying to touch their feet before they landed on the ground. They also had a game of tag, in which they would chase each other endlessly around an imaginary circle, screaming with pleasure until they would fall exhausted to the ground.

Another game was to stand facing each other, with the palms of their hands pushing against the palms of another, and then attempt to push the other from his spot. Singing and dancing were favorite pastimes, performed individually and in groups. We shall have more to say about the dancing in another connection. Their songs and dances were imitations of the adult songs and dances, there being none which are specifically for children. The children love to sing and were eager to learn the songs that I sung. Their favorite American song was 'Patsie Orie Arie Aye' which they (and the adults, too) asked me to sing whenever they saw me. Eventually they learned the tune and the chorus, so that they would sing it by themselves.

Both boys and girls would often play in the canoes, just climbing around them, or attempt to paddle them when they were in the water."

28: Spiro--108
116, 857, 524

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are no dolls for the girls to play with. The Germans, as we have pointed out elsewhere, induced the people to make dolls for export. But no one thought of using them as dolls to be played with. Apparently the play of the children with actual babies takes the place of play dolls. However, I did observe play with dolls once during our stay. Two little girls were playing with a half coconut shell. When I asked them what it was, they said it was a cat. Later they said it was a baby. They held it in their arms, and sung to it, as a mother would to a child. They then put it in a 'cradle' (a basket leaf), and swung it from the roof pillars. They played with this cradle interminably, constantly taking it down, and putting it back again, tying and untying the string. But this is the only doll play I had seen in our entire stay."

28: Spiro--108-109
116, 857, 561

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-L 1
Ifalik

"Children are seldom alone, or out of the sight or ears of the adults. Usually the locale of their play is a courtyard, in view of the women, or in front of a canoe house, in view of the men. Often sit around the canoe houses with the men, doing nothing in particular merely engaging in random movement or rest. The children are not separated from the adults by age differences, and are permitted access to adult groups and activities, so that in the canoe houses they are accepted without protest by the men, and no attempt is made to create bars, or barriers. Though children and adults have differenential [sic] interests, and though there is little question as to which group is dominant and which submissive, there is no marked dichotomy between the children's and the adults' worlds. They both live and interract in the same world, though they play differential roles. It is natural, therefore, that they should play in the canoe houses, or enter them as equals of the men. The little girls may do so as well, something which the adult women may not do, for once a woman has reached puberty she may not enter a canoe house, except with the permission of the men.

A brief quotation from my field notes may illustrate this point. The behavior here described is typical of the daily routine in the canoe houses. As I entered the canoe house, three young men were making rope, as was one of the older boys. A man in his middle twenties was just sitting, while an older man was holding his baby granddaughter

on his lap, and another young married man was lying with his baby son on his stomach. Three young children were lying about. I lay down on a mat, and one of the little girls came over to lie down beside me, putting her arms about me. The baby girl began to mess up the rope of one of the young men, who only laughed, picked her up, and began to play with her. She was then taken by another of the young men, who passed her on to another, until she made the round.

One of the young boys began to make rope, the other watching him. In a little while the latter attempted to wrest the rope from the former, whereupon he became [109] angry, threw the rope at him, and ran out of the canoe house. The baby boy left his father's lap to sit on a board, and began to chew on sugar cane, part of which he offered me. One of the young men called him over, and had him puff on his cigarette. He enjoyed this tremendously, jumping up and down, and clapping his hands with glee. Another man came in, and shortly after his step-daughter came in, and sat on his lap. One of the boys now tried to pull the penis of one of the young men, but the latter rebuffed him. He attempted the same on some of the others but met the same reaction. He lay down, chewing on a twig. The little girl was singing to herself. Suddenly one of the children left the canoe house, and called to another and together they began to throw their tops in to the air. Soon the third child joined them, and they were at their games again."

28: Spiro--114 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 866 Ifalik

"Children, as we have seen, play alone in the water without adult supervision, and no alarm is felt."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2]
116, 857, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--118 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Whether children observe adult intercourse or not is a moot point, but they do observe and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave everything when they are informed of dogs copulating. The girls, if they watch, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually stand behind a tree or a house, and watch them, laughing all the time. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty some of the dogs have in removing their penis from the bitch's vagina. The dogs would whine and yelp, and the boys would howl with glee."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

"To claim that the infant is king in Ifaluk is not to exaggerate the situation at all. The infant is always in control of a social situation, and easily dominates the adults, bending them to his will. Two examples from my field notes will serve to illustrate this point. Talimera, the young man who became my interpreter, and I were interviewing Nautrimar, the mother of a baby about eighteen months old. Now Nautrimar and I were very close friends, and she was always eager to be of help to me, so that the obstreperous conduct of her baby daughter was not to her liking. The baby was running about the yard constantly, shouting, and generally creating a disturbance that made it all but impossible to continue with our interview. She would catch the baby, holding it in her arms, but it would soon leave her arms to run about. Talimera would pursue her, and hold her for a while, but she would soon leave him, so that her mother would have to chase her again, and pick her up. When the infant wanted to leave her mother's lap, however, she was not restrained, and would again run away, this time, being caught by her mother's sister. This little comedy act continued for the better part of an hour. All were mildly irritated by the child's behavior, but none made the slightest attempt to restrain her, verbally or physically. The baby was in complete control of the situation.

Another example is even more telling. Tiovis, a 15 month old boy, was brought to the canoe house by his maternal grandfather Auelimar.

During the half hour I remained in the canoe house, he perpetrated the following deeds, without the slightest display of anger on the part of the adults, or the smallest attempt to restrain him. Tiovis began by pushing his hands into the face of Auelimar, pulling his beard, and then shoving his hands under Auelimar's chin, so that the latter had to strain his neck upward. He then grabbed a pole and began to strike Mawaulimar, an olderly man, who saved himself by removing himself from the scene, sitting behind a canoe. Tiovis then began to play with the rope fibre that Auelimar had in his basket. It requires much time and patience to sort out the fibres, which are to be twisted into rope. Yet when Tiovis began to mess them up so that they became gnarled, Auelimar merely resorted them, and replaced them in the basket. Ramen, a young married man came into [94] the canoe house, and took Tiovis in his arms, whereupon the latter did to him what he had done to his grandfather--push his hands in his face, etc.

All this while, Tiovis is the center of attention, the men laughing at his antics, and having a merry time observing them. The theory behind this almost fantastic indulgence is that the baby is completely innocent, and is not responsible for its behavior. ('no savvy nothing.'). This theory is consistent with the lack of punishment of the child, but surely it need not prevent the adults from restraining some of the infant's behavior

which is both irritating and destructive. (11)"

"11. The same theory is employed to explain the indulgence of the whims and aggressions of the abnormal children. The latter often throw stones at others, which may seriously bruise someone, yet no attempt is made to restrain them, since they 'no savvy nothing.'"

28: Spiro--94 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 858, 831 Ifalik

"It is to be expected that this pattern of indulgence induces a low threshold of frustration tolerance, so that if the infant is inhibited it reacts violently. One example, from many, will illustrate this point. As I entered a courtyard one day, a baby boy about two years old, came over to sit on my lap. He soon discovered the pencil in my pocket, and began to play with it. (12) After a time I took the pencil from him. This minor frustration caused him great grief. He shook his body and head violently, and then began to scream--a genuine temper tantrum. But the moment I returned the pencil the crying ceased, and he became all smiles. Yet again when I stood up to leave, he screamed violently, and would not be pacified."

"12. His play is irrelevant in this connection, but is of psychoanalytic interest. He repeatedly removed the pencil from my pocket and reinserted it. He would then place it between his thighs, and then stick either himself or me with it. This sequence continued for some time. It was obvious also, that he was 'playing for the gallery', since he would look to see if the people were observing him, and if he noticed that I was unattentive, he would give a shout of rage."

28: Spiro--94 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 865 Ifalik

"The generally accepted adult view of infants, therefore, has it that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk."

28: Spiro--102
116, 858, 561, 865

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--113
116, 858, 184

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Socialization involves not only the introjection of the values of the culture, it means also learning to participate in the institutionalized activities of the culture. From the moment the child is taken from the confines of his home, there is no cultural activity he may not witness; and, indeed, he is taken to them all. Whether it be a political meeting, a religious ceremony, a dance, an economic activity, the child, from infancy on, is a witness to the proceedings, for he is carried by his parents, when an infant, and walks himself, when he can do so. In short, there is no institutionalized facet of his culture that, in principle, is barred to the child. He begins to observe adults behavior, therefore, much before he begins to participate in the activities himself. This means, that in many instances, all that is lacking for his participation is the skill or strength, not the knowledge or information. His culture, therefore, is not a strange mystery from which he is excluded. He is never made to feel, except in the case of sex, that there are adult activities that, for inexplicable reasons, he may not share. He may and does share them, but full participation must await greater maturity. And when he does begin to participate actively in his culture, it is not as a sudden transition from one discrete category to another, a precipitate change from child to adult, an abandonment of one and an entry into a new and entirely different world. His cultural, as well as biological growth, is continuous, for his cultural participation increases concommittently with his biological maturation."

28: Spiro--113 [2]
116, 858, 535, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--113-114
116, 462, 858, 562

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-1
Ifalik

"In economic life, the children have certain responsibilities, though here there is an important sexual differential. The little girls begin to assume domestic responsibilities much before the boys, so that the boys of seven or eight may be seen playing in their gangs, while the girls at that age are at home, helping their mothers with the cooking, caring for a younger sibling, collecting flowers for garlands, etc. When a girl reaches the age that she wears a grass skirt, she becomes a mother surrogate to the younger children. She carries them with her, watches over their play, washes them, feeds them, and in general supervises their activities. A boy may, if he likes, perform any of these tasks, but a girl is delegated these responsibilities. The girl assists her mother in household work, helping her to clean the house, and helping in the cooking. By the time she is seven or eight, she is making threads for skirts. She actually does not begin to make or even assist in the making of skirts until after puberty, but she does tie the strips of bark into thread.

The boys this age have no definite economic responsibility, though they may and do assume some on their own initiative. For example, when the men prepare to go [114] fishing, the young four and five year old boys will assist in minor tasks, such as gathering coconut-midribs to be used as skids for the canoes, or to fetch some article which the men wish to use. As the boys get older, they begin to act on their own initiative, particularly with regard to fishing. Boys from the seventh or eighth years may be seen

going surf fishing with their fishing poles, or accompanying an older youth in lagoon fishing in canoes. The older pre-pubertal lads and young adolescents practically have a monopoly on one kind of fishing, the shore trap fishing for the small fish. There are certain seasons of the year when fish, the size of a sardine comes into the lagoon, which the natives catch in a stone trap, or in coconut traps, which they place in the water. Every morning, and some afternoons, the lads mentioned above are busy at work catching these fish. And, it is to be stressed, this is done without adult pressure or orders, but on their own initiative."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

28: Spiro--114 [2]
116, 866, 858

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This assumption of adult values and behaviors carries over into the freedom granted the child, the patterns of dependency in which he is trained. Children are not forced to go to sleep at an early time, but can stay up as long as the adults. They may even sleep away from home, if they have their parent's permission. But even the young men and women may not do so without permission. If a young man or woman is not home by nightfall, the parents are very concerned. This is understandable, since in a small island, someone is bound to see them at some time, and if they do not return and no one can tell of their whereabouts, chances are something has happened to them. But with permission, young and old children, alike, may sleep away from home."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufal for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

28: Spiro--111-112
116, 153, 861, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1
Ifalik

"Social scientists have recently stressed the fact that imitation alone does not explain social and cultural learning, that such learning involves a system of rewards and punishments, the former serving to reinforce positive responses, and the latter serving to extinguish the wrong responses. On Ifaluk the punishments are quite definite and tangible, whereas the rewards are diffuse and mostly psychological in nature. In other words, rewards are seldom in the nature of 'Presents.' The simple cultural fact is that there is little possibility for the concept of 'present.' In a culture in which each family is an economic unit, almost entirely self-sufficient, each such family manufactures what every other family has so that there is no division of labor which results in exchange of goods. The child, therefore, cannot be offered something which the family does not already possess, and what it does possess are his for use anyway. Presents in the form of material goods would merely be an addition of something the child already has--some extra food, a larger basket, a new loin cloth--important, but not important enough so as to act as a dynamic agent in the learning process.

This leaves two other rewarding factors operating--praise and privilege. Privilege, too, is an unimportant factor, for again, given the cultural and geographical facts--the reality situation--there is little in the way of special privilege that the child can receive for good behavior. Any cultural goods the society has to offer are received automatically by the child as he matures. Such privileges as being able to listen to the

radio, to see the movie, to go for an automobile ride, etc. do not exist. Others, such as being able to stay up late at night, to go with his parents to a party or to the home of a relative are not special privileges. They are his as of right. No Ifaluk parent ever bribes his child, therefore, with the promise, that if you do such-and-such, I will permit you to do so-and-so. The pattern of reward and/or privilege following a meritorious deed is therefore, absent from this culture.

The only category remaining under reward is praise, and this is employed. The child who conforms to the social expectations, or who does something particularly meritorious, or who acquires a skill, is praised not only by his parents, but by all adults. The positive dynamics in learning, therefore, is the desire to be praised, the desire for the euphoria that accompanies the feeling of being accepted, the emotional security that comes from having pleased one's elders and merited their praise.

But this, apparently is not enough. There are negative sanctions that are even more important than the positive, though, to be sure, they may be viewed as the obverse side of the motivational coin. If one desires praise and security, one avoids blame, rejection, and ridicule. Ridicule and its resultant feeling of shame is probably the strongest factor operative in the Ifaluk learning pattern. There are, as we shall soon see, six specific punishments with which children are inflicted--almost all of which elicit shame and rejection responses rather than physical pain. Positively, then, it is the knowledge of being loved for doing the right thing--emotional security--that motivated good

behavior. Negatively, it is the feeling of being rejected, of not being loved--emotional insecurity--that soon eliminates bad behavior. 'If you do that', or 'if you no savvy that, you all same dog or pig' is the kind of ridicule that both shames the child and makes him aware of his implicity rejection by his parents. But this is not enough. There are six negative sanctions that are employed to punish the recalcitrant child, all of which, according to the children's confession, are distasteful, and should be avoided. These are being beaten,[112] spat upon, thrown in the lagoon, confined to the house, threatened with an alus, and scolded.

The child is beaten with a coconut-leaf, never with the naked hand. The actual physical pain involved, as I can testify, is slight. Being spat upon, of course, involves no physical pain at all. Being thrown into the ocean is not physically painful, though it might induce fear--fear of octopus or shark or an alus of the sea. There is no fear of drowning, since he is thrown in shallow water. Being scolded involves no physical pain, nor does being threatened with an alus, though the latter does elicit fear, for the alus, it will be remembered, causes illness. Confinement involves no physical pain, but is extremely frustrating. The children have complete mobility within their district, and being shut-in works a greater handicap on them than it would for an American child. It is the psychological experiencing of the punishment, as rejection, shame, frustration,

that is the dynamic force behind the punishments.

The following table is a statistical tabulation of the punishments reported by the children, giving the number of children who named any one punishment. Some named many, some none.

Table II

Number of subjects: 42
Male : 25
Female : 17

Punishment	No. of subj.	% of subj.	% of M.	% of F.
Beating	35	83	88	76
Spitting	22	52	56	47
Thrown in ocean	18	43	56	23
Confinement	18	43	44	41
Threatened with Alus	17	40	56	18
Scolding	14	33	24	47"

"The next table expresses statistically, the severity of the punishment, as experienced by the child. That is, I asked each child which punishment he disliked the most. The number of children included in this table is not the entire child population, as are the first two. Some children said that none were experienced as severe. Others said that all were equally severe. And some I neglected to ask.

Table III

Number of subjects: 24
Male : 17
Female : 7

Punishment	No. of subjects	% of subjects	M%	F%
Beating	10	41	41	43
Confinement	5	20	23	14
Spitting	4	17	6	41
Ocean	3	12	17	0
Alus	2	8	11	0
Scolding	0	0	0	0

[113] The small number of female subjects permits no interpretive results to be drawn from the differential sexual responses."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

sions were put in bags or boxes of various sorts and slung by ropes from the rafters, the whole upper part of the house thus being a sort of floorless attic.

The citizens of Ifaluk cooperated nicely in the census operation, though they seemed rather amused at such strange antics. Those who had been weighed and measured loved to stand around and watch the rest as they passed through the routine. It was hard to get some of the people, especially the women, to stand up straight enough for a proper height measurement. They had, in many cases, what seemed to be a permanent crouch, perhaps resulting from the low doorways and interiors, perhaps the product of a sort of chronic deference, since the women of Ifaluk knew their place—always bowing respectfully in the presence of the male animal. (Ted suspected that this show was superficial and that the women, there as everywhere, knew their power and how to use it; one of the five chiefs, it turned out, was a woman.)

There were no ideas of modesty associated with the breasts; and the ladies didn't seem to be bothered by the fact that their skirts gaped rather badly near the belt-line behind. But they were very modest about legs from the knee up and were careful never to expose an inch of thigh. Their preoccupation with keeping their skirts close about their legs was clear enough as they stepped on the scales. Don, impressed by their modest maneuvers as he tried to read the dial on the scales, remarked that they would really be shocked by an American bathing suit.

The people seemed to take wonderful care of the children, the men holding babies and comforting the young as often as the women. Ted and his colleague, Spiro, in their 1948 study, found that the kids were never spanked, and rarely yelled at—though it was said that they sometimes doused them in the lagoon if they got too obstreperous. At the movies on the NETTLE Don noticed one man gently ladling sea water on a bawling baby. The baby stopped crying quickly—and he made a mental note to try this on his own daughter when he got back home.

The smallest infants were in cradles. These were square boxes with low sides, fastened by a bridle of cords from the corners, and suspended a few inches above the floor by a rope from the rafters. The babies were tucked in with some old clothes, and seemed contented enough.

28: Spiro--87-88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 826 Ifalik

"Feeding at home is, at first, like the feeding in the birth-hut, the nourishment consisting of the breast-milk and water, the latter always preceeding the former. But the water is more than water; it is 'medicine' as well. That is the water-feeder is a sack-like piece of coconut bark, in which is wrapped the leaves of the angorik, and is called walewa. The walewa is immersed in a coconut shell containing water, and when the mother feeds water to the infant she squeezes the walewa which has absorbed the water, so that the water streams into the infant's mouth. This practice often is disturbing to the baby, because the flow of water cannot be readily controlled, and I have seen many babies gagging on an overflow. Besides, if the infant is genuinely thirsty, he is frustrated by his own inability to swallow the water as rapidly as its streams into his mouth, so that he gasps and gurgles and chokes while trying to swallow. [88]

As is the practice in the birth-hut, the infant is fed whenever it cries, or whenever it turns.

The breast, then, serves not only as a source of nourishment, but as a pacifier as well. That the breast assumes the function of pacifier is indicated by the almost reflexive turn of the child to the mother's breast in time of distress. When I first made my appearance on the island, and the babies were still frightened of me, many would either clutch at the breast, or else place it in their mouths."

28: Spiro--88 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 853, 157, 862 Ifalik

"It has been claimed by many observers that in cultures in which there is no oral frustration, in which the breast is always available, that children will not suck their thumbs. The great majority of children on Ifaluk are thumb suckers, not only those who have been weaned, but those who are still being suckled. Some mothers discourage thumb-sucking, while others are unconcerned about it. Those opposed to the practice say that it weakens the thumb and kills the child's appetite.

Thumb sucking, then, is not only a function of oral frustration. It may be a simple satisfaction of the sucking reflex. Or, in older children, it may be a regression to the oral level of mastery. This would be particularly true on Ifaluk, in which the older child is, relatively speaking, neglected, so that the thumb sucking is a return to the security and emotional gratification of the nursing infant.

When the mother feeds her baby, she lifts it from its bed or cradle, returning it to its place, when she is finished. Always care is taken to support the infant's head, so that it does not fall back. At first the stiff cloth is used which prevents the head from falling. Later the cloth is discarded, but the mother supports the head with her hand. This support continues whenever the baby is held, until it begins to crawl. Again, I learned this the hard way, by violation of the practice, and being taught the correct way by the father of the infant I had 'maltreated'.

Only the mother may feed the baby during its first three months. If she should die, a wet nurse will be found, but not if her milk is scarce. In the latter case, coconut juice will be added to the diet."

28: Spiro--89
116, 854, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This crying, however, is mild, and usually lasts but a few seconds, until the infant feels the nipple in its mouth. It is the early morning washing that produces intense crying and screaming. As we have seen, the infant is first washed in the channel, at birth, by its mother's attendant. After that both the mother and her attendant together wash the infant until the end of its second month. It is washed three times a day--morning, noon and afternoon. It is the morning bath in particular that elicits the crying response, and understandably so. In the early dawn, when the infant is washed, the lagoon is extremely cold, as I can testify from personal experience. The infant is usually wakened from its sleep, taken from its overly-warm 'bed' in which it is covered with many cloths and a blanket, and is immersed completely in the water, with only its head above water. The result is always bitter crying on the infant's part, and understandably so, for this is, indeed, a traumatic experience. Either the mother or her attendant washed the infant, after which, while still standing in the water, the mother nurses it. His screaming has been dissipated by this time, and the breast seems to be very welcome. (7)"

"7. The natives are not unaware of the pain this bathing ritual inflicts on the infant. But the mothers explain it by the refrain of musuwe, musuwe."

28: Spiro--89 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 853, 862, 262 Ifalik

"In its third month, the infant's diet is increased, and in a sense, this is the beginning of its weaning, though the natives do not view it as such. The mother begins to give the infant taro and fish, which she first masticates and then introduces it into the infant's mouth with her fingers. At this time, also, the infant is introduced to the palm-toddy. Only the fresh toddy that had just been collected is given to the infant, and even it is first diluted with water before it is given to the baby. If the infant does not like the solid food, it is not forced to take it, but its mother will continue to offer it these foods at frequent intervals, until it gets to like them."

(1947-48) 1949

"Weaning, as we have seen, is begun in the third month, the infant being fed some toddy and fish as part of its regular diet. As soon as it begins to crawl, breadfruit and taro are added to the diet morning, noon, and afternoon. However, the breast is still given the child even to the age of three and after that age should the child desire the breast, the mother will prevent him from suckling, shaming him, by telling him that the other children will laugh at him. Should a new birth occur, however, the child is immediately deprived of the breast, the mother claiming that they do not have enough milk for two sucklings. The advent of a new baby, then may cause decided oral frustration for the older sibling. [92]

This oral deprivation is unquestionably one source of a sibling rivalry that is apparent in all stages of the child's development. This rivalry is as apparent to the natives as it is to the ethnographer. The older sibling, the natives agree, does not like the younger. The parents tell him that the infant is his sibling and that he should love him and be kind to him. The child, so the natives claim, takes this preachment to heart, so that 'he savvy, he like.' But in reality, the problem is not so simple. It is rare that 'he savvy, he like.' The natives themselves pointed out that following the birth of an infant, the older sibling becomes 'ill.' Often he cannot eat or sleep, and then a special medicine is prepared for him. In many cases the older sibling actually strikes the infant. The natives attribute this 'sickness' of the child to the lonesomeness it had felt for its mother

during her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her ten day confinement in the birth-hut, which persists for a time even after her return. But, they all agreed that it does not last very long, and the sibling rivalry is soon dissipated. This is not in accord with the facts, however, for it continues throughout childhood, as we shall soon see. (10)"

"10. That the natives should deny the persistence of sibling rivalry should not occasion any surprise. Until Freud, western peoples refused to 'see' this phenomenon."

28: Spiro--92
116, 862

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"At the completion of the weaning, the child eats the same food as the adults. Eating problems do occur, however, and the parents are indulgent with the child. If he does not care for the food already prepared, they will attempt to give him other food. If nothing appeals to him, he is 'sick', and medicine is prepared for him."

28: Spiro--90 [2]
116, 854, 863, 514, 827

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ikalik

"The infant wears swaddling clothes until it has learned to crawl. The wearing of these clothes--a cloth--is a function of desire for cleanliness, rather than modesty, for the moment the infant begins to crawl, the cloth drops off. When an adult holds an infant on his lap, he will usually hold the cloth under it, so that he should not be soiled should the infant choose to defecate or urinate. This precaution is necessary because sphincter control is not taught the child until it can walk and talk, that is, not until he can understand the demand and has mastered the motor behavior to carry it out. The infant's faeces are disposed of in the lagoon, whereas its urine is merely wiped up. Not only is there no attempt made to toilet-train the infant, but the adults do not convey to the infant by means of facial expressions or gestures any exaggerated abhorence for excrement. Adults themselves are ashamed of excretory processes, but do not view excrement as dangerous or harmful, or as material with which to work evil magic. And this attitude, of course, is reflected in their reaction to the excretory behavior of their infants. For example, while I was sitting in a house with a young man and his infant daughter, the daughter defecated on the bare thigh of her father. He gave absolutely no overt indications of disgust or anger, but laughingly called his wife to remove the faeces

from his thigh. The infant, by this time, was having great fun, and with real glee (9) defecated once again, with the same parental consequences."

"9. I appreciate the anthropomorphism involved in this description. And yet, the behavioral constellation was what in an adult one would call, glee--sparkling and laughing eyes, cooing, and exaggerated movement of arms and legs."

28: Spiro--90-91
116, 827, 863, 514

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Despite the lack of any exaggerated distaste towards faeces, which the infant may learn from his parents, it soon learns that the adults have peculiar attitudes towards faeces and defecation. For example, many babies play with their faeces, smear them on their hands and face, and sometimes eat them. Again, the parents show their usual restraint in dealing with this behavior, but they do deal with it. They prevent the infant from cultivating this pastime. The infant is not punished, however, because he knows no better. ('Bout baby! He no savvy nothing.') [91]

Once he learns to walk and to talk, however, he is only trained in sphincter control, but he learns that his parents are concerned about his bowel movements. He is taught to defecate in the lagoon, not in the house or on land. If he does not readily learn to use the lagoon he is reprimanded and shamed, though not beaten. Any person, parent and stranger alike, will rebuke a child for polluting the ground or the house. The parents often invoke the authority of the chiefs in chastizing the child. 'Somebody come this place (that is, to our house), very bad this place. (because of the excrement). Chief some, he angry to this place. You no afraid chief?'

My observations indicate that few, if any children rebel against this training, and I observed none who did not observe the practice of repairing to the lagoon, after they had been taught. The attitude towards urine is much more lax. Children who do not as yet wear clothes urinate on the ground with impunity, but not in the house.

But the parents are not only concerned that the children defecate in the right place, they are also concerned that they defecate regularly. Parents often ask their children if they have defecated, and are alarmed by constipation, so that if the child should not defecate for a few days, he is deemed sick, and is given 'medicine', water and herbs, which ostensibly have a cathartic value. Despite the occurance of constipation, however, the parents themselves are confident that children did not deliberately withhold their faeces as a form of obstinacy."

28: Spiro--94 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 863 Ifalik

"We have already described the tiolet training. The infant is not expected to control his sphincters until he can walk. It is then that his parents train him to retire to the lagoon to defecate, and apparently there is no problem involved in this training, since neither my observations, nor the reports of my informants indicated any."

2: Damm et al. --189 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 836, 864 Faraulep

As a rule, there is no sexual intercourse before the marriage, but this is not always true. The older people instruct the younger ones systematically about it (ria - vagina, ǒunum - clitoris).

28: Spiro--94-95 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864 Ifalik

"When the infant passes the 'no savvy nothing stage' its parents are concerned about his sexual behavior. Adults insist that infants engage in no sexual activity. However, I have often observed infants masturbating, or at least manipulating their genitals. (13) [95] Apparently, however, the adult's view of children does not permit them to accept the fact of infantile sexuality. Once the infant reaches the age of understanding, sexual activity is strictly interdicted. Heterosexual behavior does not occur, at least I observed none. But masturbation does occur, and is strongly disapproved of. Masturbation, it is believed, stunts the child's growth, and/or to cause illness, and a child persisting in it is beaten."

"13. Adults, do not masturbate children, and are both shocked and amused at the suggestion of the possibility. However, the adult practice of smelling the genitals may provide an erotic stimulation for the infant."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--96 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

28: Spiro--116
116, 827, 864, 834, 952

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo [illegible]. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his parents would be shocked and he would be punished. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or at least fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual heterosexuality. Though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no consequences at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would pretend for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus masturbating a constant erection. The other boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Enough to focus on this topic, the entire child population observed that they did not touch it unless masturbating, and yet Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which attracted quick attention from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--116 [2]
116, 291, 864, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--116 [3]
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2]
116, 857, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--117 [3]
116, 535, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--117 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, and the men none in the presence of boys. Often, the men will engage in sexual 'horseplay' with the boys. For example, a young man or grown one, for that matter, may grab at the exposed penis of the boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with a mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was bit different from that of the natives. One other person, Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped-penis, a person might tease him by saying 'just like Talemelemar', that is, his penis is like Talemelemar's."

28: Spiro--118
116, 864, 291

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--118 [2]
116, 593, 864

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Most siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--118 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Whether children observe adult intercourse or not is a moot point, but they do observe and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave everything when they are informed of dogs copulating. The girls, if they watch, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually stand behind a tree or a house, and watch them, laughing all the time. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty some of the dogs have in removing their penis from the bitch's vagina. The dogs would whine and yelp, and the boys would howl with glee."

28: Spiro--118-119
116, 864, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either private phantasies, or they are ignorant of them completely. Children and young people both, seem to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked their parents or other adults the answers to the two questions that I asked them. Some of them were embarassed by the questions, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance, and admitted to a lack of curiosity concerning the matters.

A poll of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen reveals the following results.

Table 4

Theories of Conception

Theory	No. of children
Intercourse	3
Food	3
Man	3
Chiefs	2
Good alus	2
Woman	2
Child	1
Ignorance	24

Their phantasies are most interesting, and we shall indicate them briefly. Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby. [119]

Of the three that said that the baby is created from food, one said that the husband gives his wife food to eat, from which the baby is created, whilst the others said that it is created from her own food, not mentioning the husband.

Of the two answering, man, one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, woman, one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but they become alive only when they marry.

Most of the children, however, simply did not know how babies were made, nor were they curious to know. They had never asked anyone. The same is true of the baby's birth. Most were ignorant of the birth of a baby. There were some who had ideas, however, which are shown in table 5.

Table 5
Children's Birth Theories

Theory of Birth	No. of Subjects
Vagina	8
Anus	5
Stomach	3
Mouth	1
Ear	1
Navel	1
Ignorance	23"

28: Spiro--119
116, 864, 881, 841

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

28: Spiro--88-89
116, 854, 827, 865

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"During this early infancy, I seldom heard an infant cry, there being but two occasions which evoke a crying response. It is believed that an infant which lies still in its cradle, without moving, will not grow. It is also believed that it is bad for the infant to lie on its stomach, but that it is good to lie on its side. The mother constantly watches the infant to see that it moves or does not lie on its stomach. If it does not move or does lie on its stomach, she will turn him on [89] its side, and this occurs, not infrequently. The infant often cries at this disturbance, whereupon the mother will lift it out of the cradle and nurse it."

28: Spiro--94 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 858, 865 Ifalik

"The generally accepted adult view of infants, therefore, has it that the infant is a powerless, innocent, creature, who must neither be restrained nor punished. The resultant adult behavior is one of indulgence, and little attempt is made to train the child until he can walk and/or talk."

28: Spiro--95 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 865 Ifalik

"Inhibition of aggression is demanded of children at an early age. Fighting of any kind, even in jest, is prohibited by adults. Fighting is invariably punished by beating, being thrown into the lagoon, and other forms of punishment. The same holds true for lying or stealing. The training is effective. I have never seen children above the ages of eight or nine fighting."

28: Spiro--102 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 858, 561, 865 Ifalik

"The children in this group--between the latency period and pre-puberty are, unquestionably, the least favored group. The infants are pampered and overindulged. The pre-puberty children, though not indulged, have a favorable position. They are economic assets, and hence have the respect of their parents and adults. They enjoy many adult prerogatives, such as assistance in adult work, free mobility, and, in the case of the boys, a position of equality in the canoe houses, where they may lounge or work as of right, and not by sufferance. The intermediate group has none of these privileges. Furthermore, having been dethroned by the infant, they find themselves subservient to the older children. The latter order them around, have them fetch objects for them, etc.

This means that they have no visible means of ego support. The older children receive their emotional response from their peers, looking to them for esteem and affection, and together can pit themselves, if necessary, against the adult world. The younger children do not have that source. Having experienced a traumatic rejection they have not yet learned to establish genuine interractional patterns with their peers. Furthermore, they are still attempting to ingratiate themselves with their parents, and view their peers as possible threats to such attempts. Thus, as we shall soon see, there is much rivalry between the children for the attention of the adult, and aggression between

themselves. Since, children are instructed from the time they can speak that aggression is the most heinous offence, and they are punished should they fight, there would probably be much more of it were it allowed fuller expression."

28: Spiro--102 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 865, 857, 578 Ifalik

"Some simple examples of aggression may be described. Five year old Talavusman had cut his leg, and as I applied merthiolate to the cut, he began to cry. Iliakong and Lezabung, who were sitting with us, began to make fun of him, laughed at him, and imitated his crying.

Lemalialok told Talavusman to sit down. He refused and spit in her face. Talemelemar, who was present, then spit in Talavusman's face.

A group of children were digging for some roots. Talemelemar tried to dig for the root of some girl. She pushed him aside, and he fell on his face, crying. While digging, Iliakong smeared dirt all over Talavusman, who withdrew from the scene.

Often, the aggression is minor, but the reaction is severe. The children fight over the possession of the most trifling object, and the loser weeps bitter tears, usually falling to the ground screaming. When playing, the children are constantly frustrating each other, and they then burst into sham screaming. I say sham, because the tears and

cries disappear the moment the frustration is removed. (20)"

"20. This pattern of crying at the slightest provocation can, probably be traced to the infancy situation, where it was a mastery technique. Crying would always relieve the frustration. These children still attempt to master their reality situation with a technique that no longer works. It is typical regressive behavior, an attempt to cope with a problem on a lower level of integration. It is only after they realize that crying is of no avail that they abandon it."

"Just as the other children try to distract the adult's attention from the child [WPM: see p. 103, paragraph 1-5.] he is with, so the latter tries to distract his attention from the other children. If, while holding Iliakong, I would turn to give some attention to other children, she would twist her face into mine, laugh and smile at me, put her lips on mine--all to keep my attention exclusively on her. Once, after I deliberately shunned her in favor of the others, she bent down, with her buttocks close to my face, and made a flatulation sound with her mouth--a favorite form of aggressive behavior.

At times, the patterns of aggression interfere with those of cooperation. As we came into a canoe house, a man offered us some taro. Talemelemar took some, and offered a piece to Iliakong, bringing it to her. She placed it on the ground, stood up, and hit him on the head.

Much of the children's aggression, of course, is sublimated in their games, which we shall describe shortly, or is displaced onto dogs. The children, as well as the adults, mistreat the dogs. A three year old was bitten by a dog, but not until he had beaten it for no reason at all with a heavy pole. Uveli, a young lad, held a dog's head on the ground, its ears squeezed together, while the children laughed with great zest. When the dog managed to escape, Uveli kicked it. Children often kick the dogs, pull their tails, and in general maltreat them."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

28: Spiro--95 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 866, 515 Ifalik

"Dependency training has its inception at this time as well. The child who can walk is expected to wash himself, for example. Often, if the child is very dirty, it will be washed by an older sibling or adult, even at the age of eight or nine."

28: Spiro--114 [2]
116, 866, 858

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This assumption of adult values and behaviors carries over into the freedom granted the child, the patterns of dependency in which he is trained. Children are not forced to go to sleep at an early time, but can stay up as long as the adults. They may even sleep away from home, if they have their parent's permission. But even the young men and women may not do so without permission. If a young man or woman is not home by nightfall, the parents are very concerned. This is understandable, since in a small island, someone is bound to see them at some time, and if they do not return and no one can tell of their whereabouts, chances are something has happened to them. But with permission, young and old children, alike, may sleep away from home."

28: Spiro--114 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 857, 866 Ifalik

"Children, as we have seen, play alone in the water without adult supervision, and no alarm is felt."

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--263 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 609, 867 Elato

The natives were courteous, but the women displayed at first a certain shyness which was due to the presence of the five whites and their colored company.... We noticed the good behaviour of the children on the islands which we had recently visited; they obeyed older persons willingly.

28: Spiro--99 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians·
116, 593, 867, 855 Ifalik

"In the same generation the older siblings, particularly the girls, function as protectors and guardians of the younger. When the babies are able to walk they play under the surveilance of the older girls--six or seven to eleven or twelve. Usually, two or three older girls will be in charge of a group of younger children, not only their own siblings, but the other children in the neighborhood. The smaller children can and do attach themselves to older boys, as well. But generally speaking, it is the specific task of the girls to care for them. This gives the elder sibling somewhat of a position of power over the younger, who at times resents it. I have, however, observed no cases of the usurpation of this power, though there are many cases of the opposite, that is, the refusal of the younger child to obey the older. Often an older sister would come to take a younger sibling home, and the latter would refuse. The older sibling often functions as a mother-surrogate, feeding and carrying the younger. It is a bit ludicrous to observe a young seven or eight year old girl carrying a three year old brother or sister. It is also amusing to observe the older ones trying to initiate the younger ones into the cultural values. While playing on the beach, one afternoon, the older girls tried frantically to get the younger children off the beach. When I asked for the reason, they explained that the men were coming in from fishing and that it was taboo for children to witness the bringing in of the fish. The young children refused to obey the girls, but I prevailed upon them to do so."

28: Spiro--99-100
116, 867, 562, 855

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Not only the older sibling but any older boy or girl may play the role, of protector or guardian, as well as enforce the cultural values. One afternoon, Iliakong and Legasugabuk were doing a bwarux dance on the beach. Woromai, a lad of about 19 saw them from his canoe. He immediately shouted at them to stop the dance, which [100] they did.

There seems to be little question but that the men and older boys exercise greater authority over the children than do the women and older girls."

28: Spiro--110-111
116, 577, 867, 626

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"As in all cultures, Ifaluk too inculcates its values in its children, and it does a very good job, since the behaviors not sanctioned by the culture all of which are found in the children, are extinguished in the adults. [sic] In order to have as complete and valid information as possilbe on the socialization process--both the kinds of behavior sanctioned and the techniques used, both rewards and punishments. I used three checks. I employed adult informants to tell me what is done, I interviewed all the children, and I recorded my own observations. The second technique lent itself to statistical recording, which I shall produce here. The amazing thing (to me) was the identical results obtained by the three methods. All three techniques show that the non-sanctioned behaviors are: theft, disobedience, aggression (including stone throwing at people, fighting, and aggression against parents), standing and talking in the presence of adults. There is one contribution each by the adults and children that the other did not make. The adults said that children are told that they should not by lazy, but should acquire economic skill, lest they have no food. But this is a general admonition for the future, not a child's possible derelicition for which he is punished. The children added a misdemeanor for which they are punished that the adults did not mention--playing away from home, and not returning to eat.

Table 1

Total Number of Children From About 3 to 25

Total subjects: 42 Male: 25 Female: 17

Misdeed	No. of subjects	% of subjects	Male %	Female %
Fighting	21	50	56	41
Disobedience	18	43	40	47
Stone Throwing	11	26	36	12
Theft	10	23	32	11
Standing and talking in the presence of of adults (in canoe house)	10	23	40	0
Playing without returning home to eat.	7	16	16	23
Physical aggression against parents	3	17	0	17
Miscellaneous	14	33	28	41

Table one is the record of the misdeeds for which the children said they were punished. The figures speak for themselves, and no comment is necessary except to point out

practically all punishable behavior fall in the category of aggression.

Some of the sex differences may be commented upon, however. It will be seen that boys do more stealing and stone throwing than the girls, for reasons difficult to answer. The greater incidence of stealing among boys may be accounted for by the fact that most stolen objects are stolen from the canoe houses, and only the boys have completely free access to canoe houses. That girls do not violate the injunction against standing and talking in the presence of men can be accounted for on the same grounds. The category in which there are no male offenders is probably a result of the greater economic responsibility thrust on the young girl, which she resents, and for which she vents her aggressions. The fact that it is the mother, rather than the father, that is the brunt of the aggression is a further indication of this fact, since it is the mother that has the girl work at home.

Before we examine the techniques of enforcing these values, I may say that they are admirably successful. Though fighting occurs frequently among the children, I have seen children above the ages of ten fighting, and this pattern extends into adult life[sic] The same holds true of the other non-sanctioned behavior listed above. Of [111] course, some children learn to inhibit these culturally defined anti-social impulses before others. But it may be stated dogmatically that no child, after the age of ten, is guilty of any of them. And, what is of even greater importance, no adult is ever guilty of commiting them."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 424, 868, 428, 504 Ifalik

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as palū. As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from his father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

28: Spiro--66 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 533, 755, 868 Ifalik

"The chapeng chanted at the ceremony [WPM: see p. 65] was taught to Arogeligar by Tilitr, who in turn taught it to the people. The farewell chant was taught to Arogeligar by Aluelap. The vocabulary as well as construction is unusual, the people understanding very little of it, so that Tom had to ask Arogeligar to interpret the words to him, before he could translate them for me."

28: Spiro--73-74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 756, 868

"The incumbent in the office [WPM: of Tamon Alusuia. See p. 73, paragraph 1] trains not only his successor, but also a number of others who act as minor functionaries in the public ceremonies and in the curing ceremonies. Arogeligar, for example, is now training twenty-three individuals, ten males, and thirteen females. These assistants gather herbs for medicine, assist in the public ceremonies, and at times, when Arogeligar finds that a victim is possessed by a very powerful alus, for whose exorcism his medicine is not sufficient, he asks them to bring medicine they know, or that they learned from their parents.

When he is called in to heal, it is with the understanding that he is to be payed if his healing is successful, but he received nothing if the victim should die. His payment consists of lavalava, or rope, but there is no stipulated amount. [74]

The tamon alusuia not only receives payment for healing he also receives payment for teaching his songs to his assistants. This, Dr. Burrows suggested to me, might imply a concept of ownership in the songs. When I questioned him on this point, Arogeligar was firm in insisting that the songs were owned by Tilitr and not by him, and the payment he received was for his time, so that he is payed approximately the amount of rope or fish or lavalava that he might have been expected to manufacture in the time devoted to the instruction."

28: Spiro--113 [2]
116, 858, 535, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--146 [2]
116, 561, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In both the case of men and of women, age differences imply no social differences. An older woman might be requested by a younger woman to examine the skirt she is making if she has a difficulty. A younger man may ask an older man for help on a fine point in the making of a fish trap. But, in all cases, there seems to be no social differentials based on age."

28: Spiro--96 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 869, 761 Ifalik

"If the culture does provide answers in traditional terms, the parents do transmit the information to the children. Causes of death, the informants said, are not asked in the abstract. That is, children do not ask about the cause of death, but do ask the cause of the death of 'X'. If the person had been ill, his death is attributed to illness. If he had died suddenly, they admit candidly that they do not know."

28: Spiro--96 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 827, 869 Ifalik

"Children ask the meaning or purpose of various reflexes, and are answered in accord with the traditional body of knowledge. Sneezing (mozie) is inexplicable. However, protracted sneezing is a portend of illness, and should an adult be seized with a sneezing fit at night, he will go to sleep in another house.

Yawning (maulagtel) results from fatigue.

A hiccough (alowei) is caused by food being stuck in the throat. If it continues there is no known remedy. I have seen men hiccough for a long time, without attempting to do anything to stop it."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

side of the trail there was an open grove of high breadfruit trees and other plantings of the Falivelu household.

This trail by Katelu we called the "schoolhouse trail"—because it led directly to the schoolhouse. The schoolhouse was a thatched shed built in a large clearing exactly half way across the island. It had been put up in accordance with instructions, either from the Navy or the Trust Territory, and contained a blackboard and a supply of essential equipment like boxing gloves and basket balls. But how would one go about introducing schooling on Ifaluk? Or should one? The answer to this latter, surely, is "yes" because willy-nilly the Ifalukians must learn to deal with the outer world in these days when that world has become a small neighborhood, and even Ifaluk cannot be protected by its remoteness. But the question of how to introduce this schooling is a complex one for which perhaps no one has a clear answer.

At any rate, the schoolhouse was not used for educational purposes during the period of our stay, but it did have uses. The clearing was a handy place to locate the rain gauge, and the schoolhouse itself, with its open sides, seemed a good place for the regular measurements of shade temperature and humidity. So the area became our meteorological station.

On this south end of Falarik the coconut grove of the lagoon shore extended right around the tip of the island to the ocean side, enveloping the schoolhouse yard. The trail was straight and formal, however, only as far as the school; beyond it became a winding footpath leading through the coconuts to the ocean beach.

Except for this southern end and the long stretch of lagoon shore, Falarik was covered with boondocks. Coconuts grew all through these boondocks, and the principal forest tree was breadfruit. But there were a dozen other kinds of trees, and a thick underbrush of bushes and ferns—ferns everywhere. There were many swampy areas in the center of the island, but the land became slightly higher toward the ocean shore, the surface rough with coral boulders, culminating in a definite "boulder ridge" paralleling the ocean beach.

The beach on the ocean side was narrow, sloping rather steeply from this boulder ridge. Along most of the length of the island the beach, too, was covered with coral rocks, but there were also stretches of coral

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

1: Burrows--189 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arūerū), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 304 Ifalik

"Specialization on one sex in initiation or coming-of-age rites is not uncommon. But the sex chosen, even in islands relatively close to Ifalik geographically and culturally, is often the male. The writer thinks first of western Polynesia because of previous field work. Initiation rites for young men there cluster about one of the operations loosely called circumcision, or about tattooing, which may itself amount to a rite of passage. But for Ifalik I have no evidence of surgery on the male genitals. Sarfert's informants explicitly denied the existence of any such practise. Tattooing, to be sure, is elaborate, and its origin is attributed to the god Wolfat. (Since this is an art form, a fuller account of it belongs in the forthcoming study of native arts.) But it is optional, and so far as known has always been so. Robertson states explicitly that in the third quarter of the 19th century not all the men were tattooed, and that the practise was in no way compulsory. While rites of passage need not be universally observed, tattooing here is no more than a form of decoration whose use is dictated by individual taste."

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 857, 881 Lamotrek

No initiation ceremonies are held.

Young girls early go out to gather fire-wood and they also take care of the hearth, cook, etc. When they are ten years old they are sent into the taro fields. For the sake of solemnity at the time of puberty, gabuitiu, a little banquet is held and taro, bananas, etc. are served; the men occasionally contribute young coconuts, fish and pigs. For three or four days the girl is bathed three or four times daily and is rubbed with the yellow turmeric color substance known as rong. The women at that time often perform dances....

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841, 881 Lamotrek

The women stay in the menstrual hut im a fatiu for four days. No ceremonies are involved in the first menses nor the attainment of puberty (see Pollap).

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--120-121
116, 881, 841, 343, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881 Ifalik

"There is no ceremony marking the puberty of the boy. The distinction between a zari-man and a tari-man is not formally designated, and is a gradual, flexible difference, rather than an abrupt one."

28: Spiro--122 [2]
116, 881, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publically, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

1: Burrows--85
116, 561, 882

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Some groups formed on the basis of age-those of children and (approximately) adolescents-have a more continuous existence. They are united also by common residence, for it is only the children, or the youths, of one particular neighborhood who play together regularly. Quite young children play in groups that include both sexes. (By 'quite young' is meant here old enough to talk and be fairly sure-footed, but too young to wear clothes, which are put on at about the age when our children begin school.) But when they reach adolescence their only distinct groups are limited by sex as well. It is only the young men who form groups of any permanence. Adolescent girls, more restricted by custom to their own households, may go out together to gather pandanus leaves for a mat, or carry on some similar task; but these gatherings, like other work gangs, disband when the job is finished. Formerly, when the unmarried men slept in a men's house, of which there were several at one time, or in one of the canoe-houses, they were almost continuously together. But of late they separate every night to sleep in the households of their relatives. Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifalik as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip."

28: Spiro--104 [3]
116, 186, 573, 883

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This pattern of district or island social isolation [WPM: see p. 104, paragraphs 2-3.] is broken at one point--the adolescent males. The girl's mobility, as she grows older is progressively restricted, rather than expanded. As a little girl, she has the range of her district. As she grows older, she is restricted more and more to her home, because of her growing economic and social responsibilities. The boy has little such responsibilities, so that as he gets older, his mobility is not restricted, and he may not only frequent another island or district, but may form close friendships or ties in them. But when he reaches the adult married state, he again remains in his own district."

28: Spiro--114-115 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 883, 462, 226, 184 Ifalik

"The young men are accepted members of the society, doing any activity which their experience permits them to do. All toddy gathering is the job of the young man of the household. Like the men, they make rope. They participate in all communal fishing, and often fish on their own intitiative, particularly fishing in the lagoon. [115] In all construction work the young men are most conspicuous, for though they do not plan or direct the activity, they do most of the heavy work. If a roof needs to be relaid, it is the young men who are on the roof, and the older men hand them the material from the ground. In the making of canoes, the young men and boys have their share of the work, though it is usually the less-skilled work. One of the older young men might make his own canoe, and though he is assisted by an older man, the responsibility is his.

The young men also take social or economic responsibility on their own initiative. If the canoes are outside the canoe-houses, and it begins to rain, they will themselves remove the canoes from the rain without being told to do so by the older men. The point that is being stressed here is that the young men feel themselves integral members of the culture, and assume responsibility for the perpetuation of the group and its culture."

28: Spiro--146 [4]
116, 883, 517

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The adolescent boys may sit around the canoe houses with the men, or may, as in the district of Felarik, have a canoe house of their own in which they congregate. The activity, however, is the same as in the case of the older men. They, too, often sit about, just staring blankly into space. One favorite activity of the young men is the sharpening of knives. Whenever they have nothing to do, or if conversation lags, they will take out their knives and sharpen them on the whetstone, with the result that their knives are razor-sharp and it is no surprise that they shave with them. (7)"

"7. There is little rationality in their almost compulsive knife sharpening. The knives are already sharp. It is likely that this preoccupation has unconscious, symbolic significance. I have no evidence but suspect that is is related to certain sexual anxieties, perhaps a castration anxiety."

28: Spiro--147 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 562, 883, 573 Ifalik

"The young women do not, as we have already pointed out, associate in gangs, as the young men do. Young women, in their late adolescence are already married, and, like the older women, remain near or about the homes. This means that the young women are integrated earlier into the adult female world, than are the young men into the adult male world."

28: Spiro--137 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 888, 561, 554 Ifalik

"As far as I can determine age brings neither greater nor less prestige. It is true that the old are not as economically useful as the young but it seems that the subsistence is plentiful enough so that their relative economic inactivity is not viewed as a drag on the economy. On the other hand, their greater age is not, ipso facto, an indication of greater wisdom. A wise person retains his wisdom as he ages. A mediocre person is no wiser because of age. Formally, therefore, there seems to be little if any cultural evaluation placed on old age. It must be remembered, furthermore, that this is an egalitarian society, in which general statuses are about equal, and in which only specific statuses differ. This is, the status of a navigator or carpenter, or fisherman is higher than others, which are about equal. Differential status, therefore, is almost always a function of achievement in a specific activity. This being the case, the status continues into old age.

At no time did I see the slightest indication of resentment against an older person because of inability to perform certain tasks.

On the other hand, though the culture does not evaluate age in terms of any invidious distinctions, the aging person may very well experience the process of aging as more or less pleasant than youth. In speaking with the men, they said that the reactions to old age are not the same. An old man usually cannot marry a young girl, he cannot engage in many kinds of work, the Japanese would not hire him for labor, and thus he could make no money. On the other hand, the old man has prestige and respect, and young people will turn to them for advice, since they 'savvy many thing.'"

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

pulled out and dumped, ready for distribution. This, as always, was the special function of Toroman. Five big red fish were put in a pile by themselves, for the chiefs, and there was another pile of special kinds of fish, mostly trigger-fish, set aside by custom for the old men. The remainder of the catch was sorted out roughly by size into piles of large, medium-sized and small fish. In the meanwhile, men representing each of the various households gathered around, smoking and chatting. All had freshly-woven coconut baskets for their share of the catch. These baskets, quickly made from the green palm frond, were the ordinary packaging material of the island.

In the first round, Toroman tossed to each man two of the larger and three of the middle-sized fish. Then each got ten to twenty fish from the middle-sized and small piles, the number depending on the size of the fish and the number of people in the household. Then every family got one more large fish.

Don and Yani weighed a few specimens of the different kinds and sizes of fish, and calculated that the total catch was about 630 pounds. About forty pounds of the smallest fish were thrown out as too small for use, or because they were of kinds considered inedible. The seine catch as distributed, amounted to about two pounds of fish per individual inhabitant.

Everyone had fish that evening, and very good it was. Several of the most prized kinds of fish were given to us. These were expertly fileted by Bakal, and equally expertly fried by Ted in bacon grease after being rolled in corn meal. Ted was a master at this. Jobs around the Fan Nap were generally pretty equally shared, but Don and I always tried to maneuver Ted into the fish frying job—not, for once, out of indolence, but because he really did have a touch. The Ifalukians generally roasted fresh fish like these whole over coals from small coconut-husk fires, and they were awfully good that way, too.

This kind of fishing, with giant rope-and-coconut-leaf tinsel dragged over the coral bottom of the outer reef, was called rop fishing. Whether Ifalukian rop had any connection with English rope was questionable. Ted thought the similarity coincidence, since the rop fishing must have been an ancient practice, long antedating any contact with English.

The Ifalukians, like the people of all of the old Micronesian and